

**“GIMME FIVE”—INVESTIGATION OF TRIBAL
LOBBYING MATTERS**

FINAL REPORT

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 5, 2006



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A special thanks to the efforts and support of the entire staff of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs through the course of this investigation.

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TABLE OF NAMES

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Benn, Charlie: Director of Administration, Office of the Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

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Bozniak, Allison: former assistant to Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig.

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Chapman, Michael: former business associate of Abramoff and Scanlon.

Doolittle, Julie: president, Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions.

Federici, Italia: president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy.

Griles, J. Steven: former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Grosh, David: former director, American International Center.

Halpern, Gail: former tax advisor to Abramoff.

Hisa, Carlos: Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas.

Kahgegab, Maynard: former Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

Kilgore, Donald: Attorney General, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Kuhn, Jennifer: vice-president, Finance and Development, Americans for Tax Reform.

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Lapin, Rabbi Daniel: president, Toward Tradition.

Lippy, Laura: assistant to Abramoff.

Mann, Brian: former director, American International Center.

Martin, Phillip: Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Martin, Terry: Governmental Affairs/Administrative Liaison, Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana.

McConnon, BR: president, Democracy Data & Communications.

Mielke, David: outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia.

Milanovich, Richard: Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.

Norquist, Grover: president, Americans for Tax Reform.

Norton, Gale: former Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Otto, David: former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

Paisano, Stuart: former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia.

Pego, Robert: former council member, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

Petras, Christopher: former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

Patencio, Candace: former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.

Reed, Ralph: president, Century Strategies.

Ridenour, Amy: president, National Center for Public Policy Research.

Ring, Kevin: former associate, Greenberg Traurig.

Rogers, Nell: planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Rossetti, Michael: former Counselor to the Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Scanlon, Michael: president, Capitol Campaign Strategies; Scanlon Public Affairs; Scanlon Gould Public Affairs; American International Center; Principal, Atlantic Research & Analysis.

Schwartz, Marc: president, Partners Group Consultants; former spokesperson, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas.

Short, Stephanie Leger: former associate, Greenberg Traurig.

Sickey, David: Council member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

Sickey, Kevin: Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

Siva, Virginia: Tribal Council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.

Smith, Michael: former associate, Greenberg Traurig.

Sprague, Bernie: Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

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Van Hoof, Kathryn: former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

van Horne, Jon: former associate, Greenberg Traurig.

Vasell, Shawn: former associate, Greenberg Traurig.

Volz, Neil: former associate, Greenberg Traurig; former chief of staff, U.S. Congressman Robert W. Ney.

Worfel, William: former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

TABLE OF ENTITIES

ENTITIES OWNED OR CONTROLLED BY ABRAMOFF

Aeneas Enterprises: a consulting firm that received payments from another Abramoff controlled entity called Grassroots Interactive, which did business with, among others, Tyco International and International Interactive Alliance.

Archives: a company that owned Stacks, formerly a kosher deli located in Washington, DC.

Beis Avrohom Chaim: a company used to acquire real estate.

Capital Athletic Foundation (“CAF”): a charitable foundation used to fund Abramoff’s private Jewish boys’ school, called the Eshkol Academy, and other projects with which he was in some way associated.

Eshkol Academy: *See Capital Athletic Foundation, supra.*

Grassroots Interactive (“GRI”): *See Aeneas Enterprises, supra.*

Kaygold: a company used to collect “consulting fees” from entities owned or controlled by Scanlon.

Lexington Group: a company that performed lobbying-type services.

Livsar Enterprises: a company that owned Signatures, formerly a restaurant-bar located in Washington, DC.

Sports Suites: a company that leased, with money provided by some of Abramoff’s Tribal clients, sky boxes at sports and concert venues in Washington, DC and Baltimore, Maryland.

ENTITIES OWNED OR CONTROLLED BY SCANLON

American International Center (“AIC”): a supposed think tank used to collect money for services performed by others and to secretly pay money to Abramoff.

Atlantic Research and Analysis (“ARA”): a company used to secretly pay money to Abramoff.

Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”): a grassroots/political consulting firm that secretly paid money to Abramoff.

Christian Action Network: a fictitious grassroots organization.

Christian Research Network: a fictitious grassroots organization.

Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion (“CCAGE”): a fictitious grassroots organization.

Global Christian Outreach Network (“GCON”): a fictitious grassroots organization.

Scanlon Capital Management: a company used to invest money.

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs: a grassroots/political consulting firm that secretly paid money to Abramoff.

Scanlon Venture Capital: a company used to invest money.

OTHER

Alexander Strategies Group (“ASG”): a consulting firm owned or controlled by former Congressman Tom DeLay’s former chief of staff Ed Buckham to or through which Abramoff or Scanlon directed their Tribal clients to pay money.

Americans for Tax Reform (“ATR”): a non-profit anti-tax organization headed by conservative activist Grover Norquist to or through which Abramoff or Scanlon directed their Tribal clients to pay money.

Capitol Media: a grassroots/political consulting firm owned or controlled by former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed.

Century Strategies: a grassroots/political consulting firm owned or controlled by former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed.

Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (“CREA”): an environmental non-profit organization to or through which Abramoff or Scanlon directed their Tribal clients to pay money.

Democracy Data and Communications (“DDC”): a firm that built, operated and maintained political databases for Scanlon and his Tribal clients.

Greenberg Traurig (“GT”): a lobbying firm with which Abramoff was associated during the relevant period.

Kollel Ohel Tiferet: an entity used to enable the CAF to distribute money to a sniper workshop in Israel.

Liberty Consulting: a consulting firm owned or controlled by former Congressman Tom DeLay’s former deputy chief of staff

Tony Rudy to or through which Abramoff or Scanlon directed some of their Tribal clients to pay money.

National Center for Public Policy Research (“NCPPr”): a non-profit educational foundation on whose board Abramoff sat, to or through which he or Scanlon directed some of their Tribal clients to pay money.

INVESTIGATION HEARINGS

FIRST HEARING

Oversight Hearing on In re Tribal Lobbying Matters, et al., Wednesday, September 29, 2004, 9:30 am, Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building.

Panel One—Mr. Jack Abramoff, former lobbyist, Greenberg Traurig, and Mr. Michael Scanlon, president, Capitol Campaign Strategies. Mr. Scanlon was invited, but did not appear before the Committee on this date.

Panel Two—The Honorable Richard Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians and The Honorable Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan.

Panel Three—Dr. Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan.

SECOND HEARING

Oversight Hearing on In re Tribal Lobbying Matters, et al., Wednesday, November 17, 2004, 3:00 pm, Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building.

Panel One—Mr. Marc Schwartz, president, Marc Schwartz Partners and The Honorable Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo.

Panel Two—Mr. Michael Scanlon, president, Capitol Campaign Strategies.

THIRD HEARING

Oversight Hearing on In re Tribal Lobbying Matters, et al., Wednesday, June 22, 2005, 9:30 am, Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building.

Panel One—Mr. Charlie Benn, Director of Administration, Office of the Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; Donald Kilgore, Esq., Attorney General, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; and Ms. Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Panel Two—Mr. Kevin Ring, former Abramoff associate and Mr. Shawn Vassell, former Abramoff associate.

Panel Three—Mrs. Amy Ridenour, president, National Center for Public Policy Research; Ms. Gail Halpern, Abramoff's former tax advisor; Mr. Brian Mann, former director, American International Center; Mr. David Grosh, former director, American International Center; and Mr. Aaron Stetter, former Scanlon associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies.

FOURTH HEARING

Oversight Hearing on In re Tribal Lobbying Matters, et al., Wednesday, November 2, 2005, 9:00 am, Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building.

Panel One—The Honorable Kevin Sickey, Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and Mr. David Sickey, Tribal Council Member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

Panel Two—Mr William Worfel, former Tribal Council member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; Mrs. Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; and Mr. Fred Baggett, managing shareholder; Chair, National Governmental Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig.

Panel Three—Mr. B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications; Mr. Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies; and Ms. Gail Halpern, Abramoff's former tax advisor.

Panel Four—Mr. J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior; Mr. Michael Rossetti, Esq., former counsel to the Secretary of the Interior, U.S. Department of the Interior; and Ms. Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy. Ms. Federici was invited, but did not appear before the Committee on this date.

FIFTH HEARING

Oversight Hearing on In Re Tribal Lobbying Matters, et al., Wednesday, November 17, 2005, 10:00 am, Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building.

Panel One—Ms. Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy.

INTRODUCTION

Etched in the history of our great nation is a long and lamentable chapter about the exploitation of Native Americans. It began with the sale of Manhattan, and has continued ever since. Every kind of charlatan and every type of crook has deceived and exploited America's native sons and daughters. While these accounts of unscrupulous men are sadly familiar, the tale we hear today is not. What sets this tale apart, what makes it truly extraordinary, is the extent and degree of the apparent exploitation and deceit.

Opening Statement of then-Committee Ranking Majority Member John McCain, during the Committee's September 29, 2004, hearing on allegations made by Tribes against Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon

[J]ust speaking as an enrolled member of an Indian tribe, not the chairman of this committee, I have to tell you that for 400 years people have been cheating Indians in this country, so you're not the first one, Mr. Scanlon. It's just a shame that in this enlightened day that you have added a new dimension to a shameful legacy of what's happened to American Indians. You're the problem, buddy, of what's happened to American Indians.

Closing remarks of then-Chairman Ben Nighthorse Campbell, during the Committee's November 17, 2004, hearing on allegations made by Tribes against Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon

[It] [n]eeds to have a bit more about how the tribes in the past were left helpless at the whims and good will of non-tribal members. Some reference to the past and how they were always given the [short] end of the stick would be pretty important, I think.

Email from Jack Abramoff to associate Todd Boulanger, February 26, 2004 (critiquing draft letter intended for *The Washington Post* and Senate Indian Affairs Committee regarding Committee investigation)

Yes, I did wrong, but I did a hell of a lot right too. Basically, I was the best thing they had going. I knew it, they knew it. My mistake was not informing them (about Scanlon).

Jack Abramoff to contributing editor David Margolick, *Vanity Fair*, "Washington's Invisible Man," April 2006

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

On the afternoon of June 18, 2001, in Washington, D.C., racquetball was the order of the day.¹ Having brought former congressional communications director Michael Scanlon with him to

¹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000011945) (June 18, 2001).

the lobbying shop at Greenberg Traurig for what ended up as a brief stint, Jack Abramoff wanted to get together with Scanlon for a round.

But, Scanlon, who was now out on his own, wanted to talk shop: “A few weeks ago you mentioned something to me—I took the concept and have put together a plan that will make serious money. We also talked briefly about it in the beginning of the year but I think we can really move it now.”²

Scanlon went on to describe “the broad strokes”: “I have been making contacts with some larger Public Affairs companies in town for a few months. I have two solid relationships that will seriously consider acquiring Capitol Campaign Strategies. The problem is that there is not much in CCS right now.”³

“However,” he continued, “if we build up Capitol Campaign Strategies enough I can get it acquired by a large firm by the end of next year at 3x [sic] the firm revenue. Bottom line: If you help me get CCS a client base of \$3 million a year, I will get the clients served, and the firm acquired at \$9 million. We can then split the [sic] up the profits. What do you think?”⁴

Abramoff’s response was brief: “Sounds like a plan, but let’s discuss when we are together.”⁵

This appears to be the genesis of a partnership the two would later infamously label as “gimme five”—their secret plan “to put in \$5[million] revenue/yr [in fees from tribes, into] CCS.”⁶ Later, the term “gimme five” came to mean kickbacks to Abramoff from payments made by any of Scanlon’s Tribal clients to Scanlon.

By Spring 2003, Abramoff and Scanlon’s secret financial arrangement was apparently straining. The two had failed to get a Tribal client’s casino reopened. And Scanlon, apparently awash in cash, seemed to have outgrown the partnership and appeared more interested in putting his ill-gotten gains to work.

He offered Abramoff, “I have a few real estate developments in the pipeline—One really big one—and a couple of small ones that I may need to raise outside capital for. I can guarantee the returns on rate and time, and if you wanted to do more down the road taking a run at the upside potential you could get into some of the longer term stuff ... (I’m turning a 100% return on a one year project next month).”⁷

Abramoff responded, “OK, let’s chat when we are next together. Meanwhile, let’s get some more fucking money!”⁸

² *Id.*

³ *Id.*

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Rodney Lane (GTG-E000011577) (March 15, 2002).

⁷ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000012012) (March 25, 2003). Scanlon might have been referring to his resale of an expensive five-bedroom canal-front home near Rehoboth, Delaware, he had bought in November 2001, apparently with Tribal proceeds, in one of that area’s most prestigious neighborhoods—reportedly for \$1,200,000 more than he paid. See Cris Barrish, *Abramoff cohort spent millions on Sussex homes—As a Rehoboth lifeguard last year, he made \$11.35 an hour*, The News Journal, May 14, 2006. Early in 2003, Scanlon also reportedly paid \$1,600,000 in cash for a home on Baltimore Avenue (across the street from where he ran his supposed international think tank, the American International Center) where he later opened offices. *Id.*

⁸ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-000012012) (March 25, 2003).

Making money was certainly nothing new to Abramoff. When he left the premier Washington, D.C. offices of the lobbying firm Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds in December 2000 for a relatively new Washington lobbying group at Greenberg Traurig, Abramoff brought with him a book of business worth more than \$6 million annually, according to Abramoff's own estimates.⁹ This helped Greenberg Traurig generate a 500 percent increase in lobbying fees over the previous year.¹⁰ With that increase, Greenberg Traurig reportedly vaulted into the top ten Washington lobbying firms—jumping from sixteenth place to fourth.¹¹ While Abramoff's impact on "K Street"¹² during this period is generally well-known, the precise nature of his relationship with Scanlon has been, until recently, a closely-held secret—concealed, most importantly from Abramoff and Scanlon's Tribal clients.

By February 5, 2004, time was running out for Abramoff and Scanlon's secret business arrangement. In a conference room at Greenberg Traurig, *Washington Post* reporter Susan Schmidt interviewed Abramoff on allegations that he and Scanlon may have bilked several Tribes out of millions of dollars in fees.¹³ With Abramoff were Greenberg Traurig spokesperson Jill Perry and associates Todd Boulanger, Kevin Ring, Allen Foster, and Jon van Horne.¹⁴ Things apparently heated-up quickly.

Schmidt began, "As I'm sure you know I'm working on a story about your work with some of these gaming tribes and your relationship with Mike Scanlon and his company and the work that the two of you have done in tandem for some of the tribes and so that's what I want to talk to you about ... So, I want to ask you, basically what your relationship is with his firm, well he's got several firms. As I understand it from the tribes that I've talked to, you guys work together and you recommend that they hire him."¹⁵

Abramoff deftly answered—truthfully but non-responsively: "In terms of Mike or any other third party, you know 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 and so probably best to have you go ahead and check directly with him and if you have specific questions again, we'll take them and we'll look at them, but in general I think we feel at liberty to discuss in general our practice, which we're delighted to do, with the tribes."¹⁶

Schmidt pushed: "Okay, but you basically recommend to these tribes that they hire him?"¹⁷

Once again, Abramoff strained to avoid answering the question, but was quickly running out of wiggle room: "We have recommended that different tribes hire different vendors for different

⁹John Bresnahan, *Jack Doubles Down*, Washington Business Forward, November/December 2002 (citing estimates provided by Abramoff).

¹⁰*Id.*

¹¹*Id.*

¹²"K Street" is a commonly used term for the numerous think tanks, lobbying firms, law firms and associations located on and around this major thoroughfare in Washington, D.C.

¹³See Email from Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000010599-614) (February 3, 2004) (embedding transcript of Abramoff interview with Schmidt).

¹⁴*Id.*

¹⁵*Id.*

¹⁶*Id.*

¹⁷*Id.*

needs that they might have. Again, I'm going to defer in terms of any discussion of Scanlon or his company or any specific third party vendor." ¹⁸

Schmidt pushed more: "Well, do you recommend his company and do you know what they are doing for the tribes and do you endorse what he's doing?" ¹⁹

Abramoff offered, "Well, again I think that some of this gets into the area of our confidential dealings with our clients so I'm happy, we'll go back and look at that question." ²⁰

Schmidt finally cut to the chase: "Do you have an ownership stake in Capitol Campaign Strategies or Scanlon Gould or any of Mike Scanlon's other ventures?" ²¹

Even a pregnant pause here might be looked on with some suspicion. So, Abramoff had no choice: "No. No, I don't..." ²²

As future events would soon reveal, this of course was a lie.

Perhaps mindful of his actual financial arrangement with Scanlon, which he withheld from Schmidt, Abramoff was very concerned about how the interview went. Among others, he wrote to Candace Patencio, an ally at the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. ²³ The next race for Chairman was the topic of conversation. Abramoff wrote, "I think you are right that we really need Richard [Milanovich] to beat [his opponent]. [His opponent] is poison. She has been feeding *The Washington Post* a hit piece about Scanlon and me. It's going to be horrible. It is so obvious it's her doing this too. Can't wait to see you on the 23rd." ²⁴

A couple of days later, on February 5, 2004, Abramoff's most senior associate, Todd Boulanger reached out to Abramoff and colleague Kevin Ring: "Someone on the [Saginaw Chippewa Tribal] council trashed us, our work, and [S]canlon ... We are going to get smoked here." ²⁵ He added, "[Abramoff] should [file suit for slander] ... after what happ[e]n[ed] a couple of months ago. We are dead." ²⁶

Likely appreciating that the thrust of the pending *Post* story was true, Abramoff could only offer, "Where are you now?" ²⁷

Boulanger answered, "Going to bed. I'm really [sic] in a terrible mood." ²⁸

Abramoff could only reply, "Me too." ²⁹

THE CONDUCT OF THE INVESTIGATION AND THE REPORT

On February 22, 2004, *The Washington Post* published Schmidt's article, entitled "A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes; Lobbying, PR Firms Paid \$45 Million Over 3 Years." Based on the allegations of misconduct made by several Tribes documented in the *Post* article, then-Chairman Ben Nighthorse Campbell of the Senate Com-

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² *Id.*

²³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente of Cahuilla Band (GTG-E000057926) (February 3, 2004).

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Kevin Ring, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000028537) (February 5, 2004).

²⁶ *Id.* (ellipses in original).

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

mittee on Indian Affairs, authorized then-Ranking Majority Member John McCain to conduct an investigation of these matters. Following Senator Campbell's retirement at the end of the 108th Congress, Senator McCain continued the investigation during the 109th Congress, as Chairman of the Committee. Ultimately, the Committee examined Abramoff and Scanlon's dealings with six tribes: the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas and the Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico.

While a Department of Justice task force reportedly began a parallel inquiry into related matters, the Committee sought to answer several questions, including but not limited to the following: (1) are the Tribes' allegations of misconduct regarding Abramoff and Scanlon true; (2) if so, how much did those Tribes pay Abramoff and Scanlon's partnership, as well as third-parties at their direction, as a result of that misconduct; and (3) did those Tribes receive the intended benefit of the tens of millions of dollars that they paid Scanlon and Abramoff. With this Report, the Committee attempts to set forth definitive conclusions and the bases for those conclusions regarding each of those areas, and others.

After an intensive two-year investigation—consisting of five hearings, 70 formal requests for documents, including subpoenas, resulting in the production of about 750,000 pages; and about 60 depositions and witness interviews,³⁰ the Committee found that, as Scanlon's secret partner, Abramoff received about half of the profit that Scanlon collected from the \$66 million in fees he obtained from six of his Tribal clients from 2001 through 2003.

Principally, this Report focuses on allegations of misconduct made by the covered Tribes. Generally, those allegations relate to the activities of entities owned or controlled by Abramoff and/or Scanlon, including Capitol Campaign Strategies, the American International Center and the Capital Athletic Foundation. This Report also addresses payments that those Tribes made at Abramoff or Scanlon's direction to particular third parties—payments that were apparently used by third parties, like the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, for purposes unintended by the Tribes. While some of the Tribes have expressed concern about discreet billing anomalies, those Tribes have generally not alleged wrongdoing arising from the federal lobbying activities of Greenberg Traurig, the firm with which Abramoff was associated. Therefore, this Report does not address those activities.

Also beyond the scope of this Report is an in depth discussion of the internal political or organizational conditions within each of the

³⁰Where witnesses whom the Committee interviewed were not put under oath, they were reminded of the applicability of the False Statements Act, 18 U.S.C. sec. 1001, and the federal criminal statute prohibiting the obstruction of congressional investigations, under 18 U.S.C. sec. 1505. Because all witness interviews and depositions were conducted in executive session, the Committee will not release summaries or transcripts of those proceedings *in toto* unless said release is duly authorized.

In the course of the Committee's investigation, several witnesses declined to provide the Committee with important information under oath, citing their right against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, or indicated that they intended to assert their Fifth Amendment right if called to testify. These witnesses include not only Abramoff and Scanlon but also former Abramoff associates Todd Boulanger, Kevin Ring, Shawn Vassell, and Neil Volz as well as former Scanlon associate Christopher Cathcart. Cathcart did, however, submit to several informal interviews with staff.

Tribes that may have rendered them susceptible to exploitation by Abramoff and Scanlon. Those are internal Tribal matters.

Part I of this Report, presented in chapters relating to each Tribe, provides the factual background as to how each Tribe came to hire Abramoff and Scanlon and discusses how Abramoff and Scanlon's representation of those Tribes caused unique harm to each of them. After these chapters, the Report explicates Abramoff and Scanlon's "gimme five" arrangement and how it injured the Tribes generally. Each chapter in Part II addresses these issues by focusing on the relevant "gimme five" entity. Part III of this Report discusses ancillary issues that have arisen during the course of the investigation, namely, the Tribes' payment of money to a non-profit called the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy ("CREA"). Finally, Part IV of the Report contains the Committee's recommendations flowing from its investigation.

COMMITTEE ACTION

On June 12, 2006, the Committee invited Members and any duly designated staff to review a completed draft of the Report in anticipation of a business meeting to be convened for the purpose of voting the Report out of Committee and filing it with the Senate. It also gave Members the opportunity to accept a confidential copy of the draft in their offices on June 20, 2006. On June 22, 2006, the Committee held a business meeting, at which time it voted 13 to 0 to approve this Report and file it with the Senate. Voting with the majority were Senators McCain, Dorgan, Domenici, Thomas, Smith, Murkowski, Crapo, Burr, Coburn, Conrad, Akaka, Johnson, Cantwell. No Members voted in the negative. Senator Inouye submitted additional views.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

After (or at the same time when) several Tribes hired Abramoff as their federal lobbyist, Abramoff urged some of them to hire Scanlon to provide grassroots support. Abramoff, however, failed to disclose that he and Scanlon were partners. Evidence obtained over the course of a two-year investigation indicates that Abramoff and Scanlon had agreed to secretly split, between themselves, fees that the Tribes paid Scanlon from 2001 through 2003. Abramoff and Scanlon referred to this arrangement as “gimme five.”

As a general proposition, the scheme involved the following: getting each of the Tribes to hire Scanlon as their grassroots specialist; dramatically overcharging them for grassroots and related activities; setting aside for themselves an unconscionable percentage of what the Tribes paid at a grossly inflated rate—a rate wholly unrelated to the actual cost of services provided; and using the remaining fraction to reimburse scores of vendors that could help them maintain *vis-a-vis* the Tribes a continuing appearance of competence. One example of this fee-splitting arrangement arises from a payment of \$1,900,000 from the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan. On or about July 9, 2002, Scanlon assured Abramoff, “800 for you[,] 800 for me[,] 250 for the effort the other 50 went to the plane and misc expenses. We both have an additional 500 coming when they pay the next phasem [sic].” Indeed, on July 12, 2002, after that payment arrived, Scanlon made three payments to Abramoff, including a payment of \$800,000.

In some cases, Abramoff and Scanlon obtained lobbying and grassroots contracts by insinuating themselves into Tribal Council elections and assisting with the campaigns of candidates who were calculated to support their proposals. In other cases, Abramoff and Scanlon were even more aggressive, for example, helping to shut down the casino of one Tribe, only to pitch their services—for millions of dollars—to help that same, now desperate Tribe reopen its casino.

Typically, the most expensive element of Scanlon’s proposals to the Tribes related to a purportedly elaborate political database. But, in all cases, it appears that the degree to which Scanlon marked-up his actual costs was unconscionable. For example, while Scanlon told the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana that their “political” database would cost \$1,345,000, he ended up paying the vendor that actually developed, operated and maintained that database about \$104,560. The dramatic mark-ups were intended to accommodate Scanlon’s secret 50/50 split with Abramoff.

In total, six tribes paid Scanlon’s companies, in particular a company called Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”) (which also did business as Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Scanlon Public Affairs), at least \$66,000,000 over the three-year period. By the Committee’s reckoning, each Tribe paid CCS as follows: the Mississippi

Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”), \$14,745,650; the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”), \$26,695,500; the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (“Saginaw Chippewa”), \$10,007,000; the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (“Agua Caliente”), \$7,200,000; the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (“Tigua”), \$4,200,000; and the Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico (“Pueblo of Sandia”), \$2,750,000. Of that \$66,000,000, Abramoff secretly collected from Scanlon, through (among other entities) an entity called Kaygold, about \$24,000,000. This constituted about one-half of Scanlon’s total profit from the Tribes.

The \$66,000,000 figure includes only those payments made by the Tribes to Scanlon for grassroots activities. The total cost of doing business with Abramoff and Scanlon was actually much higher. To determine that cost, one must add to the \$66,000,000 figure, payments made by the Tribes to the lobbying firms with which Abramoff was associated and payments made by the Tribes directly to other entities owned or controlled by Abramoff, such as the Capital Athletic Foundation (“CAF”), or by Scanlon, such as the American International Center (“AIC”).³¹

Most of the money that the Tribes paid Scanlon appears to have been used by Scanlon and Abramoff for purely personal purposes—purposes unintended by the Tribes. Generally, Abramoff seems to have used his share of the proceeds he received from Scanlon to float his restaurant ventures and, through CAF, operate his Jewish boys’ school in Maryland. Likewise, Scanlon seems to have used his share to purchase real estate and other investments. The Committee, therefore, finds that most of the Tribes received little of the intended benefit for the significant sums they paid to Scanlon and that most of the money paid by the Tribes was used for purposes unintended by the Tribes. Against that backdrop, understanding under what circumstances the Tribes paid Scanlon becomes important.

Probably Abramoff’s most valued Tribal client was the Choctaw. Since 1995, when the Choctaw first hired Abramoff, a history of dramatic victories emerged, with Abramoff successfully advocating the Tribe’s sovereignty and anti-tax interests before Congress. In many instances, Abramoff had the Tribe use conduits to conceal its grassroots activities from the world—activities often conducted by former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed. After this history of success, in early 2001, things changed. Following Abramoff’s guidance, the Tribe hired Scanlon. And, to implement its grassroots strategies, the Tribe, at Abramoff and Scanlon’s direction, paid to or through conduits owned or controlled by Abramoff and Scanlon. As an example of how much Scanlon sought from the Choctaw, he had the Tribe pay him \$4,500,000 for efforts related to a single program—a grandiose idea Scanlon called “Operation Orange.” During the relevant period, Abramoff manipulated the Tribe into funding, among other things, a much reported golfing trip to Scotland. The Tribe thought that its money, which it

³¹ According to records in the Committee’s possession, two of Abramoff’s Tribal clients made payments to the AIC: the Choctaw, \$2,655,654 and the Coushatta, \$3,653,200. So, the total that all of Abramoff’s Tribal clients paid the AIC was \$6,308,854. During the relevant period, Scanlon paid Abramoff through the AIC a total of \$991,000 and an additional \$950,000 through another entity that he controlled, called Atlantic Research & Analysis.

paid to a non-profit on whose board Abramoff sat, would be used for anti-tax and other policy work. At the end of the day, having collected about \$15,000,000 from the Choctaw during the relevant period, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$6,364,000—about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe.

Specifically citing the work he had done for the Choctaw, Abramoff subsequently secured contracts for himself and Scanlon from the Louisiana Coushatta. Regrettably, of all the Tribes that hired Scanlon, the Louisiana Coushatta ended up paying Scanlon the most. Initially, the Tribe hired Scanlon to help with its compact renegotiations with the State of Louisiana. But, after having successfully done so, Scanlon dramatically expanded his scope of work, which ranged from squelching supposedly ubiquitous threats to the Tribal casino's customer market share to supposedly getting the "right" candidates elected to the Louisiana State Legislature. To its detriment, the Tribe trusted Abramoff and Scanlon's expertise in Indian gaming and were captured by their lure of making the Coushatta "the Choctaw of Louisiana." Accordingly, it deferred to Abramoff and Scanlon's judgment when they recommended that it fund very expensive grassroots campaigns. Ultimately, having collected about \$30,000,000 from the Louisiana Coushatta during the relevant period, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$11,450,000—about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe. This includes a payment of \$1,000,000 that Abramoff and Scanlon manipulated the Tribe into paying to Abramoff's private charity, the Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF").

Abramoff and Scanlon's efforts to sign on the Saginaw Chippewa and the Agua Caliente as clients are notable. With both Tribes, Abramoff and Scanlon insinuated themselves into Tribal Council elections to maximize their chance of getting hired afterwards. In particular, they provided, among other things, strategic advice and material support to some of the candidates. Those who ran in the Saginaw Chippewa election called themselves the "Slate of 8." The weight of evidence obtained by the Committee indicates that, in both the Saginaw Chippewa and Agua Caliente cases, those candidates who were elected to the Council with Abramoff and Scanlon's assistance ultimately supported Abramoff and Scanlon's contract proposals because of, or in exchange for, the assistance that Abramoff and Scanlon provided them.

Key to Abramoff and Scanlon's success in getting contracts with the Saginaw Chippewa and the Agua Caliente was the assistance of non-Tribal Members Christopher Petras and Michael Chapman, respectively. In the course of the Tribe's dealings with Abramoff and Scanlon, Abramoff and Scanlon apparently provided each things of value. Evidence indicates that, over the course of Abramoff and Scanlon's representation of the Saginaw Chippewa, Abramoff and Scanlon provided Petras with a great deal of attention during his frequent trips to Washington, D.C. (which, with private cars, tickets to sporting events and concerts, meals at posh restaurants, and meetings with prominent personalities, one former Abramoff associate described as a "dog and pony show") and some favors. Likewise, for the services that Chapman provided Abramoff and Scanlon over the course of the Agua Caliente retainer, Chapman received about \$271,482.

From June 2002 through October 2003, the Saginaw Chippewa paid Scanlon about \$3,500,000 for among other things “a strategy for making [the Tribe] the most dominant political entity in Michigan” that Scanlon called “Operation Redwing.” Of those proceeds, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$540,000—about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe during this period. Similarly, from the Agua Caliente, Scanlon collected about \$7,200,000 from the Agua Caliente during the relevant period and appears to have secretly split about 50 percent of his total profit from that Tribe with Abramoff.

How Abramoff and Scanlon had the Tigua hire them was particularly aggressive. In late 2001 through early 2002, (largely with the assistance of Ralph Reed) Abramoff and Scanlon successfully helped Texas authorities shut the Tigua’s casino down, as violating federal law. Despite the fact that the Louisiana Coushatta’s casino was in southwest Louisiana and the Tigua’s was in El Paso, Texas, Abramoff and Scanlon succeeded in persuading the Louisiana Coushatta that the Tigua posed a threat to its customer market share. So, the Louisiana Coushatta largely funded the grassroots effort to help close their casino.

Having succeeded in helping shut down the Tribe’s casino, Abramoff and Scanlon then pitched their services to help reopen it. In pitching their services, Abramoff offered to represent the Tribe on a *pro bono* basis if it hired Scanlon for millions of dollars to provide grassroots support for his federal lobbying effort. He did so without telling the Tribe of his financial arrangement with Scanlon.

After they signed the Tigua on as a client, Abramoff and Scanlon promised to, among other things, insert language allowing the Tribe to re-open its casino. Cumulatively, Scanlon called this plan “Operation Open Doors.” Abramoff and Scanlon were ultimately unsuccessful, despite that they collected (and split between themselves) millions of dollars from the Tribe. Having collected about \$4,200,000 from the Tigua during the relevant period, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$1,850,000—about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe.

The Pueblo of Sandia hired Abramoff and Scanlon to help them with the lobbying aspects of a legal dispute related to Sandia Mountain, revered by the Tribe as sacred. Abramoff pitched his and Scanlon’s services as a “package deal,” actually insisting that the Tribe hire Scanlon as its public relations specialist. He even offered to reduce Greenberg Traurig’s retainer in contemplation of the Tribe’s hiring Scanlon, but insisted that Scanlon’s asking price could not be reduced further because his “10 percent profit margin” was “locked in.” After having paid Scanlon about \$2,750,000 for grassroots work intended to support Abramoff’s federal lobbying effort, the Tribe became dissatisfied with the quality of Scanlon’s effort and ceased the representation. From those proceeds that Scanlon collected from the Pueblo Sandia during the relevant period, on information and belief, Scanlon secretly split about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe, with Abramoff.

A couple of “gimme five” entities—entities owned or controlled by Abramoff or Scanlon that they used in their kickback scheme—are especially worth noting. One is an “international think tank” called

the American International Center ("AIC"). With two of Scanlon's beach buddies sitting on its board, AIC's purpose was actually to collect fees associated with activities conducted by others and, in some cases, divert those fees to entities owned or controlled by Scanlon or Abramoff. In other words, AIC was a sham. From 2001 through 2003, the Choctaw and the Coushatta paid AIC about \$6,308,854. While much of this money went to vendors such as Reed as intended (to conduct grassroots activities supportive of several Tribes' gaming interests), millions did not.

CAF, Abramoff's private charity, is a particularly interesting "gimme five" entity. In total, four of the Tribes paid CAF about \$2,075,000. The totals for each Tribe is as follows: the Louisiana Coushatta, \$1,000,000; the Choctaw, \$1,000,000; the Saginaw Chipewewa, \$25,000; and the Alabama Coushatta, \$50,000, which was not even a client. Evidence obtained by the Committee indicates that Abramoff treated CAF as his own personal slush fund, using CAF for a number of activities wholly unrelated to its charitable mission and tax-exempt status. Such activities included, for example, evading taxes, financing lobbying activities and purchasing military-related equipment.

In 2001, the single largest contributor to CAF was the Louisiana Coushatta, supposedly giving CAF \$1,000,000. However, the Tribe never intended to make a charitable contribution to CAF. While it thought that its money was going to fund its grassroots activities, the money simply padded the coffers of CAF for Abramoff's discretionary use.

In 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon manipulated the Choctaw into sending directly and indirectly \$2,000,000 to CAF, making the Choctaw CAF's largest donor that year. However, the Choctaw never intended to contribute to CAF. The Tribe thought that its payments to CAF were going to pass through to grassroots organizations working to oppose the expansion of gaming in the Tribe's customer market. The Tribe's money was not used for its intended purpose.

As described above, Abramoff also deceived the Saginaw Chipewewa into paying \$25,000 to CAF that year. While the Tribe was led to believe that CAF "create[d] programs that teach leadership skills to disadvantaged youth in the D.C.-area in an effort to keep them off the streets and enhance their educational opportunities" and was a charity important to an important Member of Congress, the Tribe's "donation" was used to partially fund a widely publicized golf trip to Scotland for Congressman Bob Ney and others.

For 2003, CAF's tax records do not list any Tribe as a donor. However, substantial evidence indicates that a \$47,891 contribution to CAF listed as having been made by Abramoff's corporate alter ego, Kaygold, and a \$950,000 contribution from a Scanlon-controlled entity called Atlantic Research & Analysis ("ARA") were actually funds from some of the Tribes, paid as a result of Abramoff and Scanlon's manipulation.

Among the third parties that Abramoff had some of his Tribal clients pay money was an environmental organization called the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy ("CREA"). From 2001 through 2003, Abramoff managed to have these Tribes "contribute" at least \$250,000 to CREA, sometimes under false pre-

tenses. The Coushatta, for example, paid CREA \$25,000 to help the Department of the Interior with a “national park study,” which was apparently never conducted. Likewise, the Saginaw Chippewa made a \$25,000 donation, having been told that former Interior Secretary Gale Norton was “involved” with and supported CREA and that supporting such “a project” that the Secretary was involved with would “look good” for the Tribe. In both cases, the Tribes were deceived.

In any event, with the possible exception of the Choctaw, the Committee has found no evidence that those Tribes that gave to CREA did so because of any interest in CREA’s mission. In fact, Abramoff apparently had his clients contribute to CREA, described by CREA president Italia Federici as a “mom and pop” operation, because he believed that Federici would help him possibly influence tribal issues pending at the Department of the Interior. Ample evidence indicates that she repeatedly told Abramoff that she would talk with a particular senior Interior official to help ensure that the concerns of Abramoff’s clients were addressed. However, what she, or her working contact at Interior, former Deputy Secretary J. Steven Griles, actually did at Interior for the benefit of Abramoff’s Tribal clients, remains unclear.

PART ONE—FACT SUMMARY BY TRIBE

CHAPTER I

MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS

Lets [sic] do this, lets [sic] plan a swing to the big three [Choctaw, Coushatta, and Saginaw] as soon as is convenient to go over existing operations and hit them for new ones—Ill [sic] start working gup [sic] the reports (choctas [sic] is almost done) and the new proposals. We will take two maybe three days and take no prisoners—we are coming home with a bag of cash.

Email from Michael Scanlon to Jack Abramoff, May 31, 2002.

You know, it's the lack of care for people and just the personal greed. And who knows? I don't understand that point of view.

Nell Rogers on Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, April 29, 2005.

A. INTRODUCTION

When the Committee first began this investigation in February 2004, many of Jack Abramoff's and Michael Scanlon's long-time friends and clients came to their defense. Among them were Chief Phillip Martin and the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw"). Six months into the Committee's investigation, however, Chief Martin wrote to Senators John McCain and Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who were leading the investigation:

In light of information we have recently obtained from various sources, it now appears that our Tribe may in fact have been the victim of serious wrongdoing by Abramoff and Scanlon. Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your Committee's work on this matter.¹

Indeed, of all the Tribes that Abramoff and Scanlon betrayed, their misdeeds were perhaps most painful for the Choctaw, which Abramoff had represented for nearly a decade. Nell Rogers, the Tribal planner who had dealt most closely with Abramoff and Scanlon, gave an impassioned, tearful account during her interview with Committee staff:

STAFF: If Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon were sitting in this room today and you had a chance to look them in the eye, what would you tell them?

¹ Letter from Chief Phillip Martin, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, to Chairman Ben Nighthorse Campbell, and Ranking Majority Member John McCain, Committee on Indian Affairs (no Bates number) (August 9, 2004).

ROGERS: I would tell them that—there are a lot of things that I could say about being angry or bitter. But I think the worst is that they betrayed the tribe. They betrayed the Chief who had a great deal of confidence in them. They betrayed me ... But I think at the end of the day, it's the betrayal that's worse. And I think of the people whose lives they've destroyed. I think of all those young kids who worked at Greenberg and Preston Gates with them, who, fairly or unfairly, are going to have to bear that burden. And I think about the other tribes. I mean, you know, let's face it. The tribes they dealt with were not the poorest of the poor tribes. Of all those tribes, Choctaw, though, probably has the greatest needs, the biggest tribe, was the poorest tribe. And they used the success they had with Choctaw to gain entree with the other tribes. You know, not only did they betray Choctaw but they betrayed the tribe's good name and Chief's reputation. And, you know, Phillip Martin has spent his life working for not only this tribe but for Indian people. And for him to have to be smeared like this is intolerable. I've spent my whole life working. You know, it's the lack—it's the lack of care for people and just the personal greed. And who knows? I don't understand that point of view.²

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians is a federally recognized Indian tribe of nearly 10,000 members, most of whom reside on eight reservation communities located on trust lands scattered over a five-county area in East-Central Mississippi.³ The Tribal capital is in Choctaw, Mississippi.⁴ The majority of Tribal members are full-blood, Choctaw language speaking.⁵

The Choctaw Indians are the descendants of those Choctaw people who resisted efforts by the Federal Government around 1830–1840 to remove them to Oklahoma, then known as Indian Territory.⁶ Although the Choctaw chose to stay in Mississippi, they did not receive their initial reservation lands until 1944 and it was not until the following year that they were federally recognized.⁷

The Tribe has developed a stable governmental structure providing a full panoply of governmental services.⁸ These include a school system, police and fire protection services, courts, hospitals, clinics, and housing.⁹

² Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005). During his interview, Chief Phillip Martin expressed similar feelings of betrayal caused by Abramoff and Scanlon. Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

³ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 52 (June 22, 2005) (prepared statement of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians).

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

For many years the Choctaw struggled to survive. By 1964, ninety percent of the Tribe's population lived in poverty.¹⁰ The Choctaw's situation improved when Chief Phillip Martin began a campaign to bring economic development to the reservation.¹¹ The Choctaw are unusual in their development because they first gained economic success through their non-gaming business ventures, before opening the Silver Star Hotel and Casino in 1994.¹² In 2000, the Tribe announced an expansion to include another casino, the Golden Moon, and a shopping complex.¹³

The Tribe now is the third largest employer in Mississippi, employing nearly 9,200 people in 25 different enterprises including greeting card manufacturing, wiring harness production for the automotive industry, a nursing home, and a world renowned golf course, the Dancing Rabbit.¹⁴ The annual Tribal payroll is over \$1,237,000 and covers many non-member employees.¹⁵

C. BACKGROUND ON ABRAMOFF AND THE TRIBE'S RELATIONSHIP— BUILDING TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

The Choctaw have long enjoyed a government-to-government relationship with the Federal Government, particularly with the United States Congress.¹⁶ In the beginning, Chief Martin of the Choctaw preferred to lobby Congress himself.¹⁷

That changed in 1994. Either through retirement or defeat, many of the Members of Congress who provided the institutional memory on American Indian issues were gone.¹⁸ At the same time, the opening of the Choctaw's Silver Star Hotel and Casino in 1994 gave rise to an array of new issues and concerns that required the Tribe to track and address them at the federal level.¹⁹

Moreover, tribes apparently began to see a slew of proposed legislation they believed were inimical to their interests.²⁰ One of the first major initiatives came from the U.S. House of Representatives, in a bill seeking to apply the unrelated business income tax ("UBIT") to tribal enterprises.²¹ Confronted with this legislation

¹⁰ *Choctaw Chronology* (visited March 21, 2006) <<http://www.choctaw.org/history/chronology.htm>> (providing a detailed chronology of Choctaw history).

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 52 (June 22, 2005) (prepared statement of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians); *Economic Development History How We Got Here* (visited March 21, 2006) <http://www.choctaw.org/economics/tribal_business_overview.htm> (providing an overview of the Choctaw's economic development).

¹⁵ *Economic Development History How We Got Here* (visited March 21, 2006) <http://www.choctaw.org/economics/tribal_business_overview.htm> (providing an overview of the Choctaw's economic development).

¹⁶ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁷ Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005); Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 12 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians).

²⁰ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

²¹ *Id.*

and a sea of unknown faces in Congress, the Choctaw decided to hire outside lobbyists.²²

Coincidentally, around the same time, Nell Rogers, the Tribe's planner responsible for legislative affairs, was speaking with a friend in California who knew Abramoff's father.²³ Aware that Abramoff had once been a Republican activist, Rogers' friend suggested she speak with Abramoff.²⁴

Through further due diligence, Chief Martin and Rogers learned that Abramoff worked for Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds ("Preston Gates"), and that Meeds was former Congressman Lloyd Meeds from Washington State.²⁵ The Choctaw had known and respected Meeds during his tenure in Congress, as a member of at least one House committee that had jurisdiction over Indian issues.²⁶ The Tribe decided to contact Preston Gates.²⁷

After a brief telephone call, Meeds and Abramoff traveled to the Choctaw reservation.²⁸ There they made a presentation about their firm's capabilities and connections, and discussed the Tribe's legislative concerns.²⁹ Rogers was extremely fascinated by how Abramoff proposed mobilizing other groups to assist the Choctaw in its legislative battle: "I came away thinking this is really different and unusual. It was. It was an unusual approach that you would engage other groups to help you in a campaign to say 'these are good guys.'"³⁰

After the meeting, Chief Martin and Rogers concluded that the Choctaw needed to educate the new members of Congress about Indian Country and the issues it faced.³¹ They therefore hired Preston Gates.³² The issues on which Preston Gates would lobby were not limited to the UBIT. At the time, Rogers recalled, there seemed to be daily issues emerging that adversely affected tribes, a "sea change of proposals" that were "hostile to the tribes."³³

To help the Choctaw in its campaign to educate the new Members of Congress, Abramoff mobilized his friends and colleagues at various think tanks and grassroots organizations. The Preston Gates team recast the issue from an Indian issue into a tax issue.³⁴ Abramoff then enlisted the aid of his long term friend and anti-tax activist Grover Norquist and his organization Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR"), which, according to its website, "opposes all tax increases as a matter of principle" and serves as "a national clearinghouse for the grassroots taxpayers movement."³⁵

According to one document in the Committee's possession, Abramoff described ATR as "an effective conduit of support for

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.* Rogers' friend had actually attended a fundraiser that Abramoff's father had thrown in support of Abramoff's bid for the Chair of the College Republican National Committee. *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ *Id.*

³² *Id.*

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ See Jim Vandehei, *Rain Dance, Mississippi's Choctaw Find an Unlikely Ally In a GOP Stalwart*, *The Wall Street Journal*, July 3, 2000.

³⁵ *ATR opposes all tax increases as a matter of principle.* (visited May 21, 2006) <<http://www.atr.org/home/about/index.html>>.

other groups which have provided assistance to Indian gaming's efforts to fight the tax proposal."³⁶ There were a number of anti-tax grassroots groups in various states, and "it was ATR's job to make contacts with those groups, to assist them in making contacts with members of the Ways and Means Committee or other committee members."³⁷ The Choctaw apparently paid ATR a total of \$60,000 in 1996 to oppose the UBIT tax.³⁸

Abramoff and his colleagues at Preston Gates eventually succeeded in their efforts, and the UBIT tax failed in the Senate.³⁹

Three years later, however, the Choctaw were still battling congressional attempts to tax its Tribal revenue. In so doing, in September 1999, the Choctaw paid ATR another \$25,000.⁴⁰ Rogers believed that the payment was in furtherance of ATR's opposition to a sales tax issue at the time.⁴¹ According to Rogers: "Well, we did not support the general work of ATR unless we had a tax issue. That's what I mean by saying general work. We would have expected them to take a position opposing—we did expect them to take a position opposing the sales tax."⁴²

On this issue, Abramoff enlisted other allies. The Choctaw paid Americans for Economic Growth ("AEG") \$45,000 in 1999 for its work opposing the sales tax.⁴³ The payments were intended for grassroots work and the anti-tax program in 1999.⁴⁴ Rogers understood that AEG would be "contacting their supporters, contacting members of Congress" and "staffers that they might have known to talk to them about the tribe—this was after they had been to visit [the Choctaw reservation]—to let them know what the tribe was about. That was our understanding of what they would do."⁴⁵

The outside groups were not limited to grassroots organizations. Abramoff put together visits to the Choctaw reservation for reporters and public policy groups, with the goal of demonstrating the Tribe's success in an environment unfettered by unnecessary gov-

³⁶ February 22, 1996, List of Suggested Contributions, Republicans and Conservative Organizations (GTG-E000106655-57)

³⁷ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27-29, 2005).

³⁸ *Id.* This apparently was not the only time that Abramoff and his clients had sought to hire Norquist and ATR. During the UBIT battle for the Choctaw, Abramoff discussed with a colleague the possibility of Brown Forman, a company in the wine and spirits business, retaining Norquist as a lobbyist:

I spoke this evening with Grover. He said that, if they want the taxpayer movement, including him, involved on this issue and anything else which will come up over the course of the year or so, they need to become a major player with ATR. He recommended that they make a \$50,000 contribution to ATR. It seems that, on another "sin tax" matter, he is getting a similarly large contribution to get involved. ... He would prefer donations to ATR.

Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Mark Ruge, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E000106493) (October 22, 1995). Abramoff said that keeping the arrangement with Norquist and ATR secret was important. After all, Abramoff wrote, "[w]e do not want opponents to think that we are trying to buy the tax payer [sic] movement." Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Pamela Garvie, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (Greenberg Traurig production) (GTG-E000106492) (October 24, 1995).

³⁹ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27-29, 2005).

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

ernment regulation.⁴⁶ One group that visited the reservation was the National Center for Public Policy Research (“NCPPr”), which was headed by long-time Abramoff friend Amy Ridenour. Ridenour visited the Tribe, “wrote some articles about the tribe, the tribe’s economic development, cultural preservation of the tribal community. And we had made a contribution—had said that we would make a contribution to the National Center.”⁴⁷ The Tribe paid NCPPr \$5,000 in 1999.⁴⁸ Others who attended were representatives from think tanks including Doug Bandow from the Cato Institute.⁴⁹

The Choctaw’s campaign against the sales tax was ultimately successful.

The UBIT and sales tax issues were only two among the many issues on which Abramoff and his team lobbied for the Choctaw. As time passed, and Abramoff and his team repeatedly succeeded in their lobbying efforts for the Choctaw, the Tribe developed a great deal of trust and confidence in Abramoff and his capabilities.⁵⁰ Another Abramoff trait that engendered trust with the Choctaw was that he “always presented himself as a deeply religious person ... his conversations were spiked with references to a good cause or working for a good cause. And he talked quite a bit about his religious beliefs and what he could and what he couldn’t do.”⁵¹

It was during the UBIT battle that Abramoff assumed primary responsibility for the Choctaw account.⁵² In fact, he remained ultimately responsible for the account throughout his tenure at Preston Gates and, later, at Greenberg Traurig.⁵³

D. SUBSTANTIAL FEES AND CONDUITS—SETTING THE STAGE FOR SCANLON

As the Tribe’s trust and confidence in Abramoff grew, Rogers would often discuss with Abramoff issues affecting the Tribe, both at a local and national level.⁵⁴ In 1999, Rogers and Abramoff discussed various legislative proposals in Mississippi and elsewhere that threatened the market share of the Choctaw’s casino operations, and which the Tribe wanted to somehow counter.⁵⁵ It just so happened that a few months earlier, Ralph Reed, the former executive director of the Christian Coalition and one of Abramoff’s long-time friends, had reached out to Abramoff: “Hey, now that I’m done with electoral politics, I need to start humping in corporate accounts! I’m counting on you to help me with some contacts.”⁵⁶ Abramoff saw an opportunity: he suggested a grassroots effort and

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.* According to one news article, Bandow resigned from the Cato Institute, after admitting he received money from Abramoff to write between 12 and 24 articles in the mid ’90s addressing topics important to Abramoff’s clients. Eamon Javers, *Op-Eds for Sale*, BusinessWeek Online, December 16, 2005.

⁵⁰ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG–E000079102) (November 12, 1998).

recommended the Choctaw hire Reed to orchestrate an anti-gaming effort.⁵⁷

The Tribe agreed to hire Reed to mobilize grassroots opposition to various legislative proposals throughout the Gulf Coast⁵⁸ that would have increased gaming, thereby diminishing the Choctaw casino's market share.⁵⁹ No one from the Choctaw had any direct contact with Reed; rather, Abramoff served as the liaison with Reed and his firm, which eventually became a subcontractor to Preston Gates.⁶⁰

In March 1999, Abramoff and his associate, Shawn Vasell, spoke with Reed about the Choctaw's grassroots needs.⁶¹ According to a draft engagement letter from Reed to Abramoff, Reed was hired to defeat a bill that had passed the Alabama House of Representatives "authorizing dog tracks in the state to install video poker and other casino-style games on their sites."⁶² Reed promised to "build a strong grassroots network across the state against the extension of video poker and [REDACTION]."⁶³ He claimed that no firm had better relationships than his with the grassroots conservatives in Alabama, including the Alabama Christian Coalition, the Alabama Family Alliance, the Alabama Eagle Forum, the Christian Family Association, and "leading evangelical pastors such as Frank Barker of Briarwood Presbyterian Church in Birmingham."⁶⁴ Reed boasted that "Century Strategies has on file over 3,000 pastors and 90,000 religious conservative households in Alabama that can be accessed in this effort."⁶⁵

Reed promised to leverage his contacts for the Tribe:

Working closely with your existing team at Preston Gates, we can play on [sic] operational role in building a strong anti-video poker grassroots structure that will leverage the considerable contacts and reputation of our principals within Alabama, the conservative faith community, and state elected officials.⁶⁶

Reed proposed a \$20,000 monthly retainer for his services, and ended his letter by writing, "We look forward to bringing about the desired results for you."⁶⁷

After receiving Reed's proposed engagement agreement, Abramoff responded, "Ralph, I spoke with Nell this evening. She wants much more specifics. They are not scared of the number, but

⁵⁷ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁵⁸ The Committee has seen no evidence that the Choctaw undertook or authorized any work by Abramoff or Scanlon, or anyone else, to oppose gaming in other Southern states, such as Louisiana and Texas.

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Shawn Vasell, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG–E000111956) (March 26, 1999).

⁶² Ralph Reed document production (Bates number 5908–09) (March 26, 1999) (letter from Ralph Reed to Jack Abramoff).

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ *Id.*

want to know precisely what you are planning to do for this amount.”⁶⁸

When Reed told Abramoff he was devoting half his staff to the project for two weeks, but needed the green light to begin, Abramoff directed:

Please page me with a page of no more than 90 words ... informing me of your completion of the budget and giving me a total budget figure with category breakdowns. Once I get this, I will call Nell at Choctaw and get it approved.⁶⁹

On April 6, 1999, Abramoff informed Reed that he “spoke with our managing partner [at Preston Gates] and he has approved the subcontractor arrangement” and instructed Reed to “get me invoices as soon as possible so I can get Choctaw to get us checks asap.”⁷⁰

When Abramoff believed he could not get money quickly enough to Reed, Abramoff suggested that the Choctaw pay Reed directly: “Ralph, I am not sure that I can get this wire moving fast enough today. Give me your wire info and I’ll do what I can.”⁷¹ Abramoff then asked, “Any chance that a wire from Choctaw directly would be OK?”⁷² Reed’s response is unknown; however, the Committee has seen no evidence that the Choctaw paid Reed or his firms directly.

By mid-April, things were moving. In an e-mail entitled “Disbursement on behalf of Choctaw Indians,” Abramoff assured Reed that the money was on its way.⁷³ Using the Choctaw’s money, Reed paid for grassroots activities including, telemarketing (patch-through, tape-recorded messages and call-to-action phone calls), targeted mail, legislative counsel and local management, rallies, petitions, “voter contact, television and radio production, the remainder of phones, the statewide fly-around, the pastor’s and activist rally, the church bulletin inserts, and other items.”⁷⁴

Reed also claimed that he was leveraging his contacts within the Christian community for the Choctaw’s benefit. Reed reported to Abramoff that there would be “a saturation statewide radio buy with a new ad by Jim Dobson that he will record tomorrow.”⁷⁵ Reed assured Abramoff, “We are opening the bomb bay doors and holding nothing back. If victory is possible, we will achieve it,”⁷⁶ and, one day later, again promised, “All systems are go on our end and nothing is being held back.”⁷⁷

⁶⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000111956) (March 29, 1999).

⁶⁹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000111992) (April 4, 1999).

⁷⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (Bates number 7029) (April 6, 1999) (Ralph Reed document production).

⁷¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000111977) (April 9, 1999).

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000111974) (April 12, 1999).

⁷⁴ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E000112006) (April 21, 1999).

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E000112006) (April 22, 1999).

By May 10, 1999, the Choctaw had paid Reed \$1,300,000 through Preston Gates, with another \$50,000 outstanding.⁷⁸ For reasons unclear to the Committee, in late 1999 the Tribe discontinued paying Reed through Preston Gates. Rogers recalled that there came a time when either Reed or Preston Gates (or both) became uneasy about money being passed through Preston Gates to Reed.⁷⁹ Abramoff thus searched for another conduit.

Abramoff turned to his long-time friend Norquist to have his group ATR serve as a conduit for the Choctaw money.⁸⁰ Earlier, on May 20, 1999, Norquist had asked Abramoff, "What is the status of the Choctaw stuff. I have a \$75K hole in my budget from last year. ouch [sic]."⁸¹ Thus, in the fall of 1999, Abramoff reminded himself to "call Ralph re Grover doing pass through."⁸² When Abramoff suggested the Choctaw start using ATR as a conduit, the Tribe agreed.⁸³

In late 1999, the Choctaw paid ATR \$325,000.⁸⁴ In a 2005 interview with *The Boston Globe*, Norquist said that ATR had sent \$300,000 of that \$325,000 to Citizens Against Legalized Lottery ("CALL").⁸⁵ Norquist explained that he sent the money to CALL because the Tribe wanted to block gambling competition in Alabama.⁸⁶

Out of the Choctaw's \$325,000, ATR apparently kept \$25,000 for its services. According to Rogers, Norquist demanded that he receive a management fee for letting ATR be used as a conduit:

But I remember when we discussed needing a vehicle for doing the pass-through to Century Strategies that Jack had told me that Grover would want a management fee. And we agreed to that, frankly didn't know any other way to do it at that time.⁸⁷

On a similar project in early 2000, Reed and Abramoff discussed using four groups instead of one as conduits to pay Reed: NCPPR, ATR, Toward Tradition and one unidentified group.⁸⁸ Abramoff later advised Reed that "Rabbi Lapin [head of Toward Tradition] does not have a c4"⁸⁹ and asked Reed for "the name of the c4 you want to use (include address) and we'll divide it among the three

⁷⁸ Email from [REDACTED] to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E00018933) (May 10, 1999).

⁷⁹ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁸⁰ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to himself (GTG-E000079255) (September 24, 1999).

⁸¹ Email from Grover Norquist, Americans for Tax Reform, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E000114915) (May 20, 1999).

⁸² Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to himself (GTG-E000079255) (September 24, 1999).

⁸³ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ Michael Kranish, *Antitax Activist Says He got \$1.5M from Tribes*, *The Boston Globe*, May 13, 2005.

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁸⁸ See Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG-E000020203) (January 27, 2000) (listing the names of the heads of the groups they contemplated using as conduits).

⁸⁹ Abramoff's designation of groups as a c4 or c3 group apparently refers to their tax exempt status under either subsection (c)(3) or (c)(4) of section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code.

groups.”⁹⁰ Within days, Abramoff advised Reed that Amy Ridenour, president of NCPPR, “does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only.”⁹¹ Abramoff asked Reed, “Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.”⁹²

Though Reed did not respond, on February 2, 2000, Abramoff informed Reed, “We’ll have \$300K for Monday and more shortly thereafter.”⁹³ This project apparently was centered on opposing a video poker initiative.⁹⁴ The Choctaw made the first of three \$300,000 payments to ATR on February 7, 2000. Abramoff warned Reed, however, that “I need to give Grover something for helping, so the first transfer will be a bit lighter.”⁹⁵

During this time, Abramoff advised Reed that the Choctaw might be limited in the amount of money it could devote to his activities.⁹⁶ In response, Reed assured Abramoff that he was also seeking money from “national anti-gambling groups, Christian CEOs, and national pro-family groups.”⁹⁷

The Tribe was nevertheless able to continue funding Reed’s efforts. On February 17, 2000, Abramoff advised Reed that “ATR will be sending a second \$300K today.”⁹⁸ This money, too, came from the Choctaw.⁹⁹ Norquist kept another \$25,000 from the second transfer, which apparently surprised Abramoff.¹⁰⁰

On March 2, 2000, Abramoff told Rogers he needed “more money asap” for Reed, and requested “a check for \$300K for Americans for Tax Reform asap.”¹⁰¹

Abramoff’s executive assistant Susan Ralston asked him, “Once ATR gets their check, should the entire \$300K be sent to the Alabama Christian Coalition again?”¹⁰²

Abramoff replied, “Yes, but last time they sent \$275K, so I want to make sure that before we send it to ATR I speak with Grover to confirm.”¹⁰³

Rogers did not speak with anyone at ATR about using ATR as a conduit.¹⁰⁴ As far as Rogers knew, ATR was not involved and

⁹⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG–E000020287) (January 28, 2000).

⁹¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (Bates number 7096) (February 2, 2000) (Ralph Reed document production).

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG–E000020517) (February 3, 2000).

⁹⁴ See Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG–E000020467) (February 17, 2000); see also Michael Kranish, *Antitax Activist Says He got \$1.5M from Tribes*, *The Boston Globe*, May 13, 2005.

⁹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG–E000020508) (February 7, 2000).

⁹⁶ See Email between Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (Bates number 7096) (February 2, 2000) (Ralph Reed document production).

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG–E000020467) (February 17, 2000).

⁹⁹ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to himself (GTG–E000078903) (February 22, 2000).

¹⁰¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Nell Rogers, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (GTG–E000110996) (March 2, 2000).

¹⁰² Email between Susan Ralston, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, and Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds (GTG–E000110996) (March 3, 2000).

¹⁰³ *Id.*

¹⁰⁴ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

was not considering getting involved in any of the efforts the Choctaw ultimately paid Reed and others to oppose.¹⁰⁵ Based on everything Rogers knew, ATR simply served as a conduit to disguise the source of the Choctaw money ultimately paid to grassroots groups and Reed.¹⁰⁶ Rogers told Committee staff that she understood from Abramoff that ATR was willing to serve as a conduit, provided it received a fee.¹⁰⁷

The Choctaw's intent and understanding was that the money would pass through ATR and ultimately reach either Reed or a grassroots organization engaging in anti-gaming activities.¹⁰⁸ It was never intended as a contribution to support ATR's general anti-tax work.¹⁰⁹ As far as Rogers was concerned, ATR was serving as a conduit on a project that had nothing to do with taxes and that was designed to oppose gaming.¹¹⁰

At some point, Rogers recalled that Norquist apparently began getting nervous about his role as a pass-through.¹¹¹ Rogers thought that part of Norquist's discomfort derived from press accounts reporting that ATR was one of the largest contributors to an organization that was fighting against the expansion of gaming.¹¹²

The question arises why the Choctaw paid money to Reed through various conduits, such as Preston Gates and ATR, rather than directly. Rogers told Committee staff, "I always assumed it's because Ralph was more comfortable with that."¹¹³ Rogers understood from Abramoff that "Ralph Reed did not want to be paid directly by a tribe with gaming interests. It was our understanding that the structure was recommended by Jack Abramoff to accommodate Mr. Reed's political concerns."¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, the work Reed and his company Century Strategies performed and for which they were paid through Preston Gates and ATR was on the Tribe's behalf and for its benefit.¹¹⁵ The Tribe has no complaints about the quality of work Reed undertook on its behalf.¹¹⁶

Once ATR ceased serving as a conduit, Abramoff and Reed looked for other conduits for the Tribe to route money to Reed's Century Strategies. After he left Preston Gates for Greenberg Traurig in 2001, Abramoff suggested the Tribe pay into entities owned or controlled by Michael Scanlon. In 2001, the Choctaw paid money into American International Center ("AIC"), which Abramoff described as vehicle for passing money through to Reed.¹¹⁷ By the

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ *Id.* Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (June 16, 2005). Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹⁰⁸ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (June 16, 2005).

¹¹⁵ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

Committee's accounting, the Tribe paid AIC \$1,485,656 in 2001, and \$1,170,000 in 2002.¹¹⁸

E. ABRAMOFF BRINGS SCANLON TO THE CHOCTAW

In late 2001, the Choctaw were again looking for a grassroots specialist to help with certain state issues.¹¹⁹ Because of the Tribe's and Rogers' relationship with and trust in Abramoff, they asked him to recommend a grassroots specialist.¹²⁰ This time, Abramoff did not turn to Reed; he instead introduced the Tribe to Scanlon.¹²¹

Abramoff and Scanlon traveled together to Mississippi to meet with the Choctaw.¹²² Abramoff introduced Scanlon as an independent consultant and an expert in grassroots operations.¹²³ Abramoff claimed that Scanlon worked with the Christian community in grassroots campaigns, get out the vote campaigns and public relations campaigns.¹²⁴ He also said Scanlon was Congressman Tom DeLay's former staffer and later described him as "DeLay's dirty tricks guy."¹²⁵

Abramoff recommended that the Tribe hire Scanlon.¹²⁶ Abramoff did not recommend anyone else.¹²⁷ Trusting in and relying on Abramoff, the Tribe did so.¹²⁸ From the outset, the Tribe understood that Scanlon would hire vendors to perform much of the work, and that Scanlon and his company Capitol Campaign Strategies would provide the strategy, hire and coordinate the vendors, and make the contacts.¹²⁹ Although the Tribe expected Scanlon would take a reasonable fee for his work, it intended that most of its payments to Scanlon would be used for grassroots activities such as polling, surveying, media, and analysis.¹³⁰ The Choctaw never intended that any of the money it paid Scanlon would go to Abramoff.¹³¹

The Tribe, and in particular Chief Martin, were always concerned about how high Scanlon's fees were.¹³² Rogers sometimes asked Scanlon for a reduced budget.¹³³ To justify Scanlon's charges, both Abramoff and Scanlon explained that the cost of Scanlon's work was consistent with the cost of the work Reed had done for the Choctaw.¹³⁴ They also explained that it was "the cost

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *Id.*

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ *Id.* Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹²⁵ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹²⁸ *Id.* Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ *Id.*

¹³¹ Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹³² Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ *Id.*

of operating under the radar.”¹³⁵ In some instances, Scanlon did reduce his original, proposed budget, but not often.¹³⁶

In addition to combating market threats, Scanlon promised to turn the Choctaw into a political powerhouse at the state level. And so, on October 16, 2001, Abramoff asked Scanlon, “By the way, even with this [project] done, don’t we have a large longer term project to do for them there? Remember we promised when we had dinner with the Chief that we would make them the most powerful folks in the state.”¹³⁷

Scanlon was referring to a grandiose plan he called Operation Orange. The Tribe did not agree to Operation Orange in its entirety, but instead directed Scanlon to pursue discreet parts of it aimed at threats to its casino’s market share.¹³⁸ Contemporaneously, the Tribe saw evidence that Scanlon was carrying out parts of Operation Orange it had commissioned.¹³⁹ The Tribe paid roughly \$4,500,000 over two years for Scanlon’s efforts related to Operation Orange.¹⁴⁰

Over the same two years, the Tribe also paid Scanlon another \$1,000,000 for a separate project.¹⁴¹ Rogers understood that Scanlon and his companies were conducting polls, performing research, including opposition research, directly lobbying opinion makers, using third parties, and engaging in letter campaigns.¹⁴² Scanlon told the Choctaw he was mobilizing Christian grassroots groups, such as Global Christian Outreach Network and Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion.¹⁴³

In earlier grassroots efforts to protect its market share, the Tribe had grown accustomed to sending payments through conduits at Abramoff’s direction. Abramoff and Scanlon continued the practice of directing the Tribe to route money through conduits. Abramoff and Scanlon identified the following as pass-through vehicles for the Choctaw: American International Center, Capital Athletic Foundation, Scanlon-Gould Public Affairs, and, National Center for Public Policy Research.¹⁴⁴ Common among all of them was that they were all entities over which Abramoff or Scanlon exercised considerable control.

Ultimately, the Choctaw paid approximately \$17,500,000 to companies owned or controlled by Scanlon. Unknown to the Choctaw, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$6,364,000—about 50% of his total profit from the Tribe. Additionally, at Abramoff and Scanlon’s direction, the Tribe paid another \$2,000,000 to non-

¹³⁵ *Id.*

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (Bates number 1131592) (October 16, 2001).

¹³⁸ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹³⁹ *Id.*

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ *See Id.* Unknown to the Choctaw was that these organizations were bogus. A full explanation about how Scanlon apparently used such bogus organizations as a part of his and Abramoff’s “gimme five” scheme is set forth below in Part 2, Chapter 1, “Capitol Campaign Strategies” section, Page 3, “CCS’ Use of Fictitious Grassroots Organizations.”

¹⁴⁴ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

profit organizations where Abramoff was a director.¹⁴⁵ The payments from the Tribe to Abramoff and Scanlon-related entities is as follows:

PAYMENTS BY CHOCTAW TO ABRAMOFF/SCANLON ENTITIES

Payments by Tribe to Capitol Campaign Strategies (CCS)

06/29/01	\$200,000
07/18/01	\$43,650
07/31/01	\$50,000
08/29/01	\$1,500,000
09/27/01	\$1,000,000
10/18/01	\$207,000
11/02/01	\$1,670,000
11/13/01	\$2,350,000
12/31/01	\$250,000
02/22/02	\$1,600,000
10/15/02	\$800,000
12/11/02	\$330,000
12/11/02	\$600,000
09/03/03	\$48,333
09/03/03	\$48,334
09/03/03	\$48,333
09/11/03	\$500,000
10/16/03	\$450,000
10/16/03	\$300,000
11/18/03	\$300,000
11/18/03	\$150,000
12/10/03	\$300,000
Total	\$12,745,650

Payments by Tribe to Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (SGPA)

04/29/02	\$1,000,000
10/15/02	\$1,000,000
Total	\$2,000,000

Payments by Tribe to American International Center (AIC)

02/27/01	\$200,000
04/09/01	\$150,000
05/02/01	\$175,000
05/11/01	\$960,654
02/22/02	\$1,000,000
12/11/02	\$170,000
Total	\$2,655,654

Payments by Tribe to Capital Athletic Foundation (CAF)

01/03/02	\$500,000
08/05/02	\$500,000
Total	\$1,000,000

Payments by Tribe to National Center for Public Policy Research (NCPPR)

10/15/02	\$1,000,000
Total	\$1,000,000

Grand Total **\$19,401,304**

¹⁴⁵ Discussion and analysis of how Abramoff and Scanlon successfully perpetrated their "gimme five" scheme on the Tribe, on an entity-by-entity basis, is contained in Part 2 of the this Report.

The Tribe would not discover, until after this Committee started its investigation, the scam that Abramoff and Scanlon were running on it.

F. ABRAMOFF HAS THE CHOCTAW FUND HIS PET PROJECTS

1. 2000 Scotland Golf Trip

In 2000, Abramoff had the Choctaw pay twice to the NCPPR: \$25,000 on May 19 and \$40,000 on June 27.¹⁴⁶ It has been widely reported that the NCPPR used those funds to finance partially a golf trip to Scotland for Abramoff, Congressman DeLay and his staff, and others.¹⁴⁷ The Tribe never intended for those funds to be used to finance a trip for any member of Congress; rather, it was intended as a donation for some anti-tax and anti-NACS [National Association of Convenience Stores] work.¹⁴⁸ Any use of the funds to finance that Scotland trip was done without the Choctaw's knowledge or authorization.¹⁴⁹

2. Sports Suites

For three years, the Choctaw paid into what Abramoff labeled the "Sports Suites" program: \$170,374 in 1999, \$233,679 in 2000, and \$223,679 in 2001.¹⁵⁰ Rogers understood that "Sports Suites company to be a company basically that was a Jack Abramoff company but that several tribes paid shares into so that the suites could be used for fundraisers or similar kinds of events."¹⁵¹ Abramoff told Rogers that he would represent the tribal participants as the owners of the Sports Suites.¹⁵² Rogers said she would find it objectionable if Abramoff used the Sports Suites boxes for the benefit of other clients or his family, unless they paid for their use of the Sports Suites.¹⁵³

Rogers believed that Choctaw derived benefit from participating in the Sports Suites program:

In some regards I do [believe the Tribe derived a benefit] because the box had copies of the Choctaw Revolution.¹⁵⁴ It had the tribal profile. It had information about manufacturing opportunities or economic development opportunities on the reservation. And we actually had calls or ran into people who had picked up information about the tribe and who had contacted the tribe because of that. And there were fundraisers held for members of Congress there, including some in our delegation as well as other members who had interest in Indian issues or who had re-

¹⁴⁶ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

¹⁴⁸ *Id.* Interview of Phillip Martin, Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ *Id.*

¹⁵² *Id.*

¹⁵³ *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ *The Choctaw Revolution: Lessons for Federal Indian Policy* was a book written about the success of the Choctaw in 1998 by Peter Ferrara and published by ATR. The Choctaw reportedly paid Ferrara for his work on the book. Eamon Javers, "Op-Eds for Sale," BusinessWeek Online (December 16, 2005).

sponsibility for Indian issues. So in that regard, I think that the tribe did have some benefit.¹⁵⁵

3. *Liberty Consulting Services, LLC*

On January 30, 2002, Abramoff instructed his assistant Illisa Gertner to send an invoice for Liberty Consulting Services (“Liberty”) in the amount of \$5,000 for “Consulting Services.”¹⁵⁶ Abramoff instructed Gertner to include a cover sheet saying, “Per my email about Alexander Strategy Group, attached please find the invoice for Liberty.”¹⁵⁷ Abramoff told the Tribe that Liberty “was another lobbying group that was going to oppose NACS [National Association of Convenience Stores]. ...”¹⁵⁸ The Choctaw paid Liberty Consulting a total of \$25,000 in 2002.¹⁵⁹

Unknown to the Choctaw, Liberty was actually a company set up by Tony Rudy, while he was serving on Congressman DeLay’s staff, as his Deputy Chief of Staff.¹⁶⁰ When Rudy pled guilty to committing conspiracy on March 31, 2006, he admitted, among other things, that Liberty performed no services to justify receipt of the payments from the Choctaw:

From February 2002 through July 2002, Abramoff, with Rudy’s knowledge and consent, arranged for payments totaling \$25,000 to be made to Liberty Consulting by one of Firm B’s [Greenberg Traurig] clients, a Native American Tribe in Mississippi [Choctaw]. The payments were made in five monthly installments, which were usually sent by mail. Rudy knew that no additional services were being provided to the client for payments.¹⁶¹

G. CONCLUSION

All the money that Scanlon and Abramoff bilked from the Choctaw had very significant consequences for the Tribe. During her interview, Rogers identified numerous unmet needs of the Tribe, where the lost money would have been critical: “[s]cholarships; health care, in particular; education; courts; police.”¹⁶²

Nonetheless, after the first few *The Washington Post* articles ran, Abramoff attempted to have the Choctaw dissuade the Committee from investigating. Rogers said Abramoff “asked me if I would ask the Chief to approach Senator McCain and suggest that each of the tribes, since they had their own police departments and courts, conduct their own internal investigations.”¹⁶³

Even as details of his and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme began to emerge, Abramoff attempted to conceal his and Scanlon’s wrong-

¹⁵⁵ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Illisa Gertner, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000107717–18) (January 30, 2002) (attaching Liberty Consulting Services invoice).

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 7, *U.S. v. Tony C. Rudy* (Dist. D.C., March 31, 2006) (CR–06–082).

¹⁶¹ *Id.*

¹⁶² Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁶³ *Id.*

doing from the Tribe. In a telephone conversation with Rogers, Abramoff claimed that he used his school as a conduit to pass Choctaw money to grassroots organizations. According to Rogers:

He [Jack] said that he—he said, “Well, Nell, I have to tell you, I took some of the money Mike had”—yeah. He said, “I took some of the money that Mike had and I gave it to the school and they passed the money through. And the people they passed it to will never tell.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ *Id.*

CHAPTER II

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

ABRAMOFF: 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.

SCANLON: Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k ... Total [:] 1.5. mil on top of the 660. For a toal [sic] of 2.1. Not bad :) :) [sic]

ABRAMOFF: How can I say this strongly enough: YOU IZ DA MAN.

SCANLON: Ill [sic] take the man title for now—but not tomorrow, you return to being the man at midnight! Let's grow that 2.1 to 5!!! We need the true give me five!

ABRAMOFF: Amen!!

Email between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, September 10, 2001

ABRAMOFF: I'm actually in a bad cash position ... I need [the expected payment from the Agua Caliente] badly. Other than [that Tribe], what next on the money train? [The Choctaw] coming through soon?

SCANLON: The next big money we have coming our way is Coushatta, and that will be in early January—the exact amounts I'm still hammering out.

Email between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, December 17, 2002

A. INTRODUCTION

By February 22, 2004, when *The Washington Post* published its article entitled, “A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes; Lobbying, PR Firms Paid \$45 Million Over 3 Years,” Abramoff and Scanlon's scheme to defraud several Native American tribes out of tens of millions of dollars was beginning to unravel.

Soon after the article's publication, former Abramoff associate Kevin Ring emailed a colleague, “I know more than [the] article and the truth is worse.”¹

Ring continued, “Now what do you think of my partner Jack? Not too shady, eh?”²

Referring to how much the Tribes covered in the article reportedly paid Abramoff and Scanlon, Ring's colleague could only reply, “that's a lot of cake.”³

¹ Email between Kevin Ring, Greenberg Traurig, and Matt DeMazza (GTG-E000257509) (February 22, 2004).

² *Id.*

³ *Id.*

Among all of Abramoff's Tribal clients, the Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana ("Louisiana Coshatta") paid Scanlon the most. Between 2001 and 2003, Abramoff and Scanlon successfully had the Tribe pay them (or entities owned or controlled by them) about \$32,000,000: about \$27,000,000 to Capitol Campaign Strategies ("CCS"); another \$3,600,000 to the American International Center ("AIC"); \$1,000,000 to the Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF") through a Scanlon-controlled entity called Atlantic Research & Analysis ("ARA"). Of the \$27,000,000 the Tribe paid to CCS, Scanlon appears to have kicked back roughly a third to Abramoff in "referral fees." This constituted about one-half of Scanlon's net profit. In addition, of the \$3,600,000 the Tribe paid to AIC, Scanlon diverted almost \$1,000,000 to an entity called Kaygold, which Abramoff privately described to his tax advisor as "really me."⁴

In the course of their three-year business relationship with the Tribe, Abramoff and Scanlon were indifferent to the trust that the Louisiana Coshatta put in them as its paid representatives and advocates. At no time did they ever tell the Tribe that Abramoff had a financial interest in CCS or that Abramoff received a hefty percentage of the millions of dollars that the Tribe paid CCS or AIC.⁵ Similarly, the Tribe never knew that the cost of services charged by Scanlon was dramatically inflated so that Abramoff could get a big piece of a big pie.⁶ The Tribe likewise never knew most of the money it paid Scanlon actually went to finance Scanlon's private investments and to float Abramoff's business ventures.⁷

In addition, at no time was the Tribe ever told that any of the money it paid Scanlon would be diverted to Abramoff's private charity—for distribution mostly to Abramoff's Jewish boys' school.⁸ The Tribe was also never told that any of its payments to Scanlon would actually be used to conduct public relations activities for other Tribes, on matters wholly unrelated to the Louisiana Coshatta.⁹ Abramoff and Scanlon also concealed from the Tribe their representation of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas ("Tigua"), whose interests the Louisiana Coshatta hired Abramoff and Scanlon to oppose.¹⁰ Abramoff or Scanlon also deceived the Tribe into making a sizeable "contribution" to an obscure environmental advocacy group.¹¹ Regrettably, there was much the Tribe did not know about the activities of Abramoff and Scanlon—its "trusted" advisors.

This Chapter will, drawing from evidence that the Committee has already released to date and new information that the Committee is now releasing in conjunction with this Report, attempt to explicate the foregoing activities.

⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG-E000012336) (December 23, 2001).

⁵ See Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁶ See *Id.*

⁷ See *Id.*

⁸ See *Id.*

⁹ See *Id.*

¹⁰ See *Id.*

¹¹ A fuller discussion of this transaction is contained in Part III, Chapter 1, Section A, entitled, "Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy: Background."

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

The Louisiana Coushatta's traditional homelands are in Alabama; however, in the late 18th Century a group of approximately 100 Coushatta led by a tribal leader named Red Shoes moved to Louisiana around the Red River.¹² Since then, its population has grown to over 850 enrolled members.¹³ Traditionally, the Louisiana Coushatta belonged to the southern section of the Creek Confederacy, a loose association of Muskogee family tribes occupying and controlling a vast area across the South.¹⁴ The Tribe is composed of seven large clans and several more smaller clans, which form the foundation of its society.¹⁵ As members of the Creek Confederacy, the Coushatta lived in an agriculturally based economy.¹⁶ It grew corn, peas, beans, squash, potatoes, and rice.¹⁷ Sophisticated trade networks were developed covering thousands of miles.¹⁸

In 1898, the Federal Government took land into trust for the Tribe.¹⁹ In 1953, during the Termination Era, during which the government terminated its trust relationship with certain tribes, the Bureau of Indian Affairs ("BIA") ended its trusteeship with, and discontinued its services to, the Louisiana Coushatta.²⁰ However, after twenty years of struggle, the Louisiana Coushatta's federal recognition as a tribe was restored in 1973 and it held its first elections in 1985.²¹ In 1980, the current reservation near Elton, Louisiana was formally established.²²

Over the past twenty years, the Tribe has increased its reservation land base from the original 35 acres of land to 154 acres.²³ This land is used for Tribal housing, economic development projects such as crawfish farming and cattle-raising, and to house its numerous governmental programs and services.²⁴ The Louisiana Coushatta have established a Tribal police department; community, health and learning centers; and other social programs.²⁵ The Tribe has enjoyed economic prosperity largely due to the success of its Grand Casino in Kinder, Louisiana, which opened in 1995.²⁶ The

¹² *Early Records Show Coushatta Living in Northern Alabama*, (visited March 20, 2006) <http://www.carencrohighschool.org/LA_Studies/indian/coushatta/alabama.htm> (discussing the early history of the Coushatta); *A History of the Sovereign Nation of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, (visited March 19, 2006), <http://www.coushattatribe.org/history.html>.

¹³ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 11 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Kevin Sickey, Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana).

¹⁴ *Id.* at 10.

¹⁵ *The Culture of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.coushattatribela.org/culture1.html>> (describing the culture and social organization of the Louisiana Coushatta).

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 10 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Kevin Sickey, Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana).

²⁰ *Id.* at 10-11.

²¹ *Id.* at 11.

²² *The Sovereign Nation of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, (visited March 20, 2006) <http://www.coushattatribela.org/history_chrono.html> (providing a chronology of Louisiana Coushatta history).

²³ *The Government of the Sovereign Nation of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.coushattatribela.org/government.html>> (describing the governing structure of the Louisiana Coushatta).

²⁴ *The Sovereign Nation of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, (visited March 20, 2006) <http://www.coushattatribela.org/history_chrono.html> (providing a chronology of Louisiana Coushatta history).

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

Louisiana Coushatta currently employs 2,800 people, with a total annual payroll in the range of \$80 million.²⁷ In addition, they contribute approximately \$7 million per year to state and local governments.²⁸

C. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON GET THE LOUISIANA COUSHATTA'S BUSINESS

By the Spring of 2001, the Louisiana Coushatta was set to renegotiate its gaming compact with the State of Louisiana, which it needed to continue operating its casino in the State legally.²⁹ Its compact was due to expire later that summer and the Tribe wanted to get a 25-year compact with the State as the Cherokees had obtained in North Carolina, to avoid having to renegotiate with the Governor's office every seven years.³⁰ But, with 2001 being a gubernatorial election year, the Tribe was concerned about its prospects for success with then-Governor Mike Foster.³¹ The Tribe was expecting a "very vigorous fight"³² and had doubts about whether its lobbyists at the time were aggressive enough to get the best deal.³³

Sometime during this same period, two members of the Louisiana Coushatta's Tribal Council, William Worfel and Bertney Langley, called Kathryn Van Hoof, the Louisiana Coushatta's outside counsel, from a meeting of the United South and Eastern Tribes ("USET").³⁴ They told her that they had just spoken with Terry Martin, a representative of the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana ("Chitimacha").³⁵ Martin recommended to Worfel and Langley that they contact a prominent Washington, D.C. lobbyist and a public relations consultant his Tribe had used and with whom they were very satisfied.³⁶ Their names: Jack Abramoff and Michael

²⁷ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 10–11 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Kevin Sickey, Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana).

²⁸ *Id.* at 10–11.

²⁹ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); *See also* "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana).

³⁰ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

³¹ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

³² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana).

³³ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

³⁶ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005). Worfel understood that Martin and Abramoff were "tight." *Id.* He recalls that "[Abramoff and Scanlon] would talk about Terry [Martin] a lot to me" and Martin "promoted [Abramoff and Scanlon] a lot." *Id.* *See also* "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman).

Scanlon.³⁷ Martin suggested that they might be able to help with the Tribe's compact.³⁸

So, Worfel and Langley asked Van Hoof to meet with Martin in Marksville, Louisiana that day.³⁹ At that meeting, Martin told Van Hoof about Abramoff's history with his Tribe.⁴⁰ He also discussed Abramoff's successful representation of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw") on several funding issues and noted how happy that Tribe was with Abramoff's representation.⁴¹ He told Van Hoof that Abramoff was well-connected and a friend of former Congressman Tom DeLay.⁴² Martin discussed the possibility that Abramoff could help the Louisiana Coushatta with its compact renegotiations.⁴³

Van Hoof returned to the Louisiana Coushatta Tribal Council, which was then comprised of not only Worfel and Langley but also Chairman Lovelin Poncho and councilmen Leonard Battise and Harold John, and conducted some basic due diligence on Abramoff.⁴⁴ She then delivered an oral report to the Tribal Council on her meeting with Martin about Abramoff.⁴⁵ Van Hoof described how hiring Abramoff could help the Tribe implement a strategy to convey, in particular to the Governor and the State legislature, that it had political "stroke" in Washington.⁴⁶ After Van Hoof's presentation, the Tribal Council asked Van Hoof to invite Abramoff to meet with the council about possibly representing the Louisiana Coushatta as its lobbyist in Washington, D.C.⁴⁷ Van Hoof complied.⁴⁸

In anticipation of his meeting with the Tribal Council, Abramoff spoke with Van Hoof more fully about the Louisiana Coushatta's lobbying interests.⁴⁹ He was preparing a formal plan and budget proposal for the Tribal Council.⁵⁰

About a week or two after Van Hoof's presentation to the Tribal Council, probably in March 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon went to Louisiana to meet with the Tribal Council at the Tribe's administration building.⁵¹ During the meeting, Abramoff described his

³⁷ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

³⁸ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

³⁹ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005). See also "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman).

⁴⁰ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Id.*; Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁵¹ *Id.*; Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005) (recalling only Abramoff's attendance). Also present was administrative assistant, Michelle "Missy" Litteral; Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14,

background, political connections, and capabilities.⁵² In particular, he mentioned that he “knew federal Indian law,” “federal legislation,” and “how to get things passed through the legislature.”⁵³ Referring to appropriations earmarks, Abramoff said that his team could get “line items’ for the Tribe.⁵⁴

He also mentioned that he “worked with people” in the Department of Interior and with Members of Congress.⁵⁵ Abramoff specifically mentioned his relationship with Congressman DeLay and former DeLay associate Scanlon.⁵⁶ Abramoff described how Scanlon’s background as a media consultant and in public relations could help make it appear that the Louisiana Coushatta had connections in Washington.⁵⁷

Abramoff also cited his success with the Choctaw.⁵⁸ That impressed Worfel and the Tribal Council; the Tribe had been trying to model itself and its casino operations on the economic development strategy that Chief Phillip Martin used to make the Choctaw among the most respected tribes in Indian Country.⁵⁹

Abramoff proposed a plan for establishing relationships with Members of Congress and participating in various campaign-related activities and events to help the Tribe convey to others that it had influence in Washington, D.C.⁶⁰ For example, Abramoff provided the Tribe with information about a DeLay golf tournament, saying that participating would convey the impression that it had some real “stroke” in Washington and would also build some good will with DeLay.⁶¹ Participation in events such as these and payments on “lists of suggested contributions” would, Abramoff suggested, provide name recognition and access.⁶²

In pitching himself to the Tribal Council, Scanlon represented that CCS could organize direct mail and telephone campaigns that would urge public officials to support issues important to CCS’s clients.⁶³ At the council meeting, Scanlon described himself as a

2005). At this meeting, it was suggested that Abramoff and Scanlon would talk more openly if the council turned off its recorder. *See id.*

⁵² Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Id.* Worfel testified that “[he] heard [reference to earmarks] so much.” *Id.*

⁵⁵ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁵⁶ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁵⁷ *Id.*; *see also* Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005) (Worfel describing how Scanlon said he could do “media blitzes,” “phone calls,” “phone banks,” “advertising on television,” etc.); “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman).

⁵⁸ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁵⁹ *Id.* Months later, Abramoff and Scanlon would cite their association with the Choctaw in furtherance of their scheme to defraud the Tribe: When Abramoff pitched Scanlon in connection with a plan to elect Louisiana officials calculated to be supportive of the Tribe’s gaming interests, called the “Louisiana Political Program,” Abramoff told Worfel that Chief Phillip Martin had spent \$13 million “to get the governor of Alabama elected to keep gaming out of Alabama so it wouldn’t hurt ... his market in Mississippi.” *Id.*

⁶⁰ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*; Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁶³ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 17, 2005) (CR–05–411).

“bulldog”—“the one who puts fires out” and “[who] did the ground-work, like on the ads, the radio blitz, the phone banks, and all that.”⁶⁴ Scanlon represented that CCS “could provide effective advice about strategies focusing on specific public officials in order to obtain official support for, or neutralize opposition to, the interests of CCS’ clients.”⁶⁵

The main operational feature of Scanlon’s proposal was an elaborate political database.⁶⁶ To support that database, Scanlon said that he would provide a range of “electronic-related services.”⁶⁷ Polling would identify the likes and dislikes of those who may be inclined to support the Louisiana Coshatta’s casino.⁶⁸ He would also “need to [get] a list of [the Tribe’s] vendors and ... associates, ... tribal members, everybody that does business with the casino and the tribe, and try to get them to start making phone calls, letter-writing campaigns....”⁶⁹ Having identified the universe of individuals whose preferences were consistent with the interests of the Tribe, Scanlon promised to use this “customized” database to mobilize them.⁷⁰ Scanlon said that this would, for example, “have them flood the offices of policy makers with calls.”⁷¹

Based on representations Abramoff and Scanlon made to the Tribal Council at this meeting, Van Hoof understood that Scanlon had “vast experience” in public relations and that Scanlon was “part of the package” with Abramoff’s representation of the Louisiana Coshatta.⁷² Worfel came to believe that Scanlon’s company was a branch of Greenberg Traurig.⁷³ When Abramoff first met with the Tribal Council, Abramoff said that Scanlon worked for him, and Van Hoof always referred to “Jack and his guys.”⁷⁴ But, Van Hoof and Worfel agree, Abramoff never told the Council that he would personally collect a share of those proceeds that the Tribe paid Scanlon.⁷⁵

⁶⁴ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁶⁵ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 17, 2005) (CR–05–411).

⁶⁶ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁶⁷ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 17, 2005) (CR–05–411).

⁶⁸ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁶⁹ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁷⁰ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁷¹ *Id.* There were at least two other meetings between the Tribal Council and Abramoff and Scanlon—another one in the Spring of 2001 (about two or three weeks after the first) and one in February 2004. Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005) (during which compact renegotiation, Texas threats, Delta Downs and Pinnacle were discussed). Worfel and Poncho met with Abramoff at least one other time early in 2004 at Abramoff’s office in Greenberg Traurig. *Id.*

⁷² Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁷³ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

Impressed with their proposals, the Tribal Council hired Abramoff and Scanlon as their federal lobbyist and grassroots political/media consultant, respectively.⁷⁶

Their tasks were to “assist [the Tribe] with the renewal of its compact with the State of Louisiana, regional gaming issues, and obtaining its public policy goals in Washington, D.C.”⁷⁷ Under an agreement executed on March 20, 2001, the Tribe was to pay Greenberg Traurig, the firm with which Abramoff was associated, \$125,000 per month plus reasonable expenses.⁷⁸ The Tribe was willing to pay this high retainer because it reflected, according to Van Hoof, “a concentrated effort within a short period of time” or “a short-term blitz” while the Tribe was renegotiating its compact.⁷⁹ Van Hoof assumed that the retainer amount would decrease after the compact period.⁸⁰ In fact, she was surprised to learn, after she was no longer with the Tribe, that the Tribe had continued to pay Greenberg Traurig a retainer at the original amount.⁸¹

Separately, the Tribe was to pay CCS, Scanlon’s company, for grassroots activities related to the compact renegotiations—“the ground effort.”⁸² Referring to this ground effort, on April 12, 2001, Abramoff told Van Hoof that “Mike [Scanlon] believes we can’t wait any longer for [it].”⁸³ The asking price, \$534,500.⁸⁴

With those agreements, the Tribe placed their trust in Abramoff and Scanlon. As Worfel testified, “You trust them because they worked for Greenberg. It’s supposed to be one of the most prestigious law firms in D.C. and America, and these people worked for these guys.”⁸⁵ Worfel trusted Abramoff, in particular, because it had been reported that he was one of the best lobbyists in Washington, D.C.; the Tribe was paying him a lot of money to represent its interests in D.C. and in the states; and (as described below) he and Scanlon originally “got good results.”⁸⁶

⁷⁶ *Id.*; Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁷⁷ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁷⁸ Letter from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (COUSH–MiscKVH–0001189–91) (March 16, 2001).

⁷⁹ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ *Id.* Despite a provision in its agreement with Greenberg Traurig to the contrary, the firm’s expenses (which were not itemized in its bills to the Tribe) were deducted from the retainer. *Id.* Van Hoof could not explain why the Tribe agreed to this arrangement. While Van Hoof served as outside counsel to the Louisiana Coushatta, she was never advised of what expenses Abramoff and his team at the firm incurred. *Id.* Typically, those expenses amounted to about \$15,000 to \$18,000 per month. Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005). Occasionally, Leger questioned some of those expenses, including an anomalous charge for the charter of a helicopter. *See id.* But, inevitably the response would be “That’s the way Jack wants it to be.” *Id.* Also, according to Short, two of Abramoff’s associates, Shana Tesler and Samuel Hook, did not work all those hours for which Greenberg Traurig billed its clients. *See id.* She recalled, “[T]owards the end, [Tesler] and Sam [Hook] were not at Greenberg, physically, often at all.” *Id.* “It was common knowledge within our group that they weren’t there, but hours were on our bills.” *Id.* However, where the Louisiana Coushatta and other Tribes who were so charged for these hours paid a retainer, *i.e.*, were not billed hourly, they were not injured by those billings.

⁸² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (COUSH–MiscKVH–0001632–33) (April 12, 2001).

⁸³ *Id.* Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (COUSH–MiscKVH–0001632–33) (April 12, 2001).

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁸⁶ *Id.*

In her interview, Short recalled that Worfel told her that the Tribe wanted to be the “Choctaw of Louisiana.”⁸⁷ According to Short, the Louisiana Coushatta were “in awe of the Mississippi Choctaw ... because Chief Martin has done an amazing job with his tribe. ...”⁸⁸ “And so I think,” Leger continued, “Chief Martin trusted Jack, and had Jack doing all these things for them. I think that gave him automatic credibility with William [Worfel]. And then meeting with him, I think, just sealed the deal.”⁸⁹

After the Tribe hired Abramoff and Scanlon, the Tribal Council asked Van Hoof to liaise between the Tribe, on the one hand, and Abramoff and Scanlon, on the other.⁹⁰ From the Spring through the Fall of 2001, she did so.⁹¹ During the Fall of 2001 onward, Worfel replaced Van Hoof as the Tribe’s point of contact with Abramoff and Scanlon.⁹²

D. SCANLON’S GRASSROOTS PROJECTS FOR THE TRIBE

As described above, initially Scanlon was hired to help the Tribe on its renegotiations with the State of Louisiana regarding its gaming compact. Scanlon promised to develop and implement a media blitz, a letter writing campaign to the governor and local officials, phone banks, and opposition research.⁹³ That would be accomplished by Scanlon’s “political database.”⁹⁴

A draft of a program budget outlines what Scanlon proposed to do for the Tribe regarding the compact renegotiations. Using language very similar to what he used with other Tribes, Scanlon proposed a five-point plan focused around the development and use of an elaborate political database.⁹⁵

Apparently, Abramoff and Scanlon split the fees that the Louisiana Coushatta paid for CCS’ work on the compact renegotiations: on April 12, 2001, and April 18, 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon each urged Van Hoof that the Tribe come up with \$200,000 for an “organizational phase” of this political program.⁹⁶ On or about April 26, 2001, the Tribe paid CCS \$200,000, as requested. Soon thereafter,

⁸⁷ Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁹³ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁹⁴ Memorandum from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, “Louisiana Political Budget Outline” (October 23, 2001) (“we need to modify your political database into a statewide format”).

⁹⁵ Louisiana Coushatta document production (no Bates number) (June 26, 2001) (“The Coushatta Political Program,” by Michael Scanlon”).

⁹⁶ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (COUSH-MiscKVH-0001632-33) (April 12, 2001) (“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. ... Please let me know if I can give Mike the go ahead.”); Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, “Re: Political Program funding” (COUSH-MiscFin-0000368) (April 18, 2001) (“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. ... If there [sic] is any way to get the initial money out today it would be great!”).

on or about April 30, 2001, CCS paid Abramoff \$75,000—itemized in CCS’ accounting ledger as a “referral expense.”⁹⁷

Worfel did see evidence that Scanlon’s strategy was implemented.⁹⁸ In July 2001, Governor Foster signed the compact.⁹⁹ Most of the Tribal Council, and Van Hoof, were satisfied with the work that Scanlon conducted on the compact renegotiations.¹⁰⁰ But, afterwards, the scope of work dramatically increased.¹⁰¹ Soon after his first meeting with the Tribal Council, Abramoff raised with the Tribe the idea of fighting the expansion of gaming in Texas and dockside gaming projects elsewhere in Louisiana.¹⁰²

Indeed, Abramoff and Scanlon, on whom the Tribe relied as experts, persuaded the Tribal Council that threats to the Tribe’s gaming interests were everywhere—state-sponsored gambling, slot machines at horse tracks, the possibility of Texas legalizing gaming, and competing casinos possibly being built by other tribes.¹⁰³ According to Worfel, “It was always one crisis after another. There were real threats and some not so real, looking back with hindsight.”¹⁰⁴

Worfel continued:

Texas gaming was one of those oversold threats. 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.¹⁰⁵

Worfel asked rhetorically:

What should you spend to save a \$300-million a year business when the lawyers who work for you tell you that it could all be gone if we do not act now? Our tribe has one and only one business. We made tough decisions and we acted always in the best interests of our tribe.¹⁰⁶

Thus, the Tribe hired Scanlon to implement a number of grass-roots activities on behalf of the Louisiana Coushatta to battle the numerous threats—both real and imagined—that the Tribe faced. Over the following three years, separate from its payments to Greenberg Traurig, the Louisiana Coushatta paid entities owned or

⁹⁷ Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

⁹⁸ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

¹⁰³ See Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005). See also “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman).

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

controlled by Abramoff or Scanlon about \$32,000,000. Those payments are set forth below.

PAYMENTS BY LOUISIANA COUSHATTA TO ABRAMOFF/SCANLON ENTITIES

Payments by Tribe to Capitol Campaign Strategies (CCS)

4/26/01	\$200,000
5/30/01	283,500
6/29/01	850,000
7/13/01	200,000
7/26/01	102,000
7/26/01	292,500
7/26/01	97,500
10/5/01	940,000
10/31/01	700,000
10/31/01	2,170,000
1/18/02	1,000,000
1/18/02	1,500,000
1/18/02	1,505,000
1/24/02	800,000
2/6/02	1,200,000
3/15/02	3,405,000
4/3/02	2,100,000
8/2/02	2,100,000
10/16/02	950,000
2/14/03	5,000,000
4/22/03—Coushatta/AIC	1,300,000
Total	26,695,500

Payments by Tribe to American International Center (AIC)

3/16/01—Southern Underwriters	400,000
3/21/01	258,000
3/30/01	298,000
4/27/01	397,200
4/9/03	2,300,000
Total	3,653,200

Payments by Tribe to Capital Athletic Foundation (CAF)

11/13/01—Greenberg Traurig	1,000,000
5/8/03—Atlantic Research & Analysis	950,000
Total	1,950,000

Grand Total 32,298,700

As the foregoing indicates, during the first quarter of 2002 alone, the Tribe made continuous payments to Abramoff and Scanlon, totaling over \$9,000,000. But, on June 2, 2002, Abramoff wrote Scanlon, “[The Louisiana Coushatta] are ripe for more pickings. We have to figure out how.”¹⁰⁷

In furtherance of the grassroots strategy devised for the Tribe, Abramoff and Scanlon persuaded the Tribal Council to financially support other groups opposed to gaming expansion, namely Christian evangelical conservatives, to help the Tribe protect its share

¹⁰⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000252622) (June 2, 2002).

of the regional gaming market.¹⁰⁸ Abramoff specifically proposed that the Tribe work with former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed.¹⁰⁹ According to Van Hoof, Abramoff understood that gaming opponents, like Christian conservatives, would of course eschew direct contributions from the Tribe.¹¹⁰ Worfel recalled that Van Hoof “came back and told us that [sic] a guy named Ralph Reed. She was real careful about a Ralph Reed person. It can’t get out. He’s Christian Coalition. It wouldn’t look good if they’re receiving money from a casino-operating tribe to oppose gaming. It would be kind of like hypocritical.”¹¹¹

Worfel testified that, on the Tribe’s behalf, Abramoff hired Reed to help prevent the expansion of gaming in Louisiana.¹¹² In that capacity, Worfel understood, Reed was supposed to mobilize “the Christian Coalition” to engage on several legislative initiatives relating to gaming, including, opposing bills providing for dockside gaming and supporting an amendment that raised taxes on the river boats.¹¹³ Furthermore, Worfel recalled, Van Hoof told him that Reed would “supposedly get a lot of pastors or preachers or ministers ... together.”¹¹⁴ But, once again, Worfel recalled Van Hoof cautioning him that Reed “did not want his name being revealed.”¹¹⁵

Against that backdrop, Abramoff asked whether the Tribe had any business through which payments to Reed could be made.¹¹⁶ In a meeting that included Louisiana businessman Aubrey Temple, Temple volunteered the use of one of his businesses as a conduit.¹¹⁷ It was an apparently moribund insurance company called Southern Underwriters.¹¹⁸ So, on or about March 16, 2001, the Tribe paid \$400,000 to AIC, a Scanlon-controlled entity, through Southern Underwriters.¹¹⁹ From Abramoff, Van Hoof understood that AIC was an entity that supported anti-gaming efforts, which the Tribe could support.¹²⁰ She also understood that the Tribe’s money that went through AIC was to go to Reed, for coalition-building against gaming initiatives that would have competed with the Tribe.¹²¹ She also understood that, by paying Reed through AIC, the Tribe’s identity as the original source of those funds would be disguised.¹²² When the Tribe paid AIC in March 2001, it did not know that Abramoff and Scanlon would later extract secretly millions in “gimme five” proceeds from Tribal payments routed

¹⁰⁸ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005). From 2001 through 2004, most, if not all, of the Louisiana Coushatta’s revenue came from its casino profits. *Id.* See also *id.* (“[Reed’s name could not be mentioned,] I guess because he would be judged as a hypocrite.”).

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *Id.*; Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

¹²² Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

through that entity. How Abramoff and Scanlon did so is fully explained in Part 2, Chapter 2, Section E, of this Report, entitled, "American International Center: AIC as a "Gimme Five Entity."

E. CONCLUSION

Specifically citing the work he had done for the Choctaw, Abramoff subsequently secured contracts for himself and Scanlon from the Louisiana Coushatta. Of all the Tribes that hired Scanlon, the Louisiana Coushatta ended up paying Scanlon the most. Initially, the Tribe hired Scanlon to help with its compact renegotiations with the State of Louisiana. But, after having successfully assisted the Tribe, Scanlon dramatically expanded his scope of work, which ranged from squelching supposedly ubiquitous threats to the Tribal casino's customer market share, to supposedly getting the "right" candidates elected to the Louisiana State Legislature.

To its detriment, the Tribe trusted Abramoff and Scanlon's expertise in Indian gaming and were captured by their lure of making the Louisiana Coushatta "the Choctaw of Louisiana." Accordingly, it deferred to Abramoff and Scanlon's judgment when they recommended that it fund very expensive grassroots campaigns.

Ultimately, having collected about \$30,000,000 from the Louisiana Coushatta during the relevant period, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$11,450,000—about 50 percent of his total profit from the Tribe. This includes a payment of \$1,000,000 that Abramoff and Scanlon manipulated the Tribe into paying to CAF, Abramoff's private charity.

Discussion and analysis of how Abramoff and Scanlon successfully perpetrated their "gimme five" scheme on the Tribe, on an entity-by-entity basis, is contained below in Part 2 of this Report.

CHAPTER III

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

Don't forget to get to [Saginaw Chippewa Sub-Chief David] Otto and set up a meeting asap. We need that moolah. We have to hit \$50M this year (our cut!).

Email from Jack Abramoff to Michael Scanlon, January 16, 2002

Understanding tribal politics, and keeping our people in power, is the priority of client management.

Email from Jack Abramoff to associate Todd Boulanger, May 30, 2002

We do a recall, election and take over. Let's discuss.

Email from Jack Abramoff to associate Jon van Horne, February 14, 2002

A. INTRODUCTION

Among the documents obtained by the Committee is an email, dated February 9, 2004, in which Abramoff authorized his associate, Shana Tesler, to pay the legislative director of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe ("Saginaw Chippewa"), Christopher Petras, \$2500 of Abramoff's own money to help the former Chief of that Tribe with a recall effort there.¹ This exchange reflects the end of Abramoff and Scanlon's aggressive campaign to keep the Saginaw Chippewa as a client.

Their approach was to insinuate themselves into internal tribal matters by influencing tribal elections to secure lucrative contracts from the Tribe—a strategy that most observers who have discussed the matter with the Committee agree is egregious.²

Abramoff and Scanlon successfully secured tribal business in this way from not only the Saginaw Chippewa but also the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians ("Agua Caliente").³ There are also fragments of information that suggest that they might have done so with the Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana ("Louisiana Coshatta").⁴ But Abramoff and Scanlon's representation of the Saginaw Chippewa presents what may be the most compelling case of how they did so to further their "gimme five" scheme.

¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Shana Tesler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000028361) (February 9, 2004).

² See, e.g., "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 23 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague).

³ A full discussion as to how Abramoff and Scanlon did so with regard to the Agua Caliente is contained *infra* in Part 1, Chapter 4, "Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians."

⁴ See e.g., Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (April 17, 2001) (produced by Capitol Campaign Strategies). Here, Abramoff advises Scanlon, "It is critical that you run the [Louisiana Coshatta] chairman's campaign, and that he wins! We're charging these guys up the wazoo, so this will be the key deliverable. Make sure you bill your hours like a demon. Almost no one else is billing this client yet, so there is plenty of room. You should be able to qualify for a hefty bonus just on this one ..." *Id.* And, Scanlon replies, "I will bill away! I need that bonus to by [sic] me a brand new cadillac!" *Id.*

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

The Saginaw Chippewa's traditional homelands comprise all of Michigan and parts of Canada.⁵ Their current reservation, Isabella Reservation, was established under the Treaty of October 18, 1864, and is adjacent to the city of Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.⁶ The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe traces its roots to three bands of Ojibwa Anishnabek known as the Saginaw, Swan Creek, and Black River Bands of Chippewa Indians.⁷ According to the 2000 census, the tribal population is 3,102.⁸

The Chippewa are a classical Woodlands culture and their language stems from the Algonquian family; therefore, they were hunter-gathers and practiced horticulture. Traditionally, they grew rice and made sugar, hunted and fished, and later became adept fur traders.⁹ There are approximately fifteen to twenty clans traced through paternal lineage that make up the tribal social network.¹⁰ Although the Saginaw Chippewa share a common dialect, culture, tradition, and spiritual practices with other Michigan Chippewa, they are a distinct social group.¹¹

In 1937, the Tribe, reorganized under the Indian Reorganization Act, created the current Tribal government.¹² The Tribal Council consists of twelve members elected from three electoral districts and includes the chief, sub-chief, treasurer, and secretary.¹³ In 1993, the Tribe signed a gaming compact with the State of Michigan.¹⁴ Soon thereafter, it opened the Soaring Eagle Resort and Casino.¹⁵ The Tribe added and opened its 512 room hotel and entertainment complex in 1997.¹⁶ The Soaring Eagle Resort and Casino is one of the biggest Indian casinos in the nation with estimated

⁵ *Ojibwe History* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.tolatsga.org/ojib.html>> (detailing the history of the Ojibwe peoples).

⁶ *The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan* (visited March 16, 2006) <<http://www.itcmi.org/thehistorytribal6.html>> (discussing the history of the Saginaw Chippewa).

⁷ *Brief History of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Culture* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.sagchip.org/culture/index.htm>> (providing the history of the Saginaw Chippewa); *The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan* (visited March 16, 2006) <<http://www.itcmi.org/thehistorytribal6.html>> (discussing the history of the Saginaw Chippewa).

⁸ *U.S. Census Bureau Profile of General Demographic Characteristic of the Saginaw Chippewa* (visited March 20, 2006) <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-reg=DEC_2000_SFAIAN_DP1:04S|53S&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SFAIAN_DP1&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SFAIAN&-geo_id=01000US&-lang=en&-format=&-CONTEXT=qt> (listing the population of people claiming Saginaw Chippewa heritage).

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ *Ojibwe History* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.tolatsga.org/ojib.html>> (detailing the history of the Ojibwe peoples).

¹² *Brief History of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Culture* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.sagchip.org/culture/index.htm>> (providing the history of the Saginaw Chippewa); *Where You Live: Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe* (visited March 21, 2006) <<http://www.epa.gov/region5/tribes/tribepages/saginaw.htm>> (providing a brief history of the Saginaw Chippewa).

¹³ *The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan* (visited March 16, 2006) <<http://www.itcmi.org/thehistorytribal6.html>> (discussing the history of the Saginaw Chippewa).

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *Soaring Eagle Casino Has Soared Over \$3 Billion Since Opening in 1998* (visited March 20, 2006) <http://www.mybaycity.com/scripts/Article_ViewB.cfm?ArticleID=499&NewspaperID=0> (discussing the success of the Soaring Eagle Casino).

¹⁶ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004). See also *Michigan's Tribal Gaming Industry Continues to Grow* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.casinocitytimes.com/article.cfm?ContentAndContributorID=17588>> (discussing the growth of the Soaring Eagle Casino); *Tribal quality of life boosted by casino revenues* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1096412563>> (discussing the expansion of the Soaring Eagle Casino).

revenue of approximately \$400 million per year.¹⁷ The Tribe currently employs over 4,000 people.¹⁸

C. CHRISTOPHER PETRAS—ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON’S ACCESS TO THE TRIBE

Sometime during 1998, Christopher Petras was approached at a concert at the Soaring Eagle Resort about submitting an application to the Tribe’s newly created Legislative Affairs Department.¹⁹ At the time, Petras, who is not a tribal member, “had been teaching political science and was familiar with Government processes to some extent.”²⁰ In December 1999, Petras was hired by the Tribe as a policy research analyst for five years and later served as the Tribe’s director of legislative affairs.²¹ According to Petras, his responsibilities were “[t]o basically work with the Tribal Council on policy issues [and] conduct research.”²² Whereas Tribal legislative assistant Kim Sawmick covered state issues for the Tribe, Petras focused on federal legislative matters.

According to Petras, in 2000, Sawmick told him that the Tribal Council was interested in looking for representation in Washington, D.C. to work with its other lobbyist Larry Rosenthal, who was then one of Abramoff’s keenest competitors.²³ In 1999, the Tribe had hired Rosenthal to serve as its Democratic lobbyist; the Tribe was now looking for a new Republican counterpart.²⁴

Petras went on the Internet and typed in “cue words, basically ‘tribes’ and ‘lobbyist.’”²⁵ Of the names that came up, he contacted three firms and traveled with Sawmick to D.C. to meet with them.²⁶ Around May 2000, they met Abramoff, who was then at Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds.²⁷ During that meeting, Abramoff brought in Scanlon.²⁸ In his interview with staff, then-Sub-Chief David Otto recalled that Abramoff gave an “impressive” presentation to the Tribal Council.²⁹ According to Petras, after that meeting, Sawmick recommended that the Tribe bring Abramoff in for an interview, which led to a decision by the Tribal Council to hire Abramoff.³⁰

¹⁷ *Casino rivals step up efforts to lure gamblers* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://gamblingmagazine.com/articles/27/27-126.htm>> (estimating Soaring Eagle Casino’s revenue); *Tribe, region benefit from casino revenues* (visited March 20, 2006) <<http://www.sagchip.org/tribalobserver/article.asp?article=1204>> (providing an estimate of Soaring Eagle Casino’s revenue).

¹⁸ *Soaring Eagle Casino Has Soared Over \$3 Billion Since Opening in 1998* (visited March 20, 2006) <http://www.mybaycity.com/scripts/Article_ViewB.cfm?ArticleID=499&NewspaperID=0> (discussing the success of the Soaring Eagle Casino).

¹⁹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 39 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.* at 38.

²² *Id.* at 47.

²³ *See id.* at 39.

²⁴ *See id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

²⁹ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

³⁰ “Tribal Lobbying Matters” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 39 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

But, Otto and current Tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague recalled differently. Otto remembered that Petras actually recommended Abramoff as his choice for the job.³¹ And, Sprague told staff, in his interview, that Petras “brought in” Abramoff.³²

By January 2001, with the Tribe having already hired Abramoff, members of the Tribal Council discussed retaining Rosenthal as its Washington representative.³³ Abramoff complained to his colleagues at Greenberg Traurig, “I had a discussion with [the Tribe’s legislative director] Christopher Petras today. [Competitor] Larry Rosenthal has been bad mouthing us non-stop and it is getting increasingly difficult for Chris to maintain our position. Larry is going to be hired and he offered me a chance for us to bid on getting them money for a school.”³⁴

Abramoff continued: “I told him we were not interested in this arrangement, that we have serious tribal clients who understand the value of our efforts and that if members of his council are insisting that they plight their trough [sic] with Larry, he should do so and I wish him luck.”³⁵

However, Abramoff predicted that the Tribe would be back: “Frankly, given the animus of our Hill and new Administration friends ... we need not get anywhere near this problem. After the Saginaws are told by our friends how dead they are, and after their appropriations are zeroed out, they’ll be back.”³⁶

With that, the Tribe discontinued using Abramoff as its lobbyist. Likely having realized that the only way he could resume representing the Tribe (and getting the Tribe to hire Scanlon) was through a change in Tribal leadership, Abramoff came up with an idea.

D. THE “SLATE OF EIGHT”—ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON’S TROJAN HORSE

On or about October 4, 2001, Abramoff had a meeting with Petras, during which they discussed the Tribe’s upcoming election.³⁷ Later that night, Abramoff brought Scanlon up-to-speed: “I had dinner tonight with Chris Petras of Sag Chip. He was salivating at the \$4–5 million program I described to him (is that enough? Probably not).”³⁸

Abramoff laid out his plan: “They have their primary for tribal council on Tuesday, which should determine if they are going to take over (general elections in November). I told him that you are the greatest campaign expert since ... (actually, I told him that there was no one like you in history!). He is going to come in after

³¹ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

³² Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004). Sprague also recalled that sometime after June 2002 Petras told him that Abramoff “was working with [then-House Whip] Tom DeLay”; “was good friends with Tom DeLay”; and “had good relations with Tom DeLay.” *Id.*

³³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Ronald Platt and Shawn Vasell, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000027597) (January 22, 2001).

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000028079) (October 4, 2001).

³⁸ *See id.*

the primary with the guy who will be chief if they win (a big fan of ours already) and we are going to help him win.”³⁹

Using a phrase the two coined to describe their financial relationship, Abramoff concluded, “If he wins, they take over in January, and we have millions. I told him that you are already in national demand and we need to secure you for them. He is very excited. GIMME FIVE lives.”⁴⁰

Scanlon replied enthusiastically, “THE PRICE HAS JUST GONE UP TO 10 MIL! Sounds good on the strategy—We should be wrapped up with the other camapigns [sic] soon, so I could run his general election to make sure we get or [sic] give me five!”⁴¹

Apparently resolved to help Abramoff and Scanlon oust the incumbent Tribal Council, Petras recommended to a group (composed of, among others, Maynard Kahgegab and Robert Pego) that they meet with Scanlon about their election campaign.⁴² That group became known as the “Slate of Eight.”⁴³ Otto believes that Petras came up with the “Slate of Eight” concept and remembers Petras telling him that this was how the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ran its elections.⁴⁴ In fact, Otto recalled, Petras said that Scanlon helped on that Tribe’s elections.⁴⁵ Tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague believes that Petras was only there to work for Kahgegab and, originally, Otto (who was running for the position of Sub-Chief).⁴⁶

A few days after his meeting with Petras and a telephone call from Otto, Abramoff reached out to Scanlon: “MIKE, CALL ME AT HOME ASAP. THIS IS ON SAGINAW CHIPPEWA. TIME FOR BUCKS!!!”⁴⁷

Approximately three weeks before the general election for the Tribal Council, sometime in July or August 2001, Scanlon met with

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.* (emphasis added).

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁴³ See Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004); see also Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (October 26, 2001) (Draft Flier, “Tribal Council Members Otto and Kahgegab Announce Formation of New Slate of Candidates to run [sic] in Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Elections—Slate of 8 Will Run on Platform of Reform”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (November 15, 2001) (another Draft Flier, entitled “Slate of 8”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (April 7, 2002) (Draft Press Release, entitled “Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. and Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council Host Second Community Meeting”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (April 7, 2002) (Draft Talking Points for Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (August 26, 2002) (Draft Community Meeting Agenda); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (October 30, 2002) (Draft Press Release, entitled “Zogby Poll says Michigan Voters Trust Tribes, Oppose More Gaming”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (Draft Flier, from “David Otto, Slate of 8 Member,” entitled “Slate of 8”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (another Draft Press Release, “Tribal Council Members Otto and Kahgegab Announce Formation of New Slate of Candidates to run [sic] in Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Elections—Slate of 8 Will Run on Platform of Reform”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (Draft Mailer from Chief Maynard Kahgegab to Mr. John Doe); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (Draft Mailer conveying “brief update” by Chief Kahgegab to Tribal Members).

⁴⁴ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

⁴⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000028054) (October 11, 2001) (emphasis in original).

Petras as well as Otto and some of the other candidates, in Michigan for a “strategy meeting.”⁴⁸ Petras, who set up the meeting, told Otto that Scanlon could help show them how to get elected.⁴⁹ The purpose of the meeting, which was held at a Bob Evans restaurant, was to help them craft a campaign for that race.⁵⁰ During that meeting, the idea of the Slate of Eight was hatched—Petras made up the slate concept and Scanlon made up the name.⁵¹ Petras, Scanlon and Otto discussed the upcoming elections, election strategy, how to get their names out, and issue mailers.⁵² Both Scanlon and Petras gave advice at that meeting.⁵³ Afterwards, Otto reported to the other members of the Slate of Eight who were not in attendance, on his meeting with Petras and Scanlon.⁵⁴ At that follow-up meeting, they discussed how Scanlon could help them get elected.⁵⁵

Otto did not recall whether there was an express *quid pro quo* between Scanlon and the Slate of Eight during the strategy meeting.⁵⁶ It was certainly generally understood that Scanlon would help Otto and the other members of the Slate of Eight in the election.⁵⁷ In addition, he conceded, there was a “non-verbal understanding that Scanlon would like a chance to work for the Tribe.”⁵⁸

At least two batches of mailings were sent out on behalf of the Slate of Eight.⁵⁹ Among the documents obtained by the Committee from Scanlon’s company, Capitol Campaign Strategies (CCS), is an undated draft mailer, apparently drafted for the Slate of Eight. It notes that “[t]he upcoming election may be the only chance for the disenfranchised, [sic] and beaten down members of this tribe to voice their disapproval with the way people on the council like XXXX [sic] Jackson have run our tribal government.”⁶⁰ Likewise, an October 26, 2001, press release, also apparently drafted by CCS, announced that the “Slate of 8 Will Run on Platform of Reform.”⁶¹ According to that release, “The Slate of 8 represents honesty, integrity and vision—something that the Committee for Responsible Government unfortunately completely lacks.”⁶² It also stated falsely that “[w]e organized the Slate of 8 ourselves and are asking the tribal members to vote for us so that we can put the scandal plagued [sic] politics of this tribe [sic] in the past.”⁶³ In laying the groundwork for the Tribe to ultimately hire Abramoff and Scanlon,

⁴⁸ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004). See also Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁴⁹ Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “State of 8”) (undated).

⁶¹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Tribal Council Members Otto and Kahgegab Announce Formation of New Slate of Candidates to run in Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Elections”) (October 26, 2001).

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.*

the release also described, as an issue on the Slate of Eight's platform, "developing stronger ties in Washington D.C. [sic] and at the state and local level to advance tribal concerns."⁶⁴

In connection with the Slate of Eight campaign, then-Scanlon associate, Brian Mann, served as a liaison between Petras and Scanlon.⁶⁵ In his deposition, Mann recalled "being in contact with Chris Petras, creating fliers or letters that we would mail back to Chris on Maynard's behalf."⁶⁶ There can be no doubt that Petras was leading this effort. Mann "was employed ... [t]o catch up with Petras and help facilitate whatever it was that he wanted to be done."⁶⁷ Apparently, Scanlon provided Mann with between three and five designs for mailers, which Mann faxed to Petras for his approval.⁶⁸ Because Scanlon's company did not have an in-house graphic design capability, those designs that had graphics were likely generated by an outside vendor.⁶⁹ According to Mann, "[A] couple of times [Petras] didn't like the wording for something. He wanted something darker or something bigger, just kind of, you know, trying to tweak whatever it was."⁷⁰ There were about three to five such exchanges before Petras finally approved the designs.⁷¹ At some point, a box of mailers arrived at Kahgegab's house—mailers for the election that the Slate of Eight never paid for.⁷² All Otto had to do was to put addressed stickers on the mailers.⁷³

Not only did CCS draft mailers and fliers, it put together a call list; devised a campaign strategy, calendars, and time-lines; helped organize at least one event—a "candidates night"; and apparently recorded a radio ad.⁷⁴ Other than \$200 that some members of the Slate of Eight paid for a "candidates night," CCS paid for all out-of-pocket expenses.⁷⁵ While the value of those expenses is unclear, the Tribe has seen some estimates as high as \$100,000.⁷⁶ Responding to the Tribe for Scanlon, Scanlon's lawyer, Stephen Braga, explained that "[t]his \$100,000 number was a value reflected estimate that included the time value of individuals working on the campaign" and that "actual dollars would be less."⁷⁷ He however agreed that, while "there is no way to tell exactly how much was spent," CCS was never reimbursed for its costs.⁷⁸

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ See Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capital Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004); Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006).

⁷⁵ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁷⁶ Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe). Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁷⁷ Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006).

⁷⁸ *Id.*

As the election at the Saginaw Chippewa neared, Abramoff asked Scanlon for a status update: “When exactly is their election? Do you have a guy up there?”⁷⁹

Providing Abramoff with a document entitled “Slate of Eight Political Calendar,” Scanlon replied: “Election is next Tuesday—I have a guy on the ground, 2 more heading up for the final push on Friday, and 4 mail pieces including personalized letters from the candidates hitting between tomorrow and election day. Attached is our campaign calendar.”⁸⁰

Scanlon was optimistic about success: “If we don’t win after all this—we never had a chance!”⁸¹

Seemingly pleased, Abramoff replied: “Looks like you have it well in hand. I smell victory! I smell gimme five!!!”⁸²

The “guy on the ground” that Scanlon referred to above was his top assistant, Christopher Cathcart. Scanlon apparently sent Cathcart to Michigan to do some “hand holding,” specifically, helping the Tribe with any needs and requests and to provide additional guidance.⁸³ Otto understood that CCS was “handling the Slate of Eight” like a major election.⁸⁴ On election night, Cathcart joined Otto and the Slate of Eight at a local Bennigans restaurant.⁸⁵ According to Otto, Cathcart met and drove around with him and Kahgegab that evening.⁸⁶

CCS associate Amy Biederman was assigned to write speeches for Slate of Eight member Maynard Kahgegab.⁸⁷ Additionally, according to invoices from the Weber Company, an issues-management and grassroots lobbying firm that Scanlon sub-contracted, Joe Weber, from that firm was involved in the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal election and was actually there on October 25, 26, 30, and 31, 2001.⁸⁸ However, exactly what services the Weber Company provided Scanlon’s company in connection with the Slate of Eight’s campaign, is unclear.

A few days later, Abramoff reminded Scanlon: “don’t forget!!! Ballot security at Saginaw!!!!”⁸⁹ Abramoff was concerned, because he could not “handle losing two elections in the space of 4 days!”⁹⁰

⁷⁹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000012235) (October 30, 2001).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ *Id.*

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ See Interview of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 3, 2006); Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capital Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004). See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (Draft Power Point Slides, “Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, “Chief’s Report”); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (Draft Speech, entitled “7:00 p.m.—Chief’s Report”) (undated).

⁸⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (November 8, 2001) (entitled “Invoice from Weber Company, to Scanlon Gould Public Affairs for \$3,278.65 of expenses”).

⁸⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000012251) (November 2, 2001).

⁹⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (November 5, 2001) (GTG-E000012287). What the other election was, is unclear.

On November 6, 2001, all but one member of the Slate of Eight prevailed.⁹¹ A draft mailer, apparently prepared by CCS, dated November 15, 2001, announced the victory: “The election on November 6 was an historic event for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe. It was the day the people of this tribe swept away the politics of the past, and started a new era of positive and responsible government.”⁹²

On the evening of the election, Scanlon emailed his employees, congratulating them for their participation in the campaign: “Well team ... Last night was amazing—The slate of 8 kicked ass, and I want to thank all of you for helping out—and watching the bottom line.”⁹³

He heaped more praise: “We had less than three weeks to take 8 guys we never met before and get them [sic] elected. It was a great plan, and great execution by a great team. Just to recap, we elected 7 out of our slate of 8—and the last guy—Ray Davis missed it by ONE vote. We did get another one of our allies elected in District 2, and we now control 9 out of the 12 seats on the council.”⁹⁴

Alluding to his and Abramoff’s original plan, Scanlon concluded, “Maynard [Kahgegab] will be elected Chief at the organizational meeting on December 4th, and hopefully we will be doing some more work for the tribe in the near future. THIS MAKES US 2–0 in tribal elections this year!”⁹⁵

He concluded, “Great work again—and by the way the last time I saw Chris he was doing Tequila shots with Dave Otto at the Bennigans in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan—If anyone hears from him—tell him to get back to the office—we have a referendum to win in Louisiana!”⁹⁶

Having been forwarded this email string from Scanlon, Abramoff enthusiastically replied, “I love it!”⁹⁷

On the day of the election, Abramoff reported to his colleagues at Greenberg Traurig: “I just got off the phone with Chris Petras, government affairs head for the Saginaw Chippewa. Today they had their election.”⁹⁸

He openly stated, “We had Scanlon up there running our slate.”⁹⁹

He concluded, “We won 7 of the 8 slate positions and now control the council! Our guys will be Chief and Sub-Chief. Chris will head the 1 month transition and we will be on board as soon as they are in. I figure the representation will be \$100–\$150k/month.”¹⁰⁰ During his interview with Committee staff, the head of Greenberg

⁹¹ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004); Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

⁹² Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Slate of 8”) (November 15, 2001).

⁹³ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Robin Axline, Christopher Cathcart, Aaron Stetter and Patrick Gould, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000002297) (November 7, 2001).

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ *Id.* (emphasis added).

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Fred Baggett, Todd Boulanger, Rodney Lane, Stephanie Leger, Ronald Platt, Kevin Ring, Tony Rudy, Alan Slomowitz, Shawn Vasell and Michael Williams, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000028114/GTG-E000028115) (November 6, 2001).

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

Traurig's national lobbying practice, who among others received that email, could not recall having read it.¹⁰¹

Regarding the "Slate of Eight," the evidence described above supports the following conclusion: there was at least a mutual understanding, if not an agreement, that the Slate of Eight would hire Scanlon in exchange for, or because of, the work that CCS did on its election to the Tribal Council—possibly valued at as much as \$100,000. This scenario has given rise to ethical concerns within the Tribe. In his interview with staff, Otto noted that Petras, who was not a member of the Tribe, was not part of its public relations department and, as an employee of the Tribe answerable to the Tribal Council, was not supposed to get involved in internal leadership disputes.¹⁰² The involvement of non-Indians in tribal elections is, as another Council Member said, "unheard of."¹⁰³

E. THE TRIBE HIRES ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON

About two days after the seven successful members of the Slate of Eight were sworn in, on December 6, 2001, the Saginaw Chippewa hired Greenberg Traurig as its lobbyist in Washington for a monthly retainer of \$150,000.¹⁰⁴ Rosenthal was out. For reasons not clear to the Committee, about a year later, the Tribal Council voted to increase that retainer to \$180,000 per month.¹⁰⁵ But, there was a delay in the Tribe's hiring Scanlon, who made a full presentation to the Tribal Council in late 2001. According to Abramoff, then-Sub-Chief Otto became concerned about how much the Tribe was spending on lobbying:

Just spoke with Petras. He spoke with Otto (can't believe this guy is getting off the rails). Otto is coming to DC on the 29th for two days with us (Petras will come too, but wants to stay in the background). Otto is bringing his father in law who is from [another tribe]. Otto is concerned about them being so far out on the line financially without anything to show first. He said that Otto wants to see some approps come through first. I told him—and he, Petras, agrees—that waiting is ridiculous because it will be 9 months before we know about approps, and in the meantime they would have blown an incredible opportunity. Anyway, we have to get Otto back on board when he is here. Can you do the Wizards game with us on the night of the 29th?¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

¹⁰² Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

¹⁰³ "Tribal Lobbying Matter," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 53 (September 29, 2004) (prepared statement of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

¹⁰⁴ Saginaw Chippewa document production (no Bates number) (Engagement Letter from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council) (December 6, 2001).

¹⁰⁵ Saginaw Chippewa document production (no Bates number) (Engagement Letter from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council) (December 4, 2002); Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004); Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁰⁶ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000024627) (January 14, 2002).

Scanlon expressed irritation about the Tribe's failure to hire him immediately: "I can't believe that I spilled blood getting those guys elected, and I got stiffed. How incredibly ungrateful. Can they at the very least sign me to some kind of deal? I can't believe they laid a goose-egg."¹⁰⁷

However, always optimistic about their partnership prospects, Abramoff offered encouragement: "We'll get it!"¹⁰⁸

Shortly after the new Tribal Council was installed, it was rumored that the ousted Council intended to attempt a take-over: "[A Member's] office just called Chris and told him that the group that got ousted is planning a take-over in the next couple of weeks and that the police may not get involved ... so they may need federal help. This is all rumor right now, but chris [sic] seemed concerned."¹⁰⁹

Abramoff planned to use this rumor as an opportunity to have the Tribe hire Scanlon: "Tell Chris they have to get their political operations on the ground moving and fast. They need Scanlon in there to get them organized. We'll handle the federal side."¹¹⁰

In the run-up to the Tribe's hiring Scanlon, Sprague recalled in his interview with Committee staff, he specifically asked Abramoff about his relationship with Scanlon.¹¹¹ In response, Sprague remembered, Abramoff only said he knew him and that Scanlon was a professional.¹¹² Ultimately, the Tribe executed a contract with CCS in February 2002 for \$4,000,000, primarily for the development of a political "database" and, according to Otto, another \$3.9 million to use it.¹¹³ Over the next two years, the Tribe would pay CCS about \$10,000,000. The Tribe's payments to CCS are set forth below:

2/19/02	\$1,857,000
4/1/02	1,200,000
4/17/02	1,050,000
6/27/02	1,900,000
8/14/02	500,000
6/19/03	500,000
7/18/03	500,000
8/12/03	500,000
10/03	2,000,000
Total	10,007,000

Throughout the relevant period, Abramoff and Scanlon represented that these payments were supposed to fund programs designed to protect the Tribe's share of Michigan's gaming market and protect its sovereignty from external threats.¹¹⁴

As with all the Tribes, CCS' grassroots and public relations strategy centered on the development and use of a political database. In the case of the Saginaw Chippewa, this strategy was called "Op-

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000024701) (January 18, 2002).

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004); Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹¹⁴ See, e.g., *id.*

eration Redwing.” According to a draft of the proposal that was likely presented to the Tribe, entitled “Operation Redwing—A Strategy for Making the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe the Most Dominant Political Entity in Michigan,” the first step to developing a successful political strategy “is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate them into a custom-built political database.”¹¹⁵

It elaborated on a “Grassroots Database”:

We will gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. (if you approve, customer lists), and we will import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registrations and e-mail addresses, and then sort them by election districts. The districts run from U.S. Senator down to school board and once completed, you can tap into this database and mobilize your supporters in ANY election, or on any issue of your choosing.¹¹⁶

The proposal separately described a “Qualitative (opposition) Research Database”:

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Redwing. Over the next six weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on any entity who can be classified as opposition and enter it into this database. The research will include nearly every piece of information on the opposition you can imagine. Once gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. The information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party [sic] interest groups or other interested parties.¹¹⁷

According to the proposal, at the end of the day, “the tribe will have built a grassroots army of over 50,000 real voters that it can call on for offensive or defensive political efforts.”¹¹⁸ The total cost of Operation Redwing, \$4,207,000.¹¹⁹

CCS also proposed a “Market Infringement and Political Analysis” that identified “several serious threats ... throughout the [S]tate of Michigan” which could threaten the Tribe’s primary business, the Soaring Eagle Casino and Resort.¹²⁰ Those threats included the land-into-trust applications of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians; the prospect that the Gun Lake Band of Potawatomi Indians may get a state compact; and various non-gaming expansion initiatives.¹²¹ According to the “Overview” of a “Market Share Infringement and

¹¹⁵ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Operation Redwing—A Strategy for making the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe the most dominant political entity in Michigan”) (December 6, 2001).

¹¹⁶ *Id.* (emphasis added).

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Market Share Infringement and Political Analysis”) (May 18, 2002).

¹²¹ *Id.*

Political Analysis,” dated May 18, 2002, that CCS prepared for the Tribe, “[T]he tribe could lose over \$100 million annually if two of the four facilities become operational.”¹²² And, “[i]f all 4 entities become operational the financial impact will be devastating, so much so that we can not even measure its impact.”¹²³ By contrast, in its “Conclusion,” the document states that “placing a figure on such a scenario is extremely difficult to do, but we can say without a shadow of a doubt, that if all four of the facilities ... become operational, at the very least the tribe will lose [sic] \$200 million dollars annually.”¹²⁴ The bases of these apparently irreconcilable conclusions are unclear. The cost of this program, an additional \$3,455,000.¹²⁵

In his interview with staff, Tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague disagreed with CCS’ analysis. He said that “[e]veryone knew there are three southern [t]ribes that will eventually open casinos” and that “[they] are in different stages of development.”¹²⁶ According to Sprague, when they open, they will only affect a small percentage of the Saginaw’s market, between 10 and 17 percent.¹²⁷ He noted that the Tribe ultimately executed four contracts with CCS, which related to (1) building the CCS database; (2) opposing “racino”¹²⁸ proposals; (3) opposing pending land-into-trust applications filed by competing tribes; and (4) supporting a statewide smoking ban that would theoretically drive smokers into the Tribe’s casino.¹²⁹ However, Sprague recalled that because the Council received only vague updates from Petras about the progress of CCS’ work, he and other critics of the lobbying contracts were limited in their ability to object.¹³⁰

In furtherance of each “campaign” to oppose gaming competition, CCS pledged to “execute the following tactics”: grassroots mobilization of environmental and anti-gaming activists; patch-through phone calls to governmental environmental protection agencies; local advertising highlighting any project deficiencies; direct mail; opposition research; mobilization of environmental and “citizen groups”; federal lobbying efforts on the competitions’ land-into-trust application deficiencies; Michigan state lobbying efforts; and polling on each facility.¹³¹ Analysis as to how most of the money that the Tribes paid Scanlon was diverted for unintended purposes is discussed below in Part 2, Chapter 3, “Capitol Campaign Strategies.”

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ *Id.*

¹²⁵ *Id.*

¹²⁶ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ The term “racino” refers to a combined race track and casino. In some cases, gaming available in racinos is limited to slot machines. However, some locations include table games such as blackjack, poker, and roulette. Saginaw Chippewa Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague noted that there were no meaningful efforts by CCS to stop racinos in Michigan. See Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (June 13, 2006).

¹²⁹ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹³⁰ *Id.*

¹³¹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Market Share Infringement and Political Analysis”) (May 18, 2002).

F. ABRAMOFF ON TRIBAL CLIENT MANAGEMENT—"KEEPING OUR PEOPLE IN POWER"

Apparently, Abramoff was not content simply to have Tribal members supportive of his representation of the Tribe elected to the Tribal Council. As he told one of his senior associates, "[u]nderstanding tribal politics, and keeping our people in power, is the priority of client management."¹³² Evidence in the Committee's possession indicates that Abramoff attempted to interfere in internal tribal politics to assure that the Tribe would remain supportive. Abramoff did so primarily by manipulating Petras and Petras' apparent influence over then-Chief Maynard Kahgegab and other members of the Slate of Eight. According to Abramoff, Petras was his "one secure ally" at the Tribe.¹³³

Abramoff's machinations began almost immediately. In January 2002, when Petras requested that Abramoff's team set up meetings with Members of Congress for then Sub-Chief David Otto, one of Abramoff's colleagues inquired whether there was a problem with the representation. Abramoff explained, "[Petras] wants an excuse to get Otto to town to make sure he is OK with us. Otto and Maynard are starting to be at contretemps."¹³⁴

One of Abramoff associates asked, "I thought Otto was one of our guys?"¹³⁵

Abramoff answered, "He is, but there is an ego thing going on there. He is not mad at us, but he has been nervous about our getting such a big contract, figuring correctly that their enemies at the tribe would be upset. That's why deliverables are the key."¹³⁶

He explained, "He and Maynard are at odds a bit. The original deal was that whoever got the most votes would be chief and the next guy would be subchief, as between the two of them. Maynard beat him out."¹³⁷

Furthermore, Abramoff noted, "Problem is that Maynard's style needs some work: too much 'me' and 'I' and not enough 'we'. David just needs to hold our hands again so he is calm on the lobbying front."¹³⁸

With the Tribe's casino operations serving as a premium revenue source for his secret partnership with Scanlon and even though he had co-opted the Tribe's trusted legislative director, Abramoff was keen on shoring up his supporters on the Tribal Council. He told Scanlon, "Regarding Sagchip, we need to present a plan to re-solidify these guys politically."¹³⁹

And, he intended to travel to the Tribe to do precisely that: "I am going there tomorrow by the way, on the way back from Nevada. Meeting with our slate on the council, chief, subchief, et al

¹³² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000026398) (May 30, 2002).

¹³³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000026141) (February 21, 2002).

¹³⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000000327) (January 22, 2002).

¹³⁵ *Id.*

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ *Id.*

¹³⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000024827) (February 6, 2002).

[sic], to make sure they start doing the local political work they need to do to stay in power.”¹⁴⁰

With the Slate of Eight keenly interested in assuring its incumbency, CCS appears to have served as an extension of Abramoff's interest in “keeping [his] people in power.” A CCS document, entitled “Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan Public Relations Plan,” dated April 5, 2002, identifies its objective as “provid[ing] the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council with the tools and resources necessary to successfully and *proactively* promote their agenda and improve their image among tribal members, the media and legislators.”¹⁴¹

Furthermore, the document states, “The goal is to make this Tribal Council the most powerful and effective Administration in the history of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan and secure their reelection.”¹⁴²

How did CCS intend to do this? CCS' strategy was “to arm the Tribal Council with an effective message and the resources needed to communicate that message in a clear, accurate and concise fashion ... Each action and activity is conceived to maximize the Tribal Council's visibility and bolster its political capital.”¹⁴³ In particular, CCS intended to “identify opportunities to promote the Tribal Council's agenda through targeted media and Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and activities.”¹⁴⁴ With “CCS ... propos[ing], stag[ing] and help execut[ing] all intra-tribe communications as directed by the council,” intra-tribe relations would “focus on establishing dialogue between the Tribal Council and tribal members, ultimately building a trust that leads to voter capital.”¹⁴⁵ Rather cryptically, the plan proposed to have “CCS ... collaborate with the Tribal Council to develop a response system for the notification of an incident/emergency, as it relates politically.”¹⁴⁶ In conclusion, the public relations plan noted that the “internal and external strategies outlined above will enable the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council to effectively communicate their agenda, resulting in a successful and highly regarded Administration.”¹⁴⁷

In an update memorandum from CCS associate Christopher Cathcart to Otto and Petras, dated April 19, 2002, Cathcart described CCS' efforts to date:

Our public relations team parachuted in to manage your community meeting April 1. As you know, we produced and delivered a “save the date” mailer that was mailed the week prior to the meeting. Additionally, we were able to produce a press release for your internal press person to distribute. While in Mt. Pleasant, the CCS team prepared Sub-Chief Otto's and your remarks to the membership and

¹⁴⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000025064) (February 12, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan Public Relations Plan”) (April 5, 2002) (emphasis in original).

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ *Id.*

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

also developed a comprehensive timeline for the entire meeting.¹⁴⁸

As internal strife began emerging among the Slate of Eight—specifically between Chief Kahgegab and Sub-Chief Otto—Abramoff and Scanlon focused on securing their allies on the Council: “Maynard and David are totally going at it. David has turned on Chris and possibly us (or at least is stupid and is the one who has been giving out our memos to the council). This could be a good thing ultimately if we can get Maynard secured in power, because he is now focused on needing us.”¹⁴⁹

One tactic the Slate of Eight apparently employed to neutralize its opponents on the Tribal Council was to deny them access to important information and meetings. They did so, if not on the advice of, then with the encouragement of, Abramoff. For example, when Petras reported that “another Council member or two could be joining” a Tribal Council meeting, Abramoff became alarmed: “This is a potential problem! Who might be joining? They have to be totally part of the family. We cannot risk that they are in the opposing camp. Please let me know what you have in mind as soon as possible. thanks. [sic]”¹⁵⁰

Similarly, when Abramoff attempted to convince the Saginaw Chippewa to participate in his program to have tribes underwrite his use of sky boxes at D.C.-area sporting venues, he and Petras discussed limiting information that would be seen by the full Tribal Council. Preparing to present that program to the Tribal Council, Petras advised Abramoff:

When I brought up the issue previously, the response was it was too soon to ask. However, I just talked to the Chief and he said bring the materials over. I have the materials but need to know if all can see the documents or if there is another document that needs to be typed outlining the program and payment costs? Something that says basically here is the program, here is what the Tribes use the program for, here is what it will cost total and with quarterly payments. I need a document that everyone who would be utilized throughout the process can see. Thanks.¹⁵¹

Abramoff advised shutting out the opposition to the greatest extent possible: “Can you hand out the invoice (but only to the slate [sic] of 8) and just read them the memo? The opposition should just hear this at the table orally and get nothing in writing. Will that work?”¹⁵²

Abramoff even attempted to control the Tribe’s external relations with other tribes. For example, when the Saginaw Chippewa’s leadership prepared to meet with the leadership from the Mississippi

¹⁴⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Memorandum”) (April 19, 2002).

¹⁴⁹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000001168) (May 17 and 19, 2002).

¹⁵⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Chris Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (GTG-E000024973) (February 11, 2002).

¹⁵¹ Email between Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000001142) (February 19, 2002).

¹⁵² *Id.*

Band of Choctaw Indians, Abramoff attempted to manipulate the meetings between the chiefs:

Chris told me this morning that Cheryl is setting up the SagChips [sic] to visit the Choctaws, which is great. it [sic] is important that they see how things are done right. There is one thing I wanted to mention though. I was told that Cheryl might be working to set up a separate meeting for Chief Maynard with Chief Martin. Based on the dynamic in the room during our meeting last week, I think you could tell that there are some jealousies among the group, particularly Sub-Chief Otto and the others feeling that Chief Maynard might not be including them in stuff. Therefore, I think we should be careful about setting up separate meetings and, ideally, keep everyone together for everything for now. Let me know if you agree on this. Thanks Bryant.¹⁵³

A draft of CCS' "Communications Program" for the Tribe, dated 2003, "briefly recap[s] what CCS, in its public relations role, accomplished [for the Tribe] in 2002."¹⁵⁴ According to this document, "CCS planned, staged and produced Community Meetings held by the Council"; "[w]rote speeches for the Chief and other Tribal Members as needed"; "[p]repped the Chief and other Tribal Council members and fine-tuned speeches."¹⁵⁵ Documents reflecting the work that CCS did for the Tribal Council is attached to the end of this Report.

In December 2003, the Saginaw Chippewa held new elections.¹⁵⁶ As a result of those elections, Maynard Kahgegab and the other members of the Slate of Eight allies lost their grip on the Tribal Council and a new chief and sub-chief were elected.¹⁵⁷ The newly elected Tribal Council decided not to retain Abramoff and Scanlon as their lobbyist and public relations specialist, respectively.¹⁵⁸

Newly elected Tribal Chief Audrey Falcon informed Scanlon of the Tribe's decision on January 23, 2004, citing CCS's failure to provide reports and work product regarding a state-wide smoking ban initiative.¹⁵⁹ On February 6, 2004, one of Scanlon's lawyers, Robert Tompkins of the Washington firm of Patton Boggs, demanded payment of \$2,755,000 in connection with the agreement relating to the initiative.¹⁶⁰ Just days after the election, Petras had also repeatedly tried to get the new Tribal Council to pay Scanlon.¹⁶¹ But, on March 5, 2004, shortly after the Committee announced its investigation, another of Scanlon's lawyers, Stephen Braga of Baker Botts, withdrew Scanlon's demand, indicating that

¹⁵³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to C. Bryant Rogers, Roth, Van Amberg, Rogers, Ortiz & Yepa (GTG-E000001146) (February 18, 2002).

¹⁵⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan Communications Program 2003") (2003).

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Chief Audrey Falcon, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (January 23, 2004).

¹⁶⁰ Letter from Robert K. Tompkins, counsel to Capitol Campaign Strategies, Patton Boggs, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (February 6, 2004).

¹⁶¹ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (June 13, 2006).

"[CCS] has no desire to try to force this contractual relationship forward with an unwilling party."¹⁶²

Opposition to the new ruling bloc in the Tribal Council began circulating "hit pieces" around the Tribe, attacking newly elected Chief Audrey Falcon, Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague, and others.¹⁶³ While who authored those pieces is unclear to the Committee, the Committee understands that, as a result of its own internal investigation, the Tribe has attributed them to Petras.¹⁶⁴

In an attempt to regain power, former Chief Maynard Kahgegab and former Sub-Chief Robert Pego sought to have the new council recalled.¹⁶⁵ Information obtained by the Committee suggests that Abramoff and Petras were involved in the recall effort. Apparently, on several occasions, they approached Scanlon about helping with that effort.¹⁶⁶ An email from Boulanger to other members of Abramoff's lobbying team, in February 2004, describes Abramoff's work with the ousted leadership against the duly elected members of the Tribe:

As of Friday, Maynard had just under 200 signatures for the recall petition (250 is required). They are going to get 300 just to be sure. This was completed in less than one week, which is highly unusual because the Saginaw are a very slow moving tribe. Diana, who was originally on Maynard's team and then switched to Bernie has finally come back into the fold. Her family was planning on signing the petition this weekend. Also, two of Bernie's guys on the council are scared and trying to get in Maynard's good graces ... they don't know that they are also on the recall list. Once the recall is completed, we are going to have to get a letter to BIA asking that they send monitors, etc, to the special election date ... if Robert Pego wins the special election on the 11th for the vacant seat, we may actually have a majority and can at a minimum get Rosenthal fired. This is confidential, obviously.¹⁶⁷

With Petras serving as Abramoff's point man on the recall effort, Abramoff was prepared to help fund it.¹⁶⁸ In a status report later that day, Boulanger reported: "They are less than 50 signatures short of the recall. Maynard has been pounding them with mailings ... which to be honest with you, aren't that bad."¹⁶⁹

He continued, "They are running out of money for copying, stamps, etc. Petras asked if we could come up with \$2500 to help

¹⁶² Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

¹⁶³ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁶⁴ From its internal investigation, the Tribe has found that Petras wrote these pieces. Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (June 13, 2006).

¹⁶⁵ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁶⁶ Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

¹⁶⁷ Email from Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Michael Smith, Kevin Ring and Michael Williams, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000028359) (February 9, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ See Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

¹⁶⁹ Email from Todd Boulanger to Jack Abramoff, Michael Smith, Kevin Ring, Shawn Vasell and Michael Williams, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000028361) (February 9, 2004).

them out.”¹⁷⁰ Kahgegab and Pego’s efforts, apparently with assistance from Petras and Abramoff, to have the newly elected council recalled failed.¹⁷¹

Abramoff was prepared to contribute, instructing associate Shana Tesler to get Petras money from one of his accounts, which Boulanger carefully specified should be “cash.” Two days later, Boulanger reported that Kahgegab would have 300 signatures within the next few days.¹⁷² The foregoing describes Abramoff and Scanlon’s elaborate, albeit unsuccessful, attempts to assure, by further interfering in internal tribal matters, that the Tribe would keep them on as its paid representatives.

G. CHRISTOPHER PETRAS’ HEARING TESTIMONY IS NOT CREDIBLE

On September 29, 2004, former Saginaw Chippewa legislative director Christopher Petras testified before the Committee. The Committee is concerned about the veracity of his testimony. It appears that, with his testimony, Petras intended to obscure his contemporaneous relationship with Abramoff and Scanlon and the assistance he gave them in maximizing their interests at the Tribe’s considerable expense.

1. Petras’ Relationship With Abramoff and Scanlon

Serving as Abramoff and Scanlon’s primary point of contact with the Tribe, Petras proved to be their key to access to the Saginaw Chippewa.¹⁷³ Abramoff and Scanlon apparently obtained Petras’ help by assisting in the election of a slate of candidates supportive of his promotion to legislative director (and the considerable increase in his salary). Apparently, they also did so by lavishing him with attention and favors during his visits to Washington, D.C., including sky box tickets for sporting events and concerts at area stadiums.¹⁷⁴ On one such visit, Petras had his photograph taken with, separately, President George W. Bush and his chief political advisor Karl Rove.¹⁷⁵

Those trips, during which Petras was driven around town in a private car and for which his meals and entertainment were expensed back to the Tribe, seem to have been frequent.¹⁷⁶ In his interview with staff, tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague stated that Petras traveled to Washington about every two weeks.¹⁷⁷ Sprague regarded the purpose of those trips as dubious.¹⁷⁸ Former Abramoff associate Stephanie Leger Short agreed that Petras was “around a

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁷² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Todd Boulanger, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000028364) (February 11, 2004).

¹⁷³ See Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004); Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁷⁴ *Id.* (conveying concern about gratuities).

¹⁷⁵ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 45 (September 29, 2004).

¹⁷⁶ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

lot”—at least once a month, if not more.”¹⁷⁹ In her interview, Short described Petras’ visits as “high maintenance” and noted that “[the Greenberg Traurig’s associates] were running out of people [for Petras] to meet with, because they had pretty much met with everybody at that point.”¹⁸⁰ After a while, the meetings were being set up as “dog-and-pony shows,” she said.¹⁸¹

In fact, Petras’ trips were so frequent and so demanding on Abramoff’s staff, he was regarded as something of a nuisance. This is reflected in, for example, a March 22, 2002, email between Abramoff senior associate Todd Boulanger. It begins with Petras informing Boulanger of his itinerary of an upcoming trip to Washington:

Todd, I am scheduled to arrive in D.C. on April 9 and returning on the 12th... I have asked Members of the Council to join me and will await their response. However, please schedule meetings, [i]ncluding lunch and dinner meetings at Signature’s [sic]. Jack had mentioned a possible lunch or dinner with Mr. Norquist on one of the days if he is available. If Signature’s [sic] is serving breakfast maybe you can schedule a meeting then. Also, I will probably be returning April 15–18th.¹⁸²

Boulanger was not pleased, writing Abramoff, “How am I going to schedule six days [of] meetings. This is fucking ridiculous. There is no way I can basically take 2 weeks to shuttle him around. This has to be dealt with.”¹⁸³

Abramoff offered some consolation, “I will set up the Grover meeting. What a loser.”¹⁸⁴

Similarly, on July 2, 2002, during another visit to Washington, Petras suggested, “Perhaps on the next visit, you and I can host an official for dinner at Signature’s [sic].”¹⁸⁵

Abramoff wrote Boulanger, “Host an official for dinner at Signatures? What the hell is this?”¹⁸⁶

Boulanger answered, “U 100 percent need to tell him he can’t come back until post August [sic]. Approps staff are getting mad at us.”¹⁸⁷

From information obtained by the Committee, it appears that the foregoing was not atypical of Petras’ trips to Washington.

During the Committee’s hearing, then-Vice-Chairman Inouye probed what gifts Petras may have received from Abramoff or Scanlon while he served as the Tribe’s legislative director:

VICE-CHAIRMAN INOUE: Did you receive any gift or remuneration or compensation from these two men from Washington?

¹⁷⁹ Interview of Stephen Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

¹⁸⁰ *Id.*

¹⁸¹ *Id.*

¹⁸² Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000078656) (March 22, 2002).

¹⁸³ *Id.*

¹⁸⁴ *Id.*

¹⁸⁵ Email from Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000078774) (July 2, 2002).

¹⁸⁶ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000078773-74) (July 2, 2002).

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

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

VICE-CHAIRMAN INOUE: Did you feel that it was proper or improper?

MR. PETRAS: It was at Christmas. [Laughter]¹⁸⁸

Among the gratuities that Petras did not disclose was the \$2500 he solicited in 2004 from Abramoff to support a recall campaign against the incumbent Tribal Council.¹⁸⁹ Documents in the Committee's possession also indicate that, Maynard Kahgegab, whose campaign for Tribal Chief Petras (and CCS) helped with, also received gifts from Abramoff. On July 21, 2003, Abramoff discussed with one of his assistants a "television gift" for Chief Kahgegab: "We bought him one for Christmas, right? Can you show me what we got him? [H]e complained tonight that it was too small. We might have to get him another one. [W]hat joy!"¹⁹⁰

2. Problems With Petras' Testimony

During its September 29, 2004, hearing, the Committee posed several questions to Petras about his involvement in tribal elections—both the campaign of the Slate of Eight for seats on the Tribal Council and subsequent efforts to keep the then-incumbent members of the slate on the Tribal Council. In response, Petras relied on a chronic failure of recollection. In particular, he testified that he could not recall "at any time having anything to do with [Tribal Council] elections."¹⁹¹ He also stated that he did "not recall any discussion regarding bringing in Mr. Scanlon to run *any* type of campaign."¹⁹² In response to a specific question from the Committee about the strategy meeting with Scanlon and Otto at the Bob Evans restaurant, Petras testified that he could not recall "discussing any strategy for a [S]late of [E]ight."¹⁹³

However, this Report has presented testimony and documents that indicate that Petras not only came up with the "Slate of Eight" concept but also was heavily involved in helping Scanlon implement a plan to help elect the Slate of Eight to the Tribal Council. Given the volume of that evidence, discussed above, the Committee finds Petras' failure of recollection on this point misleading.

Despite his alleged failure to remember having had anything to do with Tribal elections, documents indicate that Petras actually persisted in trying to get CCS to help on the re-election of incumbent members of the Tribal Council. For example, an October 1, 2003, memorandum from then-CCS associate Christopher Cathcart to the file, entitled "MI Elections," reflects that Scanlon had "repeated and contentious discussions with Petras' about his attempts

¹⁸⁸ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 41 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

¹⁸⁹ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Shana Tesler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000028361) (February 9, 2004).

¹⁹⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000000008) (July 21, 2003).

¹⁹¹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 42 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

¹⁹² *Id.* at 40 (emphasis added).

¹⁹³ *Id.* at 41.

to have CCS work on individual election efforts of Tribal Council members.¹⁹⁴ To Cathcart, this “looked fishy and smelled fishy.”¹⁹⁵ According to the memorandum, Cathcart “repeatedly advised ... Chris Petras ... that we as a firm can do no work [on such efforts].”¹⁹⁶

Days later, Petras apparently “came to [CCS]’ offices today asking again that we help in the council elections scheduled for next Tuesday, October 14th.”¹⁹⁷ According to a memorandum reflecting this discussion, Cathcart “again expressed [his] opinion that since [CCS is] contracted with the tribe, [CCS] cannot be involved with the elections.”¹⁹⁸ In this document, Cathcart memorialized that “[Petras] was very upset by this line of discussion ...”¹⁹⁹ On October 7, 2003, in another note to the file, Cathcart memorialized that “[Scanlon] expressed that he would discuss the matter with Chris Petras and express to [him] that that [sic] was our position.”²⁰⁰ Memorializing “the behavior of Chris Petras, our sole contact at Saginaw Chippewa[,] to be inappropriate with regard to [CCS]’ relationship with the tribe,” Scanlon drafted his own note to the file that “[Petras] has repeatedly pressed his and the chiefs [sic] political concerns into our business relationship with the tribe.”²⁰¹ He also memorialized that he and Cathcart “have continually told [Petras] that we (CCS) can not [sic] use tribal funds to conduct campaign activity ...”

As described above, the Committee has received information indicating that Petras was heavily involved in the 2004 recall effort. Apparently, at one point, Petras and Abramoff were on a speaker phone yelling at Scanlon because Scanlon would not help with that effort.²⁰² The Committee has also received information indicating that Petras asked Scanlon to write a negative letter about a Tribal Member associated with the effort—perhaps Bernie Sprague.²⁰³ Petras apparently provided Scanlon with negative personal information about that member.²⁰⁴ About three weeks before Sprague was elected to the Tribal Council, an anonymous letter conveying disturbing allegations was mailed out to members of the Tribe.²⁰⁵

Not only did Petras claim to not recall what he did to support the re-election efforts of particular Tribal Council members, he al-

¹⁹⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/SC 08552) (entitled “Memorandum, from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to file, ‘MI Elections’”) (October 1, 2003).

¹⁹⁵ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capital Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

¹⁹⁶ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/SC 08552) (entitled “Memorandum, from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to file, ‘MI Elections’”) (October 1, 2003).

¹⁹⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/SC 08547) (entitled “Memorandum, from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to file, ‘MI Elections’”) (October 6, 2003).

¹⁹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/SC 08551) (entitled “Memorandum, from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to file, ‘Tribal Council Election in Michigan’”) (October 7, 2003).

²⁰¹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/SC 08549) (entitled “Memorandum, from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to file, ‘Saginaw Chippewa/Chris Petras’”) (October 9, 2003) (carbon-copying Cathcart).

²⁰² Email from Steven Braga, Esq., Baker Botts, to Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (no Bates number) (March 30, 2006) (conveying responses from Scanlon to questions posed by Tribe).

²⁰³ *Id.*

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ *Id.*

legedly could not recall anything about Abramoff's involvement in assisting in the recall of the other members of the Tribal Council, who were elected after the Slate of Eight left office.²⁰⁶ However, given the evidence described above that indicate that Petras knew a great deal about Abramoff's involvement here, the Committee finds Petras' chronic failure to recall matters about this issue, and other issues, disingenuous. Of additional interest to the Committee is Petras' inability to recall all of the gifts or remuneration he may have received from Abramoff or Scanlon, also discussed above.

On areas apparently unaffected by his chronic failure of recollection, Petras made statements that are inconsistent with the testimony of other, more credible, witnesses. Two areas that the Committee probed with Petras during the hearing were his role in the Tribe's hiring of Abramoff and his role in getting the Tribe to pay on Abramoff's requests for political and charitable contributions. During the hearing, Petras described his role in the Tribe's hiring of Abramoff as merely passing information on to the Tribal Council as to who it should hire as an outside counsel or lobbyist and that legislative assistant Kim Sawmick actually made the recommendation.²⁰⁷ Inasmuch as Petras covered federal legislative matters for the Tribe, the Tribal Council likely would have given substantial deference to Petras as to who the Tribe should hire as its federal lobbyist. Indeed, former Tribal Sub-Chief David Otto stated that Petras actually recommended Abramoff as his choice for the job.²⁰⁸ Likewise, Tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague told staff that Petras "brought in Abramoff."²⁰⁹

Petras likewise testified that "[t]here were no efforts on my behalf to try to push either way any type of political contribution."²¹⁰ This was offered in response to a question from the Committee as to whether Petras "encourage[d] or assist[ed] Mr. Abramoff in encouraging the tribes to donate to [the] so-called charities that he promoted."²¹¹

However, Otto's testimony rebuts Petras' recollection. In particular, Otto recalled Petras' telling him that the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy ("CREA") was a group with which Interior Secretary Gale Norton was "involved."²¹² According to Otto, Petras also said that supporting a project the Secretary was involved with would "look good for the Tribe."²¹³ Otto also recalled that he was told that doing so would "help [the Tribe] with appropriations for their school, drug abuse center, senior center, and etc."²¹⁴

²⁰⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 40 (September 29, 2004).

²⁰⁷ *Id.* at 42-44, 48.

²⁰⁸ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

²⁰⁹ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

²¹⁰ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 39 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

²¹¹ *Id.*

²¹² Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

²¹³ *Id.*

²¹⁴ *Id.*

Documents indicating that Abramoff told Petras that the Secretary supported CREA help corroborate Otto's account. In an email, dated September 19, 2001, from Abramoff to Petras, Abramoff tried to persuade the Tribe to make a sizeable contribution to CREA.²¹⁵ In connection with a CREA fund-raiser at a private Washington, D.C. home, Abramoff falsely pitched CREA as "hav[ing] been incredibly helpful on certain specific tribal issues' and misrepresented CREA as "[Secretary] Norton's main group outside the department."²¹⁶ After having told Petras about the Secretary's connection to CREA, on January 31, 2002, Abramoff directed his assistant make the following change to a requested contribution list going to the Saginaw Chippewa: "add in \$50,000 for CREA and put a note in the candidate column as follows: Sec. Norton."²¹⁷

From its due diligence, the Tribe estimates that "[t]he Saginaw Chippewas were taken by Mr. Petras and Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff over a 2-year period of approximately \$1 million in contributions ... Campaign contributions to people we never heard of, people we knew nothing about, organizations, different things of this nature."²¹⁸ Given the foregoing, the Committee is concerned about the accuracy of Petras' testimony to the Committee.

H. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON PRIVATELY EXPRESS CONTEMPT FOR THE TRIBE

While Abramoff and Scanlon worked closely with the Tribe for their own purposes, they expressed an unsettling contempt for their clients. Evidence of their contempt can be traced to the beginning of their representation of the Saginaw Chippewa. For example, on December 17, 2001, shortly after the Tribal Council elections, Abramoff and Scanlon awaited the new Council's vote on a project proposed by Scanlon's CCS: "Just spoke with Chris. Did you get Maynard? Chris said they are voting on the project today!! Can you smell money?!?!?!"²¹⁹

When the new Council failed to vote on the project, Abramoff was unreserved in his contempt: "The f'ing troglodytes didn't vote on you today. Dammit."²²⁰

Scanlon asked, "What's a troglodyte?"²²¹

Abramoff responded, "What am I a dictionary? :) It's a lower form of existence basically."²²²

Continuing their exchange, Abramoff explained the Saginaw Chippewa's failure to vote on one of Scanlon's proposals: "They spent the whole time discussing the firings of late. I like these

²¹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (GTG-E000105233-34) (September 19, 2001).

²¹⁶ *Id.*

²¹⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000107697) (January 31, 2002).

²¹⁸ "Tribal Lobbying Matter," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 29 (September 29, 2004) (prepared statement of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

²¹⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Mike Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000002363) (December 17, 2001).

²²⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Mike Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000002365) (December 17, 2001).

²²¹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000002365) (December 17, 2001).

²²² *Id.*

guys, and truly believe they are going to do the program, but they are plain stupid. They should have had you on board first and then done the firings. Morons.”²²³

Likewise, on March 13, 2002, Mr. Abramoff simply referred to the Tribe, in the subject line of an email to Scanlon, as “those f’ing SagChips.”²²⁴

In that e-mail, Abramoff expressed concern that the Tribe was not going to participate in his Sports Suites program, because the Tribe was already spending too much money and was not seeing results from Scanlon.²²⁵

Scanlon retorted that the tribe “are just friggin cheap—and losers ...”²²⁶

Furthermore, in an e-mail bearing the subject line “SagChip idiots”, Abramoff wrote:

Someone leaked out the Operation Red Wing memo to the enemy up there. Petras told me this tonight. The PR guy, Joe?, is the enemy and—I did not know this—is a Sagchip, and is now going to run for council!! These mofos are the stupidest idiots in the land for sure.²²⁷

In discussing a trip to the Tribe in June 2002, Scanlon wrote:

Also, we need to figure something out on the trip to sag—I can travel two weekd [sic] in [a] row and you know that petras is always dramatic [sic]. It would really be better for me—and us[,] I believe[,] to just do the whole swing. I really think a trip out to those fools solo is not worth it regardless, because we will not come back with cash or a firm [sic] commitment [sic], but when you throw in the pain in the ass factor and the petras bullshit factor, its [sic] a really bad idea.²²⁸

As the foregoing suggests, Christopher Petras, Abramoff and Scanlon’s champion within the Tribe, did not escape their contempt. Apparently from the outset, Abramoff disparaged Petras as a “dork.”²²⁹ When Petras attempted to get concert tickets for a Michigan state representative running for Congress, Abramoff wrote to a colleague, “Neither rain, nor snow [sic], nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy.”²³⁰

Ironically, Abramoff and Scanlon ridiculed Petras privately for talking about people behind their backs. In an email with the subject line “Just Talked to Petras,” Scanlon wrote, “No worries—Im [sic] sorry I felw [sic] off the handle—that guy drives me nuts

²²³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E00002363) (December 18, 2001).

²²⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000026246) (March 13, 2002).

²²⁵ *Id.*

²²⁶ *Id.*

²²⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000026311) (April 11, 2002).

²²⁸ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000001175) (June 5, 2002).

²²⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Rodney Lane (GTG–E000024633) (May 24, 2001).

²³⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000027857) (February 18, 2003).

sometimes—especially the way he back stabs and talks about everybody behind thier [sic] backs.”²³¹

Abramoff replied, “That’s why he has a mullet.”²³²

Months later, Abramoff had a similar exchange with his senior lobbying associate Todd Boulanger: “What are you doing? Petras is coming to town this week” I’m gonna schedule ... Some Jack—Petras time everyday ...”²³³

He continued, “Have you noticed that he’s wearing better ties and shirts ... [?] I’ve got him to spend some cash on it. He’s into it. Ahahahahhahhaahhaha. If he would [sic] only cut that hair.”²³⁴

Abramoff replied, “Then he wouldn’t look like an Indian, though.”²³⁵

When, at its September 29, 2004, hearing the Committee asked Petras for his reaction to various communications in which Abramoff and his associates disparaged him, his loyalty to Abramoff stood fast—he asked for their context.²³⁶

I. CONCLUSION

Abramoff and Scanlon’s efforts to sign on the Saginaw Chippewa as clients is particularly notable. As they had done with the Agua Caliente, Abramoff and Scanlon insinuated themselves in Tribal Council elections to maximize their chance of getting hired afterwards. In particular, they provided, among other things, strategic advice and logistic support to some of the candidates. Those who ran in the Saginaw Chippewa election called themselves the “Slate of 8.” While Scanlon came up with the name of this slate of candidates, the concept was apparently created by a non-Tribal member—Tribal legislative director, Christopher Petras.

While his motivation for helping Abramoff and Scanlon oust the incumbent Tribal Council remains unclear, evidence indicates that, over the course of (originally) Abramoff’s and (later) Scanlon’s representation of the Saginaw Chippewa, Petras was given things of value. In fact, Petras traveled to Washington, D.C. so often and (with private cars, tickets to sporting events and concerts, meals at posh restaurants, and “meetings” with prominent political personalities) his trips became so demanding on Abramoff’s staff that one former Abramoff associate described what they did for and with Petras as “dog and pony shows.”

The weight of evidence obtained by the Committee indicates that (1) Petras’ assistance was key to Abramoff and Scanlon’s success in getting contracts with the Saginaw Chippewa and (2) those candidates who were elected to the council with Abramoff and Scanlon’s assistance ultimately supported Abramoff and Scanlon’s contract proposals because of, or in exchange for, the assistance that Abramoff and Scanlon provided them.

²³¹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-000024691) (December 12, 2002).

²³² *Id.*

²³³ Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000027698) (March 16, 2003).

²³⁴ *Id.*

²³⁵ *Id.*

²³⁶ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 41–42 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Christopher Petras, former legislative director, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe).

From June 2002 through October 2003, the Saginaw Chippewa paid Scanlon about \$3,500,000 for grassroots activities and political consulting. Of those proceeds, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$540,000—about 50% of his total profit from the Tribe during this period. Discussion and analysis of how Abramoff and Scanlon successfully perpetrated their “gimme five” scheme on the Tribe, on an entity-by-entity basis, is contained *infra* in Part 2 of this Report.

CHAPTER IV

AGUA CALIENTE BAND OF CAHUILLA INDIANS

Can you smell money?

Email from Jack Abramoff to Michael Scanlon, June 14, 2002

I think the key thing to remember with all these clients is that they are annoying, but that the annoying losers are the only ones which have this kind of money and part with it so quickly.

Email from Jack Abramoff to Michael Scanlon, March 5, 2003

A. INTRODUCTION

During her February 2004, interview of Jack Abramoff, *The Washington Post* reporter Susan Schmidt queried him about allegations that he and Michael Scanlon may have interfered with Tribal elections to get lobbying contracts. Specifically, Schmidt asked, “You know, isn’t there some, you know concern about outside people getting involved in tribal elections and isn’t that frowned upon by the regulators here in Washington?”¹

Abramoff pushed back a little: “I’m sorry I don’t understand, tribal elections?”²

Schmidt explained, “Getting involved in tribal elections [—] outside firms[;] outside influences[;] bringing money or expertise or whatever[;] getting involved in tribal elections[;] getting people ousted[;] getting people elected[;] getting people re-elected using tribal funds for that purpose.”³

Abramoff asked, “Well I don’t know, I’m not sure I understand the question, do you mean with the Sac and Fox in Iowa, or our getting involved?”⁴

Schmidt pressed, “No, I was actually thinking of the Agua Caliente[;] some people running for election getting dominance on the tribal council and then bringing you guys in and you guys bringing in Scanlon, in sort of unfolding. ...”⁵

Abramoff obfuscated, “With Agua Caliente, I, you can check, but I don’t think the tribal council makeup has changed much over the years, I’m not certain.”⁶

Notwithstanding Abramoff’s evasive answers to Schmidt’s questions, Abramoff and Scanlon did, in fact, insinuate themselves into the elections at the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (“Agua Caliente”). In 2002, one of their allies prevailed and paved the way

¹ Email from Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000010608) (February 3, 2004).

² *Id.*

³ *Id.*

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ *Id.*

for the lucrative contracts that the Tribe ultimately awarded to Abramoff and Scanlon.

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

The Agua Caliente's traditional homelands are in the Palm Springs, California area.⁷ In 1876, the Federal Government deeded into trust 32,000 acres of the Tribe's ancestral homeland as the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation.⁸

Traditionally, a Cahuilla village consisted of approximately 100 to 200 inhabitants with several villages combining together to compose a larger political and territorial unit called a tribelet or sib.⁹ The villages were permanent; however, groups would leave periodically to hunt, gather, or trade, setting up temporary camps for several weeks at a time.¹⁰

The Cahuillas belong to the Shoshonean division of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family, which ranges from the Aztecs of Mexico to the Hopi in Arizona.¹¹ Cahuilla society was divided into exactly two descent groups or moieties, the Wildcat and the Coyote.¹² The Cahuilla were adept at farming and grew crops such as melons, squash, beans, and corn.¹³ They irrigated their crops with water from nearby streams.¹⁴ They also gathered other food items such as acorns, seeds, wild fruit, agave, and yucca.¹⁵ In addition, they participated in extensive trade routes with neighboring tribes where food, shells, animals, and mineral products were traded.¹⁶

The Agua Caliente adopted its constitution and by-laws in 1955.¹⁷ The Agua Caliente Tribal Council consists of five members: chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and two members.¹⁸ The chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary serve 2-year terms and members serve a 1-year term.¹⁹ Under the Tribe's constitution, action is taken by a majority vote of the Tribal Council.²⁰

In 1989, the Tribe formed the Agua Caliente Development Authority, a subsidiary of the Tribe, which handles decisions on economic development.²¹ The Tribe operates two casinos. One, opened

⁷ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 51 (September 29, 2004) (Prepared statement of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians).

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Cultural History* (visited Mar. 22, 2006) <<http://www.aguacaliente.org/index.php?PID=CULTURAL>> (describing the cultural history of the Cahuilla).

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Homepage* (visited Mar. 22, 2006) <<http://www.aguacaliente.org/index.php?PID=TRIBALHOME>> (providing a brief introduction to Cahuilla history).

¹⁴ *Cultural History* (visited Mar. 22, 2006) <<http://www.aguacaliente.org/index.php?PID=CULTURAL>> (describing the cultural history of the Cahuilla).

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 51 (September 29, 2004) (Prepared statement of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Political History* (visited March 22, 2006) <<http://www.aguacaliente.org/index.php?PID=POLITICAL>> (describing the political history of the Cahuilla).

in 1995, is located on the hot springs for which the Tribe was named.²² The other casino opened in 2001.²³

C. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON OFFER THE PROMISED LAND

In early 2002, Abramoff was on his way to Palm Springs, California for a meeting with members of the Agua Caliente.²⁴ Michael Chapman, an enrolled member of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, had arranged the introduction.²⁵ Chapman had claimed to be “very good friends” with Candace Patencio (“C. Patencio”) and Virginia Siva, members and Tribal leaders²⁶ of the Agua Caliente.²⁷

Abramoff had become acquainted with Chapman through Michael Smith, then a lobbyist in Greenberg Traurig’s Washington, D.C. governmental affairs practice.²⁸ Smith and Chapman initially met by phone through a mutual friend, and later met face-to-face in Chicago over Christmas vacation.²⁹

Chapman proved a useful resource. Before Abramoff’s meeting in Palm Springs, Chapman provided Abramoff with information about the Tribe, its key players, and internal dynamics. More specifically, he provided background on C. Patencio and Siva and their involvement in Tribal politics:

[Virginia] has held her At-Large seat for several years. She is contemplating running for Chairman, pending a preliminary polling of key families. What is remarkable about her is the At-Large seats are up for election each year, so she has a consistent power base in the tribe that is loyal to her.³⁰

On C. Patencio, Chapman provided the following information:

Candace comes from the Petencio [sic] family which is one of the largest families at Agua Caliente—both of her parents have served on council in the past and her father was once Tribal Chairman. She has served on council for several years as an At-Large Councilor. Last year she ran for

²² *Miller & Schroeder Completes \$70 Million Debt Financing for Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians* (visited March 22, 2006) <<http://www.casinocitytimes.com/news/article.cfm?contentID=123148>> (discussing the financial history of the Cahuilla casinos).

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Smith, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059107) (January 7, 2002).

²⁵ Email between Michael Chapman and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059081) (January 22, 2002); Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Chapman (GTG-E000056764) (January 22, 2002).

²⁶ Although she was not on the Tribal Council at the time, C. Patencio had been involved in tribal politics and had served on the Tribal Council previously, from 1996–2001, losing her bid in 2001 for the vice chairman’s seat by one vote. Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

²⁷ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056764) (January 22, 2002); see also Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059086) (January 22, 2002) (“I am dear friends with both and we have vacationed together in Utah and Hawaii—under the guise of Indian business.”). During his interview with Committee staff, Chapman said that while he considers Siva a friend, he only feels he is close friends with C. Patencio. Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

²⁸ Email from Michael Smith, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059106-07) (January 7, 2002).

²⁹ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

³⁰ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056764) (January 22, 2002).

Vice-Chairman of the tribe and lost by one vote. This year she is seeking her old seat. Candace has an MBA.³¹

Chapman also identified the consequences of a successful election for C. Patencio and Siva:

They [C. Patencio and Siva] are also related to the Tribe's Treasurer [Moraino Patencio]—so if they prevail in their election pursuits in March—they will have controlling interest on the Tribal Council.³²

Once in Palm Springs, Abramoff dined with C. Patencio, Siva, and Moraino Patencio (“M. Patencio”) at the Canyon Bistro restaurant.³³ During her interview with Committee staff, C. Patencio admitted that she and Siva were dissatisfied with Pace-Capstone, the Tribe's lobbyists at the time.³⁴ Indeed, C. Patencio said that if she assumed control of the Tribal Council at the time, she would have definitely ended that lobbying firm's contract.³⁵

Yet, she claimed that before her meeting with Abramoff, she did not know he was a lobbyist, and there was no purpose to the meeting.³⁶ She simply met with him because Chapman had suggested she do so.³⁷ According to C. Patencio, she only knew that Abramoff was a movie producer who had produced “red something.”³⁸

Chapman recalled the genesis of the meeting much differently. Chapman told the Committee that he had recommended C. Patencio meet with Abramoff because she and Siva were dissatisfied with the Tribe's lobbyists at the time.³⁹ Indeed, after speaking with C. Patencio about arranging the meeting, Chapman reported to Abramoff that they are “eager to hear what you think.”⁴⁰

In light of Chapman's statement to the Committee and his contemporaneous email to Abramoff, the Committee has considerable difficulty with C. Patencio's claim that she did not know that Abramoff was a lobbyist or the purpose of the meeting. Ms. Patencio holds a business administration degree and a Masters of Business Administration.⁴¹ Her family has been heavily involved in Tribal politics: both her father and mother served on the Tribal Council, and her father was once chairman.⁴² C. Patencio served on

³¹ *Id.*; see also Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006) (explaining she received a degree in Business Administration from University of San Diego and an MBA from University of Phoenix in San Diego, and confirming her one-vote loss for Vice Chairman in 2001).

³² Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056764) (January 22, 2002). In her interview, C. Patencio confirmed that she, Moraino Patencio, and Siva are related. Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

³³ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006); see also Emails between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Iliisa Gertner, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056766) (January 22, 2002).

³⁴ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.* C. Patencio was likely referring to Abramoff's production of the movie “Red Scorpion,” an action film starring actor Dolph Lundgren.

³⁹ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

⁴⁰ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059086) (January 22, 2002).

⁴¹ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

⁴² Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056764) (January, 22, 2002).

the Tribal Council for five years.⁴³ The Committee has difficulty believing that a woman with C. Patencio's educational and political background would not have known the purpose of the meeting and Abramoff's profession.

C. Patencio told Committee staff that during their dinner, Abramoff boasted that he was part of the lobbying team that had secured self-regulation of Class III gaming under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw").⁴⁴ That, according to C. Patencio, was why she became so interested in having the Tribe hire Abramoff.⁴⁵ In addition to her dissatisfaction with Pace-Capstone, C. Patencio was at odds with the Tribe's Chairman and Vice Chairman.⁴⁶ Although she had just met Abramoff, C. Patencio shared this information with him.⁴⁷

C. Patencio could recall little else about that meeting.⁴⁸ C. Patencio did not recall Abramoff mentioning any other clients aside from Choctaw, or discussing Michael Scanlon.⁴⁹ She also did not remember discussing the upcoming 2002 Tribal elections with Abramoff at that dinner.⁵⁰

The following month, in Washington, D.C., Abramoff met again with C. Patencio, M. Patencio, and Siva.⁵¹ The three Tribal members were attending meetings of the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Gaming Association.⁵² Before the trio arrived in Washington, D.C., Chapman advised Smith that "a dinner and sporting event would go a long way with Virginia et al [sic] (especially dinner at your [Abramoff's] place)." ⁵³

Chapman also revealed: "I assisted them [C. Patencio and Siva] with their candidacy statements and will fly out the weekend before the election to see what we can shore-up. The actual election is March 19th."⁵⁴ The very next day, Chapman wrote that "[o]n the election front, Agua voters must register weeks in advance in order to participate in the election—so now is the time they need to shore up their support!"⁵⁵ Abramoff forwarded Chapman's email to Scanlon, noting "[l]et's discuss this."⁵⁶ It thus appears that Chapman,

⁴³ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

⁴⁴ *Id.* Provided certain conditions are met, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") allows for self-regulation by Indian tribes of Class II gaming (*e.g.*, bingo and games similar to it, pull tabs, and non-house banked card games). IGRA does not allow for self-regulation of Class III gaming. In 1999, the Choctaw successfully secured self-regulation for Class III gaming in an omnibus appropriations bill.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² Email from Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057210) (February 18, 2002); *See also* Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056873) (February 16, 2002) ("Candace and Virginia are both going to be in Washington the week of February 24th—initially for NCAI's Executive Council meeting and then NIGA business.").

⁵³ Email from Michael Smith, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056872) (February 16, 2002).

⁵⁴ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056872) (February 16, 2002).

⁵⁵ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056867) (February 17, 2002).

⁵⁶ *Id.*

intentionally or unintentionally, gave Abramoff the idea to insinuate himself and Scanlon into the Agua Caliente elections.

Abramoff followed Chapman's advice, and on February 17, invited C. Patencio:

Michael tells me that Virginia and you are going to be in Washington, DC [sic] next week. I would love to get together with you if possible. Coincidentally, that is the week that we open Signatures, a high end fine dining restaurant which I own. We have a special reception there Wednesday night for Senator Tim Hutchinson (I'd love to introduce you to him—and then we could all have dinner).⁵⁷

Abramoff continued, "Thursday night is the grand opening, and you are certainly invited to attend that one as well. There should be quite a few Members and Senators there. Anyway, I'll call you this week to see if you can make it and if we can get together."⁵⁸

"Are you guys basketball fans? If so, the Wizards (Michael Jordan) are playing and I'd love to have you join us for that too," Abramoff added.⁵⁹

C. Patencio confirmed that, "Yes, Virginia, Moraino and I will be in DC from 2/24–3/31. The full Tribal Council along with the proxies will be attending the NCAI & NIGA meetings."⁶⁰

She continued, "Spoke with Virginia [and] she said she would like to go to dinner but neither of us are basketball fans (As you can tell fine dining is something we enjoy)."⁶¹

In response, Abramoff told her he would call her the next day to make plans.⁶²

C. Patencio recalled two meetings with Abramoff during her visit.⁶³ Contemporaneous emails suggest there might have been three. Abramoff apparently first met with the trio on February 26. That day, Chapman advised Abramoff, "Just a short note to say that once again my Agua crew enjoyed the pleasure of your company! They're looking forward to seeing you tomorrow! I hope Virginia prevails—it could be a great relationship/client!"⁶⁴

Abramoff assured Chapman, "Mike Scanlon and I are going to do everything we can to help them."⁶⁵

Separately, Abramoff forwarded Chapman's email to Scanlon and suggested, "You should call them for tomorrow and get together to discuss strategy."⁶⁶

Abramoff met again with C. Patencio and her companions on February 27. At that point, Abramoff apparently began to scheme on how he could use political contributions from the Agua Caliente

⁵⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (GTG–E000057166) (February 17, 2002).

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

⁶⁰ Email between Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000057210) (February 18, 2002).

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

⁶⁴ Email between Michael Chapman and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000059253) (February 26, 2002).

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon (GTG–E000059252) (February 26, 2002).

to further his lobbying practice. Before his meeting with the Tribal members, Abramoff told his assistant Ilisa Gertner:

Please let the Hutchinson guys know that they are coming (Candace, Virginia Siva, and a third fellow—can't remember his name). tell [sic] them that they are not currently going to be able to contribute, but that they will in March be in a position where they control their tribe and will be able to be helpful on a Choctaw level.⁶⁷

While at Signatures, Abramoff, C. Patencio, M. Patencio and Siva discussed Abramoff possibly representing the Tribe.⁶⁸ They also apparently discussed Scanlon helping out C. Patencio and Siva on their 2002 elections, because, after the meeting, Abramoff immediately reported to Scanlon: "I saw them tonight. They really can't wait for you to lead them to the promised land! Tomorrow night, after the reception at Sigs, let's take them to dinner and lock up the deal."⁶⁹

Later during her trip, C. Patencio met alone with Abramoff and Scanlon at another restaurant in Washington, D.C.⁷⁰ There she learned that Scanlon was in public relations.⁷¹ She believed that Scanlon worked for Abramoff, that he was a member of "Jack's team."⁷² C. Patencio believed that they discussed the 2002 Agua Caliente Tribal Council elections, although she said she did not ask Scanlon for help with her election.⁷³ In fact, C. Patencio denied that Abramoff and Scanlon offered to help in her election; instead, she claimed, "things kinda fell in place."⁷⁴

D. SCANLON WORKS ON C. PATENCIO AND SIVA'S ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Before the Agua Caliente Tribal Council elections, Scanlon asked Abramoff, "Hey—How much do you want me to spend on the AC race—I gotta get a team out there ASAP—Like 3 people—Then rotate a new team in after that—So travel is goanna [sic] run about 20k and materials like 5–10k. Should we go for it?"⁷⁵

Abramoff instructed Scanlon, "Yes, go for it big time."⁷⁶

And, so Scanlon did. He sat down with his team and said, "We're going to California to work on the election."⁷⁷ Scanlon and his team performed the same type of work as they had for the Slate of Eight during the 2001 elections at the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.⁷⁸ From March 6 through 10, 2002, Scanlon's team drafted

⁶⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Ilisa Gertner, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000057185) (February 27, 2002).

⁶⁸ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006). *See also* Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000057184) (February 27, 2002).

⁶⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000057184) (February 27, 2002).

⁷⁰ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000057254) (March 5, 2002).

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

⁷⁸ *Id.*

candidate letters and fliers, paid for the envelopes and postage, secured a site and catering for a community meeting, assisted in door-to-door campaigning, and prepared the candidates for the community meeting.⁷⁹

Abramoff and Scanlon's objective was ensuring that "friendly" tribal members who would support contracts with them were elected and, conversely, potentially unsupportive members were defeated. Richard Milanovich, Chairman of the Tribe and Siva's opponent in the 2002 elections, was targeted by Abramoff as "our enemy."⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Abramoff asked C. Patencio, "how are we doing?"⁸¹ When C. Patencio shared Siva's apprehension and reluctance about the campaign, he urged, "Keep pushing her. We're near the finish line and can't slow down now. I know you know this more than anyone! Let me know if there is more we can do to help."⁸²

Before the Agua Caliente Tribal Council election, Scanlon and C. Patencio spoke over the telephone about what she needed to do to win her election.⁸³ C. Patencio confirmed that Scanlon either developed, or had a hand in developing, the themes of her election campaign.⁸⁴ From the records uncovered by the Committee, those themes were "honesty, effectiveness, and experience."⁸⁵

The Committee has not obtained evidence establishing that Scanlon had similar conversations with Siva. Among the computer files from Scanlon's companies, however, the Committee discovered a talking points memorandum for Siva, containing "key message points" and general pointers on answering questions from voters.⁸⁶

In early March, Scanlon's team drafted three seminal documents governing their assistance in the Agua Caliente elections. The first document is entitled, "Agua Caliente Tribal Chairman and Council Election GOTV Timeline."⁸⁷ The document appears to be a checklist for Scanlon and his employees for the Agua Caliente 2002 election. According to the document, by March 6, 2002, Scanlon and his team were to have completed a number of tasks, including but not limited to, drafting talking points for Siva; drafting candidate letters and fliers; creating invitations for a community meeting; securing a location for candidates' meeting; and, contacting candidates.⁸⁸ It also identified two days over which Scanlon's team would assist C. Patencio and Siva in door-to-door campaigning.⁸⁹

⁷⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Agua Caliente Tribal Chairman and Council Election GOTV Timeline") (undated).

⁸⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057241-51) (February 17, 2002); *see also* Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Mohunwit@[REDACTED] (GTG-E000057216-22) (February 28, 2002).

⁸¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig and Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (GTG-E000057252) (March 6, 2002).

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ *See* Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Dear Friend") (undated); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Candace Patencio MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!") (undated).

⁸⁶ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC 005407-12) (entitled "Virginia Siva Talking Points Community Meeting") (March 10, 2002).

⁸⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Agua Caliente Tribal Chairman and Council Election GOTV Timeline") (undated).

⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁹ *Id.*

The second document, entitled “Candidates’ Timeline,” established deadlines by which Scanlon and his team would complete or help C. Patencio and Siva complete mailers, phone calls, door-to-door campaigning, and a community meeting.⁹⁰

The third document was entitled, “Tribal Election 2002 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.”⁹¹ Scanlon and his team envisioned a specific message for C. Patencio and Siva to convey to their fellow Tribal members: “We will communicate that this election is about direct leadership by people who are in touch with the tribe. You are the new leaders, the leaders who will take the tribe into the future. Not the old leaders who are only looking out for number one.”⁹² The campaign was purportedly designed to put the candidates “in contact with every voter at least five times over the next 7 days.”⁹³ Scanlon and his team divided potential voters into three tiers, and supposedly tailored their candidates’ messages to each tier.⁹⁴ The campaign plan consisted of four general components: (1) mail; (2) door-to-door; (3) phones; and, (4) a candidates meeting.⁹⁵

1. Mail

The strategy memorandum claimed to “have developed three separate mail pieces” to articulate the candidates’ message.⁹⁶ The first was “a personalized letter from you, explaining why you are a superior candidate for your position.”⁹⁷ The second was “a comparison piece that draws distinctions between you and your opponents.”⁹⁸ The third piece was a “traditional Get Out The Vote piece (GOTV) that asks for their support and reminds them to mail in their ballot.”⁹⁹

Among the documents discovered by the Committee is a draft letter from C. Patencio regarding the 2002 election.¹⁰⁰ The letter stressed the importance of the upcoming election, and twice emphasized the themes of honesty, effectiveness, and experience, the very themes that Scanlon had developed.¹⁰¹ The Committee found essentially the same text on letterhead reading “Candace Patencio Candidate for Member of the Tribal Council.”¹⁰²

Similarly, the Committee found another draft letter, for Siva, on her bid for Tribal Chairman.¹⁰³ It focused on the theme of fresh leadership: “Our tribe needs a leader who understands your concerns and is in tune with your needs ... It is time that our tribe

⁹⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Candidate’s Timeline”) (undated).

⁹¹ See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Tribal Election 2002 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians”) (undated).

⁹² *Id.*

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ *Id.*

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Dear Friend”) (undated).

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “draft letter from Candace Patencio”) (March 8, 2002).

¹⁰³ See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Dear Friend”) (undated).

has a leader who is dedicated to working for you.”¹⁰⁴ This draft letter, too, was apparently in final form on letterhead reading “Virginia Siva Sincere Leadership Inspired Results.”¹⁰⁵

Although Scanlon’s action plan called for three letters, the Committee only found evidence of two. C. Patencio believed that Scanlon and his team did no more than two mailers, since the Tribe’s election ordinance limited election mailings to two.¹⁰⁶

2. Door-to-Door

Scanlon’s plan called for C. Patencio and Siva to go door-to-door making personal contact with potential voters, which Scanlon believed would “go miles making yourselves visible to the voters.”¹⁰⁷ Scanlon claimed, “This is your chance to prove that you are the candidates who are truly working for the tribal members.”¹⁰⁸

To effect this part of the plan, Scanlon had one of his employees drive C. Patencio around in a car rented by Scanlon specifically for C. Patencio’s personal visits with Tribal members. C. Patencio could not recall who that person was.¹⁰⁹ Christopher Cathcart, Scanlon’s right-hand man, told Committee staff he was the one who drove C. Patencio around for the door-to-door meetings.¹¹⁰ In furtherance of the strategy, Scanlon also put together a walking map with voters and a document entitled “Palm Springs and Cathedral City Walk List” containing the names of tribal members and their addresses. C. Patencio, however, claimed the map was inaccurate and, therefore, unhelpful.¹¹¹

3. Telephone

The Committee has seen no evidence that either C. Patencio or Siva made the type of telephone calls outlined in Scanlon’s plan. C. Patencio did not recall making such telephone calls.¹¹²

4. Candidates’ Meeting

On March 10, 2002, Scanlon hosted a candidate’s night for C. Patencio and Siva at the Wyndham Palm Springs Hotel.¹¹³ Among the documents reviewed by the Committee were a catering menu and a credit card authorization form from the Wyndham Palm Springs Hotel.¹¹⁴

Before the meeting, Scanlon’s team prepared separate two-sided color brochures for C. Patencio and Siva, which provided details of

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Virginia Siva Sincere Leadership Inspired Results”) (March 8, 2002).

¹⁰⁶ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹⁰⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Tribal Election 2002 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians”) (undated).

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹¹⁰ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

¹¹¹ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Menu and Credit Card Authorization Form”) (undated).

the “Meet the Candidates’ Meeting.”¹¹⁵ For C. Patencio, the flyer once again stressed the campaign themes of “honesty, effectiveness, and experience” that Scanlon had developed.¹¹⁶ Likewise, Siva’s flyer emphasized “Sincere Leadership” and “Inspired Results.”¹¹⁷

Scanlon’s team also drafted C. Patencio’s and Siva’s talking points for the March 10, 2002, community meeting.¹¹⁸ C. Patencio told Committee staff that fewer than 20 people attended the meeting, most of whom were her family members.¹¹⁹

The elections were held on March 18, 2002; while Patencio won her race, Siva did not.¹²⁰ In response to an email from his colleague Mike Smith, Abramoff attributed Siva’s loss to her failure to listen to Scanlon’s advice and work hard enough.¹²¹

E. C. PATENCIO AND M. PATENCIO PAVE THE WAY FOR ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON

Despite Siva’s loss, Abramoff pressed forward. On April 1, 2002, Abramoff asked C. Patencio when he and Scanlon could visit the Tribal Council to pitch their services.¹²² Throughout his correspondence, Abramoff promised power, not just for the Tribe, but for her: “I think what we have in mind is helping the tribe set up the kind of political strength we have done for others, but doing it very carefully *so that you are the ultimate controller of the political power.*”¹²³

Abramoff continued: “To do this, unfortunately, we’ll have to get the approval of the current regime, I guess. I leave it to you to guide us on how to get in there. Again, Mike and I see the mission here as getting in, getting you guys organized so we can get the slot cap off and other things the tribe needs, and *getting you into a position where the next time an election comes, we will win all the offices (and install you as Chairperson!!!).*”¹²⁴

C. Patencio sought Abramoff’s guidance on how to introduce him: “I’m not sure if an introductory letter from you [sic] firm searching for work is the best way or if the Tribe seeks you out through Moraino and I. What are your thoughts??? If the opportunity occurs I will push to seek for a qualified firm (YOU). I will see if in today’s meeting I can lay the foundation.”¹²⁵

In guiding C. Patencio on how to best introduce him and Scanlon to the Tribal Council, Abramoff suggested invoking the names of his other clients: “Tell them that you have heard from the Choc-taws and Coughattas that their political folks are the best and that

¹¹⁵ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Candace Patencio MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!”) (undated); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Virginia Siva MEET VIRGINIA SIVA!!”) (undated).

¹¹⁶ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Candace Patencio MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!”) (undated).

¹¹⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Virginia Siva MEET VIRGINIA SIVA!!”) (undated).

¹¹⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC 005407-12) (March 10, 2002).

¹¹⁹ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹²⁰ Email between Michael Smith, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059267) (March 19, 2002).

¹²¹ *Id.*

¹²² Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (GTG-E000057264) (April 1-2, 2002).

¹²³ *Id.* (emphasis added).

¹²⁴ *Id.* (emphasis added).

¹²⁵ *Id.*

you think it is a prudent thing for the tribe to invite us in to have a discussion as to what they can do for the tribe.”¹²⁶

Abramoff did not want his pre-existing relationship with C. Patencio to be known and so counseled: “if the others on the tribal council perceive that we are your guys (which we are!) it might make it difficult.”¹²⁷

At the time of Abramoff’s email to C. Patencio, the Tribe had a conflict-of-interest ordinance in place.¹²⁸ When asked whether Abramoff’s intentions to help her secure the Chairman’s position once he and Scanlon were hired raised any red flags requiring her to disclose her relationship with Abramoff and Scanlon to the Tribal Council, C. Patencio responded “no”—she took Abramoff’s words with a grain of salt” and thought Abramoff was simply “blowing smoke.”¹²⁹

M. Patencio first brought up Abramoff at a meeting or study session.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, he and C. Patencio purportedly laid the groundwork with the swing vote on the Tribal Council by attempting to have her meet with Abramoff.¹³¹

While part of Abramoff’s plan involved promises of power, the other part apparently involved fear. On June 12, 2002, in an email entitled “great call with Candace,” Abramoff advised Scanlon: “Told her that Barona was courting us and she is now moving as fast as possible. moolah!!!”¹³² Two days later, Abramoff wrote an email to Scanlon with the subject line, “can you smell money?”¹³³ In it, Abramoff reported:

I just spoke with Candace. The tribe is calling us Monday to schedule our coming out for a pitch on the whole shooting match. They want Choctaw/Coushatta power. They think that if they don’t hire us Barona is going to do so. They are scared about that one! call [sic] me Saturday night or Sunday so we can plan our pitch. We need to go out there with a full blown plan.¹³⁴

When Scanlon advised Abramoff that he wanted to depart early from Palm Springs, Abramoff replied: “The whole thing here is being pitched as a rush since we are “about to take on the Barona tribe—”.¹³⁵ During her interview, C. Patencio confirmed that she was concerned that the Barona Tribe was allegedly seeking Abramoff’s services, since she did not want that tribe to have the power.¹³⁶

¹²⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (GTG–E000057623) (April 2, 2002).

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ Interview of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (September 16, 2004).

¹³¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (GTG–E000057279) (May 8, 2002).

¹³² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000057298) (June 12, 2002).

¹³³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000057295) (June 14, 2002).

¹³⁴ *Id.*

¹³⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000059357) (June 19, 2002).

¹³⁶ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

Before he and Scanlon met with the Agua Caliente, Abramoff apparently received advice and guidance on their presentation from Chapman and C. Patencio. Just two days before the meeting, Chapman wrote Abramoff, “Glad to learn you’re going out to Agua Caliente—I hope it proves to be fruitful! I am sure Candace will coach you.”¹³⁷

Chapman gave his own advice, “[R]emember their Post Office land exchange ordeal ... In addition, they have a great land management agreement with BLM [Bureau of Land Management] over joint management of their canyons—so some mention of DOI contacts, beyond BIA, may be useful!”¹³⁸

Abramoff confirmed, “Candace is being the usual wonderful help ...”¹³⁹

Abramoff made arrangements for himself and Scanlon to travel by private jet to Palm Springs for their meeting with the Tribal Council.¹⁴⁰ After the June 26, meeting with the Tribal Council, Abramoff reported to his colleagues, “I pitched them [the Agua Caliente] this morning on a \$150K/month representation and they basically agreed (subject to formal approval of the same council—5 members—who just approved—next week). This is going to be a biggie!”¹⁴¹ Abramoff wrote separately to his colleague Michael Smith, who had introduced him to Chapman: “Looks like we got ‘em! They vote next week, but after 4 trips here, tons of work and all sorts of political activities, I think we’re there.”¹⁴²

Thus, on June 27, Abramoff instructed his assistant Allison Bozniak to send a retainer agreement to M. Patencio.¹⁴³ The retainer agreement called for a flat fee of “\$150,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.”¹⁴⁴ The agreement also provided that the “firm undertakes to not represent any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California during the duration of our representation of the Tribe.”¹⁴⁵

The deal was not as done as Abramoff believed, however. On July 2, Abramoff advised Scanlon, “[T]hings are not as hunky dorey as we thought out there. I just got off the phone with Candace. I have to be out there to meet them on Sunday.”¹⁴⁶ When Scanlon asked whether they would get paid, Abramoff assured him, “We’re going to get paid. We have the votes. We can ram it through, but

¹³⁷ Email between Michael Chapman and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057379) (June 24, 2002).

¹³⁸ *Id.*

¹³⁹ *Id.*

¹⁴⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ilisa Gertner, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059370) (June 17, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to DCCon (GTG-E000059329) (June 26, 2002).

¹⁴² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Smith, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059332) (June 27, 2002).

¹⁴³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057922-23) (June 27, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000059428) (July 2, 2002).

Moraino and Candace want to get the others on board. They have 3 votes, though.”¹⁴⁷

Before the meeting, Abramoff asked Scanlon to forward him a copy of Scanlon’s proposal to the Tribe, so that he could “be aware of where we are going on this, and push it[.]”¹⁴⁸

For the meeting, Scanlon prepared a document he called “Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy.”¹⁴⁹ Scanlon laid out a comprehensive political strategy “[t]o support and secure all federal objectives of the council” and “[t]o successfully negotiate an unlimited slot position compact for the tribe.”¹⁵⁰

As with the other Tribes, CCS’s strategy supposedly centered heavily on the use of customized databases. According to Scanlon, “The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For the compact negotiation campaign we have developed a two-tiered system.”¹⁵¹ Scanlon described the first tier as “compil[ing], classify[ing] and organiz[ing] the tribe’s existing natural resources into a national political network.”¹⁵² Scanlon described the second part as “identify[ing], classify[ing], and organiz[ing] allies of the tribe.”¹⁵³ According to Scanlon, “[b]oth will be imported into your new custom built political databases.”¹⁵⁴

In the document, Scanlon elaborated on the “new custom built databases.” The first, the “Grassroots Database”, Scanlon described as follows:

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members[,] etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from [sic] U.S. Senator down to State Representative. Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments. At this point you will have a national political network.¹⁵⁵

Scanlon boasted that with this customized database, he could “reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously.”¹⁵⁶ Scanlon represented that “[t]his is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.”¹⁵⁷

Moreover, Scanlon’s proposal described an entirely separate “Qualitative Research Database”:

¹⁴⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057397) (July 3, 2002).

¹⁴⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057339) (July 5, 2002).

¹⁴⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy”) (July 8, 2002) (prepared by Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ *Id.*

¹⁵² *Id.*

¹⁵³ *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

This custom built database acts as the information center of our efforts. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the allies and opponents related to our campaign and we store this information into this database. The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is [sic] relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents. Once the research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This [sic] purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.¹⁵⁸

The total cost of Scanlon's proposal: \$5.4 million, with another \$2 million, should an "advertising fight" occur.¹⁵⁹

On July 7, Abramoff and Scanlon departed by private jet for Palms Springs for their meetings with the Agua Caliente Tribal Council, and a presentation to the Council and membership.¹⁶⁰ Before Abramoff and Scanlon made their pitch at the membership meeting, Abramoff finally met Chapman in person.¹⁶¹

Abramoff and Scanlon met with the Tribal Council on July 8, and the Tribal membership on July 9.¹⁶² Although Abramoff represented that Scanlon "work[ed] very closely with our firm [Greenberg Traurig]," at no point in the presentation did either disclose their financial relationship.¹⁶³ Nor did they disclose the behind-the-scenes conversations they had been having with C. Patencio and M. Patencio, or the election assistance they had rendered to C. Patencio and Siva.¹⁶⁴

Abramoff built-up Scanlon, calling him "one of the top political and grass roots public affairs people in the United States".¹⁶⁵ As he had before, Abramoff traded on the name of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw").¹⁶⁶ Abramoff also boasted about the efforts he and Scanlon had undertaken for the Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana ("Louisiana Coshatta") and the Chitimacha

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ Email from Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059380) (July 5, 2002).

¹⁶¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Chapman (GTG-E000059404) (July 8, 2002).

¹⁶² See Email from Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059380) (July 5, 2002).

¹⁶³ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹⁶⁴ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006). See also Interview of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (September 16, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ Agua Caliente document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Verbatim Excerpt—Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002") (July 9, 2002) (excerpt only).

¹⁶⁶ *Id.*

Tribe of Louisiana on their compact re-negotiations with the State of Louisiana.¹⁶⁷

Although Abramoff and Scanlon were representing the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso (“Tigua”), in direct conflict with the interests of the Louisiana Coushatta, Abramoff nevertheless claimed that “we certainly don’t engage in the situation where we have two tribes that might have differing interests ‘cause unfortunately obviously tribes who are nearby to each other sometimes have the same interests or same market share ...”¹⁶⁸ Abramoff later continued: “If we work together with you we would not work for any other Tribe in California. That would be our approach.”¹⁶⁹

Abramoff spoke, too, about political contributions:

Each of the tribes we work with we recommend that they exercise their right to make political contributions. However, we generally are very targeted and with the contribution recommendations we make ... we do strongly recommend and all of our tribes do give a lot of money politically. It’s very targeted and when it’s all basically added up we sort of like have a little ledger so to speak informally, see the money they spent politically and the money they spent contributions and the money they spent lobbying wise compared to what they get back so to speak, not only benefits that can’t be monetarized but also the actual appropriations. ... So we will recommend to the tribe or any of our clients that they contribute to certain specific Members that may have to them nothing do with what they’re doing, but we know that that Member will be able to control or influence a bill, that kind of thing.¹⁷⁰

Scanlon picked up on the presentation. Scanlon claimed that his “firm is in a strategic alliance with Jack and Greenberg meaning we only provide services to the clients of Greenberg Traurig.”¹⁷¹ Scanlon described his operations as the “ground army for what Jack does.”¹⁷² More specifically, Scanlon said:

A force, a grassroots army of people of employees, of business owners, of people who live on your lands and anybody who’s made a buck off of you over the last ten to fifteen years and has a vested interest in seeing your future be better. Our job is to go out and find those people, educate those people on the issues that are important to the Tribe and objectives of Tribe as identified. Most importantly, it is to mobilize those people to ensure that the politicians get the message that the people are behind the position of the Tribe.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ *Id.* Of course, that was true only by default. According to Fred Baggett, the national chairman of Greenberg Traurig’s public policy practice, Scanlon was free to work for other clients; indeed, Greenberg Traurig did not hire Scanlon precisely because he wanted to work on his own clients. Interview of Fred Baggett, chair, National Governmental Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington D.C. (September 29, 2005).

¹⁷² Agua Caliente document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Verbatim Excerpt—Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002”) (July 9, 2002) (excerpt only).

¹⁷³ *Id.*

Scanlon characterized his work as “technical,” “labor intensive” and “expensive”.¹⁷⁴ The cornerstone of this program was a “custom-built database,” which Scanlon claimed he designed.¹⁷⁵

After Abramoff and Scanlon’s presentation, the Tribal Council met to vote. C. Patencio admitted that she did not disclose her relationship with Abramoff or Scanlon, or the help they had given her on her election campaign, before the vote.¹⁷⁶ She also admitted that she did not pay for any of the work that Scanlon and his team performed for her election bid.¹⁷⁷ She said that Scanlon never asked to be paid for his services, and she never discussed how Scanlon would benefit from helping her election campaign.¹⁷⁸ C. Patencio also claimed that people offer her free things all the time, and she did not find Abramoff and Scanlon’s supposed generosity odd.¹⁷⁹ According to C. Patencio, she simply believed Abramoff and Scanlon helped her because they liked her.¹⁸⁰

The Committee has considerable difficulty reconciling C. Patencio’s statements with the body of evidence before it. Even if, as C. Patencio claimed, she had not expressly agreed to help Abramoff and Scanlon secure contracts with the Tribe in exchange for their campaign assistance, a reasonable person with C. Patencio’s business education and political experience would have realized that Abramoff and Scanlon were providing her assistance as gratitude or because of C. Patencio’s intention to help them secure contracts with the Tribe.

On July 2, 2002, the Tribal Council voted 3–0 to accept the contract with Greenberg Traurig. On July 11, 2002, Chairman Milanovich signed a retainer agreement with Greenberg Traurig.¹⁸¹ According to the contract, the Tribe retained Greenberg Traurig,

[T]o assist the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (“the Tribe”) with all political activities related to obtaining a satisfactory outcome to gaming compact renegotiations, environmental matters and other policy and political goals in California. In addition, at the Tribe’s discretion, the Firm shall assist the Tribe with federal issues, including but not limited to matters concerning federal appropriations, specific needs of the tribe related to the U.S. Postal service and tax matters, general Washington, D.C. and selected national public relations activities, federal-Tribal relations and promotion of sovereignty.”¹⁸²

The cost: “\$150,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.”¹⁸³

Similarly, on July 23, the Tribal Council voted 3–2 to accept Scanlon’s contract. C. Patencio, M. Patencio, and Jeannette Prieto-

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ *Id.*

¹⁷⁶ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ *Id.*

¹⁸¹ Agua Caliente document production (AC 0276–78) (July 9, 2002).

¹⁸² *Id.*

¹⁸³ *Id.*

Dodd voted for the contract; Chairman Milanovich and Vice Chairman Gonzales Lyons voted against it. Before the Tribal Council voted, however, Chairman Milanovich argued against hiring Scanlon. According to Scanlon, Chairman Milanovich was “trying to sink it [Scanlon’s contract]—he has a whole bunch of Suncruz articles he is handing out at the meeting.”¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile, C. Patencio called to report to Abramoff on what was happening.¹⁸⁵

On July 24, 2002, Scanlon apparently submitted a letter agreement between Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and the Tribe.¹⁸⁶ According to the agreement, “the primary goal of Scanlon Gould is to execute public affairs and political strategies to ensure successful re-negotiation of the Tribe’s gaming compact.”¹⁸⁷ The letter agreement described the scope of the activities by reference to Scanlon Gould’s July 8, 2002 proposal.¹⁸⁸ Unlike his written agreements with other Tribes, Scanlon specifically reserved Scanlon Gould’s right to use external firms: “Scanlon Gould will execute its duties by employing its internal political team (full time employees) and reserves the right to sub-contract with external firms when necessary.”¹⁸⁹ The Tribe agreed to pay Scanlon Gould \$5,400,000 and agreed “to budget an additional \$2,000,000.00 for advocacy efforts should the compact renewal campaign become intensive.”¹⁹⁰

F. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON SEEK ADDITIONAL MONEY FROM THE TRIBE

Once Abramoff and Scanlon locked up their contracts with the Agua Caliente, Abramoff began to seek more funding for his pet projects, as well as those of others, ostensibly designed to increase his and the Tribe’s standing in the eyes of Congressmen and Senators. In September 2002, Abramoff told his associate Duane Gibson that they needed “to move on Agua contributions asap.”¹⁹¹ Abramoff and his team used the Tribe’s contributions to get “credit for delivering checks to certain members.”¹⁹²

Abramoff also sought money from the Tribe to cover the costs of his Sports Suites program. A master lobbying plan that Abramoff presented to the Agua Caliente laid out his rationale for why the Tribe should participate.

Sporting and Event Tickets—Goal: provide Members and staff with courtesy tickets to sport games and other events, which help to create the relationships needed to advance issues important to the Tribe. Many of our Tribal clients participate in ownership of Executive Suites and Boxes at the MCI Center, FedEx Field, and Camden Yards (Baltimore), in order to get the tools for relationship building to advance your issues. The

¹⁸⁴ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059386) (July 16, 2002).

¹⁸⁵ *Id.*

¹⁸⁶ Agua Caliente document production (AC 0287-89) (July 24, 2002).

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸⁸ *Id.*

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057541) (September 18, 2002).

¹⁹² Email from Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig, to Neil Volz, *et al.*, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057613) (October 8, 2002).

Tribe should evaluate pooling its resources with other tribes so that it can utilize these effective assets as well.¹⁹³

The Tribal Council approved the Tribe's participation in the sports suites program in December 2002,¹⁹⁴ and paid \$300,000 into the program.¹⁹⁵

Pursuant to his agreement with the Tribe, Scanlon sought additional money under the Scanlon Gould contract. When it came time to solicit additional funds, Scanlon decided to leave little to chance. Scanlon and Abramoff manipulated the schedule so that Scanlon would make his presentation for more money in the absence of the two Tribal Council members who opposed the program. On December 10, Scanlon wrote:

Well we got paid 5—and had in our contract that we may need an additional 2—but that we would have to come before the council to get it. So I did up a presentation—and we are asking for 1.785 on Thursday—The reason we are doing git [sic] Thursday is that Richard and Barbara are out of town. I could ask for the whole 2—but I though [sic] that would look strange—I could bump it up to 1.875? Whatta think?¹⁹⁶

Abramoff responded, "Absolutely!"¹⁹⁷

In less than two years, the Tribe paid Greenberg Traurig \$3,079,816 in fees and expenses.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, Scanlon collected \$7,195,000 from the Agua Caliente during the relevant period and appears to have secretly split about 50% of his total profit from the Tribe with Abramoff.¹⁹⁹

These substantial sums purchased no loyalty from Abramoff and Scanlon. When Scanlon complained about his dealings with C. Patencio, Abramoff counseled: "I think the key thing to remember with all these clients is that they are annoying, but that the annoying losers are the only ones which have this kind of money and part with it so quickly."²⁰⁰

G. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON'S WORK FOR THE TRIBE

The Agua Caliente hired Abramoff and Greenberg Traurig "to assist the tribe with all political and lobbying activities relating to a

¹⁹³ Email from Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057000) (December 5, 2002) (attaching "DRAFT Agua Caliente Plan for the 108th Congress") (last page only).

¹⁹⁴ Email from Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, to Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057785) (January 10, 2003).

¹⁹⁵ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 29 (September 29, 2004) (testimony of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians).

¹⁹⁶ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000056773) (December 10, 2002).

¹⁹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁹⁸ These figures do not include political, charitable, and other contributions the Agua Caliente made at Abramoff's request.

¹⁹⁹ Discussion and analysis of how Abramoff and Scanlon successfully perpetrated their "gimme five" scheme on the Tribe, on an entity-by-entity basis, is contained in Part 2 of the this Report.

²⁰⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057878) (March 5, 2003).

wide range of public policy issues.”²⁰¹ The Tribe hired Scanlon “to help the tribe with respect to pending gaming compact issues in California.”²⁰²

From July 2002 to March 2004, Abramoff and his team represented the Agua Caliente in Washington, D.C. The Tribe has not complained to the Committee about the level or quality of the services that Abramoff and his team at Greenberg Traurig provided the Tribe.

Scanlon hired a number of subcontractors to renegotiate the Tribe’s compact with the State of California.²⁰³ Scanlon subcontracted lobbyists and attorneys.²⁰⁴ Per his agreement, he operated as a turnkey operation.²⁰⁵ Scanlon and his team provided regular updates to the Tribe on its efforts.²⁰⁶

Among the work that Scanlon Gould performed, was a letter-writing campaign. Scanlon’s team set up tables with laptop computers and blank letters at the Tribe’s casino.²⁰⁷ As employees would come to the tables, Scanlon’s employees would brief them and ask them to sign letters to the Governor.²⁰⁸ Scanlon also had opinionmaker letters written to the Governor.²⁰⁹ That work was subcontracted out to Lunde Burger.²¹⁰ After examining Scanlon’s work, the Tribe does not believe that Scanlon actually performed the work he had proposed when he pitched his contract to the Tribe.²¹¹

²⁰¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 21 (September 29, 2004) (statement of Richard Milanovich, chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians).

²⁰² *Id.*

²⁰³ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

²⁰⁴ Interview of Chris Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

²⁰⁵ Agua Caliente document production (AC 0287–89) (July 24, 2002).

²⁰⁶ *See, e.g.*, Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC04990–92) (January 29, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC04993) (February 6, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (March 12, 2003) (BB/AC04995); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC04996–98) (March 17, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05000); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05002–04) (March 26, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05010) (April 2, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05012–15) (April 24, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05004–48) (May 14, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05050–54); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05068–69) (July 10, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05070) (July 22, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05072–73) (July 24, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05074–75) (August 4, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05076–77) (August 14, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05078–80) (August 26, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05081) (September 8, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05082) (October 15, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05083) (November 17, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number-BB/AC05084) (November 24, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05085–86) (December 3, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05087–88) (December 4, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05089) (December 16, 2003); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AC05090) (December 26, 2003).

²⁰⁷ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

²⁰⁸ *Id.*

²⁰⁹ *Id.*

²¹⁰ *Id.*

²¹¹ Interview of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (September 16, 2004).

H. 2003 TRIBAL ELECTIONS

Even after the Agua Caliente hired Abramoff and Scanlon, the two continued to conspire about how to increase their influence over the Tribal Council. In October 2002, Scanlon wrote to Abramoff:

I am working on setting them up right now for their elections next year. We are looking at Candice [sic] for Vice Chairman—which we are looking good on. We are also looking good at getting Virginia Elected [sic] under one scenario and Moreno is a lock.

The most Likely [sic] scenario right now is Barbara become [sic] chairman, with Candice [sic] as Vice Chair, Moreno, Janette and Virginia on the council—which would give us 4 out of 5 all the time—and possibly 5 out of 5 if we play it the right way.

This will be very very good for us.²¹²

Later, C. Patencio emailed Abramoff asking for a time they could “talk strategy for the up and coming election.”²¹³ Abramoff and Scanlon’s goal was to ensure that C. Patencio would win in an effort to oust their only opposition within the Tribe, Chairman Milanovich and Vice Chairman Gonzales-Lyons.²¹⁴ When C. Patencio advised Abramoff that she and M. Patencio planned “to set [the Agua Caliente Vice Chairman] up”, Abramoff offered his help: “let me know what we can do.”²¹⁵ Separately, he told Scanlon “We need to make sure Candace wins and bye bye Barbara and Richard.”²¹⁶

Meanwhile, Scanlon and Cathcart discussed how to impact C. Patencio’s election: “[w]ant to touch base re the aguas too, i[sic] told candace we would help with her letter of intent, and of course, i[sic] assume we’ll be helping with the campaign.”²¹⁷

On February 9, 2003, Chapman urged Abramoff and Scanlon to assist their allies on the Tribal Council: “We definitely need to devise a strategy to help Candace—it is now or never! Since there are so few tribal members we should be able to do a breakdown of each potential vote to be cast.”²¹⁸ In response, Scanlon maintained that he had “been all over this for weeks” and already had “a pretty good plan in place.”²¹⁹

Ultimately, the Committee finds that Scanlon devoted nowhere near the time and resources to C. Patencio’s election bid in 2003

²¹² Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057616) (October 24, 2002).

²¹³ Email from Candace Patencio, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057834) (January 14, 2003).

²¹⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057847-49) (January 29, 2003).

²¹⁵ *Id.*

²¹⁶ *Id.*

²¹⁷ Email from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (January 21, 2003).

²¹⁸ Email between Michael Chapman and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057842-43) (February 9, 2003).

²¹⁹ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057842) (February 10, 2003).

as he had in 2002. Scanlon Gould wrote C. Patencio's platform statement and may have made door signs or mail pieces for her.²²⁰

In the 2003 elections, C. Patencio lost her race. Within months, the Committee would start its investigation, and the Tribe would learn the truth about Abramoff and Scanlon's assistance to C. Patencio and Siva in their elections. It would also learn about their secret partnership.

I. CHAPMAN AND SIERRA DOMINION CONSULTING

On November 12, 2002, Abramoff's associate Duane Gibson, who was the client manager for the Agua Caliente account, discovered charges on the account with which he was unfamiliar. Gibson inquired of Abramoff:

[O]n the Agua bill, there are two items—\$10K for consulting from Michael Chapman and \$5K for consulting for Sierra Dominion Financial Resources. These were part of the itemized expenses on the draft bill that I am reviewing. I do not know what the arrangements are for work by these people, and want to make sure that they are authorized. These items constitute \$15K of the \$25 K [sic] in expenses. Is this ok?²²¹

Abramoff replied, "One is the finders [sic] fee for Chapman and the other is one I will tell you about. they [sic] come out of our retainer, and should not be listed to the client ever. Please make sure they are never on the bill which goes to them."²²²

When Gibson alerted Abramoff to the possibility that Chapman's fees might have appeared on the previous bill, Abramoff panicked: "This is a disaster!!!!!"²²³ Gibson subsequently allayed Abramoff's fears by assuring him Chapman's fees had only appeared on the draft bill.²²⁴

Just what was the nature of the payments to Chapman and Sierra Dominion, and why was Abramoff determined for them not to appear on the Agua Caliente's bill? The rest of this Chapter attempts to answer these questions.

1. Payments to Chapman

Shortly after the 2002 Agua Caliente election, Chapman inquired: "What are you thinking the terms of a consultancy might be? Curious, and want to know what the incentives might be in assisting you in landing new clients—especially, since I may be able to pitch your services later tonight!"²²⁵

Abramoff responded:

I think we can organize \$10/month on a Agua Caliente sized representation (the firm's profit on that kind of representation is around 20\$, which is \$30k/month, and I can

²²⁰ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

²²¹ Email between Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057623) (November 12, 2002).

²²² *Id.*

²²³ *Id.*

²²⁴ *Id.*

²²⁵ Email between Michael Chapman and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057342) (July 12, 2002).

probably get them to give up 1/3 of that). On the grassroots budget, it is a little trickier, because the margin is very tight (Mike gets his fee from the Greenberg side), and most of that is spend [sic] as direct costs.²²⁶

After the Agua Caliente approved Greenberg Traurig's contract, Abramoff wrote to Scanlon: "We should give this guy [Chapman] a small tip out of the gimme five money too. I want him to have mega incentive to scan the nation and hook us up with all his friends."²²⁷ Chapman told the Committee during his interview that Abramoff told him that "he would take care of me" once Abramoff secured Agua Caliente as a client.²²⁸ Chapman claimed that Abramoff did not make this offer, until after Abramoff and Scanlon had secured contracts with the Tribe.²²⁹

Shortly thereafter, Chapman once again inquired into the "consulting" arrangement: "I am eager to learn what the final dynamics of a consultancy might be with Greenberg, while also hearing what might be a practical consideration for the political organizing contract."²³⁰ Abramoff immediately wrote to Scanlon: "This guy delivered for us. he [sic] wants to know what he can get from the pot. I will give him \$10k/month from GT, but we should give him a tip from the grass roots. I think we should do \$100k, but not from the first traunche. I told him that you budget this stuff very, very tightly, but might be able to eek out something. I don't want to waste money, but he clearly has a lot of contacts and could get us a ton of biz."²³¹ That same day, Abramoff reverted to Chapman, and committed to giving him "additional funds on the effort at Agua" that would "run the life of the representation of Agua."²³²

Chapman confirmed to Committee staff that Abramoff had Greenberg Traurig pay him \$10,000/month.²³³ Beginning in September 2002 and ending in March 2004, Chapman submitted invoices to Greenberg Traurig for payment. The invoices requested payment of a \$10,000 retainer, which was purportedly "associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account."²³⁴

Per Abramoff and Gibson's instructions, Greenberg Traurig paid Chapman a total of \$171,482.48²³⁵ over the course of the Agua Caliente retainer. The payments are detailed below:

Payments from Greenberg Traurig to Michael Chapman

09/13/02 \$10,489.81

²²⁶ *Id.*

²²⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057372) (July 9, 2002).

²²⁸ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

²²⁹ *Id.*

²³⁰ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059446) (July 24, 2002).

²³¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000059446) (July 24, 2002).

²³² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Chapman (GTG-E000059444) (July 24, 2002).

²³³ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

²³⁴ See Michael Chapman document production (no Bates number) (September 2002 through March 2004) (Invoices from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff).

²³⁵ Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG 005390-ACCT-AC) (undated) (Greenberg Traurig Vendor Payments Report for Michael Chapman; Fifteen Greenberg Traurig checks to Michael Chapman, dated September 13, 2002 to March 3, 2004; Invoices from Michael Chapman to Greenberg Traurig, dated September 3, 2002 through March 2004).

Payments from Greenberg Traurig to Michael Chapman—Continued

10/10/02	\$10,000.00
11/25/02	\$10,000.00
02/04/03	\$10,000.00
03/11/03	\$10,000.00
03/17/03	\$10,000.00
04/11/03	\$10,000.00
07/08/03	\$10,000.00
08/06/03	\$20,992.67
08/11/03	\$10,000.00
09/22/03	\$10,000.00
10/31/03	\$10,000.00
12/19/03	\$20,000.00
01/26/04	\$10,000.00
03/03/04	\$10,000.00
Total	\$171,482.48

Except one request for expense reimbursement,²³⁶ the invoices from Chapman to Greenberg Traurig listed the purpose of the payment request as “Retainer which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians’ account.”²³⁷ According to Chapman, Abramoff told him how to characterize and phrase the invoices to Greenberg Traurig.²³⁸ On internal Greenberg Traurig accounting forms, Abramoff described the payment as a consulting fee.²³⁹

During its interview of Duane Gibson, Committee staff inquired into the nature of the services Chapman provided. Gibson, who was the Agua Caliente client manager, said that Chapman provided consulting services on the Agua Caliente account.²⁴⁰ He said he had substantive conversations with Chapman about issues affecting the Tribe before Congress.²⁴¹

During his interview with Committee staff, however, Chapman was unequivocal: the \$10,000 was not a consulting fee and he did not provide substantive advice on issues facing the Agua Caliente or otherwise work on the Agua Caliente account.²⁴² Chapman was clear that the money he received was a finder’s fee or referral fee, for helping Abramoff and Scanlon secure the Agua Caliente account and to help them secure other tribal business.²⁴³ Chapman said he would also give Abramoff or Gibson a “heads up” whenever C. Patencio was getting frustrated because she could not reach them on the telephone.²⁴⁴ Chapman did say he spoke with Gibson about once every other week, and did exchange e-mails with him.²⁴⁵ Chapman said that Gibson was interested in expanding Greenberg

²³⁶ Michael Chapman document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Invoice from Michael Chapman to Greenberg Traurig”) (September 3, 2002).

²³⁷ Michael Chapman document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Invoices from Michael Chapman to Greenberg Traurig”) (September 3, 2002 through February 2004).

²³⁸ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006). See Interview of Duane Gibson, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 12, 2002).

²³⁹ See Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG-005416-ACCT-AC) (April 10, 2003) (Check Requests, signed by Jack Abramoff).

²⁴⁰ Interview of Duane Gibson, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (March 17, 2006).

²⁴¹ *Id.*

²⁴² Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

²⁴³ *Id.*

²⁴⁴ *Id.*

²⁴⁵ *Id.*

Traurig's tribal business, and solicited Chapman for his suggestions for other, potential accounts.²⁴⁶

Around this time, Chapman said he told C. Patencio about his finder's fee from Abramoff.²⁴⁷ C. Patencio likewise told the Committee that after the Agua Caliente had hired Abramoff, Chapman told her that Abramoff had put him on a retainer to help Abramoff land other tribal accounts.²⁴⁸ C. Patencio, however, did not know the amount, or that Abramoff was paying Chapman from the Tribe's retainer.²⁴⁹

Although Chapman submitted invoices ostensibly for work related to the Agua Caliente account, it appears from internal Greenberg Traurig billing records that Abramoff did not bill the payments to Chapman as expenses to the Tribe. Greenberg Traurig instead paid Chapman out of the monthly retainer funds it received as fees from the Tribe.²⁵⁰ It thus appears the Tribe was probably not injured in any meaningful way by this, if at all.

Chapman also received money from Scanlon's Capitol Campaign Strategies ("CCS"), but not right away. After Scanlon secured the Agua Caliente representation, months passed and Chapman did not receive any payment from Scanlon. He then sent the following email to Abramoff: "I never received any inquiry at all from Scanlan [sic]—which I thought was a little strange, since he was 'sitting pretty' *because of my intervention!* ... In fact, I was going to ask you to ask him for a campaign contribution, over and beyond the payment, since his firm seems to have benefitted the most *from my Agua intervention!*"²⁵¹ Chapman continued, "I rely on your instincts and sense of necessity to guide my motivations!"²⁵²

On October 8, 2002, Scanlon had CCS pay Chapman \$100,000. Chapman, however, sought more. Just one day later, Chapman wrote Scanlon:

When Jack first broached the terms of a finder's fee—we discussed this initial payment as the fee for the first \$4 million and then if [sic] was necessary for you to go into the second phase and expend another \$4 million that another comparable fee would be forthcoming. Is this how you understand it? I know the tribe has approved \$8 million in their budget in anticipation of a Phase II—let me know if we're on the same page!²⁵³

The Committee finds no evidence establishing that Chapman received further payments from Scanlon or his companies.

²⁴⁶ *Id.*

²⁴⁷ Interview of Michael Chapman, by telephone (March 31, 2006).

²⁴⁸ Interview of Candace Patencio, former council member, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (April 25, 2006).

²⁴⁹ *Id.*

²⁵⁰ Email between Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000034178) (September 12, 2002).

²⁵¹ Email from Michael Chapman to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059566) (September 24, 2002) (emphasis added).

²⁵² *Id.*

²⁵³ Email from Michael Chapman to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057596) (October 9, 2002).

2. Payments to Sierra Dominion

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc. (“Sierra Dominion”) is a company located in Oakton, VA, and headed by Julie Doolittle.²⁵⁴ Over the course of the Agua Caliente retainer, Greenberg Traurig paid Sierra Dominion \$66,690.42 as detailed below:

Payments from Greenberg Traurig to Sierra Dominion

09/20/02	\$6,612.90
10/10/02	\$5,000.00
11/25/02	\$5,000.00
01/13/03	\$10,077.52
07/02/03	\$5,000.00
07/22/03	\$5,000.00
08/06/03	\$5,000.00
09/25/03	\$5,000.00
11/25/03	\$5,000.00
12/29/03	\$5,000.00
01/26/04	\$5,000.00
02/19/04	\$5,000.00
Total	\$66,690.42

While Sierra Dominion apparently provided no services to or for the benefit of Agua Caliente, almost all of the money paid to Sierra Dominion came out of the monthly retainer that the Agua Caliente paid to Greenberg Traurig.²⁵⁵ So the Tribe was probably not injured in any material way.

One payment of \$5,000 to Sierra Dominion, however, was billed to the Agua Caliente as an expense in September 2002, and the Tribe, in fact, paid the expense in October 2002. This gives rise to concerns that Abramoff defrauded the Tribe, because the payments were not used for the benefit of the Agua Caliente; rather, Abramoff apparently hired Doolittle to work on an event, “The Spy Game” at the Spy Museum in Washington, D.C., which Abramoff wanted as a fundraiser for his personal charity, the Capital Athletic Foundation (“CAF”).

The event was originally scheduled for March 26, 2003.²⁵⁶ The event was supposed to honor Jim Kimsey, AOL Founding CEO and Chairman, with CAF’s “Lifetime Achievement Award.”²⁵⁷ The CAF advertised that participants would “win up to \$50,000 in prizes.”²⁵⁸ Prizes included airline vouchers, portable DVD players, digital cameras, and tickets for Wizards [basketball], Caps [hockey], and Redskins [football] games.²⁵⁹ Abramoff also considered a trip to Scotland as a prize.²⁶⁰

The Spy Museum event never happened. According to a CAF notice listing Doolittle as the Director of Community Relations for the

²⁵⁴ See, e.g. Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG005518-ACCT-AC) (January 2, 2003). Julie Doolittle’s husband is Congressman John T. Doolittle.

²⁵⁵ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000034178) (September 12, 2002); Email from Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000057489) (September 30, 2002).

²⁵⁶ Email from Joe Reeder, Greenberg Traurig, to Rudy DeLeon (GTG-E000121933) (March 7, 2003).

²⁵⁷ *Id.*

²⁵⁸ *Id.*

²⁵⁹ Email between Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000121929) (March 7–9, 2003).

²⁶⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000121929) (March 8, 2003).

CAF, the event was postponed due to the United States' commencement of military operations in Iraq.²⁶¹

There is no evidence that Doolittle knowingly participated in Abramoff's funding arrangement. To the contrary, the Committee possesses evidence that Abramoff attempted to conceal his funding source from Doolittle. In June 2003, Doolittle inquired about the status of her retainer.²⁶² Abramoff's assistant Linsey Crisler responded, "Accounting tells me that your check in [sic] processed, but we are waiting for the client to pay their bill before we can distribute any funds. As soon as we have their money wired to us, your check will be cleared for payment."²⁶³

Although true, Abramoff scolded Crisler, "This is not OK with me. I want her paid asap. She [sic] should not be told that her payments are dependent on anything. Who told you that?"²⁶⁴

Crisler explained, "I was told by Accounting that we couldn't pay any bills to outside consultants if there wasn't money in the retainer."²⁶⁵

Abramoff replied, "Thanks. just [sic] make sure she is not unpaid at any point or told that her payment is dependent on anything."²⁶⁶

When Doolittle told Crisler, that she "was not aware that my retainer was dependent on the payment from a client,"²⁶⁷ Abramoff assured her, "It is absolutely not dependent."²⁶⁸ He then assured Doolittle, "I will speak with Linsey to get this moving."²⁶⁹

J. CONCLUSION

Following *The Washington Post* article, in February 2004, Agua Caliente Chairman Milanovich met with Scanlon in Washington, D.C.²⁷⁰ At the meeting, Milanovich recalled, Scanlon described the article as an attack piece, and asked the Tribe to write a letter to *The Post* to help Scanlon and Abramoff.²⁷¹ The Tribe declined to do so.²⁷²

Subsequently, during a telephone conversation with Duane Gibson, Milanovich recalled Gibson also asking the Tribe to send a similar letter to *The Post* in support of Abramoff.²⁷³ Indeed, Milanovich told Committee staff, Gibson said he hoped the Tribe

²⁶¹ See "The Capital Athletic Foundation's "The Spy Game" Important Event Update" (undated).

²⁶² Email between Julie Doolittle, Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, and Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000069554) (June 30, 2003).

²⁶³ *Id.*

²⁶⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000069554) (July 7, 2003).

²⁶⁵ Email from Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000069550) (July 7, 2003).

²⁶⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000069550) (July 7, 2003).

²⁶⁷ Email from Julie Doolittle, Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, to Linsey Crisler, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000069555) (July 6, 2003).

²⁶⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Julie Doolittle, Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions (GTG-E000069555) (July 6, 2003).

²⁶⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Julie Doolittle, Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions (GTG-E000069551) (July 7, 2003).

²⁷⁰ Interview of Richard Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, by telephone (September 16, 2004).

²⁷¹ *Id.*

²⁷² *Id.*

²⁷³ *Id.*

would not cooperate with this Committee's investigation.²⁷⁴ When asked, Gibson did not recall ever expressing a preference on whether the Tribe should cooperate with the Committee's investigation.²⁷⁵

At the beginning of April, the Tribe suspended its contracts with Greenberg Traurig and Scanlon Gould.²⁷⁶ Concerning attempts to manipulate the Tribal elections, the Tribe suspended certain individuals from any appointed role in Tribal government.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ *Id.*

²⁷⁵ Interview of Duane Gibson, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (March 17, 2006).

²⁷⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 52 (September 29, 2004) (Prepared statement of Richard M. Milanovich, Chairman, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians).

²⁷⁷ *Id.*

CHAPTER V

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO (TIGUA)

ABRAMOFF: Fire up the jet baby, we're going to El Paso!!
SCANLON: I want all their MONEY!!!

Email between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, February 6, 2002

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.

Email from Jack Abramoff to Ralph Reed, February 11, 2002

A rattlesnake will warn you before it strikes. We had no warning. They did everything behind our back.

Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, commenting on Abramoff and Scanlon, November 17, 2004

A. INTRODUCTION

"Is life great or what!!!" exclaimed Jack Abramoff to his friend and business partner Michael Scanlon on February 19, 2002.¹ Few would have quibbled with Abramoff at the time. The two men enjoyed a secret partnership, their self-styled "gimme five" scheme. In less than one year, it had yielded \$6 million in ill-gotten gains. Over the next couple years, it would generate almost \$36 million more. In February 2002, the money flowed; life was indeed great for Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon.

At the same time, life was not so good for the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo Indian Tribe of El Paso, Texas ("Tigua").² The Tribe was fighting for its financial life in the Texas courts and legislature, trying to keep open the doors to its Speaking Rock Casino. Indeed, Abramoff penned his "Is life great or what" email in reaction to a front-page *El Paso Times* article reporting that the Tigua had just terminated 450 casino employees.³

At the beginning of 2002, little did the Tigua know that Abramoff and Scanlon had played a role in thwarting the Tribe's efforts to keep open its casino. Little could the Tribe know that it would soon become another victim of the duo's "gimme five" scheme.

¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000001141) (February 19, 2002).

² From the pamphlet *The Tiguas People of the Sun*, obtained from the Tigua Indian Cultural Center: "Ysleta del Sur Pueblo is the historical and legal name of the American Indian tribe commonly known in the El Paso, Texas area as the 'Tiguas' or 'Tigua Indians'. 'Tigua' or 'Tihua', an even older spelling, is the Spanish phonetic spelling of the term 'Tiwa' and is the name of the Indian language spoken by this tribe."

³ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000001141) (February 19, 2002).

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

The Tigua are the only Pueblo tribe still residing in Texas.⁴ Although there are several versions of their migration to Texas, most believe that the Tigua were once inhabitants of Pueblo Gran Quivera, south of modern-day Albuquerque, New Mexico.⁵ In 1680 the Pueblo Indians revolted against the Spanish and drove them out of New Mexico.⁶ Some Ysleta Pueblo Indians either by force or by choice left with the Spanish and joined the first migration of Tigua from Gran Quivera in El Paso.⁷

The Tigua follow a typical Pueblo governing organization with a cacique or religious leader appointed by the tribal council, a governor, lieutenant governor, war captain, and tribal council working together to run the government.⁸

In 1751 the King of Spain granted the Tigua thirty-six square miles of land upon which they built their Pueblo and a mission, which is now the oldest mission in Texas.⁹ Through extreme poverty and deceit by land hungry speculators, the Tigua lost all of this land.¹⁰ However, in 1967 the State of Texas finally recognized the Tigua as a tribe.¹¹

In 1968, the Federal Government recognized the Tigua as an Indian tribe but simultaneously transferred responsibility for the Tribe to the State of Texas.¹² Texas administered the Tribe's affairs, which included holding the Tribe's 100-acre reservation in trust and providing economic development funds to the Tribe.¹³ In 1983, however, Texas became concerned that its trust relationship with the Tribe violated state constitutional law.¹⁴ Consequently, the United States and the Tribe began the process of granting the Tribe federal trust status.¹⁵ The culmination of those efforts came in the form of the 1987 Restoration Act, which established a trust relationship between the Federal Government and the Tribe.¹⁶

In 1993, the Tigua opened its Speaking Rock Casino near El Paso, Texas.¹⁷ This casino offered bingo games and Las Vegas-style gaming activities, and was a significant source of revenue for the Tribe.¹⁸ In 1999, however, based on an interpretation of the Tribe's

⁴ *The Tigua Indians of Texas* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.texasindians.com/tigua.htm>> (providing a basic history of the Tigua).

⁵ *Tigua Indians* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/bmt45.html>> (detailing the history of the Tigua); Thomas A. Green, *Folk History and Cultural Reorganization: A Tigua Example*, *The Journal of American Folklore* v. 89, no. 353, pp. 310–18 (1976).

⁶ *The Tigua Indians of Texas* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.texasindians.com/tigua.htm>> (providing a basic history of the Tigua).

⁷ *Id.*; *Clayhound Web* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.clayhound.us/sites/ysleta.htm>> (describing the history of the Tigua).

⁸ *Tigua Indians* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/bmt45.html>> (detailing the history of the Tigua).

⁹ *The Tigua Indians of Texas* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.texasindians.com/tigua.htm>> (providing a basic history of the Tigua); *Tigua Indians* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/bmt45.html>> (detailing the history of the Tigua).

¹⁰ *Tigua Indians* (visited March 23, 2006) <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/bmt45.html>> (detailing the history of the Tigua).

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Texas v. del Sur Pueblo*, 220 F.Supp.2d 668, 673 (W.D. Tex. 2001).

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.*

1987 Restoration Act, the State of Texas brought a legal action challenging the Tribe's ability to operate the casino.¹⁹ The Restoration Act provides that "[a]ll gaming activities which are prohibited by the laws of the State of Texas are hereby prohibited on the reservation and on lands of the tribe."²⁰ The State of Texas argued that this provision prohibited the Tiguas from operating any type of gaming that was not allowed under Texas law, and that the gaming activities offered at the casino were prohibited by Texas law. The Fifth Circuit, in an unpublished opinion, affirmed a decision by the Texas district court agreeing with the State's argument thereby forcing the Tribe to close its casino in 2002.²¹

C. ABRAMOFF, SCANLON, AND REED WORK AGAINST THE TIGUA

The Committee has seen no evidence suggesting that Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon, or Ralph Reed had any influence over the State of Texas' decision to file suit against the Tigua in 1999. In fact, it was not until 2001, after the suit was well under way, that Abramoff and Scanlon took an interest in the Tigua and its fight with Texas.

Abramoff and Scanlon's mutual client the Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana ("Louisiana Coshatta") long understood that legalized gaming in Texas would erode its casino's customer base and revenue.²² The majority of the Louisiana Coshatta casino's customers are from Texas, particularly the Houston area.²³

While the State of Texas was pursuing its case to close the Tigua's Speaking Rock Casino,²⁴ press reports indicated that another tribe, the Alabama-Coshatta, was considering opening its own casino in eastern Texas.²⁵ Abramoff and Scanlon were insistent with the Louisiana Coshatta Tribal Council that Texas was on the verge of legalizing gaming.²⁶ Abramoff and Scanlon said that if the Tigua succeeded in its efforts to keep open its casino, the State of Texas would have no choice but to allow the Alabama Coshatta to have a casino.²⁷ The Tribe therefore authorized Abramoff and Scanlon to pursue anti-gaming efforts in Texas against the Tigua and the Alabama Coshatta.²⁸

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ 25 U.S.C.S. § 1300g-6 (2001).

²¹ *Fifth Circuit Rules Against Tribe in State of Texas v. Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo* (visited Mar. 23, 2006) <http://www.indiangaming.org/info/pr/press-releases-2002/texas-v-ysleta.shtml> (describing the Tigua casino, Speaking Rock Casino); *Texas v. del Sur Pueblo*, 220 F.Supp.2d 668 (W.D. Tex. 2001).

²² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 113 (November 2, 2005) (prepared statement of David Sickey, Councilman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana).

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Indians Bet on casino bills/Texas Legislature May Settle Legal Dispute Targeting Tribe's Casino Plans*, Houston Chronicle, March 25, 2001; Email from Wilson Padgett to DCChoctaw (SENCREA 10/04 000001) (March 26, 2001) (attaching James Kimberly's text).

²⁵ Email from Brian Mann, American International Center, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000000626) (November 22, 2001) (attaching Gary Susswein, *Two More Tribes Are Ready To Join Casino Battle*, Austin American Statesman, November 22, 2001).

²⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 113 (November 2, 2005) (prepared statement of David Sickey, Councilman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana). *Accord* "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 19 (November 2, 2005) (statement of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana).

²⁷ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13-14, 2005).

²⁸ *Id.*

To pursue a grassroots effort against the Tigua, Abramoff turned once again to his long-time friend and business associate Ralph Reed. On November 12, 2001, Abramoff wrote to Reed: “Remember I mentioned the NIGC [National Indian Gaming Commission] today? We are going to get them on the Alabama Coushattas and I told our guy to get them on the Tiguas as well. Cornyn²⁹ needs to get Indians to lead the way. Let us help with that.”³⁰

Reed replied, “great work. Get me details so I can alert cornyn and let him know what we are doing to help him.”³¹ Reed claimed he was already working with Ed Young, pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Houston, Texas, to mobilize the top pastors in Houston to provide cover for the State’s anti-gambling efforts.³² According to Reed, “[W]e 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.”³³

In an effort to sway public opinion, the Tigua had earlier embarked upon a public relations campaign. Earlier that day, the Tigua had run articles in newspapers in Austin, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Fort Worth, imploring people to contact then-Texas Attorney General John Cornyn and “beg him to save our families.”³⁴ The Tigua also ran a similar full-page ad in *The Washington Post*, in the form of a letter to the President.³⁵

Upon reading about the Tigua’s public relations campaign, Reed advised Abramoff, “i [sic] strongly suggest we start doing patch-throughs to perry and cornyn. [W]e’re getting killed on the phones.”³⁶ Apparently, Scanlon had already started.³⁷ Reed again claimed he had already mobilized 50 pastors to provide “moral support” to then-Texas Attorney General Cornyn.³⁸

On November 15, 2001, Isidro Garza, Chairman of the Kickapoo Tribe informed Abramoff that then-Texas Attorney General Cornyn was “fixing to get hammered in El Paso” and asked “are we prepared to have Ralph Reed move in?”³⁹

Abramoff replied, “Absolutely. Ralph and I spoke last night. Cornyn is supposed to call Ralph as soon as he can make it to a phone after El Paso. We should be in good shape.”⁴⁰

²⁹ Cornyn is U.S. Senator John Cornyn of Texas, who was then the Attorney General for the State of Texas.

³⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000023259-61) (November 12, 2001).

³¹ *Id.*

³² *Id.*

³³ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000023274) (November 12, 2001).

³⁴ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E00023240-41) (November 13, 2001) (attaching Gary Scharrer, *Tiguas seek support with state, DC ads*, El Paso Times, November 13, 2001).

³⁵ *Id.* Later that day, Abramoff forwarded an email from Isidro Garza to Reed. See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000023257) (November 12, 2001). Abramoff apparently believed that the Kickapoo nation would help them on Tigua. *Id.* To date, the Committee has not learned what, if any, assistance the Kickapoo nation rendered.

³⁶ Email between Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000023240) (November 13-14, 2001).

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ Email between Isidro Garza, Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000023504) (November 15, 2001).

⁴⁰ *Id.* Other than Abramoff’s email, the Committee has seen no evidence that such a call occurred.

By December 2001, Reed apparently was not achieving satisfactory results. With respect to the Alabama Coushatta's new casino, Abramoff wrote, "We are going to lose this client [Louisiana Coushatta] if we can't get this thing closed. What can we do? What are they waiting for?"⁴¹

Reed reported on everything he was doing to ensure the casino would be shut down, and added, "Let's talk today about what else we might do. But if the client loses us in the meantime, they will not get anyone better to advance their cause."⁴²

On January 7, 2002, Reed reported on his discussions with the Attorney General's Office, adding "[h]ope these developments help with client".⁴³ Reed also reminded Abramoff that the information he had earlier passed on turned out to be true, and confirmed that he had gotten pastors riled up the week before to call the Attorney General's office.⁴⁴ Reed purportedly continued to supply Abramoff with information from the Attorney General's office, claiming he was having direct conversations with the Texas Attorney General himself.⁴⁵

While the trio worked to support the State's legal efforts, evidence also suggests that Abramoff, Scanlon, and Reed worked behind the scenes in Texas to quash the Tigua's attempts at a legislative solution. In 2003, Abramoff boasted to a colleague:

A bill is moving (HB809) in the Texas state house which will enable the Indians in Texas to have totally unregulated casinos. It passed out of the house Criminal Jurisprudence Committee by a 6-2 vote.

The current Republican Speaker Tom Craddick is a strong supporter. Last year we stopped this bill after it passed the house using the Lt. Governor (Bill ratcliff) [sic] to prevent it from being scheduled in the state senate.⁴⁶

In fact, former Texas Lt. Governor Ratliff did refuse to schedule the legislation for a floor vote in the previous session, the state's legal efforts succeeded, and the Tigua officially closed its casino on February 12, 2002.⁴⁷

It was a low point for the Tigua. According to Tribal representatives, the revenue generated by the Speaking Rock Casino had helped the Tribe lift its members out of poverty, had enabled the Tribe to provide education for its children and health care for its elders.⁴⁸ It created hope where there was none. Into their desperation and despair entered Abramoff and Scanlon.

⁴¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000023491-93) (December 5, 2001).

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000010854) (January 7, 2002).

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000076007) (January 23, 2002).

⁴⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Shawn Vasell, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000076245) (February 27, 2003).

⁴⁷ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁴⁸ *Id.*

D. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON SEEK THE TRIBE'S MONEY

At the same time Abramoff and Scanlon were working to have the Tigua's casino in El Paso closed, they began actively soliciting the Tigua for money to re-open its casino. According to an internal memorandum from Norman J. Gordon to Tom Diamond, both of whom were outside counsel for the Tigua:

I had a telephone conversation this afternoon with Bryant Rogers, a lawyer in Santa Fe, who represents a number of Indian Tribes. He advises me that he was asked by Mr. Jack Abramoff, a lobbyist in Washington, D.C. whether the Tiguas were attempting a solution to the order that may be outside the courts. According to Mr. Rogers, Mr. Abramoff is with a firm that is well connected to the Bush Administration (Greenberg Trauring [sic] Firm in Washington, D.C. which represented the Bush Campaign in the Florida dispute-lobbying arm) and has been effective in the past in efforts for other tribes. He is willing to come to El Paso and meet with the Council at no cost to discuss whether he can be of assistance. His phone number is [REDACTION].⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Reed forwarded to Abramoff an email from one of Reed's Texas operatives reporting that the operative "[j]ust spoke with a source close to the Attorney General who tells me they anticipate either February 8 (this Friday) or February 11th—next Monday—will be the date Judge Eisele shuts down the Tigua casino. His order would dispatch federal marshals to the facility to close it."⁵⁰ In forwarding Reed's email to Scanlon, Abramoff was clear about his lack of care and concern for the Tigua's plight: "Whining idiot. Close the f'ing thing already!"⁵¹

Despite his disdain, the very next day, Abramoff was quickly on the telephone with Tigua public relations representative Marc Schwartz seeking the Tigua's business.⁵² During their first telephone conversation, Abramoff lamented over the Tigua's plight, and offered to visit the Tribe in El Paso to discuss a solution to the Tigua's problem.⁵³ According to Schwartz, Abramoff "expressed his indignation over what had occurred with the tribe and specifically referred to the need to right the terrible injustice that had been brought upon the tribe."⁵⁴

To Schwartz, Abramoff appeared to have the right credentials. Abramoff claimed to be a close friend of Congressman Tom

⁴⁹Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (February 4, 2002) (Memorandum from Norman J. Gordon, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, to Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson).

⁵⁰Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Trauring (GTG-E006970-JA) (February 5, 2002).

⁵¹Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Trauring, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E006970-JA) (February 5, 2002).

⁵²"Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁵³Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁵⁴"Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

DeLay.⁵⁵ He also discussed his friendship with Reed, recounting some of their history together at College Republicans.⁵⁶ When Schwartz observed that Reed was an ideologue, Schwartz recalled that Abramoff laughingly replied “as far as the cash goes.”⁵⁷ Abramoff also mentioned his representation of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”) and his ability to get appropriations for them.⁵⁸

Abramoff “offered the service of both himself and his firm at no charge.”⁵⁹ He later expressed a hope that the Tribe would hire him, if he succeeded in achieving a Federal legislative fix.⁶⁰

After his call with Schwartz, Abramoff told Scanlon, “Fire up the jet baby, we’re going to El Paso!!”⁶¹

Scanlon replied, “I want all their MONEY!!!”⁶²

Later that day, Reed sent Abramoff the Saturday copy of an *El Paso Times-News* article reporting that the Tigua had filed for a stay of the closing of its casino while the Tribe’s appeal was pending before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals with the note “here’s the latest move, just as we predicted.”⁶³

On February 7, 2002, Schwartz reported to Tigua Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and the Tribal Council that he “spoke with Mr. Abramoff this morning and he would like to make a short presentation to the Council next week. He could be in El Paso for a meeting on Tuesday.”⁶⁴ Schwartz scheduled the meeting with Abramoff and the Tigua leadership for Tuesday, February 12, 2002, at the Tribal Council offices for Abramoff to make “a short presentation on his capabilities.”⁶⁵

Before meeting with Abramoff, the Tigua undertook some due diligence, reviewing stories about Abramoff in *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*.⁶⁶ The articles described Abramoff as an “uber lobbyist.”⁶⁷ The Tigua also reviewed information about the law firm Greenberg Traurig, which the Tribe determined was one of the top law firms, and concluded that Abramoff’s “creden-

⁵⁵ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E0075991) (February 6, 2002).

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ Email from Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E006969-JA) (February 6, 2002).

⁶⁴ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (February 7, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

⁶⁵ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (February 8, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo); *see also* Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (February 10, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

⁶⁶ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 235 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

⁶⁷ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

tials appeared to be extremely legitimate.”⁶⁸ At a Tribal Council meeting, the Tribe considered Abramoff’s credentials: he was a top-notch lobbyist; he represented the Choctaw, widely known and respected in Indian country; and, his firm had represented President Bush in the 2000 presidential election dispute.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to monitor the Tigua’s fight. On Saturday, February 9, 2002, the *El Paso Times-News* reported that, following the Fifth Circuit Court’s denial of the Tigua’s application for a stay pending appeal, the Tigua intended to file an emergency request to the United States Supreme Court.⁷⁰ Concerned by the Tigua’s latest actions, Scanlon wrote to Abramoff: “Uh oh?” and Abramoff responded, “We have to strategize on this one.”⁷¹

A day or so before Abramoff’s meeting with the Tribe, Abramoff called Schwartz to inform the Tribe that he was bringing Michael Scanlon, whom he called an associate.⁷² Abramoff said that Scanlon was Congressman DeLay’s former spokesman.⁷³ Abramoff called Scanlon one of his best friends; said they worked together all the time; and, claimed that Scanlon was one of the pre-eminent political strategists in the nation.⁷⁴

During their conversation, Abramoff never called Scanlon his business partner.⁷⁵ According to Schwartz, Abramoff was always very careful to make it clear to the Tigua that “you’re hiring Scanlon independently. I use him because he’s the best. He has his own company.”⁷⁶ Abramoff never disclosed that he and Scanlon were partners; never said he would receive money from Scanlon that the Tigua paid; and, never mentioned any referral fee from Scanlon.⁷⁷ To the contrary, when Schwartz asked whether Scanlon Gould was connected to Abramoff, Abramoff replied “no.”⁷⁸

The day he was supposed to meet with the Tigua leadership, Abramoff’s disdain for the Tribe again surfaced. Reed had reported that the Tigua was prepared to close its casino.⁷⁹ Reed highlighted for Abramoff “major victory ... but note they plan a legislative battle now that they have lost in the courts.”⁸⁰

Abramoff responded, “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.”⁸¹

⁶⁸ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 235 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁶⁹ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁷⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E00000353) (February 9, 2002).

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 239 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁷³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹ Email between Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E006967-JA) (February 11–12, 2002).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ *Id.*

Abramoff and Scanlon met with the Tigua Tribal Council on February 12, 2002.⁸² Ironically, it was the same day that the Tigua's casino was going to close.⁸³ The meeting occurred at the Tribal Administration Building, and lasted forty-five (45) minutes.⁸⁴ Attendees at the meeting included the Tribe's then-Governor Albert Alvidrez, Schwartz, and Tribal attorney Tom Diamond.⁸⁵ As Lt. Governor Hisa later learned, at that meeting, Abramoff made a proposal for a lobbying effort led by himself and Scanlon's firm to gain a federal legislative fix to the Tigua's problem.⁸⁶

The Tribe had no idea that Abramoff, Scanlon, and Reed had just worked to ensure the closure of its casino.⁸⁷ According to Hisa, Alvidrez said that Abramoff disclosed his friendship with Reed, but Abramoff said that Reed was "crazy, like other folks in the Christian Coalition."⁸⁸ According to Tom Diamond, counsel to the Tigua, Abramoff also claimed that as Reed was leading the anti-gambling efforts among Christian conservatives, Reed was supplying Abramoff with information about the effort and, therefore, Abramoff knew their strategy.⁸⁹

Abramoff also disclosed his representation of the Louisiana Coushatta, but said the Louisiana Coushatta did not have any problem with the Tigua.⁹⁰ Abramoff bragged about getting the Choctaw millions of dollars in appropriations.⁹¹

During the Committee's hearing, Schwartz testified that Abramoff introduced Scanlon as "the preeminent expert in grass-roots politics and that with his experience with Representative Tom DeLay had developed a reputation as 'the go-to guy for the most difficult campaigns'."⁹² According to Schwartz, Abramoff further described Scanlon as a "bulldog", "tenacious", "people were afraid of him", he was "DeLay's attack dog," and was one of the reasons that Congressman DeLay was so successful.⁹³ According to Lt. Governor Hisa, Scanlon claimed he would try to convince Representative DeLay to work for the Tigua's benefit and try to use

⁸² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁸³ *Id.* at 239.

⁸⁴ Interview of Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁸⁵ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 231 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228, 239 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁸⁸ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁸⁹ Interview of Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁹⁰ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

⁹³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

Representative DeLay's credibility to convince other representatives to support the Tigua.⁹⁴

Abramoff said that Scanlon did the groundwork on his projects.⁹⁵ When Schwartz asked whether Abramoff used Scanlon exclusively, Abramoff said that he liked to use Scanlon for the tough fights: "He always gets results", recalled Schwartz.⁹⁶

At that first meeting, Scanlon said he worked in public affairs and direct response.⁹⁷ Scanlon explained grassroots campaigns, and how he could get thousands of telephone calls to flood a senator's office, or even the President's office.⁹⁸ Scanlon claimed he was "DeLay's guy" and had an ongoing relationship with Congressman DeLay.⁹⁹

Abramoff and Scanlon proposed a nationwide political campaign for the Tigua.¹⁰⁰ The duo brought a laptop with an example of the database they were proposing to construct for the Tigua.¹⁰¹ Abramoff told the Tribe that his plan was to have a friendly lawmaker sneak some fairly innocuous language into a federal bill permitting the Tigua to re-open the Speaking Rock Casino.¹⁰² But the Tribe would have to make contributions to grease the process: "You have to have some friends," Schwartz recalled Abramoff saying.¹⁰³

Schwartz further recalled Abramoff saying "my part is easy; the hard part is keeping this from being undone. Once the law is printed, someone's going to know it and that's where Mike comes in."¹⁰⁴ Abramoff described Scanlon's role as a submarine: once the bill passed, opponents would try to strip it or repeal it.¹⁰⁵ Abramoff said that Scanlon's operation would then surface, blanketing members' offices with letters and phone calls, to "bring them in line."¹⁰⁶ Scanlon would implement this "submarine strategy" through the database he was supposedly going to construct for the Tribe.¹⁰⁷

Abramoff also said that he and Greenberg Traurig would represent the Tribe pro bono until the casino was up and running, but then wanted to represent the Tigua for \$150,000 per month.¹⁰⁸ Abramoff said he had done this arrangement before: he would work pro bono, but Scanlon had to be paid.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁴ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 242 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

⁹⁵ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² *Id.*; Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

¹⁰³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*; Interview of Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004) (recalling Abramoff said that Scanlon would "bring them [opponents] in line").

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*; Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁰⁷ Interview of Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

Speaking about the grassroots efforts, Scanlon said there was a necessity of money.¹¹⁰ Scanlon was going to write a proposal for the Tigua.¹¹¹ Schwartz recalled Abramoff saying “you won’t pay me, you’ll pay him a lot”, indicating Scanlon.¹¹² According to Schwartz, Abramoff said two or three times “I’m the only guy who’s gonna work for you and get results first and you pay second.”¹¹³ Abramoff said his efforts “couldn’t exist without Scanlon.”¹¹⁴ At the meeting, Abramoff and Scanlon suggested a ballpark figure of \$5,000,000 for the plan, in addition to \$1,000,000 in political contributions.¹¹⁵

During that same meeting, Scanlon represented that his part in the campaign “would be expensive, essential and exclusive.”¹¹⁶ The Tribe had no understanding that Scanlon would pay Abramoff out of the funds paid to him by the Tribe.¹¹⁷ The Tribe never paid Abramoff any money.¹¹⁸ In discussing the project, Abramoff conveyed a sense of urgency.¹¹⁹ At the meeting, Abramoff again insisted the proposal was critical, that it needed to be done, the Tribe needed this defense, and Scanlon had done this before.¹²⁰

At that meeting, neither Abramoff nor Scanlon disclosed that they were partners; that Abramoff had any type of financial interest in Scanlon’s operations; or, that Scanlon would pay Abramoff any part of what the Tribe paid Scanlon.¹²¹

After Abramoff met with the Tigua leadership, Schwartz sent an email to Abramoff: “Certainly enjoyed your visit and efforts to help our client. I look forward to receiving your proposal and we will do everything possible to make it come to fruition.”¹²² Forwarding Schwartz’s email to Scanlon, Abramoff commented, “This guy NEEDS us to save his ass!!”¹²³

After Abramoff and Scanlon’s trip to El Paso, Abramoff pushed the Tigua to decide on Scanlon.¹²⁴ Abramoff said that “bills were moving, timing is critical, he needed Scanlon ASAP.”¹²⁵ Abramoff insisted that if a bill moved quickly, he needed Scanlon in place working on the database along with some other elements of the strategy.¹²⁶ At this point, Abramoff did not specify which law-makers would help, or where the contributions would go.¹²⁷

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, 108th Cong. at 228 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

¹¹⁷ *Id.* at 242 (testimony of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

¹¹⁹ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

¹²² Email from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E006968-JA) (February 13, 2002).

¹²³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E006968-JA) (February 13, 2002).

¹²⁴ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹²⁵ *Id.*

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ *Id.*

Scanlon was responsible for drafting the Tigua strategy. On February 16, 2002, Scanlon reported to Abramoff that he was “still working—I’ll have it done befoer [sic] noon tomorrow so you can get it deon [sic] to schartz [sic].”¹²⁸ The next day, Abramoff responded: “Dawg, we’re going to miss the meeting on Tuesday at this rate. Let’s not blow this one because we don’t get them a proposal. Get me something asap!”¹²⁹

Upon receiving the proposal, Abramoff sent Schwartz an email on February 18, 2002, reiterating that his and Greenberg Traurig’s services were free:

As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the Federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the Federal level and assist with efforts to obtain a class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between \$125,000 and \$175,000 per month.¹³⁰

Abramoff attached to his email to Schwartz a proposal entitled “Operation Open Doors”. According to the document, the “singular objective of our strategy is to open the doors of the Speaking Rock Casino within the next 4 months.”¹³¹ The document continued,

Our objective is clear, and in the following pages we are going to tell you exactly how we intend to reach our objective. Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nation-wide political operation. This political operation will result in a Majority of both federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time.

The network we our [sic] are building for you will give you the political clout needed to end around the obstacles you face in your own back yard. Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly, and we will do that through both love and fear.¹³²

The document represented that “they” had “waged similar strategies in the past that have been successful and we will wage many more in the years to come.”¹³³ Although the document cautioned that the strategy was not “full proof”, it also emphasized that “under no circumstances do we believe it could be classified as high risk either.”¹³⁴ According to the document: “As we presented in our initial meeting, we firmly believe that if you execute this strategy in its entirety, your doors will be open and gaming will return in

¹²⁸ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000010895) (February 16–17, 2002).

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG-000076141) (February 18, 2002).

¹³¹ *Id.*

¹³² *Id.*

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ *Id.*

the immediate future.”¹³⁵ Scanlon requested a total amount of \$5.4 million to execute his strategy.¹³⁶

On February 19, 2002, the *El Paso Times* reported that 450 people received their final termination notice and 60-day severance packages one week after Tigua Tribal officials complied with a federal court order to shut down their Speaking Rock Casino.¹³⁷ Scanlon forwarded the story to Abramoff with the preface “This is on the front page of todays [sic] while they will be voting on our plan!”¹³⁸ Abramoff could hardly contain his excitement: “Is life great or what!!!”¹³⁹ Mere minutes later, Abramoff sent another email to Scanlon: “1 hour 45 minutes and counting my friend.”¹⁴⁰

Before voting on Operation Open Doors, the Tribe asked Abramoff and Scanlon to return. Abramoff therefore met with Tigua leadership again in El Paso on February 22, 2002.¹⁴¹ Abramoff was alone; Scanlon supposedly had health problems and was unable to attend.¹⁴²

At that second meeting, Abramoff made a proposal on the legislative strategy, including Operation Open Doors and the database to be developed by Scanlon Gould.¹⁴³ Later that day, through Schwartz, the Tribal Council requested that the cost of Operation Open Doors be reduced to \$4.2 million.¹⁴⁴ Abramoff accepted the Tribe’s counter-offer on Scanlon Gould’s behalf.¹⁴⁵

On March 5, 2002, the Tribe executed a contract with Scanlon Gould for the implementation of Operation Open Doors.¹⁴⁶ In less than a month, the Tribe paid Scanlon \$4,200,000.

Payments by Tigua to Scanlon Gould

03/05/02	\$2,100,000
03/06/02	\$817,000
03/26/02	\$1,283,000
Total	\$4,200,000

Having collected about \$4,200,000 from the Tigua during the relevant period, Scanlon secretly kicked back to Abramoff about \$1,850,000—about 50% of his total profit from the Tribe.¹⁴⁷ The

¹³⁵ *Id.*

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ Email from Brian Mann, American International Center, to Michael Scanlon, et. al., Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000001141) (February 19, 2002).

¹³⁸ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000001141) (February 19, 2002).

¹³⁹ *Id.*

¹⁴⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000001140) (February 19, 2002).

¹⁴¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 232 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

¹⁴² Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁴³ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 232 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ Contract between Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (March 5, 2002) (no Bates number).

¹⁴⁷ Discussion and analysis of how Abramoff and Scanlon successfully perpetrated their “gimme five” scheme on the Tribe, on an entity-by-entity basis, is contained in Part 2 of this Report.

Tribe never knew that Scanlon would pay Abramoff with the Tribe's money,¹⁴⁸ and had no way of knowing of the scam the duo was running.¹⁴⁹

E. SECRECY AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Secrecy was a key element of Abramoff and Scanlon's program. According to Schwartz, Abramoff claimed, "Nobody can know I'm working on this deal. Stealth is the key."¹⁵⁰ Abramoff repeatedly emphasized that his involvement in the effort needed to be kept secret.¹⁵¹ Neither Abramoff nor any other lobbyist on his team registered with the Clerk of the House or the Secretary of the Senate as lobbyists for the Tigua. Abramoff claimed that part of the reason for representing the Tigua *pro bono* was to avoid filing the required lobbying disclosure forms.¹⁵² According to Schwartz, Abramoff explained that the lawmakers who would advance the legislative measure required secrecy.¹⁵³

When Schwartz sent a number of Tigua-related articles to a list of people—including Abramoff—Abramoff forwarded the articles to Scanlon with the note: "That fucking idiot put my name on an email list! What a fucking moron. He may have blown our cover!! Dammit. We are moving forward anyway and taking their fucking money."¹⁵⁴

Another key component of the program, so Abramoff claimed, were the political contributions that Abramoff directed the Tigua to make.¹⁵⁵ Abramoff gave the Tribe a list of contributions at the moment he made his second presentation.¹⁵⁶ According to Schwartz, "Those checks were required by Mr. Abramoff, directed that the Tribe do those immediately."¹⁵⁷

During four or five conversations that Schwartz had with Abramoff between March 1–5, 2002, Abramoff said that political contributions were critical to the Tribe's language going through.¹⁵⁸ Abramoff told Schwartz that the Tribe needed to make the contributions to have lawmakers carry the Tribe's water.¹⁵⁹ Schwartz recalled Abramoff plainly saying that unless the Tribe made contributions, "it will not work" and "they will not vote for us."¹⁶⁰

What Abramoff did not tell the Tribe was that he was going to use its contributions to achieve legislative results for other clients.

¹⁴⁸ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 242 (November 17, 2004) (testimony of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 238.

¹⁵⁰ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁵¹ *Id.*

¹⁵² Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

¹⁵³ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 229 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

¹⁵⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000053576) (February 25, 2002).

¹⁵⁵ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 229 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

¹⁵⁶ *Id.* at 237.

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, by telephone (November 14, 2004).

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*

On February 24, 2002, Abramoff's associate Todd Boulanger wrote about the "Tigua Contribution Budget Proposal":

I'm compiling this information now. How soon will be [sic] get this money ... [sic] since we are going to use this to leverage our friends for this year's approps requests, prior to March 20th is best, since March 22nd is the general deadline. We're looking strong on the school for the Sagchips. \$4.5 million in da-bank. call [sic] me at the office if you get this soon ...¹⁶¹

The Tribe contributed approximately \$300,000 at Abramoff's direction.¹⁶²

F. ABRAMOFF AND HIS COLLEAGUES SET THE PLAN IN MOTION IN THE HOUSE

On March 18, 2002, Tony Rudy, an Abramoff colleague and former Deputy Chief of Staff to Congressman Tom DeLay, told Abramoff, "We need to meet with ney [sic]. I think you should be in on it."¹⁶³

Abramoff responded, "I agree. when [sic] can we see him? We need to show him the list of those to whom they [the Tribe] gave. Was he on it? if [sic] not, find out the name of his PAC and his personal committee with addresses and we'll get checks right now."¹⁶⁴

Two days later, Abramoff exclaimed to Scanlon, "Just met with Ney!!! We're fing gold!!!! He's going to do Tigua."¹⁶⁵

At the hearing before the Committee, Schwartz testified that Abramoff reported in March 2002 that he and his staff had spoken to Representative Bob Ney, who allegedly agreed to carry the Tigua provision by placing it in the Election Reform Bill.¹⁶⁶

Congressman Ney had a different recollection of events. According to Congressman Ney, Abramoff told him that Senator Dodd wanted to insert a provision into the Election Reform Bill that would benefit a gaming tribe in Connecticut.¹⁶⁷ Congressman Ney said there was never any mention of any Tribe in El Paso, Texas and no reference to any Tigua Indian tribe.¹⁶⁸ As of the date of his interview with Committee staff, Congressman Ney said he was not at all familiar with the Tigua.¹⁶⁹

To effect his legislative strategy, Abramoff enlisted other lobbyists at Greenberg Traurig, including Neil Volz, Jon van Horne, and

¹⁶¹ Email from Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000076355) (February 24, 2002).

¹⁶² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 236 (November 17, 2004) (testimony of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

¹⁶³ Email between Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089648) (March 18, 2002).

¹⁶⁴ *Id.*

¹⁶⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000076443) (March 20, 2002).

¹⁶⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 229 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants). The actual name of the bill was the Help America Vote Act of 2002, Public Law 107-252.

¹⁶⁷ Interview of Honorable Robert W. Ney, Member, United States House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*

Shawn Vasell.¹⁷⁰ In particular, Volz was the former chief of staff to Congressman Ney and staff director for the House Committee on Administration, which Congressman Ney chaired at the time.¹⁷¹ Volz went to work for Team Abramoff at Greenberg Traurig on February 19, 2002.¹⁷²

According to Schwartz, Volz was supposedly working on the Tigua issue on the House side.¹⁷³ Abramoff told Schwartz that Volz, as Congressman Ney's former chief of staff, was important to the process.¹⁷⁴ Schwartz remembered Abramoff saying that "Volz was Ney's guy and was working it for Ney."¹⁷⁵ Volz was on the Hill to get information and to influence the Conference Committee.¹⁷⁶ According to Abramoff, Volz was talking to Congressman Ney about the Tigua.¹⁷⁷ Abramoff said that Volz had convinced Congressman Ney that supporting the effort was the right thing to do.¹⁷⁸

Schwartz met Volz twice while working on the Tigua issue.¹⁷⁹ He also spoke to him in conference calls with Abramoff.¹⁸⁰ According to Schwartz, Volz told him that Congressman Ney got involved in the Tigua project because of Volz.¹⁸¹ Volz was supposedly talking with Congressman Ney or his staff daily, Schwartz told Committee staff in his interview.¹⁸² Volz told Schwartz that he was working with Congressman Ney's Chief of Staff and knew him by name.¹⁸³

Congressman Ney contradicted Volz's representations to Schwartz. During his interview with Committee staff, Congressman Ney said that, aside from Abramoff, no one—including Volz—approached him about the provision that Abramoff had brought to his attention.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile, on or about March 26, 2002, Abramoff called Schwartz and said that Congressman Ney had set up a new political action committee ("PAC") called American Liberty.¹⁸⁵ Abramoff said it was imperative that the Tribe send checks that day.¹⁸⁶

Abramoff and Schwartz had another conversation about the contributions.¹⁸⁷ Volz was present during this conversation, Schwartz

¹⁷⁰ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁷¹ Email from Mayra Zilio, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089431) (February 8, 2002).

¹⁷² Email from Neil Volz, Greenberg Traurig, to himself (GTG-E000089433) (February 6, 2002). He was therefore subject to the one-year lobbying ban prohibiting him from lobbying both Congressman Ney and his office, as well as the Committee.

¹⁷³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ *Id.*

¹⁷⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷⁷ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, by telephone (November 14, 2004).

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

¹⁸⁰ *Id.*

¹⁸¹ *Id.*

¹⁸² *Id.*

¹⁸³ *Id.*

¹⁸⁴ Interview of Honorable Robert W. Ney, Member, House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

¹⁸⁵ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, by telephone (February 22, 2005).

¹⁸⁶ *Id.*

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

recalled.¹⁸⁸ During the conversation, Volz chimed in that the checks needed to be delivered quickly.¹⁸⁹ According to Schwartz, Abramoff said that the political contributions were necessary, often saying “this has to be done”, “this is not optional”, and went as far as to say that “in order to make this thing work, he [Ney] needs the money in his PAC so he can make contributions to members of his Committee to make it glide through.”¹⁹⁰ “This is not what I think you should do; this is what Bob needs to be done”, Schwartz remembered Abramoff saying.¹⁹¹

After Schwartz’s conference call with Abramoff and Volz, Abramoff’s assistant Allison Bozniak sent Schwartz an email with information for donations to American Liberty PAC and Bob Ney for Congress.¹⁹² On March 27, 2002, the Tribe made the following contributions:

\$2,000 to Bob Ney for Congress
 \$5,000 to American Liberty PAC Hard Money Account
 \$25,000 to American Liberty PAC Soft Money Account¹⁹³

On April 12, 2002, Abramoff again informed Schwartz that the Tigua language would be included in the Election Reform Bill.¹⁹⁴

G. SCANLON PURPORTEDLY SETS THE PLAN IN MOTION IN THE SENATE

While Abramoff was lobbying the House, Scanlon was apparently responsible for supervising the lobbying of the Senate. To that end, he was supposedly hiring two Democratic operatives: Harold Ickes and Lottie Shackelford. On March 30, 2002, Abramoff instructed Scanlon, “Ickes has to move now. They might go to conference as soon as they get back. let [sic] me know when he is ready. Ney is ready to approach Dodd, but is waiting to hear back from us first.”¹⁹⁵

Scanlon assured Abramoff, “Will do onthis [sic]. Ill [sic] give udatelater [sic].”¹⁹⁶

There apparently was some problem on Scanlon’s end, but he assured Abramoff, “OK—Im [sic] back in the driver seat—We got Dodds [sic] Finacne [sic] comitte [sic] chairman on board and we have the vice Char [sic] of the DNC—the one who actually sponsored the resolution now on the team.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁸ *Id.*

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ *Id.*

¹⁹² Email from Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (no Bates number) (March 26, 2002).

¹⁹³ Tigua document production (no Bates number) (check from Tigua to “Bob Ney For Congress”) (March 27, 2002); Tigua document production (no Bates number) (check from Tigua to “American Liberty PAC Hard Money Account”) (March 27, 2002); Tigua document production (no Bates number) (check from Tigua to “American Liberty PAC Soft Money Account”) (March 27, 2002).

¹⁹⁴ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, by telephone (February 22, 2005).

¹⁹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000089650) (March 30, 2002).

¹⁹⁶ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089670) (April 1, 2002).

¹⁹⁷ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089681) (April 15, 2002).

On April 18, 2002 Abramoff reported to Volz that “Dodd is ready.”¹⁹⁸ He explained, “We need to get to Ney to give him the green light to raise it with Dodd whenever he wants.”¹⁹⁹

Volz responded, “Ney is in Florida this weekend, I talked with him yesterday and will talk with [then-House Administration Committee staff director] Paul [Vinovich] on Sunday to get teed up to get ready to implement.”²⁰⁰

The next day, Rudy urged Abramoff, “We better get folks to talk to dodd [sic].”²⁰¹

Abramoff assured Rudy, “We’re all set. he [sic] is ready and Ney knows to chat with him now.”²⁰²

Rudy also asked, “Is vinovich on board the tiquas [sic]?”²⁰³

Including Volz in the exchange, Abramoff replied, “I think so. Ney told Neil he was going to tell him, right Neil?”²⁰⁴

Volz reported that “Ney told vinovich last night and I will talk through with Paul on the golf course Sunday.”²⁰⁵

It appears, however, that Scanlon had not paved the way in the Senate, as he had said. The Committee has seen no evidence suggesting, much less establishing, that Scanlon had hired Ickes. In fact, in a January 9, 2003 memorandum from Scanlon to Schwartz on the political campaign Scanlon supposedly waged on the Tigua’s behalf, nowhere does Scanlon mention Ickes.²⁰⁶ According to Scanlon,

We began to target Senator Dodd using a system of repeated contact from influential members of his political family. At the cornerstone of the project was the vice chairperson of the DNC and a member of his finance committee, Lottie Shackelford. Her support and access was critical for our ongoing efforts to influence the Senator. We directed her to make personal contact with the Senator throughout the campaign starting in April and lasting through the passage of the legislation in October.²⁰⁷

Even Scanlon’s summary was not true. Brian Lunde, whom Scanlon used “as a silent sub[contractor] in letter-writing, legislative-monitoring, and other projects for his Tribal clients,” told Committee staff that Scanlon approached him in 2002 about the Tigua.²⁰⁸ Scanlon told Lunde that he was going to have an amendment inserted into the House version of Election Reform, and wanted to know whether the provision had any chance in the Senate.²⁰⁹ Lunde told Scanlon that the Democratic National Committee (“DNC”) had issued a resolution supporting the Tigua’s sov-

¹⁹⁸ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Neil Volz, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089698) (April 18, 2002).

¹⁹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰⁰ *Id.*

²⁰¹ Email between Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089701) (April 19, 2002).

²⁰² *Id.*

²⁰³ Email between Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Neil Volz (GTG-E000089703-04) (April 19, 2002).

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ *Id.*

²⁰⁶ See Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/TI 000824-25) (January 9, 2003).

²⁰⁷ See *id.*

²⁰⁸ Interview of Brian Lunde, formerly, Lunde & Burger, by telephone (November 16, 2004).

²⁰⁹ *Id.*

ereignty.²¹⁰ Lunde identified Senator Dodd as the key Senator on this issue; the question was if the provision was in the House version, would Senator Dodd support it.²¹¹

Scanlon asked Lunde who knew Senator Dodd and could get the DNC's position to him.²¹² Lunde identified Lottie Shackelford.²¹³ Since Scanlon did not know Shackelford, he asked Lunde to have her advise Dodd's office on the DNC's position.²¹⁴

Lunde apparently called Shackelford about this in the fall of 2002.²¹⁵ In their interviews with Committee staff, Shackelford and Lunde similarly recalled Shackelford's role. Shackelford was supposed to do two things: (1) make sure Senator Dodd's office was aware of the DNC's resolution on the Tigua; and, (2) monitor the Election Reform Bill in the Senate.²¹⁶ Lunde never discussed with Scanlon having Shackelford lobby Senator Dodd's office for inclusion of the Tigua provision in the Senate version of Election Reform.²¹⁷ Lunde, therefore, never asked Shackelford to lobby Senator Dodd or his office for inclusion of the Tigua language in the Senate's version of Election Reform bill.²¹⁸

After speaking with Lunde, Shackelford called Sheryl Cohen, Senator Dodd's Chief of Staff, to make her aware of the DNC resolution.²¹⁹ Shackelford recalled telling Cohen that "we" are hearing that an amendment may be attached to the House election Reform Bill to restore the Tribe's sovereignty and told her the DNC supported the Tribe's sovereignty rights.²²⁰ There was no discussion of the Tribe's casino or the language that would allow the Tribe to reopen its casino.²²¹ Shackelford told Committee staff she never spoke to Senator Dodd directly about the Tigua.²²²

Cohen did not recall specifics of her conversations with Shackelford about the Tigua.²²³ Nevertheless, Cohen was clear she would have deemed any rider about the Tigua a "non-starter", because it was not relevant to the bill.²²⁴ Consistent with Cohen's recollection, Shackelford told Committee staff that Cohen told her that Senator Dodd did not want Election Reform bogged down by non-germane provisions.²²⁵ Indeed, when the bill went to conference, Lunde recalled telling Scanlon that Dodd's chief of staff

²¹⁰ *Id.*

²¹¹ *Id.*

²¹² *Id.*

²¹³ *Id.*

²¹⁴ *Id.*

²¹⁵ Interview of Lottie Shackelford, Democratic political consultant, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004). Lunde could not recall when he first reached out to Shackelford. Interview of Brian Lunde, formerly, Lunde & Burger, by telephone (November 16, 2004).

²¹⁶ *Id.*; Interview of Lottie Shackelford, Democratic political consultant, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

²¹⁷ Interview of Brian Lunde, formerly, Lunde & Burger, by telephone (November 16, 2004).

²¹⁸ *Id.*; Interview of Lottie Shackelford, Democratic political consultant, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

²¹⁹ *Id.*

²²⁰ *Id.*

²²¹ *Id.*

²²² *Id.*

²²³ Interview of Sheryl Cohen, chief of staff, Senator Christopher J. Dodd, in Washington, D.C. (November 16, 2004).

²²⁴ *Id.*

²²⁵ Interview of Lottie Shackelford, Democratic political consultant, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

told Shackelford that no new provisions were going to make it into the legislation.²²⁶

H. THINGS BEGIN TO UNRAVEL

On June 5, 2002, Schwartz provided the Tigua Governor, Lt. Governor, and Tribal Council with an update on Abramoff and Scanlon's efforts in Washington, D.C., saying, "the conference committee staffs [were] meeting everyday to negotiate the issues in the bill."²²⁷ Schwartz further advised, "Our portion is still agreed to and as you can see from the [Abramoff's] e-mail, there is no problem with our part being kept on the bill."²²⁸

Meanwhile, Abramoff instructed Volz to give him regular updates on Election Reform.²²⁹

Volz reported, "I talked to Paul yesterday and keep hearing the same thing", and assured Abramoff "I am keeping in daily contact with Paul and Chet in Ney's office on this."²³⁰

The following month, however, Volz reported to Abramoff and Rudy, "Election Reform negotiations have slowed. Ney, Paul, and Chet all think it is possible to finish negotiations before August, but now not likely until later."²³¹ Furthermore, according to Volz, "With that being said, Ney and Paul have said things are moving and would like to get all our specifics in line, so I am working to get a meeting with Tony and Paul and Bob this week to exchange specifics—since Paul was not in original meeting."²³²

The next day, Volz reported to Abramoff and Rudy:

I just talked with Ney, [sic] He is all set to meet you Tony at 2:00 at 1309 Longworth HOB today. He said he would meet with you first and then bring Paul [Vinovich] in for the meeting. ... The question is, should Tony bring in the Tigua and the Alabama Coushatta language or just the specific Tigua language. ... Please do not forward this, but you need to know I get the sense Bob is still a little jumpy on letting Paul in on the entire situation here, but knows he is the guy to place this language in the bill ...²³³

Abramoff continued his reports to the Tribe, as reflected in contemporaneous memoranda prepared by Schwartz. In mid-July, Schwartz reported that the conference report on the election reform legislation had been reported and was "eligible for consideration": "The two Chairmen (Congressman Ney and Senator Dodd) have requested floor time [for the bill] from their respective bodies for this week."²³⁴

²²⁶ Interview of Brian Lunde, formerly, Lunde & Burger, by telephone (November 16, 2004).

²²⁷ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (June 5, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

²²⁸ *Id.*

²²⁹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Neil Volz, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089758) (June 12, 2002).

²³⁰ *Id.*

²³¹ Email from Neil Volz, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089523) (July 10, 2002).

²³² *Id.*

²³³ Email from Neil Volz, Greenberg Traurig, to Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, copied to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000206101) (July 11, 2002).

²³⁴ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (July 18, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

In late July, Congressman Ney apparently approached Senator Dodd about the Tigua provision. Scanlon's failure to get a commitment from Senator Dodd then became evident. On July 25, 2002, Abramoff sent Scanlon an urgent email:

I just spoke with Ney who met today with Dodd on the bill and raised our provision. Dodd looked at him like a "deer in headlights" and said he has never made such a commitment and that, with the problems of new casinos in Connecticut, it is a problem!!! Mike, please call me immediately to tell me how we wired this, or were supposed to wire it. Ney feels we left him out to dry. Please call me!!!²³⁵

Neither Scanlon nor Abramoff ever advised the Tigua about the problems they were having in the Senate. To the contrary, Abramoff and Scanlon both said that it was moving along well.²³⁶ Indeed, the day after Abramoff's urgent e-mail to Scanlon, Abramoff reported that "Senate Democrats and House Republicans are at odds over one issue that cropped up. The issue is whether the Justice Department (Democrats favor) or individual state's Election Departments (Republicans favor) will have jurisdiction over precinct approval, ballot design, etc."²³⁷

Schwartz reported that "it doesn't appear that the conference report will make it to the floor before recess."²³⁸ Consequently, Abramoff sought a meeting between the Tigua and Congressman Ney.²³⁹

I. ABRAMOFF ASKS THE TIGUA TO FINANCE A GOLFING JUNKET TO SCOTLAND

Although Abramoff and Scanlon's efforts on the Tigua's behalf were failing, it apparently did not stop Abramoff from soliciting funds from Tigua for a golfing junket to Scotland.

On May 15, 2002, Abramoff advised his close friend Ralph Reed that "[t]he package on the ground is \$4K per person. that [sic] covers rooms, tee times and ground transportation. One idea is that we could use one of my foundations for the trip—Capital Athletic Foundation—and get and make contributions so this is easier. OK?"²⁴⁰

Reed responded, "OK but we need to discuss. It is an election year."²⁴¹

About a week later, Rudy informed Abramoff that "Ney may want to do Scotland."²⁴²

²³⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000076719) (July 25, 2001).

²³⁶ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (February 22, 2005).

²³⁷ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (July 26, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

²³⁸ *Id.*

²³⁹ *Id.*

²⁴⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000019854) (May 15, 2002).

²⁴¹ *Id.*

²⁴² Email from Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000089721) (May 23, 2002).

Almost two weeks later, as details of the trip were coming together, Abramoff told Rudy, "We need to lock. Try to nail 2 stars to go with us: ney [sic] for sure!"²⁴³

When Rudy confirmed that he was trying, Abramoff asked him to "stay on this feverishly."²⁴⁴

Abramoff asked the Tigua to finance the trip. In an email to Schwartz entitled "our friend", Abramoff wrote:

asked if we could help (as in cover) a Scotland golf trip for him and some staff (his committee chief of staff) and members for August. The trip will be quite expensive (we did this for another member—you know who) 2 years ago. I anticipate that the total cost—if he brings 3–4 members and wives—would be around \$100K or more. I can probably get another one of my tribes to cover some of it. let [sic] me know if you guys could do \$50K and I'll get them to do the other \$50K, though I'll have to get him to bring someone who has relevance to their matters—our friend does not as you can imagine. They would probably do the trip through the Capital Athletic Foundation as an educational mission. I have to start planning this now to make sure they can get tee times. Can you let me know if this would be OK, and possibly start to process it as a donation to Capital Athletic Foundation? Thanks.²⁴⁵

Schwartz testified before the Committee that he spoke with Abramoff about his request. During a telephone conversation before Abramoff sent the email, Abramoff told Schwartz that "our friend" referred to Congressman Bob Ney.²⁴⁶ Based on that same conversation, Schwartz understood that Representative Tom DeLay was the "you know who" who attended a trip two years before to Scotland.²⁴⁷ Abramoff never mentioned that CAF was a private charity or that he was involved in CAF.²⁴⁸ Abramoff described CAF as a group that arranged educational trips, junkets, and further described CAF as "a group that paid for golf outings."²⁴⁹

In a July 10, 2002 memorandum to Hisa, Schwartz wrote about Abramoff's request:

The Chairman of the committee handling our issue, and several of his Congressional colleagues have had an opportunity presented to travel to Scotland for a fact-finding mission during the August recess. You will recall that he and his colleagues have committed themselves to a solution to the dilemma faced by the Tigua Tribe and Alabama-Coushatta Tribe.

²⁴³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000089736–37) (June 4, 2002).

²⁴⁴ *Id.*

²⁴⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (GTG–E000076582) (June 7, 2001).

²⁴⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 240 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁴⁹ *Id.*

Toward this end, I have determined that the cost of the delegation, their wives, and senior staff will be \$100,000. Neither the Tiguas nor the Alabama-Coushattas has been solicited to underwrite this educational trip abroad, but I would strongly recommend that both Tribes consider a donation towards this effort.

The chairman is the one person who has taken on our issue and has single-handedly carried the effort to this point. I believe it would be a very powerful vote of confidence if this contribution were made. There is an educational foundation that will actually be sending the delegation abroad and if you and the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe were to divide this cost, it would send a very strong message to a very powerful member of the Congressional leadership team.²⁵⁰

Schwartz successfully convinced the Alabama-Coushatta to donate to the trip. Thanking the Alabama-Coushatta for their donation, Schwartz wrote: "Thanks to you and your Council for agreeing to assist in the effort. Your \$50,000 check should be made payable to the Capital Athletic Foundation."²⁵¹ Because language favorably affecting the Alabama-Coushatta was supposed to be included along with the Tigua's provision, the Alabama Coushatta donated \$50,000 to the Capital Athletic Foundation, a private foundation established and operated by Jack Abramoff.²⁵²

The check was not forthcoming, however. Abramoff asked Schwartz about the status of the CAF money on August 2 and again on September 12.²⁵³ That Abramoff knew that his and Scanlon's efforts on Election Reform were essentially dead in the water did not stop Abramoff from soliciting and accepting the money for the golf trip.

In an interview with Committee staff, Congressman Ney said he never requested Abramoff to ask the Tigua to finance his trip to Scotland.²⁵⁴ Of the trip, Congressman Ney said the CAF sponsored it, and that Abramoff did not tell him CAF was his private foundation.²⁵⁵ Congressman Ney said the purpose of the trip was to raise money for underprivileged kids in Scotland and Washington, D.C.²⁵⁶ The itinerary consisted of golfing, meeting two parliamentarians, and watching the Marine Band.²⁵⁷

J. THE TRIBE MEETS WITH CONGRESSMAN NEY

At the Committee's November 17, 2004, hearing, Schwartz testified, "As the election reform measure languished throughout the

²⁵⁰ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (July 10, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

²⁵¹ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (July 18, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Chairman Kevin Battise, Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas).

²⁵² Capital Athletic Foundation, 2002 Return of Private Foundations Form 990PF.

²⁵³ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (GTG-E000076845) (August 2, 2002); Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (GTG-E000076899) (September 12, 2002).

²⁵⁴ Interview of Honorable Robert W. Ney, Member, United States House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

²⁵⁵ *Id.*

²⁵⁶ *Id.*

²⁵⁷ *Id.*

summer, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report on substantial progress and a virtual guarantee of success. During that time, I requested a meeting between tribal representatives and Congressman Ney.”²⁵⁸ Abramoff set up the meeting for early August 2002.²⁵⁹

According to Schwartz, Abramoff claimed that “Congressman Ney did not want his trip to Scotland brought up, as he would show his appreciation for the Tribe later.”²⁶⁰

On August 14, 2002, representatives of the Tigua and Alabama-Coushatta met with Congressman Ney in Washington, D.C.²⁶¹ Both Schwartz and Hisa recalled that the meeting lasted approximately one-and-a-half hours.²⁶² In testimony before the Committee, Schwartz described Congressman Ney as “extremely animated about Mr. Abramoff and his ability as a representative lobbyist in the city.”²⁶³ According to Schwartz, Congressman Ney spoke about his district, the Tigua’s plight, the political ramifications for Republicans of the Tigua casino closing, and the federal legislative process, especially the process by which committee reports are done.²⁶⁴

Schwartz also told the Committee that Congressman Ney gave them assurances that he was working to help the Tigua.²⁶⁵ Thereafter, Schwartz recalled Congressman Ney giving Lt. Governor Hisa and another tribal council member a tour of his hearing room.²⁶⁶ According to Lt. Governor Hisa, at that meeting (which was attended by not only Hisa but also Schwartz, Tribal Council Member Raul Gutierrez, Abramoff and Congressman Ney) Congressman Ney said that “everyone who needs to be involved, is on board.”²⁶⁷ Congressman Ney said that he and Senator Dodd were committed to getting the language in the bill and that he did not foresee any problem with the Tigua-related provision, Hisa recalled.²⁶⁸ Hisa also remembered that, about Abramoff, Congressman Ney said that he was a “good friend”; “you’re working with the right guy”; and “this is the man to work with for changes in Washington.”²⁶⁹

According to Schwartz, Congressman Ney’s chief of staff gave Abramoff a huge bear hug.²⁷⁰ Schwartz recalled that Congressman

²⁵⁸ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 229 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁵⁹ *Id.*

²⁶⁰ *Id.*

²⁶¹ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (August 2, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Chairman Kevin Battise, Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas).

²⁶² “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 240–41 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants); *Id.* at 231 (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

²⁶³ *Id.* at 241 (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁶⁴ *Id.*

²⁶⁵ *Id.*

²⁶⁶ *Id.*

²⁶⁷ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004). Schwartz recalled that Congressman Ney’s chief of staff was also present but stayed for ten minutes. Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁶⁸ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

²⁶⁹ *Id.*

²⁷⁰ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

Ney went out of his way to say he would take care of the Tigua's problems and kept calling the Tigua "deserving."²⁷¹

During his interview with Committee staff, Congressman Ney said he was not familiar with the Tigua.²⁷² He could not recall ever meeting with any member of the Tigua.²⁷³ When asked about a possible two-hour meeting, Congressman Ney said he "wouldn't even meet with the President for two hours."²⁷⁴ After the interview, counsel to Congressman Ney, who was present during the interview, indicated that, according to an internal email describing Congressman Ney's calendar for the relevant period, a meeting was scheduled in Congressman Ney's office with the "Taqua," from 11:00–11:30 a.m.

K. ELECTION REFORM PASSES WITHOUT THE TIGUA PROVISION

From August through October, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report that the Senate would not be a problem, because Senator Dodd had allegedly agreed to include the Tigua language through his side.²⁷⁵ According to Senator Dodd and his staff, although Congressman Ney's staff and Lottie Shackelford approached Senator Dodd's office about including a provision that Senator Dodd termed "recognition," Senator Dodd never agreed to include the Tigua provision in the Election Reform bill.²⁷⁶

A little over one month later, Schwartz reported to the Tribal Council on another conversation that he had with Abramoff.²⁷⁷ Schwartz was under the impression that "our language is in the report. We were asked by Chairman Ney to step up the support for the measure and, as I reported on Tuesday, Scanlon/Gould has achieved that."²⁷⁸

Weeks later, however, the Tigua's efforts were dead in the water. The Tigua language was not included in the final Election Reform legislation or accompanying report. Abramoff told Schwartz that "Congressman Ney had reported Senator Dodd had gone back on his word and stripped the measure from the committee report."²⁷⁹

However, there was never any language helping the Tigua in any draft that came across the desk of Senator Dodd's staff.²⁸⁰ Congressman Ney confirmed that no such language was ever inserted.²⁸¹

²⁷¹ *Id.*

²⁷² Interview of Honorable Robert W. Ney, Member, United States House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

²⁷³ *Id.*

²⁷⁴ *Id.*

²⁷⁵ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 229 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁷⁶ *Id.* at 252 (prepared statement of Hon. Christopher J. Dodd, U.S. Senator from Connecticut).

²⁷⁷ Marc Schwartz document production (no Bates number) (September 19, 2002) (Memorandum from Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Governor Albert Alvidrez, Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa, and Tribal Council, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

²⁷⁸ *Id.*

²⁷⁹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 230 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁸⁰ Interview of Sheryl Cohen, chief of staff, Senator Christopher J. Dodd, in Washington, D.C. (November 16, 2004).

²⁸¹ Interview of Honorable Robert W. Ney, Member, United States House of Representatives, in Washington, D.C. (November 12, 2004).

Shawn Maher, who worked for Senator Dodd during the relevant period, recalled that in the waning hours of the conference on election reform, Congressman Ney's staff approached him about getting the Tigua fix into the report accompanying the bill.²⁸² Maher said Paul Vinovich, former Staff Director to the House Committee on Administration, raised the issue, describing it as "a fix" to help a Southwestern tribe's gaming.²⁸³ Maher recalled telling Vinovich that "that was not where his boss was."²⁸⁴ According to Maher, Vinovich did not press the issue further.²⁸⁵

In the waning moments of election reform, Schwartz wrote to Abramoff: "Jack: Ney's phone call tomorrow? Did we have a miracle and get back on? What's next?"²⁸⁶

Abramoff responded: "We did not get back on. We are strategizing on the Hill with Ney's guys and other friends (recipients of contributions from the tribe included) at 1 PM today. Call is on for tomorrow, but I don't have the precise time yet. I'll get it to you shortly."²⁸⁷ Later that day, Abramoff wrote "Bob Ney will be available at 11 am East Coast time tomorrow, Tuesday. We will use our conference call facility."²⁸⁸

Schwartz told Committee staff that on October 8, the Tribe had a conference call with Congressman Ney that lasted 20–30 minutes.²⁸⁹ During that teleconference, Congressman Ney blamed Senator Dodd for the demise of the Tigua's provision.²⁹⁰

On October 8, the Tigua Tribal Council had a conference call with Congressman Ney, Jack Abramoff, Tom Diamond and Marc Schwartz.²⁹¹ During that telephone conference, Schwartz testified, Congressman Ney expressed "disbelief that Senator Dodd had gone back on his word" and "further reported that he would continue to work on the issue and believed that the tribe was entitled to their gaming operation."²⁹² During the call, according to Schwartz, Congressman Ney apologized for the Tigua provision not making it in the bill.²⁹³ Schwartz also recalled that Congressman Ney complained about Senator Dodd and expressed outrage over his alleged last-minute withdrawal of support.²⁹⁴ Congressman Ney said he would not give up and he would work to get the Tigua language on other measures in 2003, Schwartz recollected.²⁹⁵ And, according to Schwartz, he also thanked the Tribe for its support and contributions.²⁹⁶

²⁸² Interview of Shawn Maher, legislative director, Senator Christopher J. Dodd, in Washington, D.C. (November 16, 2004).

²⁸³ *Id.*

²⁸⁴ *Id.*

²⁸⁵ *Id.*

²⁸⁶ Email between Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (October 7, 2002).

²⁸⁷ *Id.*

²⁸⁸ *Id.*

²⁸⁹ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁹⁰ *Id.*

²⁹¹ *Id.* See also "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, 108th Cong.* at 230 (November 17, 2004) (Statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

²⁹² *Id.*

²⁹³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁹⁴ *Id.*

²⁹⁵ *Id.*

²⁹⁶ *Id.*

L. THE ELDER LEGACY PROJECT

After the failed effort on Election Reform, Abramoff continued hounding the Tigua for more money. He proposed that the Tribe take out life insurance policies on its elders, with the proceeds to be paid to the Eshkol Academy, the all boys Jewish school that Abramoff had established. Abramoff intended the program, which he called the Elder Legacy Program, to generate lobbying funds to pay for Abramoff's continued representation of the Tribe and provide funding for Eshkol.²⁹⁷ When Duane Gibson, an Abramoff associate at Greenberg Traurig working on the Project, reminded Abramoff that he could not use the insurance proceeds to lobby, Abramoff's solution was to have the school use other funds to pay the lobbying fees.²⁹⁸

Gibson told the Committee that the Elder Legacy Program was trying to leverage funds for Indian tribes, but mostly charities, by acquiring life insurance policies for the tribe or charity.²⁹⁹ The original pool of insureds were Indian tribes, Alaskan Natives, and black church elders.³⁰⁰

Abramoff told Gibson that Ralph Reed was going to be the entree for the black churches, because Reed "knows the Southern Black Christian community."³⁰¹ Apparently, Abramoff pitched the idea to Reed, who thought it was viable.³⁰²

According to Gibson, Abramoff said that the Tigua were "indebted to him because I [Abramoff] saved their asses and they want to do this for me."³⁰³ Gibson believed "the whole Tigua thing was a perversion of the original purpose."³⁰⁴ Although he was scheduled to meet with Schwartz in El Paso about the program, the meeting never took place.³⁰⁵ The reason: after initially, internally approving the idea, the Tribal Council decided not to move forward on it.³⁰⁶ Lt. Governor Hisa met with the Tribal elders, who rejected it.³⁰⁷

M. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON ATTEMPT TO OBSTRUCT THE INVESTIGATION

When *The Washington Post* articles about Abramoff and Scanlon were published in February 2004, Abramoff tried to downplay them: "The piece was the usual hit bullshit, but what's new. Funny part (for me, not Mike) was that 60% of the over 300 emails I got

²⁹⁷ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (no Bates number) (March 26, 2003).

²⁹⁸ *Id.*

²⁹⁹ Interview of Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (March 17, 2006).

³⁰⁰ *Id.*

³⁰¹ *Id.*

³⁰² *Id.*; see also Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000018092-93) (July 22, 2003) (wherein Reed writes "yes, it looks interesting. I assume you'll set up a meeting in DC as a next step, or whatever we should do next, let me know.").

³⁰³ Interview of Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (March 17, 2006).

³⁰⁴ *Id.*

³⁰⁵ *Id.*

³⁰⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 235 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo).

³⁰⁷ *Id.* at 236.

thought it was a puff piece. Thank G-D for ADD!”³⁰⁸ In a telephone call, Abramoff assured Schwartz “that there was nothing to the articles, that it was certainly more of a witch hunt than a reporter had done.”³⁰⁹ Of the Committee’s proposed hearings, Abramoff said they “were nothing more than political payback.”³¹⁰

After the second article ran in *The Washington Post* about the relationship between Abramoff and Scanlon, Abramoff called Schwartz to say that the Tribe did not have to cooperate in the Committee’s investigation.³¹¹ In the event that Committee counsel or investigators called the Tribe, Abramoff wanted the Tribe to speak with his lawyers first.³¹² Abramoff said that the Tribe had tribal sovereignty and that the Tribe did not need to cooperate with the Committee.³¹³ Abramoff said that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians were not cooperating with the investigation, and suggested that the Tigua not cooperate as well.³¹⁴

N. CONCLUSION

The \$4.2 million that the Tribe regrettably paid Scanlon could have lasted the Tribe for another year.³¹⁵ At a minimum, some of that money could have been used to hire lobbyists who could have represented the Tribe better in the legislative process.³¹⁶ The Tribe would have dedicated much of the money to education and health care.³¹⁷ As a result of the \$4.2 million payout to Scanlon, and the casino’s closure, key programs, namely an insurance program for the Tribal members, had to be cut back or eliminated.³¹⁸

During the Committee’s November 17, 2004, hearing, when asked how he felt upon learning that the Tribe had paid for a golf outing for the man who had worked to shut down the Tigua casino, Lt. Governor Hisa replied, “A rattlesnake will warn you before it strikes. We had no warning. They did everything behind our back.”³¹⁹

³⁰⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (GTG-E000075963) (February 23, 2004).

³⁰⁹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 236 (November 17, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

³¹⁰ *Id.*

³¹¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 247 (November 17, 2004); see also Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

³¹² “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 247 (November 17, 2004).

³¹³ Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

³¹⁴ *Id.*

³¹⁵ Interview of Carlos Hisa, Lieutenant Governor, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

³¹⁶ *Id.*

³¹⁷ *Id.*

³¹⁸ *Id.*

³¹⁹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 244 (November 17, 2004).

CHAPTER VI
PUEBLO OF SANDIA OF NEW MEXICO

A. INTRODUCTION

The experience of the Pueblo of Sandia with Jack Abramoff and his partner Michael Scanlon is a microcosm of the larger scandal that has been exposed by the Committee during its investigation of lobbying activities associated with six Indian Tribes. The characters and the elements of deception are much the same. However, the financial loss to the Pueblo of Sandia and the subsequent financial gain to Abramoff and Scanlon were, relatively speaking, on a scale considerably smaller than what the other Tribes experienced. This fact was not lost on Abramoff and Scanlon early in their relationship with the Pueblo of Sandia, as evidenced by the following email exchange on March 7, 2002, that was titled “Sandia”:

SCANLON: “[S]2.75 [million] is chump change!!! What [t]he hell were we thinking?”

ABRAMOFF: “No kidding. [then-Abramoff associate Kevin] Ring brought us down! Next time one of these guys brings us something we are not going to listen to their fucking whining.”

SCANLON: “Hey—its still a W—[sic] and I will take the W [sic] any way we can—now a [S]4.5 [million] W [sic] would be nicer—but wait till Thursday when [Coushatta] comes to town!”¹

B. BACKGROUND ON THE TRIBE

In February 2002, the Pueblo of Sandia, a Tribe located on the northern boundary of Albuquerque, was facing perhaps the most significant legal challenge of its 700-year existence in New Mexico.² In the late 1980s, with development beginning to encroach on the sacred Sandia Mountain, the Tribe appealed to the Department of the Interior to correct a survey conducted in 1859.³ The correction would designate the main ridge of the Sandia Mountain as the Pueblo’s eastern boundary.⁴ Years of litigation ensued that involved the Pueblo of Sandia, government agencies, and area residents, culminating in a settlement agreement on April 4, 2000

¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000003033) (March 7, 2002).

² *Sandia Pueblo Mountain Claim*, (visited May 11, 2006) <http://www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us/mountain/mtn_claim.html>; Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

³ *Sandia Pueblo Mountain Claim*, (visited May 11, 2006) <http://www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us/mountain/mtn_claim.html>.

⁴ *Id.*

that, by its terms, required Congressional ratification by November 15, 2002.⁵

The settlement agreement was of monumental importance to the Tribe.⁶ Having the Sandia Mountain as its boundary signified more than a property settlement.⁷ The Mountain's significance is described on the Tribe's web site:

For centuries, the people of Sandia Pueblo have lived in the shadow of the mountain. The mountain has served as our church and our spiritual sustenance for hundreds of years. The mountain is the highest priority of the people of Sandia Pueblo, a sacred responsibility of every generation. This is not a question of ownership for the Pueblo, it is a question of preservation and protection of the mountain, and the ability to practice religious and culture traditions unrestricted by government edict.⁸

According to the former Governor of the Tribe, Stuart Paisano, the Pueblo of Sandia have 481 enrolled members.⁹ They have a traditional government structure in which their religious leaders play an important role in selecting the Tribe's governor and other leadership positions.¹⁰ The Tribe has 23,000 acres and their native language is Tigua.¹¹ Their economy has transitioned in the last thirty years from mining and federal assistance to Class III gaming.¹²

C. THE SEARCH FOR A NEW LOBBYIST

The Pueblo of Sandia had considerable experience with legal counsel through their years of litigation and retained a local law firm that was trusted by the Tribe.¹³ They were also not unsophisticated in the ways of the lobbying world and had, over time, retained several firms in Washington, D.C. to help them on various matters.¹⁴ However, securing Congressional approval of a major lands settlement thrust them into a different political sphere, particularly at a time when the federal political landscape had changed considerably. There was a new Republican administration and a new set of political appointees at the Department of the Interior. The Pueblo of Sandia were uncertain about whether the New Mexico Delegation would support ratification of the settlement.¹⁵ The stakes were high and the clock was ticking.

It was against this backdrop of urgency that David Mielke, a longtime and trusted counsel to the Pueblo of Sandia, suggested that the Tribe consider hiring a lobbyist with Republican connections.

⁵ *Id.*; Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG-E000002775-76) (undated).

⁶ *Sandia Pueblo Mountain Claim*, (visited May 11, 2006) <http://www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us/mountain/mtn_claim.html>.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Why is the Mountain So Important to the People of Sandia?* (visited May 11, 2006) <http://www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us/mountain/what_changes.html#why_important>.

⁹ Interview of Stuart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

¹⁵ Interview of Stuart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

Late in 2001, Governor Paisano, Lieutenant Governor Alex Lujan, and Tribal council member Frank Chaves and Lawrence Avila were tasked with vetting several firms for the job.¹⁶ Ultimately, the search team interviewed several top Washington lobbyists that Mielke identified for the Tribe, including the firm of Quinn Gillespie & Associates and former Senator Bob Dole.¹⁷

One of the Washington lobbyists who was of particular interest to the Tribe was Kevin Ring.¹⁸ Several of Mielke's partners were familiar and impressed with Ring's work for other Tribes.¹⁹ In February 2002, arrangements were made for the Tribal leaders to meet with Ring who was accompanied by his boss, Jack Abramoff. Michael Scanlon was an unexpected participant at the meeting.²⁰ In pitching his services, Abramoff stressed his Republican connections, going back to his days working on grassroots activities for President Reagan.²¹ Scanlon was described as DeLay's former communications director and someone who helped with elections in competitive Congressional districts.²²

Scanlon's price tag for the task was \$2,875,000, most of which, he said, would be the cost of a database to conduct the grassroots effort.²³ In an interview with Committee staff, Mielke recalled that while this amount seemed high, Abramoff said that almost the entire price was costs and that the profits were actually less than 10% of the total proposed price.²⁴

Mielke also recalled that, during these sessions, Scanlon pitched the database as "a key component" of the program.²⁵ Mielke said that Scanlon specifically characterized "the software [as] the army, which would mean 10,000 soldiers who could be counted on."²⁶ Paisano remembered Scanlon describing the database as "customized" and necessary "to effectively do public relations [for the proposed project]."²⁷

Abramoff was intent on having the Tribe sign Scanlon as part of the arrangement, according to both Mielke and Governor Paisano. Abramoff insisted that Scanlon was a *sine qua non* of the federal lobbying efforts Abramoff intended to undertake on the Tribe's behalf. He characterized Scanlon as "part of the package" and an indispensable part of his proposal, if he was to achieve success.²⁸ Abramoff also offered to halve Greenberg Traurig's \$125,000 per month retainer if the Tribe hired Scanlon. And, finally, he proposed, on Scanlon's behalf, a "slight" reduction from how much Scanlon originally wanted to charge the Tribe, plus a success fee.

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Id.*; Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²¹ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²⁸ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

But, Abramoff cautioned, he could not go lower because Scanlon's "10% profit margin is locked [into that reduced figure]." ²⁹

Governor Paisano recalled in his interview with Committee staff that Abramoff impressed the Tribal leaders with his aggressive approach, specifically recalling Abramoff "talk[ing] about breaking bones and busting kneecaps." ³⁰ Paisano said he was left with the impression that Scanlon worked for Greenberg Traurig. ³¹

The Pueblo of Sandia and their counsel chafed at the cost of the Scanlon proposal, but they wanted Abramoff and, particularly, Ring on their side. ³² According to Mielke, the Tribe's view was that adequate representation was the most important issue for the Tribe and that cost should not be an issue. ³³ The Tribe considered which prospective lobbyist gave it the greatest assurances: "That was a question: 'can you guarantee this?'" ³⁴ "Abramoff and Scanlon had the most bravado and said that while they couldn't guarantee that, they've never lost," Mielke observed. ³⁵

So, after several rounds of interviews, Tribal leaders were nearly unanimous in their decision to hire Greenberg Traurig, with only Governor Paisano and Council Member Frank Chaves expressing some concerns. ³⁶ Ultimately, the Tribe selected Abramoff and Ring at Greenberg Traurig, and entered into a separate contract with Scanlon to conduct the grassroots effort. ³⁷

D. IMPLEMENTING THE PLAN

On March 19, 2002, Governor Paisano signed a letter of agreement with Scanlon in which the Tribe committed to pay \$2,750,000 for public affairs services. ³⁸ The total payment was due ten days later. ³⁹ As described more thoroughly in Part 2, Chapter 1, of this Report, these funds were wired to an account controlled by Capitol Campaign Strategies, one of Scanlon's companies, from which countless withdrawals were subsequently made to Abramoff (or entities owned or controlled by him). It is notable that, given that part of Scanlon's proposal was to conduct several letter writing campaigns, the letter of agreement, which he drafted, included numerous typographical errors and misspellings. ⁴⁰

²⁹ *Id.*; Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006). The evidence set forth in Part 2, Chapter 1, entitled "Capitol Campaign Strategies," of this Report reflects Abramoff's admission in the plea agreement in his criminal case that Scanlon's profit margin on his contracts with the Tribes was closer to 80%. See Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 22, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001); see also Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000003054) (March 20-21, 2002) ("I told [Ring] that he would split the profit (what I told him was 10%) with you 50-50.").

³⁰ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

³¹ *Id.*

³² Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

³⁷ *Id.*; Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Pueblo of Sandia document production (SP-S 00046-48) (March 14, 2002) (letter of agreement between Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico for \$2,750,000).

³⁸ Pueblo of Sandia document production (SP-S 00046-48) (March 14, 2002) (letter of agreement between Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico for \$2,750,000).

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.*

Ring's activities focused on the federal legislative effort. On March 20–21, within a few days of the contract being signed, Scanlon and Abramoff had occasion to reflect on their arrangement with him:

SCANLON: [Ring] asked if we got the wire yet in an email. I have no problem telling him yes—what do we owe him again? 10% of profit?

ABRAMOFF: No, 5% of gross. I told him that he would split the profit (which I told him was 10%) with you 50–50.

SCANLON: So we owe him 135k?

ABRAMOFF: Damn I guess so. [sic] Shit, that sucks.

SCANLON: I forgot to tie that amount in [sic] to the sandia [sic] figures—so our numbers are going to come down a little bit.

ABRAMOFF: Finders [sic] fee I guess. ...⁴¹

Ring's "finder's fee" was apparently in violation of an outside income policy at his firm Greenberg Traurig.⁴² In testimony before the Committee on November 2, 2005, Fred Baggett, Managing Shareholder and Chairman of the National Government Affairs Practice at Greenberg Traurig, said that the firm's internal 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."⁴³ One of those Baggett named was Kevin Ring.⁴⁴ Of course, the most egregious offender of the policy was Abramoff who had plotted with Scanlon to split the Pueblo of Sandia profit as part of their "gimme five" scheme. It should also be noted that Kevin Ring, who the Tribe trusted and respected, did not disclose his financial arrangement with Scanlon to the Tribe until 2004, months after the publication of the *Washington Post* article that initially exposed the Abramoff and Scanlon lobbying scandal.⁴⁵

After spending at least a month hiring their lobbying and grassroots team, the Tribe was eager to start seeing some results. They quickly realized that there was a disconnect between the bravado of the pitch they had received and the quality of Scanlon's work of what was done. As Mielke explained to Committee staff:

Their pitch is that things are sliding quickly. Hire us soon or we are not going to do it. ... The Tribe acted quickly, [and] wired the money to Scanlon. A couple of weeks lapsed and Scanlon sends out three people to New Mexico. They sent me draft letters that were poorly written. It was Chris Cathcart, [CCS associate,] a fairly young woman who turned out to be Scanlon's sister, and another woman. ... These people weren't high dollar, high quality folks. I

⁴¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000003054) (March 20–21, 2002).

⁴² "Tribal Lobbying Matters," Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, 109th Cong. at 23 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Governmental Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig).

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

took the Governor to dinner to express concerns. It didn't take long to question the value of Scanlon. Once these letters started coming in, they were obviously form letters with small variations. One letter went to the *Albuquerque Journal*. Someone from the paper called me and asked what were we [sic] doing. Word circulated. There was no variation in who they would send the letters to, including typos in letters. The Tribe was happy with Ring[.]; he would get back to them[,] seemed on top of things. Abramoff and Scanlon dropped off as soon as the deal was signed. Even the polls I saw weren't works of art.⁴⁶

E. THE DATABASE

As with other Tribal clients, Scanlon's sales pitch centered on the customized database, which he said would be the heart of the grassroots effort. Mielke, in his interview with Committee staff, recalled the following:

... [a] big part of the fee was the software and time and personnel that they would spend in compiling this database ... they said it was going to cost between \$2 and \$3 million for the whole effort and that the database would be a big part. This was just Scanlon. ... Scanlon had a staff of 16 people, talking about 10,000 FedEx packages. This was going to be a sprint, [sic] this money was going to go out immediately for vendors and software.⁴⁷

In fact, in the contract between Scanlon and the Tribe, \$1,857,000 is specifically identified for "Building of National Political Organization."⁴⁸ The scope of work "include[d] acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications."⁴⁹

However, according to Mielke and Paisano, the database was significantly less than what had been promised.⁵⁰ It appeared to be a simplistic regurgitation of the data that the Tribe had provided to Scanlon.⁵¹ Paisano described the database as "pathetic" and Mielke said it was the "same info that the Tribe gave them; no magic in it."⁵²

As more fully discussed in Part 2, Chapter 1, of this Report, it appears that Scanlon copied (in violation of licensing agreements to which he was a party) elements of a database created by Democracy Data Communications ("DDC"). Scanlon had originally subcontracted DDC to build political databases for other Tribes. The ac-

⁴⁶ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ Pueblo of Sandia document production (SP-S 00046) (March 14, 2002) (letter of agreement between Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico).

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁵¹ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁵² Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

tual cost of a database developed for the Tribe by another vendor, which was apparently designed to mimic DDC's far more functional database, was nowhere near the \$1,875,000 that the Tribe was charged by Scanlon.⁵³

Understanding the urgency of the situation and acknowledging the fact that Scanlon's grassroots campaign was a failure and an embarrassment—"amateurish" in Mielke's words—Mielke and the Tribe began their own grassroots effort, independent of Scanlon's.⁵⁴ The Tribe also hired a local public relations firm to assist in their efforts.

Mielke and Paisano continued to express concern and criticism of Scanlon's work product.⁵⁵ As an indication of how out of touch he appeared to be, Scanlon actually entertained the idea of asking the Tribe for more money, as evidenced in the following June 25, 2002, email exchange with Kevin Ring and Jack Abramoff:

SCANLON: Hey—I have a few thoughts—1) The land exchange concept was a huge tactical blunder that is going to haunt the tribe for years to come. 2) We need another 3 mil to win this thing now. 3) They should Take [sic] Bingaman and be happy. Wow [,] we are in a pickle now.

RING: Are you on drugs?

SCANLON: Really good ones!

ABRAMOFF: Tell him to recommend some for us to take!

RING: I know. All kidding aside, if he even thinks of asking for more money, they are going to hunt him down and kill him. And then come after us.

ABRAMOFF: Ha ha ha

SCANLON: I'm gonna go for it—Im [sic] gonna schedule a conference cal [sic] and ask for 2 more mil!

ABRAMOFF: I love it!!!!!!⁵⁶

Several months later, when the Tribe was renegotiating its contract with Greenberg Traurig, the lighthearted mood was noticeably absent, as evidenced by the following March 4, 2003 email exchange between Ring and Abramoff:

RING: ... Once again for Sandia, the issue was Scanlon. They said we did a great lobbying job, but since we insisted that they hire him, we bore responsibility for his lack of performance ...

ABRAMOFF: Kevin, this excuse about Scanlon from them is bullshit. I don't care how much they hate him, they paid for a result and they got it. whether [sic] he did what they wanted or not, they got their fucking mountain. And for them to be telling you they won't rehire us because of him is also fucking bullshit. I know that not getting them will be a big hit on you and I am sorry about that, and I sup-

⁵³Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

⁵⁴Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁵⁵Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁵⁶Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, Kevin Ring, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000003258-59) (June 25, 2002).

port whatever you want to do on this, but I think they're already gone and they are using that Scanlon excuse because they are cheap mother fuckers who don't want to pay our fees. I say fuck them and let's go get you a different tribe which appreciates hard work.⁵⁷

As it turned out, the Pueblo of Sandia extended their contract, at a reduced rate, with Greenberg Traurig until the revelations of the *Washington Post* were published in 2004.⁵⁸

F. A HAPPY ENDING, IN SPITE OF ...

The Committee finds that deception was a consistent theme in the Pueblo of Sandia's relationship with Abramoff and Scanlon: the exorbitant fee for a "pathetic" database; the secret financial arrangement between Abramoff and Scanlon; the undisclosed "finder's fee" to Kevin Ring; and the overwhelming incompetency of the grassroots effort.

The Tribe's experience with Scanlon gave new meaning to the phrase "take the money and run." Mielke and Governor Paisano agreed that the Tribe received little of the intended benefit of the millions that the Tribe paid Scanlon.⁵⁹ They also felt that the Tribe was aggrieved by Abramoff and Scanlon's failure to disclose their financial arrangement.⁶⁰ And, they were frustrated by the poor quality of Scanlon's grassroots activities and felt that Scanlon's status reports were inadequate.⁶¹

As the concerns of local citizens were addressed and neutralized by the Tribe and its counsel, the uncertainty about how some members of the New Mexico Delegation felt about the settlement began to fade. The settlement legislation was considered favorably by the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. In the end, the combination of support from the New Mexico Delegation and a homegrown grassroots effort was the key to Congressional approval. Success was achieved, but for reasons wholly unrelated to the extraordinarily expensive pretensions of Abramoff and Scanlon.

⁵⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Kevin Ring, Greenberg Traurig, (GTG-E000003763) (March 4, 2003).

⁵⁸ Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁵⁹ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁶⁰ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁶¹ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

PART TWO—"GIMME FIVE"—ANALYSIS BY ENTITY

INTRODUCTION

[W]e really need no money. but [sic] you and I must meet and work out a strategy to get things moving. We are missing the boat. There are a ton of potential opportunities out there. there [sic] are 27 tribes which make over \$100M a year ... can you have your guys do the research and find out which tribes these may be? We need to get moving on them ...

Email from Jack Abramoff to Michael Scanlon, December 7, 2002

SCANLON: Hey—good day all around—we wrapped up the Sag Chip crap—We hit Cough—I think for 3 mil—and we are working [on] Acaliente [sic] presentation—should be tight.

ABRAMOFF: 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!

SCANLON: Amen! You got it boss—we have many years ahead!

Email between Michael Scanlon and Jack Abramoff, June 20, 2002

The Committee held its first hearing on allegations of misconduct made by several Indian Tribes against Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon on September 29, 2004. At that hearing, the Committee preliminarily concluded that Scanlon collected about \$66 million from six tribes over a three-year period, and secretly paid about one-third of that amount to Abramoff.¹ Since then, the Committee has held a series of hearings and released scores of documents that describe how Abramoff and Scanlon executed their scheme.

In the course of its hearings, the Committee laid out how Abramoff and Scanlon agreed that Abramoff would work to ensure that these Tribes would hire a grassroots/public relations specialist to support Abramoff's lobbying activities. In furtherance of their scheme, Abramoff pushed for Scanlon as that specialist.

Having violated these Tribes' trust by not disclosing the resulting conflict of interest, Abramoff secretly collected from Scanlon about 50 percent of Scanlon's net proceeds—from contracts that Scanlon or Abramoff promoted to the Tribes.

The prices that Scanlon charged for his services (well in excess of his costs) were set deliberately high so as to allow him to pay Abramoff about 50 percent of his net proceeds from those Tribes—

¹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 5–9 (September 29, 2004) (opening Statement of Ranking Majority Member John McCain).

with much of the money paid by the Tribes not going for purposes the Tribes intended.

Admitting to the foregoing, on November 11, 2005, and January 3, 2006, respectively, Scanlon and Abramoff pled guilty in federal court to, among other things, defrauding some of their Tribal clients.²

On a small scale, Abramoff and Scanlon apparently set their scheme in motion in April 2001, when they urged the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”) to pay \$200,000 for a grassroots program regarding its gaming compact.³ On or about April 26, 2001, the Tribe paid a Scanlon-controlled entity called Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”) \$200,000, as requested.⁴ But, soon thereafter, CCS paid Abramoff \$75,000—itemized in the company’s accounting ledger on April 30, 2001, as a “referral expense.”⁵

Abramoff and Scanlon’s secret fee-splitting arrangement is likewise reflected in a May 2, 2001, email, where they agreed to split proceeds from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”) that were intended to be passed through a Scanlon-controlled entity called the American International Center (“AIC”) to former Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed for grassroots activities. According to Abramoff, “I am going to try to get us \$175K. \$100 to Ralph; \$25K to contributions (\$5K immediately to Conservative Caucus); rest gimme five.”⁶

The scheme would soon soar to new heights. On June 18, 2001, Scanlon suggested to Abramoff, “A few weeks ago you mentioned something to me—I took the concept and have put together a plan that will make serious money. We also talked briefly about it in the beginning of the year but I think we can really move it now.”⁷

Scanlon continued: “I have been making contacts with some larger Public Affairs companies in town for a few months. I have two solid relationships that will seriously consider acquiring Capitol

² Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR-05-411); Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06-001).

³ See Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, “Coushatta political program” (COUSH-MiscFin-0000371) (April 12, 2001) (“I still do not have the budget for the complete effort, but Mike believes we cannot wait any longer for the ground effort, so I need to get this to you for approval. ... Please let me know if I can give Mike the go ahead.”); Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, “Re: Political Program funding” (COUSH-MiscFin-0000368) (April 18, 2001) (“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. ... If thre [sic] is any way to get the initial money out today it would be great!”).

⁴ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

⁵ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E0001321307) (May 2, 2001). Abramoff and Scanlon, both of whom were apparently avid golfers, even came up with a name for their new business arrangement: “Gimme [or give me] five.” The Committee speculates that “gimme five” is a double entendre for the golf term “gimme,” which refers to a putt that is certain to be made on the next shot, which will most likely be conceded by an opponent. Where Abramoff valued his interest in CCS, at “\$5M revenue/year,” see Email between Jack Abramoff and Rodney Lane, “FW: Personal financial statement” (GTG-E000011577) (March 15, 2002), the term also appears to reflect Abramoff and Scanlon’s original agreement to acquire at least \$5 million each per year.

⁷ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000011945) (June 18, 2001).

Campaign Strategies. The problem is that there is not much in CCS right now.”⁸

“However,” he observed, “if we build up Capitol Campaign Strategies enough I can get it acquired by a large firm by the end of next year at 3x the firm revenue. Bottom line: If you help me get CCS a client base of \$3 million a year, I will get the clients served, and the firm acquired at \$9 million. We can then split the [sic] up the profits. What do you think?”⁹

Abramoff’s response was brief: “Sounds like a plan, but let’s discuss when we are together.”¹⁰

Abramoff apparently agreed. Just a few days later, referring to a “project [that Abramoff] need[ed] to run through [sic] [a Scanlon company],” Abramoff wrote Scanlon, “Apparently it’s a huge project. ... It’ll give us \$500K to start to pass through CCS and as much as \$4 million over the year. This should really help us get the sales price up.”¹¹

Thus began Abramoff and Scanlon’s now-infamous financial relationship—a relationship that would enable the two to wrongfully extract tens of millions of dollars from tribes around the country over the next two years.

By August 2001, what started as a seemingly innocuous partnership soon degenerated into an all-out frenzy for money—money at any cost. In response to Scanlon’s informing him that “[the Choctaw] really liked [a particular] plan ... [and] asked if I could do a quick poll for them on the [REDACTED] overall political issues they face,” Abramoff reminded Scanlon, “Don’t forget the gimme five aspects!”¹²

On September 2, 2001, Scanlon was ecstatic about how they were doing so far: “I’m having a great time running the give me fives!”¹³ There was good reason for Scanlon’s elation. Later that month, he reportedly bought, likely with the Tribes’ money, two houses in Washington, D.C. for \$1.2 million.¹⁴

With his share of those proceeds, Abramoff apparently intended to float his private Jewish boys’ school. On September 10, 2001, he asked Scanlon, “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.”¹⁵

Ultimately, Scanlon reported that Abramoff would get “a total of 2.1 [million].”¹⁶

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000011951) (June 29, 2001).

¹² Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, “RE: Nell” (Bates number 1109861) (August 16, 2001).

¹³ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, “RE: [REDACTED]” (1118666) (September 2, 2001).

¹⁴ Brody Mullins, *Breakup of Ex-Aides Shook Group Tied to Abramoff—The Prosecutors Move In, Ms. Miller’s Tearful Apology*, Wall Street Journal, March 31, 2006 at A1.

¹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E0000113995) (September 10, 2001).

¹⁶ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E0000113847) (September 10, 2001).

Abramoff heaped praise on his partner, “How can I say this strongly enough: YOU IZ DA MAN.”¹⁷

Not content with the \$2.1 million, Scanlon exhorted, “[L]et’s grow that 2.1 to 5!! We need the true give me five!”¹⁸

Abramoff conveyed enthusiasm about their arrangement on October 16, 2001: “I love life!! We need to get you down there to get [the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians] moving on the political phase. How about if we both try to go soon.”¹⁹

Scanlon agreed, “Any time—any time—any time!!! We usually come back from these trips rich men!”²⁰

From late 2001 through 2003, “running [their] give me fives” was Abramoff and Scanlon’s top priority. In a January 16, 2002, email from Abramoff to Scanlon, entitled “sagchips,” Abramoff wrote, “Don’t forget to get to [Saginaw Chippewa Sub-Chief David] Otto and set up a meeting asap. We need that moolah. We have to hit \$50M this year (our cut!).”²¹

As a result of their “gimme five” scheme, Abramoff and Scanlon collected about \$66 million from six tribes from 2001 through 2003. By the Committee’s reckoning, each Tribe paid Scanlon as follows: the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”), \$14,745,650; the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”), \$26,695,500; the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan (“Saginaw Chippewa”), \$10,007,000; the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (“Agua Caliente”), \$7,200,000; the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (“Tigua”), \$4,200,000; and the Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico (“Pueblo of Sandia”), \$2,750,000.

Also by the Committee’s accounting, Abramoff or entities owned or controlled by Abramoff, including Kaygold and the Capital Athletic Foundation (“CAF”), received payments totaling about \$24,524,421 from Scanlon or entities owned or controlled by Scanlon, including Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”) (which also did business as Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Scanlon Public Affairs), the American International Center (“AIC”), and Atlantic Research and Analysis (“ARA”).²² That seems to constitute about half of Scanlon’s total profit from the Tribes. The following lays out the basis for the Committee’s finding.

¹⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E0000113847) (September 10, 2001) (emphasis added).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, “RE: [REDACTED]” (Bates numbers 1131487–88) (October 17, 2001).

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000024563) (January 16, 2002).

²² In Abramoff’s plea agreement, the total figure is \$23,109,695, which includes not only indirect payments by Tribes to Abramoff or Abramoff-controlled entities through entities controlled by Scanlon but also direct payments by several companies, including Foxcom Wireless, S.P.I. Spirits, and Tyco International, to entities controlled by Abramoff, including Grassroots Interactive. See Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para 1–31, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06–001). In Scanlon’s plea agreement, the figure is \$19,698,644, which captures about 50% of the net profit Scanlon received from at least four tribes that had already hired Abramoff “to provide professional services to develop programs to limit market competition or to assist in opening casinos that were vital to the profitability of [the] clients.” See Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 8, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR 05–411). In other words, it appears to exclude payments made by the Agua Caliente, which had not hired Abramoff before hiring Scanlon.

"GIMME FIVE" PROCEEDS TO ABRAMOFF AND ABRAMOFF-CONTROLLED ENTITIES 2001-2003

Date	Payee	Amount	Payor
4/30/01	Abramoff	\$75,000	CCS
5/20/01	CAF	182,000	CCS
6/10/01	Abramoff	50,000	CCS
10/4/01	Abramoff	100,000	CCS
10/25/01	Abramoff	428,000	CCS
11/7/01	CAF	1,000,000	Coushatta through Greenberg Traurig
12/19/01	Abramoff	300,000	CCS
12/31/01	Abramoff	1,718,125	CCS
1/1/02	CAF	500,000	Choctaw
2/22/02	Kaygold	2,779,925	CCS
3/21/02	Abramoff	4,080,997	CCS
4/8/02	Kaygold	2,138,025	CCS
5/30/02	Abramoff	16,397	CCS
6/12/02	Kaygold	150,000	CCS
7/12/02	Kaygold	800,000	CCS
7/12/02	Kaygold	20,000	CCS
7/12/02	Kaygold	44,000	CCS
8/6/02	CAF	500,000	Choctaw
9/16/02	Kaygold	2,266,250	CCS
10/17/02	CAF & Nurnberger	500,000	Choctaw through NCPPR
11/11/02	Kaygold	1,078,649	CCS
12/03/02	Kaygold	87,907	CCS
12/31/02	Kaygold	1,000,146	CCS
12/31/02	Kaygold	53,000	CCS
2/19/03	Kaygold	1,965,000	CCS
4/13/03	Kaygold	991,000	AIC
5/7/03	CAF	950,000	Atlantic Research & Analysis
10/27/03	Kaygold	750,000	CCS
Total		\$24,524,421	

In the sections that follow, this Report will discuss how Abramoff and Scanlon ran their "gimme five" scheme on six of their tribal clients: the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw"), the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana ("Louisiana Coushatta"), the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan ("Saginaw Chippewa"), the Agua Caliente Tribe of the Cauhilla Indians ("Agua Caliente"), the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas ("Tigua") and the Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico ("Pueblo of Sandia") (collectively, "the Tribes" and individually, "the Tribe"). Although this Report will mention other vehicles owned or controlled by Abramoff or Scanlon, this Section will focus on how they did so by using primarily three: Capitol Campaign Strategies ("CCS"), the American International Center ("AIC"), and the Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF").

CHAPTER I

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

[W]e should not reveal [valuing my share in Capitol Campaign Strategies ("CCS") at \$5 million per year] to anyone but [my tax advisor], though, since no one knows the CCS stuff.

Email from Jack Abramoff to business associate Rodney Lane, March 15, 2002

ABRAMOFF: 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. [w]e're gonna make \$ for years together!"

SCANLON: Amen! You got it boss—we have many years ahead!

Email between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, June 20, 2002

SCHMIDT: Do you have an ownership stake in Capitol Campaign Strategies or Scanlon Gould or any of Mike Scanlon's ventures?

ABRAMOFF: No. No, I don't.

Exchange between Jack Abramoff and *Washington Post* reporter Susan Schmidt, on February 4, 2004, as transcribed in a Greenberg Traurig email

A. BACKGROUND

Of all the entities that Michael Scanlon owned or controlled, the one that he and Jack Abramoff used most extensively in carrying out their “gimme five” scheme was Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”), which also did business as Scanlon Gould Public Affairs and Scanlon Public Affairs.²³ CCS was first started up “to help Scanlon collect [consulting] fees.”²⁴ During the first quarter of 2001, CCS’ only client appears to have been SunCruz Casinos, a Florida-based casino cruise-ship company that Abramoff and a former business partner, Adam Kidan, have admitted to defrauding.²⁵

From 2001 through 2003, CCS secretly paid Abramoff, and entities owned or controlled by Abramoff, including an entity called Kaygold, about \$20,083,421. In total, those payments, set forth below, constitute about half of Scanlon’s net profit from the Tribes.

SECRET PAYMENTS BY CCS TO ABRAMOFF FROM 2001–2004

4/30/01	Abramoff	\$75,000
5/20/01	CAF	182,000
6/10/01	Abramoff	50,000
10/4/01	Abramoff	100,000
10/25/01	Abramoff	428,000
12/19/01	Abramoff	300,000
12/31/01	Abramoff	1,718,125
2/22/02	Kaygold	2,779,925
3/21/02	Abramoff	4,080,997
4/8/02	Kaygold	2,138,025
5/30/02	Abramoff	16,397
6/12/02	Kaygold	150,000
7/12/02	Kaygold	800,000
7/12/02	Kaygold	20,000
7/12/02	Kaygold	44,000
9/16/02	Kaygold	2,266,250
11/11/02	Kaygold	1,078,649

²³The Committee finds and, in court filings Scanlon has admitted, that Scanlon Gould Public Affairs was largely used to receive funds in the performance of business activities of CCS. See Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR 05–411). Therefore, this Report will refer to CCS, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs, and Scanlon Public Affairs interchangeably as “CCS” or “Scanlon.”

²⁴Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

²⁵Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para.1, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (S.D. Fla. January 4, 2006) (CR 05–60204).

SECRET PAYMENTS BY CCS TO ABRAMOFF FROM 2001–2004—Continued

12/03/02	Kaygold	87,907
12/31/02	Kaygold	1,000,146
12/31/02	Kaygold	53,000
2/19/03	Kaygold	1,965,000
10/27/03	Kaygold	750,000
Total	20,083,421

In the sections that follow, this Chapter will describe how Abramoff and Scanlon used CCS to further their “gimme five” scheme. In particular, it will describe how most of the money that the Tribes paid Scanlon was used for purposes unintended by the Tribes and how, in most cases, the Tribes received little of the intended benefit for the vast sums that they paid CCS.

B. ABRAMOFF CONCEALS HIS FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SCANLON

For Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme to succeed, secrecy was key. In furtherance of that “gimme five” scheme, Abramoff and Scanlon agreed that Scanlon’s payments to Abramoff would not be disclosed to Abramoff and Scanlon’s Tribal clients.²⁶ They understood that disclosing their arrangement to those clients would likely jeopardize the contracts for services, CCS’ profit margin, or both.²⁷

Committee staff asked Saginaw Chippewa tribal Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague what, if anything, the Tribe knew about Abramoff and Scanlon’s financial arrangement. In response, Sprague recalled that, as the Tribe was considering in December 2003 whether to retain Abramoff, he specifically asked Abramoff about his relationship with Scanlon.²⁸ Sprague remembered that Abramoff only answered that he knew him and his relationship with Scanlon was professional.²⁹

Likewise, in testimony before the Committee, Tigua tribal representative Marc Schwartz recalled that a couple of days or so before Abramoff and Scanlon’s presentation to that Tribe, he specifically asked Abramoff whether Scanlon was connected to Abramoff.³⁰ Schwartz recalled that Abramoff answered “no.”³¹ In fact, telling Schwartz that Scanlon had “his own” company, Abramoff referred to Scanlon as merely “an associate.”³² Schwartz also recalled asking Abramoff whether he used Scanlon exclusively.³³ Without bringing up his financial arrangement with Scan-

²⁶ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 9, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06–001).

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004).

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

³¹ *Id.*

³² “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 108th Cong. at 239 (September 29, 2004) (statement of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants).

³³ Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

lon, Abramoff answered non-responsively: he liked to use Scanlon for the tough fights because “[h]e always [got] results.”³⁴

Similarly, when Abramoff and Scanlon gave their presentation at the Agua Caliente Tribal Council, Abramoff only represented that Scanlon “work[ed] very closely with our firm [Greenberg Traurig].” And, when Abramoff originally recommended Scanlon to the Choctaw, he introduced Scanlon as an independent consultant.³⁵

While it is unclear whether Abramoff or Scanlon similarly misled the remaining Tribes, the Committee finds the following: no Tribe that ultimately hired Abramoff and Scanlon during the relevant period knew about their financial relationship.³⁶

In his deposition with Committee staff, the head of the Greenberg Traurig’s national lobbying practice Fred Baggett testified that, until Abramoff’s meeting with the firm’s partners about the seminal *The Washington Post* article in February 2004, Abramoff never disclosed that he was receiving payments from Scanlon out of money that the Tribes were paying Scanlon.³⁷ In fact, during a meeting about a tribal newsletter in 2003, Abramoff denied that he had any financial relationship with Scanlon and tried to explain the article away as politically driven by competitors of the firm.³⁸

When Abramoff first discussed hiring Scanlon with Baggett, Abramoff merely described Scanlon as “the best as far as public relations and grassroots ... that he had ever dealt with” who provided “value added” in helping the his clients with “Washington media and public relations efforts as well.”³⁹ In that context, Abramoff indicated, Scanlon had been “extremely helpful to [him] and his clients.”⁴⁰ Baggett also remembered that Abramoff indicated “[h]ow valuable [Scanlon] was, that he was essential to being able to provide services to his clients.”⁴¹

In what appears to be an effort to ensure that his Tribal clients did not know about his financial arrangement with Scanlon, Abramoff demanded secrecy of his business associates and advisors. For example, in a March 15, 2002, email, Abramoff directed

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

³⁶ See Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004); Interview of Chairman Richard Milanovich, Agua Caliente Band of Cahullia Indians, in Washington, D.C. (September 16, 2004); Interview of Lieutenant Governor Carlos Hisa, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004); Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004); Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005); Interview of Chief Phillip Martin, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former tribal council member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2005); Interview of Stuwart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

³⁷ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

³⁸ *Id.* But see James Grimaldi and Susan Schmidt, *The Fast Rise and Steep Fall of Jack Abramoff*, *Washington Post*, December 29, 2005 (reporting that Greenberg Traurig discovered Abramoff’s outside sources of income earlier when it examined his tax records in connection with the SunCruz bankruptcy matter).

³⁹ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *Id.* Despite these plaudits, Greenberg Traurig decided not to hire Scanlon full-time because he “wanted to pursue other outside engagements on his own, and we ... weren’t going to have somebody who could do that.” *Id.* Ultimately, the firm brought in Scanlon as a consultant. *Id.* That engagement, for which Scanlon was paid \$10,000 per month from Abramoff’s overhead, lasted for only about a year. *Id.* Other than having decided that “we didn’t have use for him,” Baggett does not know why the firm stopped paying Scanlon. *Id.*

Rodney Lane, apparently a partner in his restaurant ventures, to value his share in his partnership with Scanlon at \$5 million per year, “valued as \$30M (multiple of 6 [years]).”⁴² In so doing, he also directed that “we should not reveal this to anyone but [my tax advisor], though, since no one knows the CCS stuff.”⁴³

Similarly, in a February 19 and 20, 2003, email, in which Abramoff’s tax advisor, Gail Halpern, suggested to Abramoff how he could minimize Scanlon’s withholding money from CCS’ payments to Abramoff. Halpern recommended, “[m]aybe you should work thinks [sic] so that the folks you are cutting these business deals with pay Mike [Scanlon’s] LLC called CCS \$x dollars, and pay your LLC called KayGold \$y dollars. then [sic] DC doesn’t get a chunk of your take.”⁴⁴

She elaborated, “[g]etting your own check from the client would resolve that over the long run would save big bucks.”⁴⁵

Abramoff responded, “It’s just not going to happen.”⁴⁶

C. ABRAMOFF INDUCES THE TRIBES INTO HIRING AND PAYING SCANLON

Having concealed his financial arrangement with Scanlon from his Tribal clients, Abramoff urged them to hire a grassroots political consultant.⁴⁷ Then, Abramoff convinced them into hiring Scanlon as that consultant. According to Scanlon’s highly compensated right-hand man, Christopher Cathcart, Scanlon said that “the larger fee [that CCS paid Abramoff] keeps ... Abramoff remembering CCS when he meets clients around the country.”⁴⁸ Likewise, in support of the proposition that “the truth is worse” than the facts set forth in the February 2004 *Post* article, former Abramoff associate Kevin Ring disclosed to a colleague that Abramoff “talk[ed] tribes into hiring Scanlon.”⁴⁹

On October 5, 2001, Abramoff told Scanlon how he ran this part of the scheme on the legislative director of the Saginaw Chippewa:

I had dinner tonight with Chris Petras of Sag Chip. He was salivating at the \$4–5 million program I described to

⁴² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Rodney Lane (GTG–E000011577) (March 15, 2002).

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000012116) (February 19, 2003).

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG–E000012115) (February 20, 2003). Whether Halpern came to know or should have known that Abramoff was Scanlon’s partner and, with that knowledge, furthered their scheme to bilk their tribal clients is a question beyond the scope of this investigation.

⁴⁷ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06–001). See Interview of Bernie Sprague, Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2004); Interview of Chairman Richard Milanovich, Agua Caliente Band of Cahullia Indians, in Washington, D.C. (September 16, 2004); Interview of Lieutenant Governor Carlos Hisa, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (October 28, 2004); Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004); Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005); Interview of Chief Phillip Martin, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (May 17, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-President, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2005); Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁴⁸ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (October 6, 2004).

⁴⁹ Email from Kevin Ring, Greenberg Traurig, to Matt DeMazza (GTG–E000257509) (February 22, 2004).

him (is that enough? Probably not). They have their primary for tribal council on Tuesday, which should determine if they are going to take over (general elections in November). I told him that you are the greatest campaign expert since ... (actually, I told him that there was no one like you in history!). He is going to come in after the primary with the guy who will be chief if they win (a big fan of ours already) and we are going to help him win. If he wins, they take over in January, and we have millions. I told him that you are already in national demand and we need to secure you for them. He is very excited. GIMME FIVE lives.⁵⁰

Scanlon responded, "THE PRICE HAS JUST GONE UP TO 10MIL!! Sounds good on the strategy—We should be wrapped up with the other camapaigns [sic] soon, so I could run his general election to make sure we get or [sic] give me five!"⁵¹

Abramoff concurred, "Great."⁵²

Documents suggest that Abramoff and Scanlon ran this part of the scheme on the Saginaw Chippewa well into 2003. On February 28, 2003, Scanlon complained to Abramoff that "[o]ur shop is not under contract with [the Saginaw Chippewa] 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."⁵³

He noted, "To tell you the truth—we would rather not work for them any more—but if we get the retainer gig—that wil [sic] do. NO CASH—NO INK BABY!"⁵⁴

Abramoff responded, "I am not sure this is the right strategy here ... I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys."⁵⁵

He explained, "[T]he 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."⁵⁶

In that context, Abramoff informed Scanlon that he "told [Saginaw Chippewa legislative director Chris Petras] 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 [sic] said they would do this."⁵⁷ The Committee has seen no evidence that any other clients were putting \$10 million deals before Scanlon previously or at that time.

On or about July 9, 2002, Abramoff promoted Scanlon to the Agua Caliente, describing Scanlon as "[formerly] with the U.S. Congress, a communications director for the leadership of the House of Representatives and subsequently has gone on to become

⁵⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000028079) (October 5, 2001). (emphasis in original).

⁵¹ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000011983) (February 28, 2003).

⁵⁴ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

one of the top political and grassroots public affairs people in the United States.” For his part, Scanlon said at the meeting, “My firm is in strategic alliance with Jack and Greenberg [Traurig,] meaning we only provide services to the clients of Greenberg Traurig. No other law or lobbying firms in Washington, DC. We work exclusively for his clients and provide our services to Jack exclusively.”⁵⁸

Former Louisiana Coshatta councilman William Worfel recalled in his interview with staff that Abramoff continuously pressed his Tribe to pay Scanlon the millions he charged, quickly and completely. In particular, Worfel remembered that, according to Abramoff, the need to pay Scanlon was “always a crisis, ASAP”: “[I]t was just 100 miles per hour, boom, boom, boom, boom. Oh, yes. But, I ain’t never seen this.”⁵⁹ Worfel elaborated, “[Scanlon would always say,] ‘We got to have it, man.’ ‘We’re getting hammered.’ ‘We need it.’ ‘We’ve got to turn the phone banks on.’ ‘We’ve got to get the blitz going.’ It was always a crisis.”⁶⁰

Abramoff’s approach with the Tigua was equally aggressive. A tribal representative observed that Abramoff pushed Scanlon “hotly.”⁶¹ With that Tribe, Abramoff said that he and Greenberg Traurig would provide representation on a *pro bono* basis—at least until the Tribe’s casino was up and running.⁶² But, he insisted that the Tribe hire Scanlon as their political consultant.⁶³ In that context, he described Scanlon as “tenacious” and a “bulldog.”⁶⁴ He also noted that Scanlon was “DeLay’s attack dog ... one of the reasons that Delay was so successful” and that “people [were] afraid of him.”⁶⁵ Abramoff promoted Scanlon as the person who did the groundwork on his projects and that, on tough fights especially, “[h]e always gets results.”⁶⁶

Having told the Tigua how he planned anonymously to slip language into a legislative vehicle that would allow the Tigua to reopen its casino, Abramoff stressed “once the law is printed, someone’s going to know it and that’s where Mike [Scanlon] comes in.”⁶⁷ In particular, Abramoff laid out a strategic concept whereby Scanlon would serve as “a submarine”—rising from under the radar and blanketing the telephones of offices of Members of Congress that have discovered the remedial language that Abramoff had sneaked into his legislative vehicle.⁶⁸ Abramoff noted, “you better have the

⁵⁸ Agua Caliente document production (no Bates number) (“Verbatim Transcript—Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002”) (July 20, 2004) (excerpt only).

⁵⁹ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-President, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2005).

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ Interview with Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

⁶² Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁶³ *Id.* Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 6, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001); Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR 05-411).

⁶⁴ Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ Interview with Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004).

best, because they will come after you.”⁶⁹ And, referring to Scanlon and his political database, Abramoff insisted, “If you are going to do this, you need this guy.”⁷⁰

Abramoff’s interest in having the Pueblo of Sandia hire Scanlon was particularly keen. Both then-Tribal Governor Stewart Paisano and Tribal lawyer David Mielke recalled that, during a meeting with Abramoff at Greenberg Traurig in February 2002, Abramoff characterized Scanlon as indispensable to his federal lobbying practice and a *sine qua non* for success on the Tribe’s project.⁷¹ In laying out to the tribal representatives his plan to “break bones” and “bust kneecaps,” Abramoff told them that he would only represent the Tribe if it hired Scanlon.⁷²

So intent was Abramoff in having the Pueblo of Sandia hire Scanlon that he negotiated with the Tribe on Scanlon’s behalf and, in fact, offered several inducements to have the Tribe hire Scanlon. According to Paisano and Mielke, in the face of an unusually high contract price to hire Scanlon, Abramoff offered to further reduce Greenberg Traurig’s monthly retainer in exchange for or in contemplation of the Tribe’s hiring Scanlon.⁷³ Mielke also recalled that Abramoff offered to reduce Scanlon’s asking price to \$2,750,000, but said that he could not go further because the lower amount had “Scanlon’s 10% profit margin locked in.”⁷⁴ Likewise, when the Choctaw were experiencing cash flow problems and budget shortfalls, Abramoff offered to defer payments to Greenberg Traurig to ensure that the Tribe could pay Scanlon in full.⁷⁵ Also, when the Choctaw were late in paying Scanlon, more often than not Abramoff inquired about the status of the payments to Scanlon.⁷⁶

Another way that Abramoff appears to have had some of the Tribes hire Scanlon for further projects was through alarming them, perhaps falsely, about threats to their sovereignty or gaming interests. For example, on or about February 11, 2002, Abramoff approved a “draft [Conservative Action Team’s] letter to the president [sic] and [Interior Secretary Gale] Norton saying ‘no more Indian gaming expansion’ ... [sic] [and] light a fire under [Deputy Interior Secretary Steven] Griles’s ass.”⁷⁷ Abramoff observed that “[t]his will help us get [then-Louisiana Coushatta Tribal Council member] William [Worfel] scared about Blue Lake [in California],

⁶⁹ Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁷² Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁷³ *Id.*; Interview of David Mielke, outside counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

⁷⁴ *Id.* As described above, Scanlon deliberately set his prices to accommodate his secret payments to Abramoff. That required Scanlon to maintain a profit margin closer to 80 percent. See Transcript of Plea Agreement at 22, *U.S. v. Jack Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

⁷⁵ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ Email from Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000025046) (February 14, 2002).

hopefully increasing our budget.”⁷⁸ During this period, the Louisiana Coushatta were interested in doing business there.⁷⁹

Similarly, on October 10, 2002, Scanlon conveyed to Abramoff: “Lawmakers may consider a package of bills that would allow horse tracks to better compete with the casinos that have cut into their business the past several years. Tracks could be allowed to have video lottery terminals, card rooms, satellite betting sites and possibly other gambling to renew interest in attending horse races.”⁸⁰

Abramoff responded, “Here we go! This could kill Saginaw! [Saginaw Chippewa legislative director] Chris [Petras] thinks this is not going anywhere. Can you call him and scare him?”⁸¹

Likewise, on December 2, 2002, Abramoff discussed the prospect of racinos in Michigan with Petras.⁸² In that email, on which he apparently blind-copied Scanlon, Abramoff noted the following:

Chris, I am getting worried about this. Last night we opened Stacks and there were some WH guys there (who are also Michigan guys—worked for Spence). They told me that there is a hearing coming up on this immediately, and that they have heard that this is going to happen!!! The enemy is moving fast and we are not on the field. where [sic] is Scanlon on this? What is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. Every day [sic] we lose now is going to hurt.⁸³

A few minutes later, Scanlon chimed in, “I love you.”⁸⁴

And, Abramoff replied, “I’ll follow up with him in a day.”⁸⁵

Once Abramoff succeeded in having the Tribes hire Scanlon, having kept his financial arrangement with Scanlon secret from the Tribes, Scanlon (for the benefit of Abramoff and himself) charged the Tribes a massive premium for his services. In total, the Tribes paid Scanlon about \$66 million from 2001 through 2003. But, what really happened to the Tribes’ money? The following section attempts to shed light on this question.

D. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE MONEY THAT THE TRIBES PAID SCANLON?

1. *Snapshots of CCS’ Representation of the Tribes*

In connection with its first hearing on these matters, the Committee established that about $\frac{1}{3}$ of Scanlon’s net proceeds went to Scanlon; about another $\frac{1}{3}$ went to Abramoff; and the remaining $\frac{1}{3}$

⁷⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000025046) (February 14, 2002).

⁷⁹ See Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁸⁰ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000001244) (October 10, 2002).

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (GTG–E000010716) (December 2, 2002). A “racino” is a racetrack that also offers casino gaming.

⁸³ *Id.*

⁸⁴ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000010716) (December 2, 2002).

⁸⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000010716) (December 2, 2002).

went to the underlying grassroots efforts Scanlon promised the Tribes. However, only an in-depth explication of this issue can allow one to apprehend the true extent and brazen nature of Abramoff and Scanlon's deception of the Tribes.

While a forensic analysis of what happened to the Tribes' money lies well beyond the scope of the Committee's investigation, the overwhelming weight of evidence that the Committee has obtained, as described below, indicates that, in most cases, the Tribes did not receive the intended benefit of the millions of dollars that they paid Scanlon. What follows are descriptions of certain representative transactions that the Committee was able to reconstruct that best support that proposition.

a. Transaction #1 (Miscellaneous)—Huge Profit Margins

In their plea agreements, Abramoff and Scanlon admitted to charging the Tribes grossly inflated prices for CCS' services—prices that incorporated the undisclosed fees that Scanlon paid Abramoff.⁸⁶ As noted throughout, those fees constituted about 50% of CCS' net profit.⁸⁷ Examples of how this worked, follow.

Among the documents that the Committee discovered is what appears to be the draft of a letter or other communication from Scanlon to Nell Rogers, the planner of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw"). Although the Committee has been unable to determine whether this record, probably drafted late in 2001, was actually transmitted, the representations contained within it are compelling. In that document, Scanlon said, "I think the following is the best way to prioritize our efforts [this year] and make them budget friendly ..."

He explained, "[A] good chunk ... for [Project A] wont [sic] be needed until the general election is in full swing later in the year. That said: the overall figures are 4,850,000 for [Project A], and 1,750,000 for [Project B], for a total of 6.6." But, he added, "We will need the 1.75 for [Project B] and 1.85 for [Project A] ASAP." Scanlon concluded: "On [Project A] we will need another 1m in about 45 days or so—and the balance we can defer till October 2nd to meet your FY issues ... Does this help?"

A second document, also recently discovered by the Committee, describes Scanlon's expected margins on those, and other, projects.⁸⁸ According to that document, entitled "02 CCS Project Break Down," on the \$4,850,000 Scanlon sought on "Project A," he projected actual costs to come in at about \$850,000—for a projected net profit for him and Abramoff of \$4,000,000.⁸⁹ Likewise, on the \$1,750,000 Scanlon sought on "Project B," he projected costs at only \$100,000—for a projected net profit for him and Abramoff of \$1,650,000.⁹⁰ The other projects, undertaken for Choctaw and other Tribes, are broken out below:

⁸⁶ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 6, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR-05-411); Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* at para. 8-9 (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06-001).

⁸⁷ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 6, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 11, 2005) (CR-05-411); Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* at para. 8-9 (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR 06-001).

⁸⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "02 CCS Project Break Downs") (undated).

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ *Id.*

02 CCS PROJECT BREAK DOWNS

Project	Total	Projected expenditures	Net
Delta Downs	\$3,300,000	\$300,000	\$3,000,000
Jena Band	1,505,000	100,000	1,405,000
[PROJECT A]	4,850,000	850,000	4,000,000
[PROJECT B]	1,750,000	100,000	1,650,000
Totals	11,405,000	1,350,000	10,055,000

Aggregating the costs and profits for all the projects listed above, the foregoing describes an expected net profit of about 88 percent.⁹¹ Other breakdowns, attached in the appendix of this Report, suggest that CCS' actual net return consistently hovered at about 70–80 percent.

In the case of CCS' representation of the Tigua, the margins were equally lucrative. According to a document entitled "2002 GMF Breakdowns," Scanlon projected that the "total campaign cost" of the Tigua's project, for which he and his secret partner Abramoff received \$4.2 million, would be only \$400,000.⁹² This document also suggests that Scanlon originally projected his "partner dollar share" here to be \$2,400,000.⁹³ In his plea agreement, Abramoff ultimately admitted to collecting from Scanlon \$1,850,000, about 50 percent of CCS' actual net profit on this project.⁹⁴ Likewise, according to a document referring to "Saginaw Wave Two," Scanlon apparently intended to set aside only \$50,000 for the program—a program for which he apparently obtained \$500,000 from the Saginaw Chippewa.⁹⁵ With CCS' netting \$450,000 on that project, Abramoff's cut was \$225,000.⁹⁶ Finally, according to another document, entitled "02 CCS Project Break Downs" Scanlon projected that his pre-tax share of the \$10,055,000 net from all the projects listed there, would equal \$5,027,000.⁹⁷

What happened above is typical of scores of other transactions that the Committee has reviewed, where Scanlon or Abramoff dramatically overcharged the Tribes for grassroots activities; paid themselves a percentage of what the Tribes paid at a grossly inflated rate wholly unrelated to the actual cost of services provided; and used the remaining fraction to reimburse scores of vendors that could help them maintain *vis-a-vis* the Tribes a continuing appearance of competence. It is almost inconceivable that Scanlon believed that the most ambitious of his programs, like the Louisiana Political Program (with which Scanlon claimed that he could "control both houses and the governor's mansion"), could be accomplished successfully for the amount he apparently intended to allocate for their completion.

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "2002 GMF Breakdowns") (undated).

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for Plea at para. 20, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

⁹⁵ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Saginaw Wave Two") (undated)

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "02 CCS Project Break Downs") (undated).

b. Transaction #2 (August 2002)—Louisiana Coushatta and Agua Caliente pay CCS a total of \$5,000,000

An example of such a program relates to the payment of almost \$5,000,000 by the Louisiana Coushatta and, for an unrelated matter, the Agua Caliente to CCS in August 2002. Weeks before, on July 26, 2002, Scanlon asked then-Louisiana Coushatta councilman William Worfel for authorization to execute a program that he said would “eliminate the Jena threat ... to ensure that the Jena go away for good, and ... permanently eliminate them as a threat to the tribe.”⁹⁸ He described what he would do with this additional money as follows:

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 conceivably 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 [sic]. We would like to go from town to town and systematically wipe out all possible locations. Our recommendation is to finish them off now ... We believe that this campaign will run about 8 weeks, and we would like to start immediately while the iron is hot. We will need a budget of roughly \$2,100,000 to execute this properly.⁹⁹

On or about August 1, 2002, the Louisiana Coushatta paid CCS \$2,100,000, as Scanlon requested.¹⁰⁰ And, on or about August 27, 2002, the Agua Caliente paid CCS \$2,720,000 (and another \$935,000 on or about September 17, 2002), for a similarly ambitious project apparently related to the Tribe’s compact renegotiations with the State of California.¹⁰¹

However, CCS’ ledger reflects no expenditures commensurate with Scanlon’s ambitious representations. During an eight-week period, which began and closed with a balance at just under \$1,000,000, the ledger reflects payments totaling about \$40,700 to the Weber Company and almost \$290,000 to Lunde & Berger for “professional campaign services” for several tribes; payments totaling about \$14,700 to Matthew Stetter for work on an “environmental impact statement” and a total of about \$1,270 to Anton Design for “professional campaign services”—both of which are probably attributable to the Saginaw Chippewa; payments of \$14,000 and about \$1,500 to Democracy Data and Communications for “databases” and “telematch services,” respectively; a payment of \$7,803 to Baum Communications for “Cali ID”; and a payment of \$2,890 to Harold Grosh for work by “subcontractors” apparently attributable to the Louisiana Coushatta.¹⁰² All of those expenditures, which capture vendor expenses that are either \$25,000 or more or traceable to a grassroots campaigns conducted for any tribe, amounted to a mere \$370,000.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 007285) (July 26, 2002).

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ *Id.*

During this period, the ledger also reflects a few incidental payments that probably provided little value to the Louisiana Coshatta or the Agua Caliente, for example, a payment of \$250,000 to the Republican Governors Association; a payment of \$100,000 to an individual named Michael Chapman, likely for referring the Agua Caliente to Abramoff and Scanlon; a \$60,000 donation to the “Scanlon Foundation for Kids” for “backpacks”; and a number of payments apparently made to contractors for work on some of Scanlon’s properties.¹⁰⁴

Other than the foregoing, the ledger reflects *no* vendor expenses that are either \$25,000 or more or traceable to grassroots campaigns conducted for *any* Tribe. However, with a total of \$4,820,000 having been paid by the Louisiana Coshatta and the Agua Caliente near the beginning of this period, the ledger does show Scanlon’s paying Abramoff a “referral expense” of \$2,266,250 on or about September 16, 2002, and Scanlon’s paying himself \$2,200,000 on or about October 10, 2002.¹⁰⁵

Newly discovered evidence suggests what Scanlon intended to do with these Tribes’ money from the start. According to a recently discovered financial record, Scanlon apparently intended to set aside no more than \$350,000 for the Jena-related program—a program for which he sought and obtained \$2,100,000 from the Louisiana Coshatta.¹⁰⁶ According to that same document, Scanlon projected a net \$1,732,000 on that project and estimated Abramoff’s cut at \$866,250.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, according to another document referring to “AC Wave One,” Scanlon apparently intended to set aside only \$400,000 for that program—a program for which he sought and received \$2,700,000 from the Agua Caliente Tribe.¹⁰⁸ With CCS’ projecting to net \$2,235,000 on that project, he estimated Abramoff’s cut here at \$1,117,500.¹⁰⁹ It is unlikely that Scanlon believed that he could “finish [the Jena] off now” for only \$350,000. The foregoing reflects that the Louisiana Coshatta received little of the intended benefit for the \$2,100,000 it paid CCS, and that the \$2,700,000 that Scanlon charged the Agua Caliente for “AC Wave One” was wholly unrelated to his actual costs.

c. Transaction #3 (October 2001–January 2002)—Louisiana Coshatta pays CCS \$2,170,000

By August 27, 2001, Scanlon had successfully helped the Louisiana Coshatta with its compact renegotiations with the State of Louisiana. In furtherance of his new partnership with Abramoff, which the two kept secret from the Louisiana Coshatta, Scanlon was now prepared to proceed with a much broader scope of work. In that context, Scanlon put forward a “comprehensive political program,” which he described as “much larger than the one we de-

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (entitled “JA Nets–Coush Aug”).

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (entitled “AC Wave One”). Scanlon also set aside another \$38,000 as a “plane expense.” *See Id.*

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

veloped for the compact fight[, but] includes many of the same tactics and follows the same development process.”¹¹⁰

In an August 27, 2001, memorandum to Kathryn Van Hoof, outside counsel for the Louisiana Coushatta, which Scanlon carbon-copied to his new partner Abramoff, Scanlon described this program as designed to “make sure that under no circumstances would the tribe find itself behind the political eight ball ever again” and “make [the Tribe] a politician’s best friend—or worse [sic] political nightmare.”¹¹¹ Scanlon continued, “[This strategy is] 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 [sic] as well.”¹¹² Scanlon offered, “In my opinion if you execute this program, you will be in position to achieve all of your political objectives.”¹¹³ Accordingly, Scanlon laid out his Louisiana and Texas “political program.”¹¹⁴

What the Tribe did not know at the time was that much of the money that Scanlon proposed that it pay for this political program would go directly to Abramoff. On the day after Scanlon apparently sent the foregoing memo to Van Hoof, Abramoff wrote his tax advisor about where he intended his share of the Louisiana Coushatta’s money to go: “A company called Capital Campaign Services [sic] 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 Enterprises, which owned one of Abramoff’s restaurants] so the trust issue is not a problem).”¹¹⁵

On September 10, 2001, having been assured that money from the Tribe was on the way, Abramoff asked Scanlon, “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.”¹¹⁶

Scanlon replied, “Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k.”¹¹⁷

All in all, Scanlon reported that Abramoff would get at that time “1.5. mil on top of the 660. For a toal [sic] of 2.1.”¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰Memorandum from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, “Coushatta Political Program” (August 27, 2001) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

¹¹¹*Id.*

¹¹²*Id.*

¹¹³*Id.*

¹¹⁴*See generally id.*; Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 017923) (October 23, 2001) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

¹¹⁵Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG–E000011965) (August 28, 2001). Intent on funneling his share of the Louisiana Coushatta’s money to his restaurant without it being taxed as personal income, Abramoff asked Halpern, “I was wondering if we could structure this transaction the following way: Livsar invoices CCS for services in the amount they are transferring. The services can be of any nature ... 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?” *Id.* *See also* Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG–E000011965) (August 28, 2001) (Abramoff describing Livsar Enterprises).

¹¹⁶Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E0000113995) (September 10, 2001).

¹¹⁷*Id.*

¹¹⁸*Id.*

Abramoff heaped praise on his partner, "How can I say this strongly enough: YOU IZ DA MAN."¹¹⁹

Not content with the \$2.1 million and using the phrase the two had coined to describe their secret partnership, Scanlon exhorted, "Let's grow that 2.1 to 5!!! We need the true give me five!"¹²⁰

On October 6, 2001, Scanlon picked up that email stream to revisit the issue with Abramoff: "800k was your cut of the combined [Louisiana] and [Texas] projects. But they did not go for the [Louisiana] project so your cut shrunk to 400K from texas [sic] alone."¹²¹ However, Scanlon assured Abramoff: "But we came in way under budget bumping your total on the texas [sic] project up to 600k."¹²²

He continued, "If they go for the [Louisiana] project, tack another 400 onto your end ... Long story short, you made an additional 200k on the texas [sic] project."¹²³

Abramoff responded, "We have to get that [Louisiana] project moving. Let's discuss how to make that happen."¹²⁴

Ultimately, on or about October 23, 2001, the Tribal Council apparently approved a modified version of the political program that Scanlon proposed to fight a couple of Louisiana gaming expansion initiatives. Cumulatively, it was called the "Battleground Program."¹²⁵ In a memorandum outlining the program's costs, Scanlon wrote, "[W]e 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."¹²⁶ The total cost, \$3,170,000.

According to CCS' accounting ledger, on October 31, 2001, the Louisiana Coushatta ultimately paid CCS \$2,170,000 in one lump sum.¹²⁷ But, how did CCS spend this money? CCS' own records indicate that a small part was paid to outside vendors for actual work.¹²⁸ For example, on or about November 8, 2001, CCS paid Capitol Media, a company owned or controlled by Ralph Reed, \$100,000 for work on the Texas component of the program.¹²⁹

¹¹⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E0000113847) (September 10, 2001) (emphasis in original).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E0000113927) (October 5, 2001).

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ *Id.*

¹²⁵ See Memorandum from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, "Louisiana Political Budget Outline" (BB/LC 017923) (October 23, 2001) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

¹²⁶ See *id.*

¹²⁷ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies). In an apparent scheme to fraudulently induce the Tribe to "donate" to Abramoff's private charity, the Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF"), Scanlon directed the Tribe to send the remaining \$1,000,000 for the Program to Greenberg Traurig; and, at Abramoff's direction, the firm sent this \$1,000,000 to the CAF, on November 13, 2001. For a full explication of this transaction, refer *infra* to Part 2, Chapter 3, "Capital Athletic Foundation," Section D, "Abramoff and Scanlon Misappropriate Tribal Funds for CAF Seed Money in 2001."

¹²⁸ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹²⁹ *Id.* Weeks before, on October 8, 2001, Reed had agreed to help Scanlon and Abramoff "block the Alabama Coushatta tribe [sic] from securing a gaming facility by proactively pushing a political or legislative vehicle making approval of Indian gaming in Texas next to impossible", for \$100,000. Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000023050-51) (October 5, 2001). On October 5, 2001, Scanlon explained to Abramoff, "We have drafts of the language, But [sic] we are still batting around the final documents. What we need now is for the Gov [sic], Lt Gov [sic] 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."

While Scanlon was paying vendors only a modest fraction of what the Tribe paid CCS, it seems that he put much of the balance to personal use. On November 2, 2001, he took \$1.4 million as a shareholder draw.¹³⁰ That month, Scanlon reportedly bought a \$1.6 million beach house in Rehoboth Beach, which he completely renovated.¹³¹

Later entries in the CCS ledger reflect very significant draws going to Scanlon's wedding, which never occurred. Ultimately, after additional payments came in from the Choctaw, Scanlon paid Abramoff about \$2,000,000. These payments are set forth below:¹³²

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT

Date	Description	To/from	Amount
10/30/2001	Balance		\$83,249.00
10/31/2001	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	700,000.00
10/31/2001	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	2,170,000.00
10/31/2001	Balance		2,953,249.04
11/2/2001	Professional Campaign; Alabama; 1278	Lunde & Berger	(25,000.00)
11/2/2001	Professional Campaign; 1279	Red Sea	(11,236.02)
11/2/2001	Professional Campaign; 1280	Basswood Research	(11,270.00)
11/2/2001	Shareholder Draw; 1289	Michael Scanlon	(1,400,000.00)
11/8/2001	Professional Campaign; Coushatta TX Program; 1301.	Capitol Media	(100,000.00)
11/8/2001	Professional Campaign; 1304	Capitol Media	(350,000.00)
11/9/2001	Shareholder Draw/Wedding	Michael Scanlon	(50,000.00)
11/15/2001	Consulting Fees	Choctaw	2,350,000.00
11/15/2001	Shareholder Draw/Wedding	Michael Scanlon	(1,563,740.39)
11/26/2001	Shareholder Draw/Bama Race	Michael Scanlon	(75,000.00)
11/26/2001	Professional Campaign/Texas	Lunde & Berger	(13,000.00)
11/26/2001	Professional Campaign/Alabama	Lunde & Berger	(130,000.00)
11/27/2001	Money Market		(2,923,485.08)
11/27/2001	Shareholder Draw/Wedding	Michael Scanlon	(5,000.00)
11/27/2001	Shareholder Draw; Michael Wedding	Michael Scanlon	(60,000.00)
11/27/2001	Balance		174,560.77
11/30/2001	Balance		68,995.57
12/12/2001	Shareholder Draw; Preferred Account	Legg Mason Wood	(50,000.00)
12/19/2001	Referral Expense; 1396	Jack Abramoff	(300,000.00)
12/31/2001	Referral Expense; 1398	Jack Abramoff	(1,718,125.00)
12/31/2001	Professional Campaign	Capitol Media	(250,000.00)
12/31/2001	Balance		(2,392,137.00)
1/2/2002	Deposit	Money Market	2,754,942.00
1/2/2002	Balance		362,804.86

Id. After Abramoff referred Reed to Scanlon to “get it moving,” Abramoff reached out to Scanlon, apparently elated at the prospect of minimizing costs, “Call Ralph and get him moving. He'll do it for the \$100K. we'z in the money!!!” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000023050) (October 8, 2001). Later that month, Scanlon wrote Abramoff, “Once [the Tribe] pay[s] we let Ralph loose, and bring Texas home.” Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, L.L.P (GTG-E000012181) (October 15, 2001). Abramoff responded, “U da[] man!” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000012181) (October 15, 2001).

¹³⁰ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹³¹ Brody Mullins, *Breakup of Ex-Aides Shook Group Tied to Abramoff—The Prosecutors Move In; Ms. Miller's Tearful Apology*, Wall Street Journal, March 31, 2006 at A1.

¹³² The entries in the following tables, and similar tables throughout this Report, are taken from CCS' accounting ledger and cross-referenced with other information in the possession of the Committee for verification. To determine whether the Tribes received fair value for what they paid CCS, wholly incidental expenses were excluded from the source ledger, and presented here. Of all vendor transactions reflected in the source ledger, only those greater than or equal to \$25,000 or traceable to any Tribe have been included here and other similar spreadsheets presented in this Report.

In a November 6, 2001, email, Scanlon provides Abramoff with “a breakdown (Political Nets) of where you are currently -and [sic] [a] distribution [s]chedule for 2001 that shows what you made or directed to other parties—Not bad!!!!!!”¹³³

With only a fraction of what the Tribe paid CCS going to the intended effort, it appears that the Louisiana Coushatta received little of the intended benefit for the money it paid CCS during this period. Unfortunately, this would not be the only time the Tribe would be short-changed by Abramoff and Scanlon.

d. Transaction #4 (January–April 2002)—Several Tribes Pay CCS Over \$22,000,000

As described in the Chapter of this Report addressing Abramoff and Scanlon’s representation of the Tigua, late in 2001, the State of Texas filed suit seeking to shut down the casino of the Alabama Coushatta Tribe. Operating near Houston, in Livingston, Texas, that casino ostensibly presented competition to the Louisiana Coushatta’s facility, across the state line. As reflected above, Scanlon used only a fraction of the Louisiana Coushatta’s payments to CCS late in the year to fund Ralph Reed’s anti-gaming grassroots activities in Texas, which Reed ran through his firm Capitol Media. However, with the casino’s closure imminent, Scanlon was quick to take credit. On January 6, 2002, he wrote Louisiana Coushatta Tribal Councilman William Worfel, carbon-copying Abramoff, “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.”¹³⁴

On January 27, 2002, Scanlon wrote Worfel again, “It looks as though the Jena [Jena Band of Choctaw Indians] are attempting again to put a facility in Mississippi at the same time they are continuing their efforts in Louisiana.”¹³⁵

He continued, “On that note—I would like to speak with you tomorrow about our conversation on Friday regarding Patrick Martin and the Jena [Band of Choctaw Indians]. I think it’s imperative that we make a large statement with our efforts given what has unfolded.”¹³⁶

Accordingly, he asked for “a larger budget to deal with the Jena and make our muscle felt ... a significant increase (an additional 1.2 mil to make our point).”¹³⁷

On the next day, Abramoff forwarded an article to Scanlon, which had been provided to him by Reed, about the Tigua’s casino in Texas, and wrote, “Get this to William [Worfel]. War.”¹³⁸

According to CCS’ accounting records, this began a particularly active payment period, during which the Louisiana Coushatta in particular made a series of very substantial payments to CCS’ operating account. In January 2002, which began this period, the starting balance in this account was about \$500,000. By April 2002,

¹³³ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000012278) (November 7, 2001).

¹³⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 015391) (January 6, 2002).

¹³⁵ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 015410) (January 27, 2002).

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000075999) (January 28, 2002).

after considerable payment activity, the balance went back down to about \$500,000. In the interim, the Louisiana Coushatta paid CCS \$11,510,000. Additionally, substantial payments were made by several other tribes: Saginaw Chippewa, \$3,069,831; Choctaw, \$1,605,000; Tigua Tribe of El Paso, \$2,122,680; and the Sandia Pueblo, \$2,750,000. So, during this period, all of these Tribes paid CCS a total of \$21,057,561.¹³⁹

What did Scanlon do with these Tribes' money during this period? According to information obtained by the Committee, Scanlon paid only \$826,452.79 to vendors for expenses greater than or equal to \$25,000 or discernable as funding for work done for any Tribe and about \$155,000 to Abramoff lobbying associates Jon van Horne and Kevin Ring.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, Scanlon withdrew \$15,078,108.94 as "shareholder draws" and paid Abramoff, or his corporate alter ego Kaygold, \$8,998,947.60 as "referral expenses."¹⁴¹ The relevant portion of CCS' ledger, which reflects this activity, is set out below.¹⁴²

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT

Date	Description	To/from	Amount
1/2/2002	Balance		\$362,804.86
1/7/2002	Balance		505,356.94
1/18/2002	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	1,505,000.00
1/18/2002	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	1,500,000.00
1/18/2002	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	1,000,000.00
1/24/2002	Professional Campaign; LA; 1452	Lunde & Berger	(25,000.00)
1/30/2002	Shareholder Draw		(1,000,000.00)
1/30/2002	Shareholder Draw		(950,000.00)
2/1/2002	Balance		3,207,343.96
2/7/2002	Legal/Professional; Legal Work; 1476	Jon Van Horne	(20,000.00)
2/12/2002	Professional Campaign; LA-Jena; 1489	Lunde & Berger	(30,000.00)
2/14/2002	Professional Campaign	Alexander Strategies	(120,000.00)
2/19/2002	Consulting Fees	Saginaw Chippewa	1,869,831.00
2/19/2002	Professional Campaign; 1492	Capitol Media	(51,679.00)
2/20/2002	Professional Campaign; Final Payment; 1494.	Glover Associates	(34,291.16)
2/21/2002	Professional Campaign; LA; 1495	Lunde & Berger	(75,000.00)
2/22/2002	Transfer	Money Market	(2,000,000.00)
2/22/2002	Referral Expense; 1496	Kaygold	(2,779,925.60)
2/22/2002	Balance		1,075,164.69
2/25/2002	Professional Campaign; Radio Buy; LA; 1498.	Capitol Media	(60,000.00)
2/25/2002	Professional Campaign; LA Project; 1499	Capitol Media	(100,000.00)
2/28/2002	Consulting Fees	Choctaw	1,605,000.00
2/28/2002	Shareholder Draw		(50,000.00)
3/1/2002	Balance		4,343,157.00
3/1/2002	Professional Campaign; MS Bonus; 1526	Lunde & Berger	(50,000.00)
3/4/2002	Consulting Fees; Deposit		1,002,750.00

¹³⁹ According to CCS's accounting ledger, an unspecified client(s) paid CCS \$3,102,750 during this period. Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies). This figure is not included in this tally.

¹⁴⁰ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁴¹ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁴² The entries in the following tables, and similar tables throughout this Report, are taken from CCS' accounting ledger and cross-referenced with other information in the possession of the Committee for verification. To determine whether the Tribes received fair value for what they paid CCS, wholly incidental expenses were excluded from the source ledger, and presented here. Of all vendor transactions reflected in the source ledger, only those greater than or equal to \$25,000 or traceable to any Tribe have been included here and other similar spreadsheets presented in this Report.

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT—Continued

Date	Description	To/from	Amount
3/5/2002	Deposit	Money Market	2,000,000.00
3/5/2002	Consulting Fees; Deposit		2,100,000.00
3/5/2002	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(4,753,108.94)
3/14/2002	Shareholder Draw		(150,000.00)
3/15/2002	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	3,405,000.00
3/15/2002	Consulting Fees	Sandia Pueblo	1,875,000.00
3/21/2002	Referral Expense; 1557	Jack Abramoff	(4,080,997.00)
3/21/2002	Referral Expense; 1558	Kevin Ring	(67,500.00)
3/22/2002	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(1,000,000.00)
3/25/2002	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(300,000.00)
3/25/2002	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(25,000.00)
3/27/2002	Professional Campaign; Media	Red Sea	(33,600.00)
3/28/2002	Professional Campaign; Media	Red Sea	(116,680.00)
4/1/2002	Consulting Fees	Saginaw Chippewa	1,200,000.00
4/1/2002	Balance		5,730,488.93
4/2/2002	Shareholder Draw; 1573	Michael Scanlon	(4,350,000.00)
4/2/2002	Shareholder Draw; 1574	Michael Scanlon	(500,000.00)
4/4/2002	Consulting Fees	Tigua	1,293,180.00
4/4/2002	Consulting Fees	Coushatta	2,100,000.00
4/8/2002	Referral Expense; 1580	Kaygold	(2,138,025.00)
4/10/2002	Consulting Fees	Sandia Pueblo	875,000.00
4/10/2002	Professional Campaign; NM Poll 2; 1586	Frabrizio and McLaughlin	(10,000.00)
4/11/2002	Professional Campaign; Prof Services; 1593.	Weber Company	(41,634.96)
4/11/2002	Professional Campaign; LA Survey; 1597	Basswood Research	(28,567.67)
4/15/2002	Professional Campaign; Tigua; 1615	Lunde & Berger	(50,000.00)
4/15/2002	Referral Expense; 1616	Kevin Ring	(67,500.00)
4/16/2002	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(2,000,000.00)
4/16/2002	Balance		471,009.87

Near the beginning of the period captured by this snapshot, after the State of Texas filed suit to shut down the Alabama Coushatta's casino, Scanlon observed, "Yeah baby! The timing couldn't be better!"¹⁴³

Ultimately, Abramoff responded, "Wez [sic] gonna be rich!"¹⁴⁴ And, about a week-and-a-half later, the Louisiana Coushatta, on whose behalf Abramoff and Scanlon opposed the Alabama Coushatta, paid CCS more than \$4,000,000.¹⁴⁵

A few weeks later, on March 8, 2002, CCS received an additional \$1,869,831 from the Saginaw Chippewa and \$1,605,000 from the Choctaw.¹⁴⁶ Writing Scanlon, Abramoff celebrated, "We're gonna be rich. What am I saying?! We ARE rich!!!"¹⁴⁷

What did Scanlon do with his share? In March 2002, Scanlon reportedly paid \$4.7 million in cash for a house for himself and then-fiancee, Emily Miller.¹⁴⁸ This beachfront mansion reportedly had a weight room, sauna and a three-bedroom guest house.¹⁴⁹ Scanlon mounted lights on the deck so he could hold parties on the beach

¹⁴³ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000010889) (January 6, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ Diehl & Company document production (D00411-512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000011535) (March 8, 2002).

¹⁴⁸ Brody Mullins, *Breakup of Ex-Aides Shook Group Tied to Abramoff—The Prosecutors Move In; Ms. Miller's Tearful Apology*, Wall Street Journal, March 31, 2006 at A1.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*

at night, his surfing friends have reportedly said.¹⁵⁰ He also bought vacation homes on the Caribbean island of St. Barts, including one villa he reportedly rented out for \$50,000 a week.¹⁵¹

But that was not enough. In reacting to a proposal by Scanlon to fight attempts by the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians to open a casino in Louisiana, on March 12, 2002, Abramoff admonished his partner, “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?”¹⁵²

Referring to the Louisiana Coushatta, on April 8, 2002, Abramoff observed, “They are ripe for more pickings. We have to figure out how.”¹⁵³

In an email, dated March 13, 2002, entitled “those f—ing SagChips,” Abramoff and Scanlon discussed the Saginaw Chippewa’s participation of an Abramoff venture to have them help underwrite the cost of maintaining sky boxes at premium sporting venues in the DC area: “[then-Saginaw Chippewa Sub-Chief] Dave Otto just told me that they are not going to do the sports suites. He said they are under fire and are worried that they are spending too much money. I really am worried that they are not seeing results from us up there, so they are starting to rethink doing stuff with us. can [sic] you PLEASE get someone up there asap?”¹⁵⁴

Scanlon responded, “Jack—the fact that they are not doing sports suites has nothing to do with them not seeing [sic] results on my end—they are just friggin cheap—and losers—I very seriously doubt we will ever see another penny from them—and there was no chance that they were ever going to do the sports suites. We really have to watch these guys.”¹⁵⁵

Abramoff replied:

Let’s chat about these guys. I agree about the sports suites, but we need to energize this. we [sic] spent the time and won the [Tribal Council] election, and now have a great contract with them. they [sic] are not happy with the service they are getting. We need to step up and save this (a lot less work to turn this into a winner than to find another rich tribe and bring them to this point). they are apparently unhappy that you are not there. I am seeing [Saginaw Chippewa legislative director] Chris Petras tomorrow and will get a temperature and we’ll find a way to fix it. we [sic] need a beautiful girl to send up there to do our work. I am really not kidding. This deal is a big part of our financial life and we cannot let it slip away.¹⁵⁶

On June 18, 2002, Scanlon described an agreement to Abramoff with the “Saginaw’s lawyers” whereby the tribe will “pay 1.9 up

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ *Id.*

¹⁵² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000011588) (March 12, 2002).

¹⁵³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000252622–23) (April 8, 2002).

¹⁵⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000026246) (March 13, 2002).

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ *Id.*

front then 500k and 500k ... We should have the cash by the end of the week.”¹⁵⁷

In response, Abramoff instructed Scanlon to direct his CCS income to his purported charity, the Capital Athletic Foundation (“CAF”), “Great. can [sic] you get to [REDACTED] and get that \$ for CAF? I really need it. also, [sic] might need you to direct one of the \$500K’s coming to CAF. can [sic] you do that?”¹⁵⁸

On the next day, Scanlon updated Abramoff, “Hey—good day all around—we wrapped up the Sag Chip crap—We hit Cough—I think for 3 mil—and we are working gon [sic] Acaliente [sic] presentation—should be tight.”¹⁵⁹

Abramoff answered, “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!”¹⁶⁰ Scanlon replied, “Amen! You got it boss—we have many years ahead!”¹⁶¹

On or about July 9, 2002, the two discussed the payment of \$1,900,000 from the Saginaw Chippewa, Scanlon assuring Abramoff, “800 for you[,] 800 for me[,] 250 for the effort the other 50 went to the plane and misc expenses. We both have an additional 500 coming when they pay the next phasesm [sic].”¹⁶² Indeed, on July 12, 2002, after that payment arrived, CCS made three payments to Kaygold, of \$800,000; \$20,000; and \$44,000.¹⁶³

e. Transaction #5 (October 16, 2002)—Louisiana Coughatta Pays \$950,000 and the Agua Caliente Pays \$1,745,000 to CCS

In its brazenness, what apparently happened with a payment of \$950,000 by the Louisiana Coughatta, and \$1,745,000 by the Agua Caliente, to CCS is notable. On October 9, 2002, carbon-copying Abramoff, Scanlon wrote Worfel, “[R]ecently the [Jena] have received an enormous amount of funding to back there [sic] political/ on the ground [sic] operations and in addition [sic] have beefed up their lobbying team in D.C. as well.”¹⁶⁴

Scanlon continued, “Given these facts I strongly believe that we need more budget authority to achieve our objectives. I would like an addition [sic] \$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 [sic] we generate to Secretary Norton over the next few weeks.*”¹⁶⁵

Scanlon underscored, “In all of our time working together we have never come back to you with a request for additional budg-

¹⁵⁷ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000011737) (June 18, 2002).

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000057329) (June 20, 2002).

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*

¹⁶¹ *Id.*

¹⁶² Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000011746) (July 9, 2002).

¹⁶³ Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁶⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 007288) (October 9, 2002) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

¹⁶⁵ *Id.* (emphasis added).

eting, so please know that we would not being [sic] making this request unless it were absolutely necessary.”¹⁶⁶

Scanlon concluded, “We believe that we will have the campaign wrapped up within three weeks, and these additional funds will contribute greatly to our success.”¹⁶⁷

What happened subsequently is best reflected in CCS’ general ledger. According to this document, on or about October 15, 2002, the starting balance in CCS’ operating account was about \$2,000,000.¹⁶⁸ About a day later, the Louisiana Coushatta paid CCS \$950,000, as Scanlon requested.¹⁶⁹ And, at about that same time, the Agua Caliente made another payment of \$1,745,000.¹⁷⁰ The original \$2,000,000 balance was restored in that account on or about October 25, 2002.¹⁷¹

So, in the interim, what happened to the Tribes’ money? Accounting records show that very little of the Tribe’s money was used for purposes intended by the Tribe. Between October 15th and October 25th, 2002, CCS’ general ledger fails to reflect any payments for “beef[ing] up [a] field team for ... petition drives” or the “add[ition of] more staff to [an] opposition research team.” Quite the contrary, during this period, the general ledger indicates, CCS made only one payment to *any* vendor for work traceable to any Tribe—\$50,000 to Ayers, McHenry & Associates, Inc. for “professional campaign services.”¹⁷² It also reflects a payment of \$250,000 to the Republican Governors Association and several payments on credit card bills and charter airfare.¹⁷³ Otherwise, the only notable activity that is reflected on the ledger during this period are three “shareholder draws” taken by Scanlon, totaling \$2,200,000.¹⁷⁴ After Scanlon made those withdrawals, he allowed the account to be drawn down until early-December 2002—at which point the Choctaw made several payments.¹⁷⁵ In other words, apparently Scanlon never replenished the account with the Louisiana Coushatta’s and the Agua Caliente’s money, after he took it out in the first instance. The foregoing allows the Committee to find that those Tribes never received the intended benefit for the money that they paid CCS on or about October 15, 2002.

It is unclear whether Scanlon told Abramoff about these payments when they first arrived. On December 17, 2002, Abramoff asked Scanlon, “can you get me the check for the money which came from the Agua asap? I’m actually in a bad cash position.”¹⁷⁶

Scanlon answered, “No money in yet—still waiting on the wire—ill [sic] send it over as sson [sic] as it comes in—Its cool—all approved and everything—just not been executed yet.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁶ *Id.*

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*

¹⁶⁸ Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁶⁹ *See id.*

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ *Id.*

¹⁷² *Id.*

¹⁷³ *Id.*

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ *Id.*

¹⁷⁶ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000056775) (December 17, 2002).

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

Abramoff replied, “Other than the AC, what [sic] next on the money train?”¹⁷⁸

Scanlon answered, “The next big money we have coming our way is Coughatta, and that will be in early January—the exact amounts I’m still hammering out.”¹⁷⁹

A recently discovered financial record suggests what Scanlon did with the money that he absconded from the Tribes in 2002. This document, which apparently sets forth Scanlon’s net worth for the year ending 2002, reflects that for his own benefit Scanlon put most of the money he received from the Tribes into real estate and investment accounts.¹⁸⁰ According to this document, entitled “Scanlon NW 02,” those investments were valued at about \$5,460,000, and \$7,520,000 in expected retainers, returns on investments, and net returns on outstanding projects “on board.”¹⁸¹

f. Transaction #6 (January–March 2003)—Louisiana Coughatta Pays CCS \$5,000,000

The Louisiana Coughatta’s payment to CCS of \$5,000,000 on or about February 12, 2003, also reflects Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme. In an email, dated January 21, 2003, and entitled “Coughatta,” Abramoff wrote Scanlon, “Give me a call asap. I have some thoughts in this which I need to share. It means more \$\$\$\$ for us!”¹⁸² Exactly what Abramoff had in mind here is unclear.

On February 17, 2003, Abramoff reached out to Scanlon “when are we getting Coughatta \$?”¹⁸³

Scanlon responded, “Was supposed to be in Friday—but did not come through ...”¹⁸⁴

Abramoff replied, “Let me know as soon as it gets in, you fucking beach bum! :) [sic]”¹⁸⁵

On the next day, Scanlon reported, “Cough Cash is in. Ill [sic] process ASAP.”¹⁸⁶ The Louisiana Coughatta paid CCS \$5,000,000.

Soon thereafter, on February 19, 2003, Scanlon paid Abramoff’s alter ego Kaygold \$1,965,000 as a “referral expense.”¹⁸⁷

Abramoff described what he intended to do with this money: “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?”¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁸ *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

¹⁸⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (entitled “Scanlon NW 02”).

¹⁸¹ *Id.*

¹⁸² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000252878) (January 21, 2003).

¹⁸³ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000252882) (February 17, 2003).

¹⁸⁴ *Id.*

¹⁸⁵ *Id.*

¹⁸⁶ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000027864) (February 18, 2003).

¹⁸⁷ Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹⁸⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000027864) (February 18, 2003).

After he did not immediately get his share of the Louisiana Coughatta payment, Abramoff implored Scanlon: “Mike!!! I need the money TODAY! I AM BOUNCING CHECKS!!!”¹⁸⁹

Abramoff later apologized, “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!”¹⁹⁰

On February 20, 2003, Abramoff explained to his tax advisor, “I think I understand what he did. We received \$5M into CCS ... He divided the \$5M into three piles: \$1M for actual expense, and \$2M for each of us.”¹⁹¹ The payment to Abramoff, made to his entity Kaygold, and a series of substantial “shareholder draws” taken out by Scanlon, are reflected in the portion of CCS’ ledger set forth below.¹⁹² It appears that those draws funded purely personal expenses.

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT

Date	Description	To/from	Amount
1/31/2003	Balance		\$934,962.28
2/3/2003	Professional Campaign; CA Mailer; 2176	Red Sea	(40,154.96)
2/3/2003	Shareholder Draw; SCM; 2177	Phillip Brun	(44,500.00)
2/12/2003	Consulting Fees	Coughatta	5,000,000.00
2/12/2003	Shareholder Draw	Aviation Group	(44,400.00)
2/19/2003	Professional Campaign; Databases; 2201	DDC	(14,000.00)
2/19/2003	Professional Campaign; CA; 2203	Basswood Research	(15,425.00)
2/19/2003	Referral Expense	Kaygold, LLC	(1,965,000.00)
2/26/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(1,000,000.00)
2/26/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(965,000.00)
2/28/2003	Balance		1,701,290.87
3/3/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(20,000.00)
3/7/2003	Travel: Airfare		(89,537.18)
3/7/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(20,000.00)
3/7/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(20,000.00)
3/10/2003	Shareholder Draw; 2235	Beach Pigs, LLC	(100,000.00)
3/11/2003	Shareholder Draw; Deposit		20,000.00
3/11/2003	Shareholder Draw; Deposit		20,000.00
3/12/2003	Shareholder Draw		(10,000.00)
3/18/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(100,000.00)
3/31/2003	Balance		1,100,413.45

To add insult to injury, according to at least one contemporaneous email, some of the money that the Agua Caliente and the Louisiana Coughatta paid CCS was actually used for conducting public relations activities for other Tribes, on matters wholly unrelated to either. Complaining that CCS was not under contract with the Saginaw Chippewa for public relations, on February 28, 2003, Scanlon admitted, “For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR—or used agua [sic] or Coughatta money

¹⁸⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000012123) (February 19, 2003) (emphasis in original).

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Bernhard (GTG-E000012115) (February 20, 2003).

¹⁹² The entries in the following tables, and similar tables throughout this Report, are taken from CCS’ accounting ledger and cross-referenced with other information in the possession of the Committee for verification. To determine whether the Tribes received fair value for what they paid CCS, wholly incidental expenses were excluded from the source ledger, and presented here. Of all vendor transactions reflected in the source ledger, only those greater than or equal to \$25,000 or traceable to any Tribe have been included here and other similar spreadsheets presented in this Report.

to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike, [sic] We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December.”¹⁹³

Abramoff and Scanlon’s requests for payments by, for example, the Louisiana Coushatta to CCS (as reflected above) appear to have related more to the exigencies of their personal business interests than to that Tribe’s grassroots needs. This is evidenced in, for example, an email from Abramoff to his tax advisor, dated March 28, 2003, in which he wrote, “I have \$1M coming in (I hope directly to CAF or Eshkol) probably next week, and \$1M due within the next 2 weeks to Kaygold. Both from CCS. How long will this money last both for the school and the restaurants?”¹⁹⁴ Given the foregoing, it appears that the Louisiana Coushatta received little of the intended benefit for the money it paid CCS during this period.

2. *The “Database”*

The fact that most of the Tribes received little of the intended benefit for the millions they paid CCS is perhaps best illustrated by the political databases that Scanlon promised them. As described below, the Tribes received something far less than the customized, state-of-the-art databases that Abramoff and Scanlon told them Scanlon would design, build, and use for them as part of their grassroots campaigns.

a. *The Pitch*

In pitching Scanlon’s program to the Agua Caliente Tribal Council, Abramoff described what Scanlon allegedly did for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”):

So we decided ... to implement a system that Mike [Scanlon] developed[,] which we successfully implemented a couple of other times and it’s actually what we’re here in part to talk [to] you about today. To organize the tribe so that even though the Choctaws were politically powerful in the sense of their local area[,] we decided to implement a program to make them the most powerful political machine in the State of Mississippi[,] so that if a threat did come up ... they would be in a position to respond to it.¹⁹⁵

He continued:

And in fact that threat did come up. And what we did was organize their assets, their political assets. They had a bunch of vendors and a bunch of customers, they had eight thousand members of the tribe ... and we organized them all. We developed a, a, Mike did, a certain matrix, a certain way to do it so that we could have instant access to people who were directly impacted by the business of the tribe.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000011983) (February 28, 2003).

¹⁹⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Bernhard (GTG–000012166) (March 28, 2003).

¹⁹⁵ Agua Caliente document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Verbatim Excerpt-Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002”) (July 20, 2004) (excerpt only).

¹⁹⁶ *Id.*

In an October 2001, memorandum to the Louisiana Coushatta's outside counsel Kathryn Van Hoof, Scanlon described the database this way: "[W]e are taking what you built for the compact fight and extend[ing] its reach even further. Our ultimate political objective is to control both houses of the state legislature and the governor's mansion."¹⁹⁷ Originally, Abramoff had assured the Tribe that the database that it first paid CCS for in connection with its compact renegotiations with the State of Louisiana "can be used for any political effort deemed appropriate by the tribal decision makers."¹⁹⁸ But, now, Scanlon maintained that "[i]n order [for the Tribe to achieve its political goals], we need to modify your political database into a statewide format."¹⁹⁹

In his interview with Committee staff, then-Louisiana Coushatta Vice-Chairman William Worfel recalled having discussed this database with Scanlon and Cathcart during a meeting at Scanlon's office in Washington, D.C., well after the date of that memorandum.²⁰⁰ During that meeting in 2003, Scanlon and Cathcart showed Worfel a list of vendors and their contact information, which the Tribe had provided to Scanlon.²⁰¹ According to Worfel, Scanlon and Cathcart said that the database also contained information about other companies with which these vendors did business; those companies' political connections, in particular, "whether they were Republican or Democrat"; and information about the vendors' "friends" in various state legislatures.²⁰² Worfel also recalled that the two said that, with respect to the vendors' employees, the databases contained contact, voter registration, and political affiliation information.²⁰³

Worfel also testified that Scanlon and Cathcart said that the database included data regarding past State races: each candidate's name, district, party affiliation, results of previous races, and the length of service in the State legislature.²⁰⁴ Yet, the only information that they showed him was the election results in the district.²⁰⁵ Worfel also remembers that Scanlon and Cathcart told him that they could pull up opposition research data, but didn't do so.²⁰⁶ Having presented their database to Worfel, Scanlon said he could beat any candidate with "anybody."²⁰⁷ Worfel testified that both Scanlon and Cathcart told him that, with this database, "you can control the destiny of the Coushatta Tribe and politics in Louisiana."²⁰⁸

Scanlon's proposed use of elaborate databases was also prominent in political programs that he proposed to the Saginaw Chip-

¹⁹⁷ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 017923) (October 23, 2001) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

¹⁹⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (COUSH-MiscFin-0000371) (April 12, 2001).

¹⁹⁹ Memorandum from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, "Louisiana Political Budget Outline" (October 23, 2001) (carbon-copying Abramoff).

²⁰⁰ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 14, 2005).

²⁰¹ *Id.*

²⁰² *Id.*

²⁰³ *Id.*

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ *Id.*

²⁰⁶ *Id.*

²⁰⁷ *Id.*

²⁰⁸ *Id.*

pewa, called "Operation Redwing." According to drafts of this proposal that he likely presented to the Tribe, "Our first step [to developing a successful political strategy] is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate them into a custom-built political database."²⁰⁹ The proposal went on to describe a "grassroots database":

[CCS] will gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. (if you approve, customer lists), and we will import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registrations and e-mail addresses, and then sort them by election districts. The districts run from U.S. Senator down to school board and once completed, you can tap into this database and mobilize your supporters in ANY election, or on any issue of your choosing.²¹⁰

Regarding a "Qualitative [that is, opposition] Research Database," the proposal stated the following:

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Red Wing. [sic] Over the next six weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on any entity who can be classified as opposition and enter it into this database. The research will include nearly every piece of information on the opposition as you can imagine. Once gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. The information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party [sic] interest groups or other interested parties.²¹¹

According to the "Operation Redwing" proposal, "the [Saginaw Chippewa] tribe will have built a grassroots army of over 50,000 real voters that it can call on for offensive or defensive political efforts."²¹²

The language regarding the database set forth in a Scanlon proposal called "Operation Open Doors," which he and Scanlon presented to the Tigua, is almost identical to what was proposed in "Operation Redwing" for the Saginaw Chippewa.²¹³ Scanlon's asking price for "Operation Redwing" was \$4,207,000²¹⁴ and for "Operation Open Doors," \$5,400,000.²¹⁵

The foregoing accords with the recollection of former Saginaw Chippewa Sub-Chief David Otto, who told staff that Scanlon

²⁰⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Operation Redwing—A Strategy for making the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe the most dominant political entity in Michigan") (December 6, 2001).

²¹⁰ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

²¹¹ *Id.*

²¹² *Id.*

²¹³ A full description of relevant events relating to the Tigua is contained *supra* in Part 1, Chapter 5, "Ysleta del Sur Pueblo."

²¹⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Operation Redwing—A Strategy for making the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe the most dominant political entity in Michigan") (December 6, 2001).

²¹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Partners Group Consultants (GTG-E000076138-150) (February 18, 2002) (attaching "Operation Open Doors" proposal); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (undated) (entitled "Tigua Action Plan—Cost Breakout—Talking Points").

pitched that Tribe on his database about a week after the election of the Slate of Eight.²¹⁶ Otto recalled that Abramoff was also in attendance.²¹⁷ During his interview with staff, Otto recalled that Scanlon similarly insisted that the Tribe needed his database to assert influence on the state level, conduct writing campaigns, and to oppose competitors.²¹⁸ Otto also remembered Scanlon's saying that the database was "customized" and that the software would specifically be built for the Tribe.²¹⁹ Additionally, Otto stated that Scanlon cited the need to do mass mailings to write to members of Congress to prevent gaming competition in the area.²²⁰ According to Otto, Scanlon represented that his company created and maintained the database.²²¹ On or about January 4, 2002, the Tribal Council voted to hire Scanlon to create the database for about \$1.85 million.²²²

Otto recalled working with Cathcart at CCS, to build up the database with lists of the Tribe's employees and members.²²³ This was part of an "organizational phase," for which all of the subject Tribes paid CCS millions. When Scanlon finally showed the program to the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council, he said it would start a massive campaign.²²⁴ All of the people on the lists provided by the Tribe would be contacted and told to write specific lawmakers, telling them they opposed legislation hostile to the Tribe's interests.²²⁵ Otto recalls Scanlon saying that this database would generate massive phone call and letter campaigns.²²⁶

At a subsequent meeting, Otto was shown the database.²²⁷ Otto recalled that Cathcart did some talking, as did another CCS associate, David Flaherty.²²⁸ He remembered that another CCS associate named Amy Biederman was also in attendance but did not speak much during the meeting.²²⁹ When Otto saw the database, which was presented on a laptop, he thought "we spent millions of dollars for something a college kid could do."²³⁰ He did not think it was worth millions of dollars.²³¹ Otto assumed that the Tribe had immediate access to the database.²³² But, he later learned the Tribe needed to pay more money to CCS.²³³ In fact, Otto believes

²¹⁶ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004). As described *supra* in Part 1, Chapter 3, "Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe," Section D, "Slate of Eight—Abramoff and Scanlon's Trojan Horse," the Slate of Eight was a slate of candidates whose campaigns for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council Scanlon and Abramoff supported, in contemplation of, or in exchange for, future business with the Tribe.

²¹⁷ Interview of David Otto, former Sub-Chief, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

²¹⁸ *Id.*

²¹⁹ *Id.*

²²⁰ *Id.*

²²¹ *Id.*

²²² *Id.*

²²³ *Id.*

²²⁴ *Id.*

²²⁵ *Id.*

²²⁶ *Id.*

²²⁷ *Id.*

²²⁸ *Id.*

²²⁹ *Id.*

²³⁰ *Id.*

²³¹ *Id.*

²³² *Id.*

²³³ *Id.*

that the Tribe ultimately spent about \$4.1 million to build the database and another \$3.5 million or so to use it.²³⁴

Likewise, when Abramoff and Scanlon first met with the Tigua, Scanlon explained grassroots campaigns and, in particular, how he could get thousands of telephone calls to flood “a senator’s office, or even the President’s office.”²³⁵ Against that backdrop, he and Abramoff proposed a nationwide political campaign for the Tribe.²³⁶ To demonstrate what they had in mind, they brought a laptop with a database similar to what they were proposing to build for the Tigua.²³⁷

Abramoff noted, “my part is easy; the hard part is keeping this from being undone.”²³⁸ He then explained how once the law (with the Tigua-related provision) is printed, “someone’s going to know it and that’s where Mike comes in.”²³⁹ In that context, Abramoff described Scanlon’s role as a “submarine”: once the bill passed, Scanlon’s “submarine” would emerge and “fire missiles” at opponents, who try to repeal the Tigua provision.²⁴⁰ With Abramoff having characterized Scanlon as “expensive but worth it,”²⁴¹ Scanlon explained that he would implement this “submarine strategy” through the database that he was supposedly going to build for the tribe.²⁴²

Scanlon apparently designated his “right-hand man,” Christopher Cathcart, to serve as his point of contact with the Tribe.²⁴³ Working with Cathcart on the Tribe’s behalf was Tribal spokesperson Marc Schwartz.²⁴⁴ Schwartz believed that he may have had as many as 20 to 25 conversations with Cathcart.²⁴⁵ In his interview with Committee staff, Schwartz recalled Cathcart had described the database as “very customized.”²⁴⁶ He also recalled that Cathcart had said that Scanlon had “six people working day and night to get the system up and running” and a “stable” of graphic artists.²⁴⁷ Schwartz also remembered asking Cathcart how many people were working for Scanlon’s company.²⁴⁸ In response, Schwartz recalled, Cathcart said “dozens” and described Scanlon’s company to Schwartz as “absolute studs.”²⁴⁹

From Cathcart’s presentation, which probably occurred sometime in Spring 2002, Schwartz came away thinking that Scanlon’s organization was huge and that his company had done a number of

²³⁴ *Id.*

²³⁵ Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²³⁶ *Id.*

²³⁷ *Id.*

²³⁸ *Id.*

²³⁹ *Id.*

²⁴⁰ *Id.*

²⁴¹ *Id.*

²⁴² Interview with Tom Diamond, Esq., Diamond, Rash, Gordon & Jackson, outside counsel, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas, in El Paso, Texas (October 28, 2004); Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁴³ See Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004).

²⁴⁴ *Id.*

²⁴⁵ *Id.*

²⁴⁶ *Id.*

²⁴⁷ *Id.*

²⁴⁸ *Id.*

²⁴⁹ *Id.*

these types of behind-the-scenes projects before.²⁵⁰ According to Schwartz, Cathcart never mentioned that Scanlon had, or planned to use, outside vendors.²⁵¹ Given Abramoff's "absolute, categorical" insistence on secrecy with the Tigua, Schwartz would have been very concerned about Scanlon's using outside vendors on the database project.²⁵²

In hindsight, Schwartz believes that Cathcart lied about the following: (1) the database was not customized; (2) Scanlon did not have "dozens" of employees working on the database; and (3) Scanlon did not have a "stable" of graphic artists.²⁵³ Schwartz also believes that various representations that Cathcart made about the database's functionality were false.²⁵⁴ After having seen the database subsequently, Schwartz considered it "extremely unremarkable."²⁵⁵ In his view, there was "no way" that the database required "six people working day-and-night" or that "the database was worth millions."²⁵⁶ But, the Tribe had already paid CCS \$4,200,000.²⁵⁷

In October 2002, the Pueblo of Sandia met with Cathcart at CCS' Washington office to view its database and was equally unimpressed: not only by the database's functionality but also the fact that it appeared to capture only the employee and vendor lists that the Tribe provided CCS.²⁵⁸ The database was not, in the view of the tribal representatives who reviewed it at the time, worth anything close to the almost \$2 million that the Tribe had paid for it.²⁵⁹

Oral representations made by Scanlon that he apparently made to Tribal representatives, in particular, Schwartz, Otto and Worfel, about having "built" the database is reflected in a document entitled "The Coshatta Political Program," dated June 26, 2001.²⁶⁰ In a section entitled, "What We Have Built," Scanlon stated, "We have constructed a state-of-the-art political database containing roughly 20,000 individuals who will take action on behalf of the Tribe."²⁶¹ It is also reflected in the minutes of an Agua Caliente Tribal Council meeting during which Scanlon and Abramoff pitched the database.²⁶² There, Scanlon further stated, "Then my job is to have there [sic] voices ... heard[.] How do we do that[?] Several different ways[.] [O]ne [is to] start with [a] custom[-]built database which I designed myself[.] [W]hat this database does[—]it is a political database and takes raw data such as employees—takes raw data

²⁵⁰ *Id.*

²⁵¹ *Id.*

²⁵² *Id.*

²⁵³ *Id.*

²⁵⁴ *Id.*

²⁵⁵ *Id.*

²⁵⁶ *Id.*

²⁵⁷ *Id.*

²⁵⁸ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²⁵⁹ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²⁶⁰ Louisiana Coshatta document production (no Bates number) (June 26, 2001) (entitled, "The Coshatta Political Program," by Michael Scanlon).

²⁶¹ *Id.*

²⁶² Agua Caliente document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Verbatim Excerpt—Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002") (July 20, 2004) (excerpt only).

and we insert that data into our system soon to become your system if we work together ...”²⁶³

Scanlon also described the grassroots database as “custom built” in a draft of the “Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy,” dated July 8, 2002.²⁶⁴ In fact, in that document, Scanlon told the Tribe that “[CCS] will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer that houses your database.”²⁶⁵ To “organize” and implement this strategy, Scanlon sought from the Agua Caliente \$5,400,000 and an additional set-aside of \$2,000,000.²⁶⁶

b. The Facts

In truth, Scanlon’s company neither built nor designed these databases.²⁶⁷ In fact, Scanlon merely licensed a database actually created by a vendor named Democracy Data & Communications (“DDC”).²⁶⁸ In instances where CCS charged Tribes for DDC’s databases, DDC developed them to help CCS conduct grassroots campaigns on the Tribes’ behalf.²⁶⁹ In these cases, CCS supplied DDC with information, such as membership rosters and vendor information, that CCS obtained from its Tribal clients.²⁷⁰ Then, using its own proprietary software and network design, DDC helped CCS use that information for grassroots purposes—to create mass emails, letters, faxes, etc.²⁷¹

In other words, DDC, rather than CCS, built, updated and maintained those databases, for which CCS charged its tribal clients millions of dollars.²⁷² Typically, Scanlon charged each of the Tribes at least \$1,000,000 just for putting the database together; this was called the “organizational phase.”²⁷³ But, in truth, *all* the work that DDC did on each of the databases it developed, cost Scanlon a fraction of that amount. For example, all the work that DDC did

²⁶³ *Id.*

²⁶⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy”) (undated).

²⁶⁵ *Id.*

²⁶⁶ *Id.* See Letter from Michael Scanlon, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs, to the Honorable Richard Milanovich, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (July 9, 2002).

²⁶⁷ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁶⁸ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁶⁹ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷⁰ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷¹ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷² Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷³ See, e.g., Agua Caliente document production (AC 0287) (July 24, 2002) (Letter from Michael P. Scanlon, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs, to Chairman Richard Milanovich, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, July 24, 2002) (describing organizational phase as “[i]nclud[ing] acquisition and design of hardware and software on behalf of the Tribe, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications”). For this, Scanlon charged the Agua Caliente \$1,875,000. *Id.* See also Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Marc Schwartz, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (GTG–E000076138–150) (February 18, 2002) (attaching “Operation Open Doors” and describing organizational phase similarly). For this, Scanlon charged the Tigua \$1,875,000. *Id.*

for the Louisiana Coshatta's database (from May 2001 through December 2003) cost CCS only \$104,000.²⁷⁴ Notably, in his interview with Committee staff on the Tigua, Scanlon's right-hand man, Christopher Cathcart, admitted that the Tribe "got nowhere near [the] \$1.8 million [it paid] for the organizational phase."²⁷⁵ He also conceded that the Tigua's database was not customized.²⁷⁶

DDC President B.R. McConnon testified that, when compared with DDC's other clients paying similar prices and using similar services, there was actually "a very low level of activity" on the CCS account that were maintained for CCS' tribal clients.²⁷⁷ Generally, McConnon observed, customers who have such a low level of usage tend to shut off the account.²⁷⁸ McConnon recalled that CCS used DDC's services so sparingly, "it got to be a running joke in the office."²⁷⁹

In cases not involving DDC databases, it appears that CCS took DDC's proprietary network design; provided that design to another vendor, Visual Impact Productions ("VIP"); and directed VIP to develop databases designed to mimic DDC's product. And, in those cases, it appears that CCS charged those Tribes millions of dollars for the development, maintenance, and use of those databases.

One of those databases was used by CCS for the Pueblo of Sandia. Apparently, a version of this database was also used by CCS for the Louisiana Coshatta after December 2003. When shown these databases during his deposition, McConnon testified that CCS violated the terms of its licensing agreement when it took the design of the database that his company originally created for the Louisiana Coshatta and used it to develop another system that was meant to look like his company's database.²⁸⁰ McConnon is correct: an email between VIP employee Charles Trout and CCS' Cathcart, dated August 27, 2003, reflects that Trout "reviewed the Democracy Direct software" and analyzed the "Democracy Direct application."²⁸¹ Having done so, Trout told Cathcart, "[F]or ease of use I have attempted to mimic the interface of the desktop app with the online app. For the most part, they will be the same so the user will be able to use both without re-learning the interface."²⁸² Trout noted, "I remember that your goal was to buy a

²⁷⁴ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷⁵ Interview with Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (November 4, 2004).

²⁷⁶ *Id.*

²⁷⁷ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷⁸ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁷⁹ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸⁰ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸¹ Email between Charles Trout, Visual Impact Productions, and Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, "democracy direct feates [sic]/functionality" (no Bates number) (August 27, 2003).

²⁸² *Id.*

laptop and have us install the application on it before delivery to the client.”²⁸³

Having examined VIP’s database, McConnon opined that it was far less capable than his company’s.²⁸⁴ In particular, McConnon noted that the quality of the data contained in the VIP system seemed inferior to DDC’s; its searching capability was far less extensive than DDC’s; its presentation of information was very limited; it seemed not to contain as much information as DDC’s, which is important to implement a more targeted, efficient grassroots program; and the quality of the keypunching seemed very inferior.²⁸⁵ McConnon agreed that someone at CCS apparently showed the other vendor the “access page” of his company’s database.²⁸⁶ McConnon confirmed that this would be a violation of the licensing agreement that Scanlon executed with DDC.²⁸⁷

For a version of this database, the Pueblo of Sandia paid Scanlon \$1,857,000.²⁸⁸ That amount corresponds to elements of a proposal drafted by Scanlon for the Tribe relating to “acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.”²⁸⁹ However, in actuality, Scanlon never provided those services. In the ordinary course of business, those services would have been provided—at a far lesser cost—by one of Scanlon’s vendors. In this case, McConnon opined that this database, apparently produced by VIP, was worth nothing near \$1,857,000; it was probably worth, at the very most, about \$20,000.²⁹⁰ Whether the database came from DDC or VIP, it appears that the representation that CCS “constructed” a database was false.²⁹¹

²⁸³ *Id.*

²⁸⁴ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸⁵ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸⁶ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸⁷ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁸⁸ Interview of Stewart Paisano, former Governor, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006); Interview of David Mielke, counsel, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico, in Washington, D.C. (April 18, 2006).

²⁸⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (March 14, 2002) (Draft Letter from Michael Scanlon, Scanlon Gould, to Governor Stewart Paisano, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico).

²⁹⁰ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁹¹ Some may assert that the reference to a “database” referred to in, for example, the “The Coughatta Political Program” document described above, refers to lists derived from communications programs that CCS implemented for the Louisiana Coughatta. Nonetheless, if so, the document’s reference to that database as “state-of-the-art” would be false. And, if it refers to the database provided by DDC (or VIP), the statement would be false, where as of that particular document’s date, DDC had not yet provided CCS with a political database. Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005). As of the date of the document, on the Louisiana Coughatta account, DDC only warehoused data, that is, provide a very basic list-management program. Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

The draft document goes further: “We have compiled a state-of-the-art qualitative research database, which can identify allies and adversaries by ‘quote.’”²⁹² However, the Committee has seen no evidence that DDC, or any other vendor for that matter, ever provided CCS with such a database. Nor has the Committee seen any evidence that CCS developed such a database internally. Therefore, that statement too appears to be false.²⁹³

3. CCS’ Use of Fictitious Grassroots Organizations

Among the things that CCS promised to do for its Tribal Clients was to mobilize, in particular, Christian conservatives and environmental activists to oppose the expansion of gaming in areas that would infringe on their market share. Several documents describe exactly what Scanlon had in mind. In a document entitled “Louisiana Political Budget Outline,” dated October 23, 2001, Scanlon told a representative of the Louisiana Coushatta, “We plan to use three forms of communications to mobilize and win these battles. Phones, mail and Christian radio.”²⁹⁴ He continued, “Our mission is to get specifically selected groups of individuals to the polls to speak out AGAINST something.”²⁹⁵

According to Scanlon, “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 from [sic] the Christian right, Christian radio, mail, the internet and telephone trees.”²⁹⁶

According to other documents in the Committee’s possession, Scanlon likewise promised the Saginaw Chippewa that it would repel threats to its market share by “execut[ing] the following tactics”: grassroots mobilization of environmental activities; mobilization of anti-gaming activists; patch-through phone calls to state and federal environmental protection agencies; direct mail; as well as mobilization of environmental and “citizen groups.”²⁹⁷ As described above, only a fraction of what the Tribes paid CCS went to the grassroots efforts promised by CCS. So, the question arises what did CCS in fact do to mobilize grassroots supporters?

In this regard, it appears that Scanlon and his partner Abramoff originally relied on the efforts of Ralph Reed and other vendors to conduct these grassroots activities.²⁹⁸ However, at some point, it appears that Scanlon and Abramoff chose not to rely on Reed’s efforts or pushed him out entirely, ostensibly to maximize their “gimme five” income. In fact, in a few cases, Scanlon used fictitious organizations to manipulate grassroots support among Christian

²⁹² Letter from Michael Scanlon, Scanlon Gould, to Governor Stewart Paisano, Pueblo of Sandia of New Mexico (March 14, 2002) (draft).

²⁹³ Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (August 26, 2004); Interview of B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data & Communications, in Washington, D.C. (September 28, 2005).

²⁹⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 017923) (October 23, 2001).

²⁹⁵ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

²⁹⁶ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

²⁹⁷ Deposition of Aaron Stetter, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 26, 2005).

²⁹⁸ A full discussion of these activities, and the degree to which Abramoff relied on them in support of their Tribal clients, is set forth above in Part 1, Chapter 1, “Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians,” and below in Part 2, Chapter 2, “American International Center.”

conservatives and environmentally-minded voters. Accordingly, for a fraction of the cost associated with *bona fide* grassroots activities, Scanlon was able to convey to his clients the appearance that he was coalition-building or mobilizing support, when he was actually not doing so.

According to Aaron Stetter, a former associate at CCS, on several occasions Scanlon used fictitious grassroots organizations for the Saginaw Chippewa, in particular.²⁹⁹ During his deposition, Stetter remarked that the names of such organizations such as “Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion (“CCAGE”),” “Global Christian Outreach Network (“GCON”),” and “Michigan Environmental Group” were “just a title” and to his knowledge not *bona fide* organizations.³⁰⁰ During her interview with staff, Abramoff and Scanlon’s liaison with the Choctaw, Nell Rogers, stated that she believed that CCAGE and GCON were actual grassroots organizations working on the Tribe’s projects.³⁰¹ That was not the case.

Stetter told Committee staff that he was required to create phone scripts that CCS would use for patch-through phone calls.³⁰² When he prepared these scripts he “would leave the line blank and then [the name of the organization] would either be added by [Cathcart or Scanlon] during the drafting process” or he would receive an email “saying, plug this word in.”³⁰³

The pretensions that Scanlon used in mobilizing opposition to gaming initiatives that threatened his clients’ market share is reflected in talking points that purport to describe the CCAGE.³⁰⁴ This document falsely describes the CCAGE as “a watchdog for illegal gaming efforts in the United States.”³⁰⁵ Furthermore, according to the document, “[a]t the grassroots level, CCAGE draws attention to such efforts while educating the public on the dangers of gambling to families and communities.”³⁰⁶ The document deceptively explains that the CCAGE targeted Louisiana because “[Louisiana] is an affordable media market—our dollars stretch further and we felt we have a better shot at being effective, really making a difference.”³⁰⁷ In fact, the document misleadingly states, “We ... are not representing their competitors like Harrahs or Isle of Capri”; “[we get] [n]o money from Harrahs, Isle of Capri or any other casinos”; and “CCAGE is by no means bogus.”³⁰⁸ Needless to say, these talking points do not mention that the CCAGE operated for the benefit of a gaming tribe. It is unclear what these talking points were used for. However, inasmuch as Scanlon may have used them to mobilize unwitting activists and voters as part of his grassroots strategy for the Louisiana Coushatta, they give rise to concern.

²⁹⁹ Deposition of Aaron Stetter, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 26, 2005).

³⁰⁰ *Id.*

³⁰¹ See Interview with Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Washington, D.C. (April 27–29, 2005).

³⁰² Deposition of Aaron Stetter, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 26, 2005).

³⁰³ *Id.*

³⁰⁴ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled “CCAGE talking points”) (undated).

³⁰⁵ *Id.*

³⁰⁶ *Id.*

³⁰⁷ *Id.*

³⁰⁸ *Id.*

Stetter also acknowledged that pursuant to instructions from Scanlon and/or Cathcart he set up several cell phones with area codes in states in which CCS was operating for its tribal clients.³⁰⁹ He then handed the phones over to Amy Biederman, another CCS associate.³¹⁰ She kept a box of phones in her office with the name of each organization taped to the back of the respective phone, and depending on which phone rang, she answered with “Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion,” or with the name of one of the other fictitious organizations.³¹¹

In addition to using these bogus organizations for phone banking, Scanlon issued fliers under their names. Stetter recalled that early in his career with CCS he was directed by Scanlon to deliver a flier entitled “GCON, Issue Focus 2002” to “each Member of the [Mississippi State] House and ... Senate.”³¹² Stetter recalled that he stuffed these fliers in, among other places, the mailboxes of each state senator.³¹³ One such flier listed the address at a Post Office in Flowwood, Mississippi. Stetter admitted that this too was bogus: “[my] first order of business on this trip was to, one, set up a post office box somewhere in Mississippi ... and to activate a cell phone” to delude the fliers’ recipients that these were *bona fide* grassroots organizations.³¹⁴ In fact, Stetter noted that he chose Flowwood simply because it was close to the airport where he arrived.³¹⁵ Scanlon insisted that P.O. Boxes be set up in the states where CCS was operating.³¹⁶ That flier listed Amy Biederman as the national director for the GCON. In his deposition, Stetter confirmed that Biederman was in fact not the national director for the GCON but merely another associate at CCS.³¹⁷ Scanlon’s right-hand man, Christopher Cathcart, maintained in a Committee staff interview that this effort was merely intended to find out what opinion leaders thought of gaming.³¹⁸

In his interview with Committee staff, the head of Greenberg Traurig’s national lobbying practice observed that using fictitious grassroots entities “for cover” is not uncommon.³¹⁹ Specifically, he reflected, “When the trial lawyers want to pass their constitutional amendment to, to ratchet down the doctors, they create a Coalition for Fairness in Medical Practice, and there’s nothing—you can go into a state, in Topeka, Florida, and I can give you all the 527s and CCEs and the not-for-profits, and most of them we can tell you who funded which one of them ... because you know where the money is coming from.”³²⁰

³⁰⁹ Deposition of Aaron Stetter, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 26, 2005).

³¹⁰ *See id.*

³¹¹ *See id.*

³¹² *Id.*

³¹³ *Id.*

³¹⁴ *Id.*

³¹⁵ *Id.*

³¹⁶ *See* Interview of Christopher Cathcart, associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

³¹⁷ Deposition of Aaron Stetter, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 26, 2005).

³¹⁸ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

³¹⁹ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

³²⁰ *Id.*

He continued, “You know, the effort to save the greyhounds in Florida is an anti, is actually primarily funded by Disney and Universal to keep casinos out ...”³²¹

While using bogus groups in furtherance of grassroots strategies may be common, Scanlon and Abramoff’s use of them is distinguishable in that they were employed as part of Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme. In an interview with Committee staff, former CCS associate Brian Mann said that he thought that, for example, the letter-writing and signature-gathering campaigns, many of which he helped lead or otherwise conduct in the name of such bogus organizations, were “fraudulent.”³²² He described them as “flashes in the pan [that were designed] to appease [CCS] clients.”³²³ He regarded them as exercises that “created face time” and “scuttlebutt” by “send[ing] a few people out there to show them that we exist.”³²⁴ With CCS associates collecting signatures “on K-Mart or Walmart parking lots,” Mann felt that those activities “didn’t amount to very much.”³²⁵

The preceding sections of this Chapter set forth Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme, as it related to CCS, and describe how Abramoff and Scanlon furthered that scheme by promoting Scanlon’s grassroots business—only after concealing their financial relationship from the Tribes. This Chapter has also set forth the basis of the Committee’s conclusion that those Tribes received little of the intended benefit for the \$66 million that they paid CCS from 2001 through 2003.

E. CONCLUSION

As a general proposition, Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme involved getting each of the Tribes to hire Scanlon as their grassroots specialist; dramatically overcharging them for grassroots and related activities; setting aside for themselves a percentage of what the Tribes paid at a grossly inflated rate—a rate wholly unrelated to the actual cost of services provided; and using the remaining fraction to reimburse scores of vendors that could help them maintain *vis-a-vis* the Tribes a continuing appearance of competence.

In all cases, secrecy was key. Only by keeping their financial arrangement secret could they execute the strategies that they devised to secure the Tribes as clients. In some cases, they did so by insinuating themselves in tribal council elections and assisting with the campaigns of candidates who were calculated to support their proposals. In other cases, Abramoff and Scanlon were even more aggressive. In one example, they helped shut down the casino of one particularly underprivileged Tribe, only to pitch their services afterwards—for a multimillion dollar premium—to help that same Tribe, made desperate by their efforts, reopen it.

Typically, the most expensive element of Scanlon’s proposals to the Tribes related to an elaborate political database. But, in all

³²¹ *Id.*

³²² Interview of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 3, 2006).

³²³ *Id.*

³²⁴ *Id.*

³²⁵ *Id.*

cases, it appears that the degree to which Scanlon marked-up his actual costs was unconscionable. For example, while Scanlon told the Louisiana Coushatta that their “political” database would cost \$1,345,000, he ended up paying the vendor that actually developed, operated and maintained that database about \$104,560. The dramatic mark-ups were intended to accommodate Scanlon’s secret 50/50 split with Abramoff.

In total, six tribes paid CCS at least \$66 million over the three-year period. By the Committee’s reckoning, each Tribe paid CCS as follows: the Choctaw, \$14,745,650; the Louisiana Coushatta, \$26,695,500; the Saginaw Chippewa, \$10,007,000; the Agua Caliente, \$7,200,000; the Tigua, \$4,200,000; and the Pueblo of Sandia, \$2,750,000. Of that \$66 million, Abramoff secretly collected from Scanlon, through (among other entities) an entity called Kaygold, about \$24 million. This constituted about one-half of Scanlon’s total profit from the Tribes.

As described above in detail, most of the money that the Tribes paid Scanlon appears to have been used by Scanlon and Abramoff for purely personal purposes—purposes unintended by the Tribes. Generally, Abramoff seems to have used his share of the proceeds he received from Scanlon to float his restaurant ventures and, through the CAF, operate his Jewish boys’ school in Maryland. Likewise, Scanlon seems to have used his share to purchase real estate and other investments. Given the foregoing, the Committee finds that most of the Tribes received little of the intended benefit for the significant sums they paid to Scanlon.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Ben, I need to set up a web site for the American International Center, which should have all sorts of goodies to make it look real ... Can you create something?

Email from Jack Abramoff to Benjamin Mackler, Mack Design, January 19, 2002

CHAIRMAN MCCAIN: [Scanlon] approached you in some way?

MR. GROSH: A phone call.

CHAIRMAN MCCAIN: And said?

MR. GROSH: Do you want to be head of an international corporation. [Laughter] It is a hard one to turn down. [Laughter]

Committee Chairman McCain and former Rehoboth Beach lifeguard David Grosh, Committee Hearing, June 22, 2005

A. INTRODUCTION

In the course of its hearings over the last two years, the Committee preliminarily found that the American International Center (“AIC”), a supposed think tank based in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware, and headed by two of Scanlon’s beach buddies, was not what it purported to be. In actuality, AIC was one of several entities owned or controlled by Michael Scanlon or Jack Abramoff that they used as part of their “gimme five” scheme—their secret scheme to wrongfully divert millions of dollars in fees paid by their Tribal clients for purely personal use. However, from 2001 through 2003, AIC was itself Abramoff’s ninth biggest lobbying client, reportedly paying him and his employer about \$1.7 million in lobbying fees.¹ In 2002 alone, AIC reportedly paid Greenberg Traurig \$840,000, making it the Firm’s fifth largest client that year.² Until the Committee’s hearings, the nature and business of AIC remained elusive: one industry observer described it at the time as “a client with interests that are hard to decipher.”³

In court filings associated with their federal criminal pleas, Abramoff and Scanlon admitted that they used AIC (and other Scanlon-controlled entities) to receive funds for work done by another Scanlon entity, called Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”).⁴ Moreover, recently appearing before the Committee, a representative of Greenberg Traurig described AIC more plainly as “a sham”

¹ Brody Mullins, *Abramoff Shops Himself on K Street*, Roll Call, March 23, 2004.

² Shawn Zeller, *Lobbying & Law—K Street Cooled Off in 2002*, National Journal, April 19, 2003.

³ *Id.*

⁴ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 2, *U.S. v. Michael P.S. Scanlon* (Dist. D.C., November 17, 2005) (CR-05-411); Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea at para. 4, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

and merely “a front for Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to collect money.”⁵ Given the information the Committee has obtained during its investigation, the Committee shares that conclusion. Below, the Committee explains why.

After providing background on how AIC was started and how it was used as a conduit to further the Tribes’ grassroots strategies, this Chapter will describe how Abramoff and Scanlon used AIC to further their “gimme five” scheme, secretly splitting fees paid by the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”) and, to a lesser extent, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”).

B. A DAY AT THE BEACH—HOW AIC WAS STARTED

AIC was apparently started in early 2001.⁶ In an interview with Committee staff, Christopher Cathcart, who ultimately served as Scanlon’s most senior and highest-paid assistant, described AIC as “a joint project” between Scanlon and Abramoff.⁷ Otherwise, Cathcart claims, he did not know what role Abramoff had in AIC.⁸

Early in 2001, Scanlon called his long-time friend and fellow life-guard David Grosh and asked him whether he wanted to serve as a director of an “international corporation.”⁹ Grosh, who knew quite well that his background was unsuited for such a position, thought that this was a joke but finally agreed:¹⁰

CHAIRMAN MCCAIN: [Scanlon] approached you in some way?

MR. GROSH: A phone call.

CHAIRMAN MCCAIN: And said?

MR. GROSH: Do you want to be head of an international corporation. [Laughter] It is a hard one to turn down. [Laughter].¹¹

Scanlon then offered Grosh \$500 per month to serve as a director of AIC.¹² At some point, Grosh asked Scanlon why he selected him.¹³ According to Grosh, Scanlon answered, “because you are a political unknown.”¹⁴ When Grosh asked Scanlon what AIC would do, Grosh recalled, Scanlon said that it “would have research done by subcontractors in support of a particular political objective and would deliver the research to different groups and people.”¹⁵ Notably, Grosh also recalled Scanlon mentioning that he had experience “running campaigns” in countries in Asia and Central America.¹⁶

⁵ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 22 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig).

⁶ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 35 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of David Grosh, former director, American International Center).

¹² Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ *Id.*

Grosh served as a director of AIC from February through September 2001.¹⁷ In his interview with Committee staff, he readily conceded that his professional and educational background were completely unrelated to the purported mission of AIC of “enhancing the methods of empowerment for territories, commonwealths and sovereign nations in the possession of and within the United States.”¹⁸ He also conceded that his background did not qualify him to serve on the board of “an international think tank.”¹⁹ Throughout the time that Grosh served as a director of AIC, he thought that “this was some silly game that Scanlon was playing.”²⁰

Between February and July 2001, “AIC had no office; AIC’s business address was the beach house that [Grosh] and [yoga instructor Brian Mann] rented” in Rehoboth Beach.²¹ In response to a question posed during a Committee hearing about what AIC did, Grosh responded that during the four or five months when he was “involved” with AIC, “we only rented the first floor of a house and installed some computers.”²²

Late in 2001 or early in 2002, Scanlon started talking to Mann about possibly working for him.²³ Mann was Grosh’s house-mate at the time.²⁴ In his deposition, Mann recalls that Scanlon was looking for office space, so Mann set him up with his landlord regarding empty space below where he lived.²⁵ After Mann started working for Scanlon, he came to learn that Scanlon did public relations work for Indian casinos.²⁶ In particular, Scanlon claimed he conducted projects intended to help those Tribes with their market share.²⁷ In furtherance of these projects, Mann began to research, and distribute to other Scanlon employees, articles regarding Scanlon’s Tribal clients.²⁸ In fact, according to Mann, “researching arti-

¹⁷ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

¹⁸ *Id.*; *American International Center* (no longer available) <<http://www.amercent.org/mis-sion.html>> (setting forth AIC mission statement).

¹⁹ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.* At least one other entity owned or controlled by Scanlon, called the Scanlon Foundation for Kids, was later run out of this office. Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005). According to Mann, Scanlon intended the Foundation, which had no employees or physical assets but may have received outside contributions, for only two things: (1) buy books and school supplies for unprivileged children from a particular school and (2) buy, in conjunction with the YMCA, Christmas presents for a local “economically deprived” community. *Id.*

²² “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 35 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of David Grosh, former director, American International Center). At some point, Scanlon had a telephone installed that he instructed Grosh never to answer. See Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

²³ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

²⁴ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

²⁵ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.*

cles is all [he] was doing for AIC or CCS.”²⁹ He was also given the authority to sign checks on behalf of AIC.³⁰

Grosh recalled that Scanlon enticed Mann and him to work for AIC by promising, among other things, that AIC would pay for both to go surfing at the island of St. Barts.³¹ Grosh never took that trip.³² But, Scanlon paid for Mann to fly to St. Barts about four times.³³

Grosh and Mann, who served as AIC’s only directors, recalled that AIC had fewer than five meetings of its board—all of which occurred in 2001.³⁴ Grosh recalled that Scanlon characterized those meetings as “a paperwork formality.”³⁵ Grosh did not recall what, if any, business was discussed at those meetings: “There was nothing to discuss ... As far as I knew, AIC had no business to discuss.”³⁶ Referring to AIC’s being held out as an international think tank, Grosh quipped, “If AIC was a think tank, I sure don’t know what we were thinking about.”³⁷ Mann could only recall discussing Scanlon’s acquiring, and his own cleaning, office space for AIC, and Grosh’s departure from the organization.³⁸

Records obtained by the Committee indicate that AIC held only two board meetings—on September 30 and October 30, 2001.³⁹ Apparently, the “business” they discussed included Grosh’s “relinquish[ing] his position” with AIC and installing Mann as the “Director of day to day [sic] operations of AIC”, for which he was to receive \$1500 a month.⁴⁰

By September 2001, Grosh concluded that “something was not quite right”: Scanlon had bought two houses in Rehoboth—both of which costs millions of dollars.⁴¹ Grosh recalls, “Scanlon was always throwing around money; no one makes that much money over such a short period of time.”⁴² Grosh was also uncomfortable with the aspect of Scanlon’s business that related to Indian gaming.⁴³ Therefore, Grosh decided to leave.⁴⁴ For his “services,” Grosh was compensated in total \$2,500 to \$3,000.⁴⁵

After Grosh left AIC, Mann was, as far as he knew, its only employee.⁴⁶ In fact, according to Mann, no one other than Grosh and

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

³² *Id.*

³³ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

³⁴ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005); See also Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

³⁵ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

³⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/CCS 023748–49) (September 30, 2001); Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/AIC 000634) (October 30, 2001).

⁴⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/CCS 023748) (September 30, 2001).

⁴¹ Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005).

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

himself was ever paid by AIC as an employee.⁴⁷ Moreover, the only time Mann recalled Grosh “ever doing anything was helping me literally put a desk together.”⁴⁸ Otherwise, he had “no idea” what Grosh did.⁴⁹

Mann, who Scanlon also publicly held out as a director of AIC, was (and remains) unsure about exactly what AIC did.⁵⁰ Mann testified that “[a]ll [he] knew was that [he] was providing newspaper clips,” as instructed.⁵¹ Mann readily conceded that his professional and educational background, like Grosh’s, were completely unrelated to the purported mission of AIC.⁵² Mann was at AIC until late 2002—at which time he started working for CCS and, subsequently, for other Scanlon-controlled entities including Scanlon Venture Capital (“SVC”) and Scanlon Capital Management (“SCM”).⁵³ Convinced that Scanlon was “a fraud,” Mann stopped working for SCM in October 2005.⁵⁴

Christopher Cathcart, who served as Scanlon’s top assistant and was therefore in a position to opine about AIC with authority, said he considered AIC an alter ego of Scanlon.⁵⁵ Mann agreed that, although he was getting paid by AIC, he was in fact working for Scanlon.⁵⁶ In his mind, the two were the same.⁵⁷

C. MAKING IT LOOK REAL—ABRAMOFF HAS AIC POST A WEBSITE

Despite Cathcart’s professed understanding of the nature of AIC, he and Abramoff worked together to, among other things, develop its website, apparently to make AIC look like a legitimate, established organization. Early in 2002, Scanlon asked Cathcart and Amy Biederman, another CCS associate, to help develop a website for AIC.⁵⁸ While Cathcart and Biederman worked on the website’s content, Abramoff had an outside contractor program and design it.⁵⁹ Indeed, it appears that Abramoff may have come up with the idea for the website—reaching out to a contractor named Benjamin Mackler of MackDesign Studios about the prospect of developing it, on January 19, 2002:

Ben, I need to set up a web site for the American International Center, which should have all sorts of goodies to make it look real. It should have links to various other think tanks, including ISIS in Malaysia, the statehood movement in Puerto Rico, Heritage, Americans for Tax Reform, National Center for Public Policy Research, Cato Institute, Toward Tradition. Can you create something?

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² *Id.*

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁵⁶ Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁵⁹ *Id.*

What would the budget be? We'd need a section about "who we are", "contact us", our leadership, etc.⁶⁰

In response to a proposal from Mackler to develop a website for \$2,750, Abramoff asked, "[C]an you get things moving? Can you see what kind of domain name you can get: AIC.org, or AmericanInternationalCenter.org?"⁶¹

Mackler returned with a request to register a domain name for AIC and questions about the website's design. In response, Abramoff answered, "Yes to all."⁶²

Subsequently, he instructed Mackler to call Scanlon, who in turn told Mackler to contact Cathcart. Mackler turned again to Abramoff, saying that Scanlon chose a more expensive option for the website.⁶³

Abramoff replied, "The 3500 option is fine with me. let's [sic] do it."⁶⁴

Cathcart testified that ultimately he and Biederman spent only about an hour working on the website.⁶⁵ Cathcart recalled that Scanlon provided him with some information that he used for the website, including that it was "an international company" with "international clients"—namely Malaysia and Puerto Rico⁶⁶. Cathcart believed that he may have been given some written material for the website.⁶⁷ If so, he believed that it would have included the articles of incorporation, the bylaws, and other organizational documents.⁶⁸ Cathcart likewise recalled not drafting a mission statement, which he said would have been provided to him.⁶⁹ Otherwise, according to Cathcart, he and Biederman "didn't have much to go on."⁷⁰ Cathcart noted that they gave Scanlon the text that they developed for final approval.⁷¹ On or about January 21, 2002, Abramoff apparently reached out to Cathcart about the website, with Cathcart responding, "10-4. Should have most of the content tomorrow."⁷²

On a request from either Scanlon or Abramoff, on February 4, 2002, Cathcart forwarded a final copy of the text to Abramoff for comments and edits. Abramoff congratulated Cathcart, "Thanks, Chris. I have seen it. great [sic] work. Did Mike [Scanlon] give you the list of items the firm wants regarding AIC?"⁷³ On February 13, 2002, Abramoff followed-up with Cathcart to make sure that Mackler got paid.⁷⁴

⁶⁰ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ben Mackler, Mack Design (no Bates number) (January 19, 2002) (emphasis added).

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

⁷² Email between Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (January 31–February 4, 2002).

⁷³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (February 4, 2002).

⁷⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (February 13, 2002).

In its final form, the website set forth AIC's mission statement. It described AIC as "a Delaware-based corporation with the global minded purpose of enhancing the methods of empowerment for territories, commonwealths, and sovereign nations in possession of and within the United States."⁷⁵ In each of their depositions and interviews with Committee staff, Grosh, Mann and Cathcart said they had no idea what this meant.⁷⁶

The website also touted AIC as (1) "a premiere international think tank"; (2) "determined to influence global paradigms in an increasingly complex world."; (3) a "public policy foundation"; (4) founded "under the high powered directorship of David A. Grosh and Brian J. Mann"; (5) "[w]hile only recently incorporated ... striving to advance the cause of greater international empowerment for many years"; (6) "using 21st century technology and decades of experience to make the world a smaller place"; (7) "bringing great minds together from all over the globe"; (8) "seek[ing] to expand the parameters of international discourse in an effort to leverage the combined power of world intellect."; and (9) comprised of an "expert team."⁷⁷ To the extent that Grosh, Mann and Cathcart could speak to the truth of each of those representations, each agreed that they were false.⁷⁸

During his interview with Committee staff, Cathcart, who described his role at CCS through this period as a "go-fer" and doing "research and stuff,"⁷⁹ admitted to being embarrassed about writ-

⁷⁵ *American International Center* (no longer available) <<http://www.amercent.org/mision.html>>.

⁷⁶ See Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005); Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁷⁷ *American International Center* (no longer available) <<http://www.amercent.org/mision.html>>.

⁷⁸ See Interview of David Grosh, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (February 8, 2005); Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁷⁹ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (November 5, 2004). Supposed AIC director Brian Mann and former Abramoff associate Stephanie Leger Short maintained in their deposition and interview, respectively, that Cathcart was by no means a "go-fer." Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005). In fact, separately, both described Cathcart as Scanlon's "right-hand man." Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005); Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005) (limiting "right hand man" observation to CCS' work for Louisiana Coushatta). Mann also described Cathcart as "the manager of the D.C. office" and CCS' "director of operations." Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005). Tigua representative Marc Schwartz, who directly interacted with Cathcart on the Tribe's behalf, described Cathcart as Scanlon's "gotta-make-what-Scanlon-sold, work" guy. Interview with Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, in Washington, D.C. (November 10, 2004). Mann insisted that Cathcart "hired and fired" and "managed whatever client situations we had at the time—managed the D.C. office." Deposition of Brian Mann, former director, American International Center, in Washington, D.C. (March 31, 2005). Moreover, Mann remembered Cathcart "being the manager, being in charge of the office when Scanlon wasn't there, or even when Scanlon was there, I guess, directing the different folks to do what they needed to do." *Id.* Mann also recalled that Cathcart did "a lot of client management, like he interacted with the Tribes directly, either through whatever contact people the Tribes had or the chiefs or whoever ... that person may have been." *Id.* From his first-hand experience, Mann also "assum[ed] [Cathcart had] a hand with Scanlon in coming up with [grassroots campaign] strategies and execution of those strategies." *Id.* Cathcart also provided Mann instruction and guidance on what he should be researching. *Id.* Mann agreed that "when Scanlon wasn't around, [Cathcart] was The Man." *Id.* Mann's account is corroborated by, among other things, Cathcart's robust role in assisting the Slate of Eight's successful campaign for the Tribal

ing AIC's web page but noted that Biederman "developed the puffery."⁸⁰ Cathcart never thought a client would see AIC's website, although he never explained how the website would otherwise be used.⁸¹ According to Cathcart, "[e]veryone who worked with AIC knew it was the same thing as Mike [Scanlon]."⁸² In his interview with Committee staff, Cathcart claimed that he did not even know why Scanlon wanted a website.⁸³ Cathcart claimed that he thought Scanlon wanted a website "like he wanted the Range Rover."⁸⁴ As described below, those Tribes that Abramoff and Scanlon directed to pay to and through AIC, did so to their detriment. Therefore, any role that Cathcart may have had in helping to facilitate payments by the Tribe to AIC, or to any other "gimme five" entity for that matter, may be an area ripe for further inquiry.⁸⁵

On at least one occasion, Abramoff's employer, Greenberg Traurig, apparently tried to get information about AIC. Sometime in 2002, the director of the firm's national lobbying practice, Fred Baggett, first heard about AIC.⁸⁶ According to Baggett, Greenberg Traurig was "to jointly represent [it] with a gentleman named Khaled Saffuri" on "Malaysian-related interests and issues."⁸⁷ At that time, Baggett was unaware of who owned the company; Abramoff represented to him that AIC was "an established Washington area-based think tank like ... the Heritage Center or any other number of think tanks."⁸⁸ Abramoff also told Baggett that AIC "had a number of interests and were involved in a broad range of issues. One of the issues that they were involved in and for which we were retained to assist them with were enhancing business, economic development opportunities in Malaysia, and that they were receiving funds from Malaysian business interests to further their and advance their, their efforts with the U.S. Govern-

Council of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, discussed in Part 1, Chapter 3, Section of this Report, entitled "Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan: 'Slate of Eight'—Abramoff and Scanlon's Trojan Horse." Dramatic growth in Cathcart's responsibilities under Scanlon is reflected in the considerable increase in his compensation: in April 2001, when Cathcart apparently started working with Scanlon, he drew a salary of \$44,540 plus an additional \$35,000 in bonus. Letter from Charles Leeper, Esq., Spriggs & Hollingsworth, to Pablo E. Carrillo, Chief Investigative Counsel, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (November 12, 2004). But, by December 2003, when Cathcart left CCS, he received a salary of \$105,000, plus a bonus approximating \$390,000. *Id.* During his employment with Scanlon, Cathcart received a total of about \$740,000 in compensation. *See id.*

⁸⁰ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ *Id.*

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ Other examples of such activities include Cathcart's providing the database "access page" that Democracy Data & Communications ("DDC") designed for Capitol Campaign Strategies, to another vendor. As described above, that vendor apparently used that information, which was proprietary to DDC, to develop a far less functional database designed to mimic DDC's considerably more capable product. Scanlon "sold" the less functional version to at least one of the Tribes for millions. Also, on May 1, 2003, as Abramoff and Scanlon's financial relationship was apparently waning, they schemed to deceive the Louisiana Coshatta into paying them a total of \$2,000,000. In furtherance of that scheme, which they executed successfully, Scanlon had the Tribe pay an entity he controlled called Atlantic Research and Analysis ("ARA"). This transaction is discussed more fully in Part 2, Chapter 3, Section F, entitled "Capital Athletic Foundation: In 2003 Abramoff Funnels Tribal Money Through Conduits to CAF." Whether Cathcart knew, or should have known, that some of his activities were helping Abramoff and Scanlon further their "gimme five" scheme on the Tribes remains unclear.

⁸⁶ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

⁸⁷ *Id.*

⁸⁸ *Id.* (reflecting that Abramoff informed Baggett about AIC).

ment, and that's what, we were hired by AIC to assist them in that."⁸⁹

At some point, Greenberg Traurig "asked Jack to explain [the] AIC and the nature of the relationship" to "ensure that we [did] not have a problem [with the Foreign Agents Registrations Act (FARA)]."⁹⁰ In that context, it appears that Scanlon withheld important information regarding AIC from the firm. In fact, in a response to queries from Greenberg Traurig to AIC, on February 7, 2002, Scanlon directed Cathcart to "[i]nsertr [sic] somewhere": "While Mr. Abnramoof [sic] and His [sic] team have been an unbelievebal [sic] assest [sic] tou [sic] our organization, we feel that if as a vendor of ours if we are presented with such an unexplicalbe [sic] line of questioning again, we will unfortuantley [sic] review and vote on your continuing representation at our next board meeting."⁹¹ The letter that was apparently sent back to Greenberg Traurig was drafted under the signature of one of AIC's supposed directors, Brian J. Mann. Noticeably absent from the letter was any indication that Scanlon in fact owned or controlled the company; that the firm's Tribal clients were making payments directly to AIC; or that Abramoff would receive a share of those proceeds that the Tribes paid to AIC. This Report explicates each of those issues below.

D. HOW ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON USED CONDUITS TO REPRESENT THE TRIBES

Just as Abramoff and Scanlon used CCS and the Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF") to wrongfully extract "gimme five" proceeds from the Tribes so, too, did they use AIC. The Choctaw and, more significantly, the Louisiana Coushatta were injured by Abramoff and Scanlon's use of AIC as a "gimme five" vehicle. Understanding how Abramoff and Scanlon were able to do so requires understanding, among other things, how historically Abramoff and Scanlon had those Tribes use conduits to implement their grassroots strategies.

As described more fully in those sections of this Report addressing the Choctaw and the Louisiana Coushatta, from 1998 through 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon had each Tribe use conduits to implement their grassroots campaigns. Over time, those Tribes became accustomed to (1) paying substantial fees for their grassroots activities and (2) paying those fees to or through conduits.

As those sections indicate, the vendor that Abramoff and Scanlon used, and relied on, the most to implement those campaigns was former Christian Coalition Executive Director and political strategist Ralph Reed.⁹² While working with Abramoff from 1999 through 2001, Reed conducted a variety of grassroots activities in support of the interests of Abramoff gaming clients, including, telemarketing (patch-through, tape-recorded messages and call-to-ac-

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (February 7, 2002).

⁹² A detailed description of Abramoff's business relationship with Reed *vis-a-vis* the Tribes and, in particular, how Abramoff relied on Reed to conduct grassroots activities on behalf of his Tribal gaming clients, is set forth in Part I, Chapter 1, Section D, of this Report, entitled "Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians: Substantial Fees and Conduit Organizations."

tion phone calls), targeted mail, legislative counsel and local management, as well as rallies and petitions.

A May 10, 1999, email between Abramoff and one of his assistants indicates that Preston Gates sent payments to Reed totaling \$1,303,903, apparently from Abramoff's clients.⁹³

But, by 2001, Abramoff or Scanlon had the Tribes using conduits which they owned or controlled, most notably AIC. As the following reflects, from 2001 through 2003, Abramoff or Scanlon directed both the Choctaw and the Louisiana Coushatta to pay AIC a total of \$6,308,854.

PAYMENTS FROM LOUISIANA COUSHATTA AND CHOCTAW TO AIC

Choctaw Payments to AIC

1.	2/27/01	\$200,000
2.	4/9/01	150,000
3.	5/2/01	175,000
4.	5/11/01	960,654
		<hr/>
		1,485,654
		<hr/>
1.	2/22/02	1,000,000
2.	12/11/02	170,000
		<hr/>
		1,170,000
		<hr/>
		2,655,654
		<hr/>
		<hr/>

Louisiana Coushatta Payments to AIC

1.	3/16/01	400,000
2.	3/21/01	258,000
3.	3/30/01	298,000
4.	4/27/01	397,200
5.	4/9/03	2,300,000
		<hr/>
		3,653,200
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		<hr/>
	Grand Total of Payments from Louisiana Coushatta and Choctaw to AIC	6,308,854
		<hr/>
		<hr/>

The following⁹⁴ suggests that in 2001 and early 2002 much of that money ultimately went to entities owned or controlled by Reed.

PAYMENTS BY SCANLON-CONTROLLED ENTITIES TO REED-CONTROLLED ENTITIES

Payments from AIC to Reed-Controlled Entities

3/16/01	Century Strategies	\$45,000
3/16/01	Century Strategies	350,000
3/16/01	Century Strategies	50,000
3/16/01	Century Strategies	100,000
3/22/01	Century Strategies	200,000

⁹³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to [REDACTED] (GTG-E000018933) (May 10, 1999).

⁹⁴ The Louisiana Coushatta made this payment through Southern Underwriters, an apparently moribund insurance firm owned or controlled by former Louisiana Coushatta casino CEO Aubrey Temple. A discussion of this transaction is contained *infra* in Part 1, Chapter 2, entitled "Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana."

4/03/01	Century Strategies	198,000
4/20/01	Century Strategies	100,000
4/30/01	Century Strategies	398,000
5/02/01	Century Strategies	100,000
5/10/01	Century Strategies	750,000

Total	<u>\$2,291,000</u>
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Payments from CCS to Reed-Controlled Entities

6/29/01	Century Strategies	100,000
7/01/01	Capitol Media	618,000
7/16/01	Century Strategies	46,350
8/1/01	Century Strategies	47,000
11/08/01	Capitol Media	100,000
11/09/01	Capitol Media	350,000
12/31/01	Century Strategies	250,000
2/19/02	Capitol Media	51,679
2/25/02	Capitol Media	60,000
2/25/02	Capitol Media	100,000

Total	<u>\$1,723,029</u>
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Grand Total of all Payments by Scanlon-Controlled Entities to Reed-Controlled Entities

Grand Total	<u>\$4,014,029</u>
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As the foregoing indicates, from March through May 2001, AIC paid one of Reed's companies, called Century Strategies, \$2,291,000. And, from June 2001 to February 2002, another Scanlon-controlled entity, CCS paid Century Strategies and another company owned by Reed called Capitol Media \$1,723,029, for a total of \$4,014,029.

But, as early as November 2001, things had begun to change. With a history of successful grassroots projects behind them and Abramoff or Scanlon having had the Tribes pay to or through entities that they owned or controlled, they apparently began to squeeze Reed out and started to keep most of the money paid by the Tribes for themselves.⁹⁵

By December 18, 2001, Abramoff appeared resolved to pushing Reed out, writing to Scanlon, "Next year, we need to give [Reed] a pittance and we need to keep most of this ourselves."⁹⁶

On January 4, 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon expressed concerns about work that Reed did for one of their Tribal clients. About that

⁹⁵ See, e.g., Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (Bates number 001139446) (November 25, 2001). This email indicates that Scanlon at least proposed to conduct many of the grassroots activities that Reed first provided for Abramoff's Tribal lobbying clients. In describing what he intended to do for the Choctaw on a particular grassroots project, Scanlon told Abramoff: "[H]ere are the broad strokes of what I am going to do. I am putting our own field operation in [REDACTED] to cover all three sites. I am turning [sic] on phones hitting reps and dems [sic], I am launching a negative ad campaign against [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], and others. This will be big, and now that the slots are in, its gonna take some time to be effective." On December 10, 2001, Abramoff expressed concern about the budget requests Reed wanted him to submit to his Tribal clients: "Ralph, they are going to faint when they see these numbers. They will want to know why we have not built up any residual strength for the tons of money we have already spent. Give me some ammo on that and I'll do my best." Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000019059) (December 10, 2001).

⁹⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000023792) (December 18, 2001).

project, Scanlon asked, “Did Ralph spend all them [sic] money he was given to fight this—or does he have some left?”⁹⁷

Abramoff responded, “That’s a silly question! He “spent” it all the moment it arrived in his account. He would NEVER admit he has money left over. Would we?”⁹⁸

Scanlon replied, “No—but Id [sic] like to know what the hell he spent it on—he didn’t even know the dam [sic] thing was there—and didn’t do shit to shit [sic] to shut it down!”⁹⁹

Abramoff decreed, “I agree. He is a bad version of us! no [sic] more money for him.”¹⁰⁰

Days later, on January 8, 2002, while reviewing their “gimme five” income for January 2002, Abramoff had an idea as to how he and Scanlon could dramatically reduce their overhead. His suggestion intended to completely cut out Reed: “[W]e are spending over \$10M with other people! We have to buy mail house, phone house, etc. so we get part of that one too!”¹⁰¹

Scanlon agreed, “[Y]our [sic] right—we have to move fast to lock in phones and—mail. I think we can cut 5mil [sic] right off the top of our outgoing expenses that way just to start.”¹⁰²

Abramoff concurred, “Let’s do it fast so we can stop throwing away money.”¹⁰³

By early 2002, Abramoff’s business arrangement with Reed *vis-a-vis* his Tribal clients seemed to have run its course. Regarding a \$50,000 payment to Reed for work supporting the Choctaw, on February 7, 2002, Abramoff admonished Scanlon to “go ahead and pay him so I can get him off my back.”¹⁰⁴ Documents in the Committee’s possession reflect that the last payment Abramoff made to Reed, through any entity owned or controlled by Scanlon, regarding any of Abramoff’s Tribal clients, was on or about February 25, 2002.

Under the original paradigm, most of the money these Tribes paid (at Abramoff or Scanlon’s request) to or through conduits seemed to have gone to grassroots activities conducted or coordinated by Reed—with a percentage taken by Reed as a “manage-

⁹⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E00001817) (January 4, 2002).

⁹⁸ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (Bates number 305641) (January 8, 2002).

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ *Id.*

¹⁰⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000018505) (February 7, 2002). On July 23, 2002, Reed provided Abramoff with information that suggested the need to launch a grassroots campaign to squelch support for a casino in DeSoto Parish, Louisiana. Seeing a business opportunity for himself and Scanlon, Abramoff told Scanlon, “Forget Ralph, but this poll is very interesting. Can you get to [Louisiana Coushatta Tribal Council member] William [Worfel] and get us some \$ so we can fight this?” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000020112) (July 23, 2002). Similarly, on July 24, 2002, with a Texas federal judge having shut down the Alabama-Coushatta’s casino in Livingston, Reed provided Abramoff with information about the possibility that the Alabama-Coushatta might launch a legislative initiative to have its casino reopened. Seeing a potential business opportunity, Abramoff immediately forwarded the information to Scanlon: “Forget about Ralph, but you should call [Louisiana Coushatta Chairman] Lovelin [Poncho] and [Tribal Council member] William [Worfel] ... and claim victory on this one, but warn that the [Alabama-Coushatta] are not going away ... we need more \$\$\$\$.” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000020107) (July 24, 2002).

ment fee” or similar charge.¹⁰⁵ But after February 2002, without the Tribes’ knowledge or consent, most of the money that they paid to or through those entities went into Abramoff’s and Scanlon’s pockets—with only a fraction going to the underlying grassroots effort. Having been accustomed to paying high fees for grassroots work in the past, the Tribes were not suspicious.¹⁰⁶ How Abramoff and Scanlon succeeded in using AIC in furtherance of their “gimme five” scheme is discussed below.

E. AIC AS A “GIMME FIVE” ENTITY

As early as May 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon were extracting “gimme five” income from payments made by the Choctaw through AIC. Abramoff informed Scanlon then, “[REDACTED] is active again. I am going to try to get us \$175K. \$100K to Ralph; \$25K to contributions (\$5K immediately to Conservative Caucus); rest gimme five.”¹⁰⁷

But, the Tribe that would be most injured as a result of its payments to AIC would be the Louisiana Coushatta. With his businesses and private charity apparently facing financial difficulty, on March 30, 2003, Abramoff told his tax advisor Gail Halpern that he expected some money to come in: “I have \$1M coming in (I hope directly to CAF or Eshkol) probably next week, and \$1M due within the next 2 weeks to Kaygold. Both from CCS. How long will this money last both for the school and the restaurants?”¹⁰⁸ Needless to say, all this would be Tribal money.

Ultimately, Abramoff decided not to use CCS; they elected to use AIC. And, to induce the Louisiana Coushatta into paying AIC, Scanlon wrote then-Tribal Councilman William Worfel in a Strategy Memorandum, on or about April 18, 2003, “We sent you and [sic] Invoice [sic] 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 others vendors and staff.”¹⁰⁹

So, on or about April 9, 2003, the Louisiana Coushatta paid AIC \$2,300,000. But, the Tribe was never told that payments made by the Tribe to AIC would go to Scanlon and Abramoff.¹¹⁰ Quite the contrary, from Abramoff, Louisiana Coushatta Tribal representatives understood that AIC was an entity that supported anti-gam-

¹⁰⁵ Documents, however, indicate that at least with respect to one project, Reed received more than simply the management fee he itemized on his invoices: apparently, he and an individual named Neal Rhoades shared additional commissions derived from profits that were built into costs charged by vendors (associated with Reed) to Preston Gates, which were likely expensed to the Tribes. Ralph Reed document production (no Bates number) (undated) (“Preston Gates—[REDACTED] Gambling Project Reconciliation as of June 13, 1999”). Those vendors apparently included, among others, National Media and Millennium Marketing. *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27–29, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E0001321307) (May 2, 2001).

¹⁰⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, P.C. (GTG–000012166) (March 28, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 007325) (April 18, 2003). The request in this memorandum (4/18) appears to have resulted in the Louisiana Coushatta’s payment of \$2,300,000 to AIC (on or about 4/9). So, the date of this document relative to the date of the resulting payments suggests that the date on the memorandum is probably a typographical error.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Kathryn Van Hoof, former counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 21, 2005).

ing efforts, which the Tribe could support.¹¹¹ The Tribe was misled: on April 13, 2003, AIC paid Abramoff \$991,000, through his alter ego, Kaygold.¹¹²

In an April 18, 2003, strategy memorandum, Scanlon also told Worfel, “[o]n 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.” Scanlon’s suggestion to Worfel about where the “lion’s share” of the Tribe’s money would go was also misleading: on April 22, 2003, Scanlon routed the \$1,300,000 left over from the Tribe’s \$2,300,000 payment to AIC, to CCS.¹¹³

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT

Date	Description	To/From	Amount
4/1/2003	Balance		\$14,900.13
4/9/2003	Wire Transfer	Coushatta	2,300,000.00
4/13/2003	Check 1103	Kaygold	(991,000.00)
4/18/2003	Check 1113	Scanlon	(15,000.00)
4/22/2003	Wire Transfer	CCS	(1,300,000.00)
4/29/2003	Closing Balance		1,083.93

From there, between May 1, 2003, and May 5, 2003, Scanlon executed a series of shareholder draws for apparently purely personal expenses that completely extinguished the Tribe’s payment to AIC. Those transactions are explicated below.¹¹⁴

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES ACCOUNT SNAPSHOT

Date	Description	To/From	Amount
4/1/2003	Balance		\$1,062,845.58
4/14/2003	Taxes Payable	DC	(214,018.00)
4/21/2003	Shareholder Draw	Scanlon	(100,000.00)
4/22/2003	Wire Transfer	Coushatta/AIC	1,300,000.00
4/22/2003	Prof. Campaign; LA	Basswood Research	(15,600.00)
5/1/2003	Balance		1,844,678.59
5/1/2003	Shareholder Draw; 25 Tidewater; 2310	Tony Beto, Inc.	(21,594.00)
5/1/2003	Shareholder Draw; 2311	Dockety Design	(88,724.00)
5/2/2003	Shareholder Draw; 2312	Lin Sang Logistics	(150,000.00)
5/5/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(150,000.00)
5/5/2003	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	(991,000.00)
5/5/2003	Balance		427,174.71

As the foregoing indicates, there were five such “shareholder draws”: May 1, 2003, to Tony Beto, Inc. for \$21,594; May 1, 2003, to Dockety Design for \$88,724; May 2, 2003, to Lin Sang Logistics for \$150,000; and two payments, dated May 5, 2003, to Michael Scanlon for \$150,000 and \$991,000.

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² Diehl & Company document production (D00411–512) (undated) (General Ledger, Capitol Campaign Strategies).

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ These entries are taken from CCS’ accounting ledger and cross-referenced with other information in the possession of the Committee. Of all vendor transactions reflected in the ledger, only vendor transactions greater than or equal to \$25,000 or traceable to *any* Tribe are included.

The Committee has been able to locate a Tony Beto in Lewes, Delaware. Apparently an architect, Beto has been described as having knowledge and experience with zoning procedures, particularly in Sussex County, Delaware, where Scanlon made some major real estate purchases.¹¹⁵ Likewise, the Committee found a company called Dockety Design Construction, a single-family housing contractor located in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware. Apparently, it specializes in home remodeling and new home building.¹¹⁶ Finally, the Committee located a company called Linsang Logistics LLC in Silver Spring, MD. Apparently Linsang creates technology-based companies “that expand global access to information” and charters its private jet.¹¹⁷ Given that the foregoing charges are likely unrelated to any work done for the Louisiana Coushatta, they are likely purely personal in nature. With the original \$2,300,000 that the Louisiana Coushatta paid AIC just about entirely extinguished, the Committee has seen no evidence that the Tribe received the intended benefit for this very large payment.

According to media reports, Scanlon and Abramoff may have used AIC for other illicit purposes, including circumventing requirements under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (“FARA”), particularly with respect to the Embassy of Malaysia.¹¹⁸ However, those activities are unrelated to the Tribes’ allegations of misconduct. Accordingly, while the Committee has information corroborative of some of those media reports,¹¹⁹ the Committee has arrived at no definitive conclusions regarding those activities.

F. CONCLUSION

Among the more interesting of Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” entities, that is, entities owned or controlled by Abramoff or

¹¹⁵ See Brian Reynolds-Hughes, *Proposed \$35M amphitheater coming to Sussex?*, Cape Gazette, December 31, 2002, <http://www.beachpaper.com/storiesmorgue/arts/2003arts/amphitheater121302.html>; Chris Barrish, *Abramhoff cohort spent millions on Sussex homes*, The News Journal, May 14, 2006, <<http://www.delawareonline.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20060514/NEWS/605140367/1006>>.

¹¹⁶ Planetblueprints.com ‘Custom Homes For a More Beautiful Planet’ (visited February 14, 2006) <http://planetblueprints.com/html/about_us.html>; *Rehoboth Beach business directory* (visited Feb. 14, 2006) <http://www.rehobothbeach.com/bus_buildersremodel.asp>.

¹¹⁷ *Offsetting Expenses with Aircraft Management*, Executive Flyer Magazine, Spring 2003, <http://executiveflyer.com/EFMagazine/Vol2_Issue1/OffsettingExp_Ed.htm>.

¹¹⁸ Peter H. Stone, *K Street Stumble*, National Journal, March 27, 2004, at 958–63.

¹¹⁹ During her interview with Committee staff, former Abramoff associate Stephanie Leger Short testified, “[T]he public line was that the [AIC] was a think tank; the real line was that that’s how Jack did work for Malaysia and Eritrea.” Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005). Looking back, Leger opined that Abramoff did work for Malaysia and Eritrea through AIC to avoid registering under FARA. *Id.* According to documents and financial records in the Committee’s possession, the Embassy of Malaysia made four payments of \$300,000 each to AIC, on June 29, 2001, October 5, 2001, January 3, 2002, and March 13, 2002. Almost immediately afterwards, AIC made payments to an individual named Khaled Saffuri in the amount of \$90,000, \$45,000, and \$45,000 on October 8, 2001, January 3, 2002, and March 20, 2002 respectively, apparently for “salary/consulting” purposes regarding Malaysia. Soon thereafter, each one of those payments was followed by an additional disbursement of \$100,000, \$210,000, \$245,000, and \$255,000 to Greenberg Traurig on July 5, 2001, October 8, 2001, February 22, 2002, and February 26, 2002, respectively.

Saffuri appears to have been a lobbyist at an Abramoff owned or controlled entity called the Lexington Group. At one time, Saffuri was reportedly the Assistant Executive Director of the American Muslim Council (“AMC”), where he apparently served as a lobbyist. See Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG007370-JA-P) (March 27, 2001). The AMC was apparently founded in 1990 by Abdurahman Mohamed Alamoudi, an open supporter of Palestinian terror organization Hamas. *Id.* A few years ago, Alamoudi was implicated in a plot to assassinate the Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. See *Department of Justice* (visited October 15, 2004) <http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm> (describing Abdurahman Alamoudi’s sentencing in a Terrorism Financing Case).

Scanlon that they used in their kickback scheme, is the putative international think tank, AIC. With two of Scanlon's beach buddies sitting on its board, AIC's purpose was actually to collect fees associated with activities conducted by others and, in some cases, divert those fees to entities owned or controlled by Scanlon or Abramoff. In other words, AIC was a sham. From 2001 through 2003, the Choctaw and the Louisiana Coushatta collectively paid AIC about \$6,308,854. While much of this money went to vendors who actually conducted grassroots activities for the Tribes, such as Ralph Reed, as the Tribes had intended, millions were not used for that purpose.

CHAPTER III

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION

ABRAMOFF: The package on the ground is \$4K per person. that [sic] covers rooms, tee times and ground transportation. One idea is that we could use one of my foundations for the trip—Capital Athletic Foundation—and get and make contributions so this is easier. OK?

REED: OK but we need to discuss. It is an election year.

Email between Jack Abramoff and Ralph Reed concerning golfing junket to Scotland, May 15, 2002

RUDY: Jack wants this.

BOULANGER: What is it? I've never heard of it.

RUDY: It is something our friends are raising money for.

BOULANGER: I'm sensing shadiness. I'll stop asking.

Email between Todd Boulanger and Tony Rudy concerning suggested Tribal contributions to CAF, June 20, 2002

BOZNIAK: He [CAF funds recipient Shmuel Ben Svi] 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.

ABRAMOFF: no [sic] I don't want a sniper letterhead.

Email between Jack Abramoff and Allison Bozniak, September 19, 2002

A. INTRODUCTION

At its hearings over the past two years, the Committee disclosed and discussed evidence that Jack Abramoff might have used Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF"), his private charitable foundation, in ways grossly inconsistent with its tax exempt status and mission. Based on multiple interviews and records, the Committee conclusively finds that (1) CAF was simply another vehicle in Abramoff and Scanlon's "gimme five" scheme; (2) Indian tribes paid CAF, directly and indirectly, knowingly and unknowingly, approximately \$3,657,000; and, (3) Abramoff treated CAF as his own personal slush fund, apparently using it to evade taxes, finance lobbying activities such as a golfing trip to Scotland, purchase paramilitary equipment, and for other purposes inconsistent with CAF's tax exempt status and stated mission.

In fact, in court filings associated with Abramoff's guilty plea in January 2006, Abramoff pled guilty to, among other things, misusing CAF "to receive income and make expenditures for his own personal benefit" and "to conceal this income from the Internal

Revenue Service and others.”¹ In his plea agreement, Abramoff further admitted that he “knew that these activities constituted a misuse of these tax exempt entities.”² For example, Abramoff confessed that he solicited money from the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan (“Saginaw Chippewa”) and a distilled beverages company, SPI Spirits, “to partially pay for a golfing trip to Scotland for himself, public officials, members of his staff and others.”³

This Chapter will examine the nature and structure of CAF. For all years in which CAF received, directly or indirectly, Tribal funds, this Chapter will examine the circumstances surrounding the payments, and then review how Abramoff spent CAF’s funds.

B. GENERAL BACKGROUND ON CAF

Abramoff registered CAF with the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) exempt private foundation.⁴ At all relevant times, Abramoff and his wife were the only managing members of CAF.⁵ CAF reported on its 2001 and 2002 federal tax forms that four (4) Native American Tribes donated a total of \$2,075,000:⁶

REPORTED PAYMENTS BY TRIBES TO CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION (CAF)

2001	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana	\$1,000,000
2002	Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	\$1,000,000
	Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe	\$25,000
	Alabama Coushatta Entertainment Center	\$50,000
Total		\$2,075,000

To the general public, CAF described itself as a youth charity in Washington, D.C.⁷ According to its website, no longer extant, CAF purportedly:

promotes the ideals of sportsmanship by recognizing individuals and organizations across the economic spectrum that exemplify the highest values of honorable, civil and ethical behavior in their endeavors. The Foundation awards grants to support *needy and deserving programs* and activities that develop sportsmanship, and designates appropriate individuals as national Ambassadors of Sportsmanship. The Foundation also awards grants that specifically support sportsmanship programs and activities which serve *disadvantaged youth*.⁸

The website continued:

¹ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea, at para. 37, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

² *Id.*

³ *Id.* at para. 26.

⁴ See Capital Athletic Foundation, 2001, 2002, and 2003 Return of Private Foundations Form 990PF; and *Internal Revenue Service* (visited May 25, 2004) <<http://www.irs.gov>> (excerpt of exempt organization search). Interestingly, on March 2, 2000, CAF changed its name to National Institute of Torah, but, on August 17, 2000, changed its name back to CAF.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ Other Abramoff and/or Greenberg Traurig clients apparently donated during those years. In 2001, Foxcom Wireless allegedly donated \$50,000. In 2002, SPI Spirits (Cyprus) allegedly donated \$25,000.

⁷ *Capital Athletic Foundation* (visited June 7, 2004) <<http://www.capathletic.org>>.

⁸ *Id.* (emphasis added).

[t]he mission of the Capital Athletic Foundation is to foster character development by promoting the American ideals of sportsmanship in all endeavors. These ideals include integrity, honor, brotherhood, morality, leadership and good citizenship. *Sportsmanship is ethical behavior both on and off the playing field; both in athletics and in business; both as a youth and as an adult.*⁹

Abramoff similarly described CAF to his colleagues. Fred Baggett, a managing shareholder of Greenberg Traurig and chairman of its national governmental affairs practice, recalled that the “CAF Foundation was something that Jack referred to a number of occasions that he and his wife were very much involved in to support inner-city children in sports ventures and sports opportunities.”¹⁰ Although Abramoff disclosed that he and his wife were CAF’s founders, he gave the impression to Baggett that it “had grown into a credible, respectable charitable foundation.”¹¹ What Abramoff did not disclose, however, was how he was actually funding and operating CAF.¹²

C. ABRAMOFF ATTEMPTS TO SECURE FEDERAL FUNDING FOR CAF, AND FAILS

In 2000, it appears that Abramoff initially sought to capitalize CAF with a \$5,000,000 federal earmark.¹³ In attempting to enlist the aid of then-U.S. Representative Connie Morella, Abramoff told one Jim Kaplan¹⁴ that “the DeLay guys want to put this grant through for the Capital Education and Athletic Foundation [CEAF],¹⁵ which will be a grantor organization to help build the Yeshiva in Kemp Mill.”¹⁶ Abramoff apparently believed the earmark could be included in the Labor-HHS Appropriations Conference Report or the VA-HUD Appropriations Conference Report.¹⁷ Abramoff confessed that Congressman DeLay might not know about it, but that “Tony [Rudy] [DeLay’s then-Deputy Chief of Staff] and the staff are working it through for them.”¹⁸ Abramoff

⁹ *Id.* (emphasis added).

¹⁰ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005); *see also* Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

¹¹ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005). Stephanie Leger, a former Greenberg Traurig employee, told the Committee that it was well known around the office that CAF was Abramoff’s personal charity. Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

¹² Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005); Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

¹³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to James Kaplan (GTG–E000087920–21) (October 23, 2000).

¹⁴ The Committee has not determined who James Kaplan was, and what his relationship was with Congresswoman Morella and Jack Abramoff.

¹⁵ Apparently, the name Abramoff originally contemplated for the charity was the Capital Education and Athletic Foundation.

¹⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to James Kaplan (GTG–E000087920) (October 23, 2000).

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to James Kaplan (GTG–E000087924) (October 23, 2000). The Committee has seen no evidence that Congressman DeLay knew or authorized what Abramoff and Rudy were attempting.

even sent an email to a representative of Congresswoman Morella and claimed that the CEAF “is a worthy cause, and not a client.”¹⁹

After speaking with a Morella representative, Abramoff advised Tony Rudy: “Tony, I spoke with her guy today and they are going to try to get us a letter. Please let me know what we do next.”²⁰ However, after reviewing CAF’s bank, accounting, and tax records, the Committee concludes that CAF never received a federal grant of any amount. Furthermore, the Committee has seen no evidence establishing that Representative Morella supported Abramoff in any way on this project.

Unable to obtain his earmark, Abramoff would turn to other means to finance CAF.

D. ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON MISAPPROPRIATE TRIBAL FUNDS FOR CAF SEED MONEY IN 2001

1. Abramoff and Scanlon Divert Louisiana Coushatta Money to CAF

In 2001, the single largest contributor by far listed on CAF’s federal tax return was the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”) for \$1,000,000.²¹ The Committee finds, however, that the Tribe never intended to make a charitable contribution to CAF. Rather, Abramoff and Scanlon deceived the Louisiana Coushatta into making that payment as part of their “gimme five” scheme.

Scanlon set the scam in motion with an October 23, 2001, memorandum to Louisiana Coushatta counsel Kathryn Van Hoof, in which he proposed three political programs, which he collectively dubbed the “Battleground Program.”²² The program was purportedly designed to stop potential competitors, such as “Delta Downs and Pinnacle” from infringing on the Louisiana Coushatta casino’s market share.²³ According to Scanlon, the Tribe’s money would be used for everything from polling to opposition research to phone banking and Get Out The Vote efforts.²⁴

Scanlon claimed the money was necessary to manipulate Christian conservatives. In Scanlon’s words: “Simply put we want to bring out the wackos to vote *against* something. ... The wackos get their information from [sic] the Christian right, Christian radio, mail, the internet and telephone trees.”²⁵ In fact, Scanlon advised using nearly half the proposed budget to influence and mobilize “Christian conservatives and minority religious outlets.”²⁶

Abramoff and Scanlon had other designs for the money. One day after Scanlon’s memorandum to Van Hoof, Abramoff told Scanlon: “I want to see if we can pump up our LDA [reporting requirements under the Lobbying Disclosure Act] for the second half to make sure we don’t fall out of the top ten [lobbying firms]. I can achieve

¹⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to pj@morella.com (GTG–E000087929) (October 23, 2000).

²⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Tony Rudy, Office of Congressman Tom DeLay (GTG–E000087925) (October 23, 2000).

²¹ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2001 Return of Private Foundations Form 990PF.

²² Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (BB/LC 017923–26) (October 23, 2001).

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.* (emphasis in original).

²⁶ *Id.*

this if I can run some of the money for the Coushattas through the firm and then get it to CCS.”²⁷

Concerned, Scanlon asked: “Are u [sic] sure Baggett will let you rip it back out?”²⁸

Abramoff responded, “If not, it’ll be a cold day in hell that they get this check from my grubby hands!”²⁹

To convince the Tribe to pay \$1,000,000 into Greenberg Traurig, Scanlon explained to Van Hoof, “We broke this into two invoices—one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for 1m, and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies—[Greenberg Traurig’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.”³⁰

He continued, “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:) [sic]”³¹

In furtherance of the “gimme five” scheme, Scanlon apparently fabricated and submitted to the Louisiana Coushatta an invoice in Greenberg Traurig’s name. The invoice identified the purpose of the payment as “Public Affairs Services.”³² Contrary to Scanlon’s representations, Capitol Campaign Strategies (“CCS”) was not Greenberg Traurig’s public affairs entity.³³ Nor was Scanlon authorized to prepare or send an invoice on Greenberg Traurig’s behalf.³⁴ At the November 2, 2005 hearing before the Committee, Baggett testified:

THE CHAIRMAN: Was Mr. Scanlon authorized to send an invoice on Greenberg Traurig’s behalf?

MR. BAGGETT: No, sir; he was not.

...

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.³⁵

Despite the lack of authorization, the Committee finds that Scanlon sent, or caused to be sent, the fabricated invoice to the Louisiana Coushatta for payment.

Based on Scanlon’s representations, the Tribe understood the \$1,000,000 payment to Greenberg Traurig would be used for the

²⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000012245) (October 24, 2001).

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (GTG-E000011383) (October 25, 2001).

³¹ *Id.*

³² Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG-E000011384) (undated).

³³ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

³⁴ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 37 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig).

³⁵ *Id.*

Tribe's political activities, and certainly never intended for it to be a charitable contribution:

THE CHAIRMAN: 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.³⁶

William Worfel, former Vice Chairman of the Tribe, similarly told the Committee that the Tribal Council had never authorized that \$1,000,000 to be used as a charitable contribution—to CAF or any other entity.³⁷ Indeed, neither Van Hoof nor Worfel had any contemporaneous knowledge of CAF.³⁸ At no point did Scanlon or Abramoff tell the Louisiana Coshatta that its money would be used for anything other than the Tribe's political activities.³⁹ In fact, until the Committee's investigation, the Louisiana Coshatta did not even know it was listed as a \$1,000,000 donor to CAF.⁴⁰

Based on Scanlon's misrepresentations, on October 30, 2001, the Louisiana Coshatta executed a check for \$1,000,000 to Greenberg Traurig.⁴¹ On November 2, 2001, Greenberg Traurig received the \$1,000,000 check, which it deposited into its trust account.⁴²

The next phase of the scheme required Abramoff to deceive his former employer, Greenberg Traurig. To extract the money from Greenberg Traurig's trust account, Abramoff told the firm that the Louisiana Coshatta knew about the payment to CAF and had authorized it.⁴³ On November 5, 2001, Abramoff sent an email to Baggett entitled "Coshatta million dollar check," and noted, "It is burning a hole in my pocket. Please let's chat about this today to get it worked out."⁴⁴ Sometime around that email, Abramoff called Baggett in Tallahassee, "to talk about a contribution that a tribe, the Coshatta, that a tribe wanted to make to Capital Athletic Foundation, that they had given us a check for a million dollars and wanted to put it in a trust account so we could give it to Cap-

³⁶"Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 37 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of Kathryn Van Hoof, former counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana).

³⁷Interview of William Worfel, former Vice Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

³⁸Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 23, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

³⁹Interview of Kathryn Van Hoof, former counsel, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Lecompte, Louisiana (September 23, 2005); Interview of William Worfel, former Vice Chairman, Coshatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

⁴⁰*Id.*

⁴¹Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG023510–ACCT) (October 30, 2001).

⁴²Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

⁴³*Id.*

⁴⁴Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Fred Baggett, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000252969) (November 5, 2001).

ital Athletic Foundation.”⁴⁵ Per Abramoff’s direction, Greenberg Traurig paid the Louisiana Coshatta’s \$1,000,000 to CAF.⁴⁶

The Committee finds that the Louisiana Coshatta’s \$1,000,000 never went to the Tribe’s political activities. It instead padded the coffers of CAF for Abramoff’s discretionary use. Notably, Abramoff did include the \$1,000,000 on the Lobbying Disclosure Act filing for the Louisiana Coshatta in 2001.⁴⁷

The Committee harbors no doubt that the \$1,000,000 was a payment obtained as part of the duo’s “gimme five” scheme. In a November 7, 2001, email entitled “Give me five,” Scanlon listed Abramoff’s take from their scheme:

The overall numbers in the amounts I owe you are exactly \$1 million smaller that [sic] what we projected last month because your section of the Louisiana Battleground program was paid directly to [Greenberg Traurig]—so I took the whole thing of [sic] 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. [sic] has gone to your [sic] or third party entities at your direction.⁴⁸

2. Abramoff’s Misuse of CAF Funds in 2001

Despite receiving \$1,248,741 in purported contributions, CAF distributed very little in the form of grants to other entities in 2001—only \$50,510.⁴⁹ From the relevant bank records, it appears that Abramoff segregated most of the Tribal money into its own account and reserved it for use in the following year. From another account, into which others such as Foxcom Wireless had paid, CAF made a number of expenditures.

The largest outlay for CAF in 2001 appears to be for operating and administrative expenses:

- \$102,510 for “home school program which combines academic and athletic programs for the students.”⁵⁰
- \$50,510 for log and web design and newspaper advertising for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy.⁵¹ The Eshkol Academy was an all boys Jewish orthodox prep school that Abramoff founded in 2001, but closed in 2003.⁵² Abramoff’s relationship with Eshkol was intimate: he was the president and his wife was the vice president, secretary, and treasurer.⁵³ Media reports also claim that some of Abramoff’s children attended Eshkol.

⁴⁵ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000012276) (November 7, 2001).

⁴⁹ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2001 Return of Private Foundations Form 990PF.

⁵⁰ *Id.* There appears to be a discrepancy in the tax return. Statement 5 to the return cites \$115,930 as the expenses spent on home school program expenses.

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² See Peter Stone, *Tribes Gave To Abramoff Foundation*, National Journal, March 12, 2004, at 1866; Michael S. Gerber and Albert Eisele, *Republican power broker Jack Abramoff on lobbying in the Bush II era*, The Hill, March 26, 2003; see also Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Susan Baker (MB-002124) (September 27, 2002).

⁵³ See Eshkol, Inc., 2001 Form 990. Eshkol’s tax return is signed by Sam Hook as executive director for the school. Hook is a former contract employee at Greenberg Traurig, the husband of Shana Tesler, and owner and president of two other Abramoff-controlled entities, Grassroots

- \$3,411.32 for “Eshkol and Lexington Group work.” CAF’s ledger identifies the purpose of the payment as brochures and business cards. The Lexington Group was a for-profit venture that Abramoff undertook with a lobbyist named Khaled Saffuri and has no apparent role in CAF or its purported charitable mission.

- Almost \$99,000 on consulting fees,⁵⁴ which, on information and belief, related to Abramoff’s efforts to establish Eshkol.

- \$26,060 for a school van. The records do not indicate whether the van was actually used for personal or charitable purposes.

- \$10,000 payment to Sports Suites as a deposit.⁵⁵ The Sports Suites was a limited liability company that Abramoff owned and operated and through which he leased various club boxes at several sporting venues around the region, including FedEx Field, MCI Center, and Camden Yards. Abramoff used the boxes extensively in his lobbying practice.

Curiously, listed on CAF’s 2001 tax form is an \$18,057 expenditure for a thermal imager.⁵⁶ CAF’s tax and accounting records do not indicate what possible relation a thermal imager would have to the charitable mission of CAF, or to whom it was given. Abramoff’s emails, however, illuminate the purpose and beneficiary of Abramoff’s largesse.

For two days in 2001, Abramoff exchanged emails with a person the Committee has determined is Shmuel Ben Zvi.⁵⁷ Ben Zvi and Abramoff were classmates at Beverly Hills in California.⁵⁸ Apparently, Ben-Zvi later moved to the Israeli West Bank. The Committee does not know how Ben Zvi and Abramoff re-established ties.

Nevertheless, in 2001, Abramoff and Ben Zvi tried to find a source for a thermal imager.⁵⁹ Abramoff and Ben Zvi apparently intended the thermal imager for paramilitary application, because Ben Zvi told Abramoff that “[t]he 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.”⁶⁰

Ben Zvi added, “[I]f 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. ...”⁶¹

The next day, trying to find a way to obtain the imager, Ben Zvi suggested that he could fax a letter “stating that I am purchasing this equipment for the IDF [Israeli Defense Force], and at the same time get a signed letter from the commander of Paratroop brigade

Interactive, LLC and Federal Program Services, LLC. According to Tesler, Abramoff hired Hook to serve as interim executive director of Eshkol Academy in November 2002. She stated that Hook was paid \$20,000 for serving as the interim director, and the payments may have come from the Capital Athletic Foundation.

⁵⁴ May & Barnhard document production (MB-002063-65) (December 31, 2001).

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2001 Return of Private Foundations 990PF; *see also* May & Barnhard document production (MB-002063-65) (December 31, 2001).

⁵⁷ *See* Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000089141-44) (October 18-19, 2001).

⁵⁸ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000080536-37) (July 15-16, 2003).

⁵⁹ *See* Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000089141-44) (October 18-19, 2001).

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

[sic]. ...”⁶² Although CAF’s tax return indicates that Abramoff apparently purchased the thermal imager, the Committee has no further details about the transaction.

E. IN 2002, ABRAMOFF AND SCANLON SCAM OTHER TRIBES INTO PAYING INTO CAF

In 2002, reported contributions to CAF climbed to \$2,569,934. CAF listed a number of substantial contributors for that year:

- Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe—\$25,000
- Alabama-Coushatta Entertainment Center—\$50,000
- National Center for Public Policy Research—\$450,000
- Jack Abramoff—\$991,749
- Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians—\$1,000,000⁶³

The Committee finds that most of those alleged contributions—even those not in the name of an Indian Tribe—are the fruits of Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme.

1. Abramoff Deceives the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe Into Partially Funding a Golfing Trip to Scotland—June Through November 2002

In 2002, CAF claimed \$234,319 in expenses for travel, conferences, and meetings on its tax return.⁶⁴ Yet, according to that same tax filing, Abramoff and his wife, the only two co-managing members, devoted “minimal” time each week to their positions.⁶⁵ CAF’s tax, accounting, and bank records, suggest that \$166,634.26 of that \$234,319 were costs incurred for a golfing trip to Scotland.⁶⁶

On or about May 15, 2002, Abramoff and his old friend and business associate Ralph Reed began planning the trip. In an email entitled “Scotland,” Abramoff wrote to Reed:

The package on the ground is \$4K per person. that [sic] covers rooms, tee times and ground transportation. One idea is that we could use one of my foundations for the trip—Capital Athletic Foundation—and get and make contributions so this is easier.⁶⁷

Reed replied, “OK but we need to discuss. It is an election year.”⁶⁸

Soon thereafter, Abramoff began seeking financing for the golfing trip. Abramoff asked his colleague Tony Rudy, Congressman DeLay’s former deputy chief of staff, “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.”⁶⁹

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2002 Return of Private Foundations, Form 990PF.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ May & Barnhard document production (MB-002063-65) (December 31, 2001); May & Barnhard document production (MB-001940-41) (January-December 2002).

⁶⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Ralph Reed, Century Strategies (GTG-E000019854) (May 15, 2002).

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000026455) (June 6, 2002).

Abramoff then asked Rudy to “email [Christopher] 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.”⁷⁰

Rudy subsequently requested Petras’ email address.⁷¹

Later that month, Abramoff again asked Rudy, “Please hit them both [Stoli and Sag Chip] to get checks for the Capital Athletic Foundation asap. we [sic] need to get this cash in hand. I am pushing Tigua and Choctaw. We are still short of full cost coverage (which is around \$115K).”⁷²

Rudy responded, “Please give me [the] address.”⁷³

Abramoff and Rudy soon began seeking money for the Scotland golfing trip in earnest.⁷⁴ In an email entitled “Capitol Athletic Foundation,” Rudy asked Todd Boulanger, another Abramoff associate and the manager of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (“Saginaw Chippewa”) lobbying account at Greenberg Traurig, “Can you ask [C]hris [Petras] whether they can make a contribution. We asked for 25k.”⁷⁵

Apparently unfamiliar with CAF, Boulanger inquired: “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 ½ to Coushatta and ½ to Choctaw so it doesn’t dilute your other requests. Sag may kick in ... 25K is steep for them. I bet they’d do \$5k, however. We’ll get it.”⁷⁶

Rudy cryptically responded, “Jack wants this.”⁷⁷

Boulanger inquired further, “What is it? I’ve never heard of it.”⁷⁸

Rudy was again vague: “It is something our friends are raising money for.”⁷⁹

Boulanger finally desisted: “I’m sensing shadiness. I’ll stop asking.”⁸⁰

Rudy confirmed Boulanger’s suspicions, “Your senses are good. If you have to say Leadership is asking, please do. I already have.”⁸¹

Soon thereafter, Abramoff began hounding the Tribe for the payment.⁸² Examples include the following:

- On July 31, 2002, Abramoff reminded Petras “about getting the Capital Athletic Foundation to me asap per the delay request.”⁸³

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ Email from Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000026450) (June 7, 2002).

⁷² Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000076673) (June 17, 2002).

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ See Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Tony Rudy, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000254778–79) (June 20, 2002).

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG–E000026791) (September 30, 2002); Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG–E000057439) (August 12, 2002).

⁸³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG–E000026653) (July 31, 2002).

- On August 12, 2002 he asked Petras to “get me that \$25K to Capital Athletic Foundation for the DeLay thing.”⁸⁴
- On August 23, 2002, Abramoff asked Petras “any progress on the Capital Athletic Foundation?”⁸⁵
- On September 4, 2002, Abramoff asked Petras: “any progress.”⁸⁶
- On September 12, 2002, Abramoff asked Petras about CAF, “Please keep me informed on this one.”⁸⁷

Throughout the process, Abramoff continued misrepresenting CAF as an independent entity. In a September 18, 2002 email entitled “where are we on the Capital Athletic Foundation,” Abramoff advised Petras, “I saw the CAF guys this morning and we are getting into a bit of an embarrassing situation.”⁸⁸ Again, on September 30, 2002, Abramoff told Petras that “I am getting serious pressure on the Capital Athletic Foundation. Please let me know if this is going to happen, and if not, I need to try and find a replacement. I am really out of time on this and am getting called daily.”⁸⁹

In procuring the money from the Tribe, Abramoff apparently misrepresented the nature of CAF and how it would use the funds. According to internal Saginaw Chippewa documents, Abramoff represented that CAF “creates programs that teach leadership skills to disadvantaged youth in the DC area in an effort to keep them off the streets and enhance their educational opportunities.”⁹⁰

Finally, on November 13, 2002, the Saginaw Chippewa wrote a check to CAF in the amount of \$25,000.⁹¹ On November 14, 2002, Abramoff received the Saginaw Chippewa check for CAF.⁹² Abramoff had the check deposited on November 18, 2002.⁹³ Abramoff apparently concealed from the Saginaw Chippewa that CAF was his personal charity. After the Saginaw Chippewa donated \$25,000 to CAF, Abramoff instructed Maury Litwack, a legislative assistant at Greenberg Traurig, to draft a thank you letter to the Tribe, and to sign it as the Program Director.⁹⁴ The Committee has not been able to verify whether the letter was actually sent and received.

Abramoff used the \$25,000 from the Saginaw Chippewa and another \$50,000 from the Alabama Coushatta, to partially finance a widely publicized golfing trip to Scotland. Regarding these dona-

⁸⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000057439) (August 12, 2002).

⁸⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000026714) (August 23, 2002).

⁸⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000026766) (September 4, 2002).

⁸⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000026784) (September 12, 2002).

⁸⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000026805) (September 18, 2002).

⁸⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan (GTG-E000026791) (September 30, 2002).

⁹⁰ Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan document production (no Bates number) (entitled “Minutes of the Tribal Council Special Session”) (August 22, 2002).

⁹¹ Capital Athletic Foundation document production (SEN-CAF 000681) (November 13, 2002).

⁹² Email between Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig; Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig; and Jennifer Boice, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000027002) (November 14, 2002).

⁹³ Capital Athletic Foundation document production (SEN-CAF 000681) (November 13, 2002).

⁹⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Maury Litwack, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000001280-81) (November 19-20, 2002).

tions, both Abramoff and Rudy pled guilty to defrauding the Saginaw Chippewa. According to Abramoff's plea agreement:

From June 2002 to November 2002, Abramoff and a former lobbying colleague, who was also a former congressional staffer ("Staffer A") successfully solicited the Michigan Tribe for a \$25,000 payment to CAF. Instead of using the funds for CAF, Abramoff used this money for his personal and professional benefit to partially pay for a golfing trip to Scotland for himself, public officials, members of his staff, and others.⁹⁵

Rudy pled similarly:

In June 2002, Rudy, at Abramoff's direction, solicited one of Firm B's clients, a Native American Tribe in Michigan, for a \$25,000 contribution to CAF made by check ... by falsely claiming that a public official requested them to solicit funds for the charity from their clients. Abramoff and Rudy intended to use this money for their personal and professional benefit to partially pay for a golfing trip to Scotland for Abramoff, Rudy, Representative #1, members of his staff and others, which Rudy ultimately did not attend.⁹⁶

Notably, Rudy admitted in his plea agreement that he solicited money from the Saginaw Chippewa "by falsely claiming that a public official [DeLay] requested them to solicit funds for the charity from their clients."⁹⁷

2. *Abramoff and Scanlon Deceive the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians Into Sending \$1,000,000 to CAF—January and August 2002*

CAF's 2002 Form 990PF listed the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians ("Choctaw") as its biggest contributor—at \$1,000,000.⁹⁸ According to CAF's accounting ledger, the Tribe made two payments: (1) \$500,000 on January 3, 2002; and, (2) \$500,000 on August 6, 2002.⁹⁹ The Committee finds, however, that Abramoff and Scanlon deceived the Tribe into paying that \$1,000,000 into CAF for uses the Tribe never intended.

On December 19, 2001, Scanlon sent the Choctaw an invoice purportedly from CAF for \$500,000 for "Professional Services Rendered." Barely one week later, Abramoff was looking for the money. He asked Laura Lippy and Rodney Lane, two of his associates, "[d]id we ever get the [sic] \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?"¹⁰⁰ The payment actually arrived a few days after the New Year.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea, at para. 7, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

⁹⁶ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea, at para. 17, *U.S. v. Tony C. Rudy* (Dist. D.C., March 31, 2006) (CR-06-082).

⁹⁷ *Id.*

⁹⁸ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2002 Form 990PF.

⁹⁹ May & Barnhard document production (MB-001948) (December 31, 2002).

¹⁰⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Laura Lippy, Greenberg Traurig, and Rodney Lane Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000114360) (December 27, 2001).

¹⁰¹ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000010719) (January 3, 2002).

Within two months, Abramoff and Scanlon began chasing the Choctaw for their next score for CAF. On March 3, 2002, Abramoff instructed Scanlon: “See if you can get [Nell Rogers] to send my share to Capital Athletic Foundation. She liked using that entity anyway. This is for the next payment, not the last one.”¹⁰²

Scanlon continued to be the prime actor, while Abramoff skulked in the shadows. Abramoff asked Scanlon, “Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw (or one of the others) made to “Capital Athletic Foundation” up to \$500K? I need to get more money in there.”¹⁰³

Scanlon agreed, “I will do it.”¹⁰⁴ And, he offered to go even further, “there is another payment coming due—I can get 1 mil in there in about two weeks—IS [sic] that ok?”¹⁰⁵

Abramoff, however, replied that “\$500k is enough” for CAF.¹⁰⁶

As time passed, and the Choctaw’s money did not arrive, Abramoff again asked Scanlon to get it done, and this time for more money. In an email entitled “Capital Athletic Foundation”, Abramoff reminded Scanlon “Please don’t forget this one. \$1M in there would be good if that’s the amount you can get Nell [Rogers] to send.”¹⁰⁷

Scanlon assured Abramoff, “I’ll approach her on this today.”¹⁰⁸

Nearly two months later, the money had still not arrived. Consequently, over the next few weeks, Abramoff badgered Scanlon to have the Tribe make the payment:

- On May 23, Abramoff asked Scanlon to “find out what’s up with the Choctaw’s payment to CAF”.¹⁰⁹
- On May 29, Abramoff asked Scanlon, “Where are we on this? I did not get the CAF check.”¹¹⁰
- On May 30, Abramoff again asked, “Anything happen with this yet?”¹¹¹

Abramoff became desperate, suggesting to Scanlon that he “call Nell [Rogers] today and push her on the \$500K for CAF” and instructing Scanlon “to tell her that they [CAF] spent the money already with the trust that they’d get it, and that they are all over you now.”¹¹²

Abramoff apparently grew increasingly frustrated by Scanlon’s failure to secure the money for him. In an email entitled “Choctaw

¹⁰² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000110037) (March 3, 2002).

¹⁰³ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000110065) (March 13, 2002).

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000110056) (March 30, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000110088) (April 1, 2002).

¹⁰⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000110224) (May 23, 2002).

¹¹⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000110212) (May 29–30, 2002).

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (Bates number 1735978) (June 12, 2002).

CAF!", Abramoff implored Scanlon, "Mike, what do we have to do to get this money in?"¹¹³

When the money had still not arrived, Abramoff suggested to Scanlon that he tell Nell Rogers at Choctaw that they were "going to lose the ability to use this group [CAF] as a front if we don't get this current."¹¹⁴ Scanlon agreed to do so.¹¹⁵ Abramoff followed up a few days later, asking Scanlon "Can you call her again today?"¹¹⁶ Finally, on August 6, 2002, a \$500,000 check for CAF arrived from the Choctaw.¹¹⁷

Despite being listed as CAF's largest donor, the Choctaw never intended to make a charitable contribution to CAF. During the June 2005 hearing before the Committee, Rogers, who dealt with Abramoff and Scanlon, testified:

THE CHAIRMAN: Ms. Rogers, in 2002 the Capital Athletic Foundation, Mr. Abramoff's private charitable foundation, reported on its tax forms that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians was far and away the single biggest contributor ... Michael Scanlon and Jack Abramoff directed the tribe to make these contributions?

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

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

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

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

MS. ROGERS: No.¹¹⁸

At all relevant times, the Tribe intended that the payments to CAF would pass through to grassroots organizations working to oppose the expansion of gaming in the Choctaw casino's customer market.¹¹⁹ At no time did Abramoff or Scanlon advise the Choctaw that CAF would keep any part of the money, as a charitable contribution or otherwise.¹²⁰ Rogers was disgusted that Abramoff would not only abuse the Tribe's trust, but also use a charity to do it.¹²¹

Neither Abramoff nor Scanlon ever told the Tribe that CAF was a charitable organization.¹²² The Tribe was led to believe that CAF

¹¹³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000110378) (July 1, 2002).

¹¹⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000057339-40) (July 5, 2002).

¹¹⁵ *Id.*
¹¹⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000110378) (July 10, 2002).

¹¹⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Laura Lippy, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000110548) (August 6, 2002); see also May & Barnhard document production (MB-001948) (December 31, 2002).

¹¹⁸ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 17 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians).

¹¹⁹ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Philadelphia, Mississippi (April 27-29, 2005).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ *Id.*

¹²² *Id.*

“was another one of Mike’s entities that was a vehicle to be used as a pass-through to grassroots groups.”¹²³ Rogers understood that CAF was “something conveniently set up to use for pass-through activities.”¹²⁴ Before the Committee’s investigation, the Tribe had no idea that Abramoff was using CAF to finance the Eshkol Academy.¹²⁵ Based on its review of CAF’s Form 990PFs, accounting ledger, profit and loss statements, and other accounting records, the Committee finds that CAF paid none of the Choctaw’s funds to grassroots organizations and vendors as the Tribe had intended.

3. Abramoff and Scanlon Misappropriate Another \$1,000,000 From the Choctaw—October 2002

Abramoff and Scanlon’s diversion of Choctaw funds, intended by the Tribe for political purposes, did not end there. In October 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon successfully deceived the Tribe into paying another \$1,000,000, nearly half of which went to CAF. To accomplish this, Abramoff betrayed not just the Tribe, but also two long-time friends, and violated his fiduciary duty to a non-profit organization on whose board he sat.

According to its president, Amy Ridenour, the National Center for Public Policy Research (“NCPPr”) is “a 23-year-old conservative free market non-profit institution.”¹²⁶ Abramoff joined the NCPPr’s board in 1997.¹²⁷ Ridenour told the Committee that “[a]t that time, I had known Jack for nearly 17 years. He was a dedicated conservative, a successful lobbyist and businessman, and his managerial skills it seemed to me at the time exceeded my own.”¹²⁸ Abramoff introduced Ridenour and NCPPr to Chief Martin and the Choctaw in 1997.¹²⁹

Five years later, in October 2002, Abramoff used his position as an NCPPr director to further carry out his and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme. Abramoff apparently sowed the seeds months earlier at lunch with Ridenour and her husband at Abramoff’s restaurant Signatures.¹³⁰ Ridenour testified before the Committee:

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

I was very interested in what I was hearing. I noted that his new kind of lobbying was not lobbying at all, but edu-

¹²³ *Id.*

¹²⁴ *Id.*

¹²⁵ *Id.*

¹²⁶ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 29–30 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Amy Ridenour, president, National Center for Public Policy Research).

¹²⁷ *Id.*

¹²⁸ *Id.*

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ *Id.*

cational work and I expressed an interest in the National Center sponsoring it. Jack seemed mildly agreeable, but noncommittal. I did not press the matter, assuming the Choctaws were financing the project and would have to approve our involvement.¹³¹

Nothing happened for four months.¹³² Then, on October 1, Abramoff told Scanlon, "Amy Ridenour has asked if we can run any funds through them to pump up their non email donations (they will give us back 100%). Let's run some of the non-caf Choctaw money through them to the camans [sic]."¹³³

To induce the Tribe into making the payment, Abramoff told them that the money would be used for their grassroots activities. In her interview with Committee staff, Rogers said that the Tribe paid \$1,000,000 to the NCPPR at Abramoff's direction.¹³⁴ The Tribe intended and understood that the money would pass-through the NCPPR to grassroots organizations and vendors trying to defeat the expansion of gaming into the Choctaw casino's customer market.¹³⁵ Ralph Reed's firm Century Strategies was among the firms that, Abramoff assured Rogers, would ultimately receive part of the \$ 1,000,000.¹³⁶ The Tribe never intended any part of that \$1,000,000 to go to CAF, Abramoff, Scanlon, or any other entity owned or controlled by Abramoff or Scanlon.¹³⁷ Until the Committee's investigation, the Tribe did not know that Abramoff and Scanlon had diverted the \$1,000,000 for their own personal use and benefit.¹³⁸

Thus, on October 10, 2002, at Abramoff's direction, NCPPR drew up a \$1,000,000 invoice.¹³⁹ The invoice Ridenour prepared listed as its purpose "contribution to the National Center for educational and research programs and activities."¹⁴⁰ Ridenour sent the invoice to Abramoff by email.¹⁴¹ That was not the invoice that the Choctaw received, however.

Abramoff forwarded NCPPR's original invoice to Scanlon.¹⁴² Someone at Scanlon's companies apparently fabricated another invoice purportedly from the "National Center for Public Policy Research" for "Professional Services."¹⁴³ That was the invoice the Tribe ultimately saw and paid.

To NCPPR's Ridenour, Abramoff explained that part of the money was a donation ultimately destined for CAF, and the rest

¹³¹ *Id.*

¹³² *Id.*

¹³³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (Bates number 1636313) (October 1, 2002).

¹³⁴ Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, in Philadelphia, Mississippi (April 27-29, 2005).

¹³⁵ *Id.*

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ *Id.*

¹³⁹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 30 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Amy Ridenour, president, National Center for Public Policy Research).

¹⁴⁰ Greenberg Traurig document production (Bates number 1640098) (October 10, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Amy Ridenour, National Center for Public Policy Research (Bates number 1640097) (October 10, 2002).

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ Greenberg Traurig document production (Bates number 1640097-99) (October 10, 2002). The Committee observes that this invoice is similar in form and content to the invoices Scanlon sent on his companies' behalf, usually just identifying "Professional Services" as the reason for the payment request.

was intended for a huge educational effort the Tribe was undertaking to educate the public on the benefits of Indian gaming, and the distinction between Indian and non-Indian gaming. According to Ridenour's testimony before the Committee:

When the funds arrived, he [Abramoff] told me how they should be disbursed: \$450,000 to the Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant; \$500,000 to Capitol Campaign Strategies; and; and \$50,000 to a company called Nurnberger and Associates.

I believe Capitol Campaign Strategies was to be paid for educational program services, while Ralph Nurnberger was going to help coordinate the project. Jack referred to his receiving "instructions" for the disbursements, which I took to mean recommendations from the donor, which was consistent with my belief that the Mississippi Choctaws were actively involved.¹⁴⁴

Abramoff repeatedly assured Ridenour that influencing legislation was not part of the effort.¹⁴⁵ Abramoff explained that the payment to CCS "was to be used for educational program services, particularly polling and telephone banks, but not necessarily exclusively; research, potentially paid advertising; I was told later petition drives, that sort of thing, but 100 percent educational program services."¹⁴⁶ Abramoff told Ridenour that Nurnberger & Associates would coordinate the effort.¹⁴⁷

On October 17, 2002, Ridenour confirmed for Abramoff NCPPR's receipt of the \$1,000,000 dollar wire transfer from the Choctaw.¹⁴⁸ Two days later, Abramoff instructed Ridenour to send \$450,000 to CAF and \$50,000 to Nurnberger & Associates.¹⁴⁹

In dividing their "gimme five" spoils, Scanlon reminded Abramoff to have NCPPR send Abramoff's share directly to CAF to avoid a taxable event.¹⁵⁰ When Ridenour requested invoices from CAF and Nurnberger, Abramoff directed his assistant to "make up two invoices."¹⁵¹ Abramoff further instructed that the "invoices should be generic as follows: 1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for 'Sports and Politics' project for \$450K 2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for 'research grant' for \$50K."¹⁵² Abramoff similarly instructed Christopher Cathcart, Scanlon's right-hand man at CCS, to prepare an invoice from CCS "for polling services or something like that."¹⁵³ When Cathcart for-

¹⁴⁴"Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 30-31 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Amy Ridenour, president, National Center for Public Policy Research).

¹⁴⁵*Id.* at 37.

¹⁴⁶*Id.*

¹⁴⁷*Id.*

¹⁴⁸Email from Amy Ridenour, National Center for Public Policy Research, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (October 17, 2002).

¹⁴⁹Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Amy Ridenour, National Center for Public Policy Research (no Bates number) (October 19, 2002).

¹⁵⁰Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, (GTG-E000034219) (October 21, 2002).

¹⁵¹Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000034220) (October 21, 2002).

¹⁵²*Id.*

¹⁵³Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E00011851) (October 21, 2002).

warded the invoice to him, Abramoff asked him to “change this to \$500K and find out from Amy is [sic] this suffices.”¹⁵⁴

NCPPR paid according to the invoices submitted by Abramoff and Scanlon. From a review of CAF’s internal business and financial records, the Committee finds that CAF performed no services benefitting the Choctaw. Similarly, from a review of CCS’s records, the Committee finds it performed no services for the \$500,000 it received through NCPPR. Cathcart told the Committee that, contrary to the invoice he prepared, CCS did not provide polling or any other services to NCPPR.¹⁵⁵

The Committee finds that Abramoff fabricated the invoice from Nurnberger & Associates. During his interview with Committee staff, Nurnberger reviewed the invoice purportedly sent by his firm, Nurnberger & Associates, dated October 2002, for a “Research Grant.” Nurnberger said that he had never seen the invoice, and was certain that neither he nor his firm had ever invoiced the NCPPR for this \$50,000 payment.¹⁵⁶

Nurnberger also told the Committee that at no time did he or his firm provide any service to the NCPPR requiring remuneration.¹⁵⁷ The payment, according to Nurnberger, was in fact repayment of a \$50,000 loan that Nurnberger had made to Abramoff many years earlier for the production of the movie “Red Scorpion.”¹⁵⁸ After reading articles lauding Abramoff and his success in 2002, Nurnberger approached Abramoff about repayment.¹⁵⁹ Abramoff claimed he was not liquid; however, Abramoff explained that the NCPPR, of which Abramoff admitted he was a director, owed him money, and he would arrange for payment to go instead directly to Nurnberger.¹⁶⁰

In fact, the Tribe never intended to donate any of that money to Abramoff’s personal charity, to Nurnberger, or to CCS. Donald Kilgore, the Attorney General for the Choctaw, testified before the Committee that Abramoff told the Tribe that the entire \$1,000,000 would be passed through to grassroots organizations working on issues important to the Tribe.¹⁶¹

4. Abramoff’s Misuse of CAF Funds in 2002

Based on its review of the records, the Committee finds that Abramoff never passed the Choctaw’s money through CAF to grassroots groups or vendors working for the Tribe’s benefit as the Choctaw had intended. Nor did CAF perform the work itself. Abramoff instead diverted the funds to his own personal causes and concerns.

¹⁵⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG-E000011848) (October 22, 2002).

¹⁵⁵ Interview of Christopher Cathcart, former employee, Capitol Campaign Strategies, in Washington, D.C. (May 5, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ Interview of Ralph Nurnberger, president, Nurnberger & Associates, in Washington, D.C. (June 21, 2005).

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*

¹⁶¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee On Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 15, 18 (June 22, 2005) (testimony of Donald Kilgore, Attorney General, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians).

In 2002, CAF doled out \$2,331,656 to various organizations. Before Abramoff shut it down, CAF's website identified the following organizations as representative grant recipients:

- The Alexandria Police Youth Camp Foundation
- American Youth Soccer Organization
- Bethesda Chevy Chase Baseball
- Belize Youth Soccer
- Boy Scouts of America
- Columbia Heights Youth Club
- Girl Scout Council of the Nation's Capital
- Howard County Youth Program
- JCC of Greater Washington
- Joy of Sports Foundation
- Metropolitan Police Boys and Girls Club
- Washington DC Scores
- Washington Tennis Education Foundation
- YMCA of Metropolitan Washington¹⁶²

Despite millions of dollars in "grants" that year, these organizations received a mere \$500 each. Cumulatively, the organizations received \$7,000, which is only 0.3% of the purported grants made that year by CAF.

Individuals and organizations Abramoff did not tout publicly were, in fact, the major beneficiaries of Abramoff's share of the "gimme five" scheme. According to CAF's 2002 Form 990PF, the ten top recipients were:

- Eshkol Academy—\$1,857,704
- P'tach—\$300,000
- Kollel Ohel Tiferet—\$97,000
- Chabad Lubavitch—\$20,000
- GIFT School—\$14,500
- Toward Tradition—\$10,000
- The Waldorf School of Atlanta—\$6,000
- Jewish Federation of Greater Washington—\$5,000
- Washington Redskins Leadership Council—\$4,000
- The Voice Behind—\$2,500¹⁶³

Despite receiving \$2,254,704—nearly all of the \$2,331,656 that Abramoff had CAF dole out in "grants" in 2002—neither Eshkol Academy, P'tach, nor Kollel Ohel Tiferet were listed among the recent recipients identified on CAF's website. In fact, of the top ten recipients of CAF funds, only the Waldorf School and the Voice Behind were listed.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, in promotional literature distributed to the public for "The Spy Game," an event scheduled at the Spy Museum for March 26, 2003 but which apparently did not occur, the Eshkol Academy, Kollel Ohel Tiferet, and P'tach are conspicuously absent from the list of recent grant recipients.¹⁶⁵

Many of the top ten recipients of CAF largesse in 2002 had close ties to Abramoff:

¹⁶² *Capital Athletic Foundation* (visited June 7, 2004) <<http://www.capathletic.org>>.

¹⁶³ *Capital Athletic Foundation*, 2002 Form 990PF.

¹⁶⁴ See *Capital Athletic Foundation* (visited June 7, 2004) <<http://www.capathletic.org>>.

¹⁶⁵ *Id.*

- The single largest beneficiary of money was the Eshkol Academy, the middle school and high school for Orthodox Jews founded in 2001 by Abramoff. He and his wife were the only members of the board of directors.¹⁶⁶ The money allegedly was used for teaching facilities, instructors, and an ice rink.¹⁶⁷ In concealing his use of CAF to fund Eshkol, Abramoff told Greenberg Traurig's Baggett that he was personally funding the Eshkol Academy.¹⁶⁸ Abramoff's school, Eshkol Academy, received nearly 80% of the funds Abramoff had CAF distribute as "grants."

- Toward Tradition is "a non-profit (501.c.3), educational organization working to advance our nation toward the traditional Judeo-Christian values that defined America's creation and became the blueprint for her greatness."¹⁶⁹ During 2002, Abramoff sat on the Board of Directors of Toward Tradition.¹⁷⁰ Toward Tradition is headed by Rabbi Daniel Lapin, a long-term Abramoff friend.¹⁷¹

- Rabbi David Lapin received \$60,529 from CAF for "consulting" services.¹⁷² According to news reports, Rabbi David Lapin is Daniel Lapin's brother, and another long-time Abramoff friend.¹⁷³

- The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington describes itself as "the voice of the Jewish community in and around the nation's capital since 1925."¹⁷⁴ The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington is the "operating agency" of the Torah School of Greater Washington, which is located at 12721 Goodhill Road in Silver Spring, Maryland.¹⁷⁵ Records filed with the Maryland Secretary of State show that Abramoff was/is the registered agent for the Torah School of Greater Washington.¹⁷⁶ The Torah School of Greater Washington is a Jewish school for kindergarten through sixth grade.¹⁷⁷

- In 2004, the Voice Behind claimed to be "a faith-based, 501c3 [sic] non-profit creative organization dedicated to creating, commissioning, and celebrating transcendent works of art and media."¹⁷⁸ Its vision was a "creative renaissance that illumines the good, the true, and the beautiful through excellence and artistry for the glory of God, the service of neighbor, and the renewal of culture."¹⁷⁹ According to a press release,

¹⁶⁶ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Mimi Stansbury (MB-002043) (November 7, 2002).

¹⁶⁷ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2002 Form 990PF.

¹⁶⁸ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

¹⁶⁹ Toward Tradition: Mission Statement (visited June 13, 2006) <<http://www.towardtradition.org/mission.htm>>.

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ *Id.*

¹⁷² Capital Athletic Foundation, 2002 Form 990.

¹⁷³ See Rick Anderson, *Meet the Lapin Brothers*, Seattle Weekly, May 11, 2005 at 11. According to Seattle Weekly, Daniel Lapin allegedly received a \$1.2 million no-bid government contract with the Northern Marianas, an Abramoff client during his days at the law and lobbying firm of Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds. *Id.*

¹⁷⁴ *The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington: About Us*, (visited June 7, 2006) <http://shalomdc.org/section_display.html?ID=31> (explanatory parenthetical needed).

¹⁷⁵ *The Jewish Information and Referral Service*, (visited June 7, 2006) <<http://www.jirs.org>> (explanatory parenthetical needed).

¹⁷⁶ Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation.

¹⁷⁷ *Torah School of Greater Washington*, (visited June 7, 2006) <<http://www.tsgw.org/>>.

¹⁷⁸ *The Voice Behind*, (visited June 28, 2004) <<http://www.voicebehind.org>>.

¹⁷⁹ *Id.*

The Voice Behind, in collaboration with Abramoff, the Capital Athletic Foundation, and others hosted the premier of “the Best of the Damah Film Festival: Spiritual Experiences in Film” in Washington, D.C.¹⁸⁰ The Committee has not been able to confirm whether this event actually occurred.

The second largest recipient, P’tach, is a school in Brooklyn, New York for Jewish children with learning disabilities.¹⁸¹ Among CAF’s donations to P’tach were \$275,500 for P’tach to purchase a new facility for its GIFT High School, Gutmann Institute for Child Development, and for administrative offices, and \$47,500 for a deposit on a proposed campus in Marriottsville, Maryland.¹⁸²

The third largest recipient, Kollel Ohel Tiferet, is a purported educational institution in Israel; according to CAF’s 2002 990 Tax Return, the grant was supposedly used for education, athletics, and security. Based on its review of the documents, the Committee finds that the Kollel Ohel Tiferet was nothing more than an entity established on paper to conceal the ultimate recipient of CAF grants: Shmuel Ben Zvi.

As noted above, in 2001 CAF apparently purchased a thermal imager for one Shmuel Ben Zvi for paramilitary use in the Israeli West Bank. In 2002, CAF sent money to Ben Zvi in Israel, simply listing it as a transfer.¹⁸³ Additional entries reflect that the payments were for a “new Jeep.”¹⁸⁴ Gail Halpern, Abramoff’s tax advisor, labeled the purchases for Ben Zvi as “spy equipment.”¹⁸⁵ According to one former Abramoff friend, Abramoff allegedly procured “rifle scopes for settlers” in Israel.¹⁸⁶ The Committee thus finds that in 2002, Abramoff was making jeep payments for Ben Zvi and paying him a stipend from CAF funds.¹⁸⁷

At some point, Abramoff began getting pressure to “clean up” the books of CAF to conform, at least on paper, CAF’s expenditures with some legitimate charitable purpose. When Abramoff proposed changing how the payments were made, Allison Bozniak, one of Abramoff’s former assistants at Greenberg Traurig, reported to Abramoff:

I spoke with Shmuel [Ben Zvi] 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

¹⁸⁰ *Id.*

¹⁸¹ *P’tach: About P’tach*, (visited June 13, 2006) <<http://www.ptash.org/about.php>>.

¹⁸² Letter from Brian Caplan, P’tach, to Capital Athletic Foundation, c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff (GTG001764-JA-P) (March 12, 2002) (concerning \$14,500 gift); Letter from Brian Caplan, P’tach, to Capital Athletic Foundation, c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff (GTG001762-JA-P) (July 11, 2002) (concerning \$47,500 gift); Letter from Brian Caplan, P’tach, to Capital Athletic Foundation, c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff (GTG001761-JA-P) (August 14, 2002) (concerning \$275,500 donation).

¹⁸³ May & Barnhard document production (MB-001952) (December 31, 2002).

¹⁸⁴ *Id.*

¹⁸⁵ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E00001186) (November 5, 2002).

¹⁸⁶ Email from Don Feder to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000020082) (July 2, 2002).

¹⁸⁷ See May & Barnhard document production (MB-001952) (December 31, 2002); see also Email from Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG-E00008858) (September 19, 2002) (referring to payments used for jeep); Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000011885) (November 5, 2002) (requesting Abramoff cut “Shmuel spy equipment and his monthly stipend (\$3560) ...”); Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG-E000088619-21) (December 24, 2002) (“I cannot cut him off from the stipend and the jeep payment.”).

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 [sic] members. He also has no way to set this up with a Yeshiva at the moment.¹⁸⁸

Bozniak proposed a solution, “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.”¹⁸⁹

Abramoff could only respond, “No, don’t do that. I don’t want a sniper letterhead.”¹⁹⁰

Abramoff’s use of CAF continued to raise alarm among his tax advisors. On November 11, 2002, Halpern wrote specifically about the payments to Ben Zvi:

[W]e need to work this into the tax exempt purpose of the Foundation. More to come on this subject in an email tomorrow or so. [The accounting firm of May and Barnhard] 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.¹⁹¹

Abramoff’s solution was not to cease the questionable activity; rather, he chose to conceal it with a paper transaction. Abramoff advised Ben Zvi, “The other thing is that, if possible, it would be easier for me to get you funds through a kollel over there or something like that. my [sic] accountant is very unhappy with the way we have done this, through our foundation which was not set up for these kinds of activities.”¹⁹²

Ben Zvi advised Abramoff, “Anyone can have a Kollel here. If I set up the account name in the name of a Kollel and send you papers with a Kollel stationery would that work?”¹⁹³

When Abramoff shared Ben Zvi’s hardship with his tax planner Gail Halpern, Halpern suggested ways to make the transaction pass muster on paper, although she knew the ultimate recipient and use of the payments.¹⁹⁴

Nearly one month later, Abramoff asked Ben Zvi to “set up an account for a kollel and get me the info so we can send the \$ [sic] there from now on.”¹⁹⁵ Later that same day, Halpern advised Abramoff on the need to route the money through another institution:

¹⁸⁸ Email between Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG-E000088582) (September 19, 2002).

¹⁸⁹ *Id.*

¹⁹⁰ *Id.*

¹⁹¹ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000088599) (November 11, 2002).

¹⁹² Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000088186) (December 23, 2002).

¹⁹³ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000088183) (December 23, 2002).

¹⁹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁹⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet (GTG-E000088623) (December 24, 2002).

[B]ut let's try to figure it out in a way where we don't screw up the foundation. we [sic] need to get the money to a 501c3 [sic] or an educational institution, not directly to him. can [sic] you ask him if he can work something out w/the kollel so the money goes from the kollel to him?¹⁹⁶

When Ben Zvi reported to Abramoff that the bank from which he had obtained the loan for the jeep insisted the money continue to go through Ben Zvi's account, Abramoff responded:

They are being ridiculous. tell [sic] them that all the money will come into the Kollel account, which can be in their bank. Same amount of money, but CAF cannot make the payments directly to you. must [sic] be to the kollel.¹⁹⁷

Ben Zvi soon succeeded. On December 27, 2002, in an email entitled "CAF/Shmuel payments," he sent wiring information to Abramoff for the "KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET (For: Shmuel Ben Zvi)."¹⁹⁸

When Abramoff advised Halpern that Ben Zvi would do the kollel, Halpern instructed, "[H]e needs to give us the name and bank account info. and [sic] 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?*"¹⁹⁹ Halpern further suggested that "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."²⁰⁰

Of the nearly \$100,000 booked on CAF's ledger as contributions to Kollel Ohel Tiferet, not all were payments to Ben Zvi either directly or through the Kollel account. Listed under the Kollel entry of CAF's ledgers are sizable reimbursements of a number of Greenberg Traurig employees: Allison Bozniak, Hillel Broder, Holly Bowers, and Laura Lippy.²⁰¹ The reimbursements appear to be for the purchase of "books," "videos," "supplies," "camera," "light/photon supplies," "custom suit expense" and "lights and alarms," apparently intended for paramilitary use.²⁰²

The "custom suit expense" on CAF's books is curious. The "custom suit" is a ghili suit, that is, camouflage apparel, typically used by snipers. According to one email from Ben Zvi to Hillel Broder, apparently a former Greenberg Traurig employee:

Hillel, I want to order a GHILLI SUIT [sic]. from [sic] this company so that we have a basic structure to copy from. These are made well and will help us to no end. I want to get the FULL MILITARY GHILI SUIT [sic] in (light) BROWN DICIDOUS [sic] colors just like the one display in the photo on their site.

¹⁹⁶ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000088619) (December 24, 2002).

¹⁹⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tiferet (GTG-E000088618) (December 26, 2002).

¹⁹⁸ Email from Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tiferet, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000088616) (December 27, 2002).

¹⁹⁹ Email from Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000088619) (December 24, 2002) (emphasis added).

²⁰⁰ *Id.*

²⁰¹ May & Barnhard document production (MB-001952) (December 31, 2002).

²⁰² *Id.*

The sizes go by BDU (battle dress uniform) So [sic] the bottom should be XXX long and the top should be XXXX long.

Now the order form on their site gives a buba misa about these suits needing a special state department licence and blah, blah, blah.

These suits are used by goyim who do alot [sic] of hunting. PLEASE [sic] don't get freaked out about this warning, suits of similar design can be bought from any of the hunting supply catalogs.

Anyway when you box it up and send it to me, send it as THE GRANDMOTHER TREE COSTUME [sic] for the play POCAHONTAS [sic].²⁰³

Ben Zvi further advised that should Broder need "to call them and they ask you what you need it for just tell them that it is a present for a relative who goes DEER HUNTING [sic]." ²⁰⁴ Scribbled upon the return email is one word: "Orderd" [sic].²⁰⁵

Broder also apparently ordered other sniper paraphernalia for Ben Zvi, for which he was reimbursed by CAF. According to invoices from Blackhawk Industries, Inc., Broder purchased tactical hydration tubes, web gear, shooters mats, sniper mats, and sniper cleaning kits.²⁰⁶ Holly Bowers, Abramoff's assistant, apparently paid for some of the items Broder ordered for Ben Zvi. On July 23, 2002, Bowers listed in her daily wrap-up list on item 12: "Gave Hillel my credit card number to order the anti-terrorism literature for your friend in Israel."²⁰⁷ Bowers similarly included in her August 12, 2002 list in item 14: "Gave Hillel my credit card to order things for Shmuel."²⁰⁸

Other, curious expenditures are on CAF's accounting ledger. To name a few,

- Abramoff spent another \$10,000 on The Lexington Group in April and May 2002.²⁰⁹ On its website, The Lexington Group claimed to practice "in all areas of legislative representation."²¹⁰ Abramoff described it as "just something i have set up with a guy who gt [Greenberg Traurig] would not hire but who will do a lot of business."²¹¹
- Abramoff spent \$50,000 on an ice rink for Eshkol.²¹²

²⁰³ Email from Shmuel Ben Zvi, Kollel Ohel Tieferet, to Hillel Broder, Greenberg Traurig (GTG008442-JA-P) (July 29, 2002).

²⁰⁴ *Id.*

²⁰⁵ *Id.*

²⁰⁶ Greenberg Traurig document production (GTG008438-JA-P/GTG008439-JA-P) (entitled "Packing List from Blackhawk Industries, Inc. to Hillel Broder") (August 6, 2002).

²⁰⁷ Email from Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000059454) (July 23, 2002).

²⁰⁸ Email from Holly Bowers, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000026750-51) (August 12, 2002).

²⁰⁹ May & Barnhard document production (MB-001946) (December 31, 2002).

²¹⁰ See *The Lexington Group* (visited July 8, 2004) <<http://www.lexingtongroupusa.com>> (The website also claimed that The Lexington Group was partnered with Greenberg Traurig).

²¹¹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG-E000011514) (February 26, 2002).

²¹² May & Barnhard document production (MB-001946) (December 31, 2002).

- In 2002, CAF spent \$67,685 on a Spy Museum Fundraiser.²¹³ Despite the large expenditures, the fundraiser apparently never occurred.²¹⁴

- CAF funds were apparently paid to Livsar, the company that owned and operated Abramoff's Signatures restaurant. On January 3, 2002, Rodney Lane, Abramoff's former assistant who left Greenberg Traurig to set up the restaurant, advised Abramoff of a "5 minute transfer from CAF to Livsar."²¹⁵

F. IN 2003, ABRAMOFF FUNNELS TRIBAL MONEY THROUGH CONDUITS TO CAF

CAF's 2003 Form 990PF does not list any Tribe as a donor.²¹⁶ The major donors listed on CAF's 2003 Form 990PF are:

- Kaygold, LLC—\$47,891
- IIA—\$500,000
- National Center for Public Policy Research—\$250,000
- Atlantic Research & Analysis—\$950,000
- Sony Electronics, Inc.—\$6,000
- Jack Abramoff—\$400,000²¹⁷

Nevertheless, the Committee has found substantial evidence establishing that the alleged contributions from Kaygold and Atlantic Research & Analysis ("ARA") were actually funds from Indian Tribes.

1. *Kaygold Sends Tribal Funds to CAF*

According to Kaygold's bank statements, Kaygold's primary source of income was Scanlon's companies. Thus, the \$47,891 "contribution" was actually fruits of the "gimme five" scheme.

2. *Abramoff and Scanlon Use ARA as a Conduit To Funnel Louisiana Coushatta Funds to CAF*

From its review of banking and accounting records, the Committee finds that the money allegedly from ARA is actually money from the Louisiana Coushatta. Scanlon's right-hand man, Christopher Cathcart, apparently set up ARA solely to run through payments from the Louisiana Coushatta.

As he had in 2001, Scanlon started this scam with another memorandum. According to a January 21, 2003, memorandum prepared by Scanlon for then-Tribal Vice-Chairman William Worfel on the Louisiana Political Program, ARA was allegedly established as a front entity to provide cover to Worfel and then-Chief Poncho politically by concealing that the Louisiana Coushatta was still paying Scanlon.²¹⁸ Scanlon attached invoices to the memorandum "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

²¹³ May & Barnhard document production (MB-001940) (January-December 2002).

²¹⁴ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

²¹⁵ Email from Rodney Lane, Greenberg Traurig, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000107574) (January 3, 2002).

²¹⁶ See Capital Athletic Foundation, 2003 Form 990PF.

²¹⁷ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2003 Form 990PF.

²¹⁸ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Louisiana 2002[sic] Political Program") (undated) (erroneously date stamped "9/21/2005").

services to the tribe as I have in the past.”²¹⁹ Regarding ARA specifically, Scanlon wrote:

ARA will be the entity to conduct all the market analysis, polling, district research, opposition research and general strategy. ARA will also be that 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.²²⁰

On January 21, 2003, the same day as his memorandum to Worfel, Scanlon asked Cathcart, “Can you get A [sic] DBA on the Scanlon CM account that is Atlantic Research and Analysis.”²²¹

The next day, Cathcart informed Scanlon: “[I] am going to have JD [Scanlon’s accountant Jeremy Diehl] set up a new llc [sic] for ara [sic] ... reason is that ScM has its own unique tax status as a commercial real estate lessor. [S]o, added liability protection and smarter for tax reasons [sic] to keep separate. [W]ill not impact our ability to collect the dough from couch [Coushatta].”²²²

Two hours later, Scanlon authorized Cathcart to establish the new entity.²²³ The Committee has found no corporate registration or other filing for ARA in Maryland, Delaware, or the District of Columbia establishing that ARA was ever incorporated. The Committee has determined that ARA opened a bank account on or about April 1, 2003.²²⁴

Meanwhile, Abramoff and Scanlon were on the move. In an apparent effort to avoid taxes on his take, Abramoff wanted Scanlon to have the Coushatta send his share of the “gimme five” funds directly to CAF. Abramoff told Halpern, his tax adviser, that he would soon have \$1,000,000 for CAF “directly from Coushatta.”²²⁵

Abramoff directed Scanlon: “Please make sure the next \$1M from Coushatta for me goes to Eshkol Academy directly. Please tell them that we are ‘using the school as our conduit for some activities.’ If that won’t fly with them, use CAF, or National Center for Public Policy Research.”²²⁶

The following month, Abramoff asked Scanlon “did we get the Coushatta money?” and implored Scanlon, “Can you please please get it written to Eshkol Academy?”²²⁷ Abramoff again suggested that Scanlon “[t]ell them that’s our front group to cover some of this.”²²⁸ Scanlon agreed to do so.²²⁹

²¹⁹ *Id.*

²²⁰ *Id.*

²²¹ Email between Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (January 21–22, 2003).

²²² *Id.*

²²³ *Id.*

²²⁴ See Wachovia document production (D00519–20) (April 1, 2003–April 30, 2003) (bank account statement for Atlantic Research & Analysis, which is the first such statement for ARA and shows a \$0.00 opening balance on 04/01/03).

²²⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Gail Halpern, May & Barnhard (GTG–E000012166) (March 30, 2003).

²²⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000034571) (February 20, 2003).

²²⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000252852) (March 18, 2003).

²²⁸ *Id.*

²²⁹ *Id.*

On or about April 15, 2003, Scanlon submitted a \$2,000,000 invoice to the Louisiana Coughatta in the name of ARA, along with invoices from his other groups.²³⁰ The address listed on the invoice for ARA—53 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, DE 19971—was the clapboard house from which another Scanlon entity, the American International Center, operated.²³¹ Worfel, the Louisiana Coughatta's Vice-Chairman at the time, was led to believe that ARA was "just another entity of Greenberg ... that they operate under."²³² Worfel understood ARA was one of many front-groups that Abramoff and Scanlon used so the Tribe's political opposition would not know what they were doing.²³³

Abramoff still wanted Scanlon to have the Tribe send his part of the "gimme five" payments to CAF.²³⁴ While Scanlon awaited arrival of the funds, Abramoff told Scanlon, "I really need to get those funds into Eshkol asap."²³⁵ Scanlon advised Abramoff that he could not guarantee the payment would go to CAF, and was certain the money would not be routed directly to Eshkol because he could not find "any invoices on the school."²³⁶

On May 1, 2003, ARA received a \$2,000,000 wire transfer from the Louisiana Coughatta.²³⁷ Scanlon advised Abramoff in a May 5 email entitled "Cough!": "Hey FYI—Coughatta has paid for the Louisiana 2003 program in full now. If it's ok—I think it would be wise to hold back a bit for a rainy day (100 or so to cover operations), other than that please tell me where to send the funds."²³⁸

Abramoff instructed Scanlon to send it to CAF.²³⁹

When Abramoff did not receive the money, he asked Scanlon on May 6, "Did we get this money yet? I am in urgent need of funds."²⁴⁰

Scanlon assured Abramoff that he would "have a check tomorrow at your office via courier!"²⁴¹

True to his word, on May 7, 2003, Scanlon instructed Cathcart to "cut a check to Capital Athletic Foundation for 950k."²⁴² Cathcart responded, "950? Wow. It will come from atlantic research [sic]. I will pay Ccs [sic] out of the rest."²⁴³ According to ARA's

²³⁰ Capitol Campaign Strategies document production (no Bates number) (entitled "Atlantic Research and Analysis INVOICE") (April 15, 2003).

²³¹ See Chris Barrish, *Abramoff Cohort Spent Millions on Sussex Homes*, *The New Journal*, May 16, 2006.

²³² Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coughatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

²³³ *Id.*

²³⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (April 16, 2003).

²³⁵ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (April 28, 2003).

²³⁶ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (April 28, 2003).

²³⁷ Wachovia document production (D00521–22) (May 1, 2003–May 30, 2003).

²³⁸ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (May 5, 2003).

²³⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (May 5, 2003).

²⁴⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (May 6, 2003).

²⁴¹ Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (no Bates number) (May 6, 2003).

²⁴² Email from Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (May 7, 2003).

²⁴³ Email from Christopher Cathcart, Capitol Campaign Strategies, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (no Bates number) (May 7, 2003).

bank records, ARA executed a check for \$950,000.²⁴⁴ Abramoff deposited the \$950,000 into CAF's bank account on May 8, 2003.²⁴⁵

3. Abramoff's Use of CAF Funds in 2003

In 2003, Abramoff used CAF as he had before. According to the 2003 Form 990PF, Abramoff directed CAF to pay:

Eshkol Academy	\$2,366,512
Beis Avrohom Chaim	\$251,242
Kollel Ohel Tiferet	\$44,220
American Friends of Lubavitch	\$10,000
The DeLay Foundation for Kids	\$25,000
Bais Yaakov Brooklyn	\$20,000
Total	\$2,716,974

Abramoff's Eshkol Academy was again the biggest beneficiary, receiving 87% of CAF's grants. Kollel Ohel Tiferet, the paper entity established by Abramoff's friend in Israel, received another \$44,000.

Beis Avrohom Chaim is another Abramoff entity that received CAF funding. According to the articles of incorporation, Beis Avrohom Chaim was incorporated in June 2003 under Maryland law as a religious corporation.²⁴⁶ The trustees were Jack Abramoff and his wife; Shana Tesler, a former Greenberg Traurig employee who worked closely with Abramoff; and, her husband Sam Hook.²⁴⁷ The principal place of worship listed in its articles of incorporation is Abramoff's home address.²⁴⁸

According to Beis Avrohom Chaim's General Ledger, total contributions from CAF totaled \$251,242 in 2003.²⁴⁹ Two payments made on July 10, 2003, for \$241,250 are described as contributions from CAF.²⁵⁰ Another payment on August 5, 2003, for \$2,500 is described as payment by CAF for professional services.²⁵¹ A final payment of \$7,492 on August 8, 2003 is described as mortgage recordation fees related to a mortgage closing.²⁵² The total listed on Beis Avrohom Chaim's general ledger—\$251,242—matches the amount of donations listed on CAF's Form 990.²⁵³

Incorporated as a religious corporation, Beis Avrohom Chaim appears to be a holding company for real estate. According to a deed filed in Montgomery County, Maryland, on July 10, 2003, Beis Avrohom Chaim purchased property at 800 Edelblut Drive, Silver Spring Maryland (close to Abramoff's home) for \$845,000.²⁵⁴ On CAF's 2003 Form 990, Abramoff described Beis Avrohom Chaim as

²⁴⁴ Wachovia document production (D00521-22) (May 1, 2003–May 30, 2003).

²⁴⁵ May & Barnhard document production (MB-000252) (December 31, 2003).

²⁴⁶ Beis Avrohom Chaim, Articles of Incorporation.

²⁴⁷ *Id.* For reasons unknown to the Committee, Rodney Lane, Abramoff's former executive assistant who was instrumental in setting up the Signatures restaurant, subsequently replaced Abramoff's wife as a trustee. See Articles of Amendment for a Religious Corporation, for Beis Avrohom Chaim.

²⁴⁸ *Id.*

²⁴⁹ May & Barnhard document production (MB-00255) (December 31, 2003).

²⁵⁰ *Id.*

²⁵¹ *Id.*

²⁵² *Id.*

²⁵³ Compare May & Barnhard document production (MB-00255) (December 31, 2003), with Capital Athletic Foundation, 2003 Form 990.

²⁵⁴ Deed, July 10, 2003 between Benjamin L. Allen, PR and Marie-Louise Allen Kempe, PR of the Estate of Marie Louise Allen, Estate no. W-37905 as to 1/2 interest and Marie Louise Allen and James S. Allen, by Benjamin L. Allen, his Attorney-in-fact, as to 1/2 interest, as tenants in common as to the whole to Beis Avrohom Chaim. The property is apparently down the street from Abramoff's home.

a “religious organization, [that] provides religious services for the congregation and housing for the Eshkol Academy student athletes.”²⁵⁵

As it had for 2002, for 2003 CAF also listed substantial expenses associated with travel, conferences, and meeting: \$251,163.²⁵⁶ Abramoff used approximately \$150,000 of CAF’s funds to finance another trip to Scotland.²⁵⁷ Abramoff also spent over \$100,000 on the Spy Museum Event that apparently did not take place.²⁵⁸

G. CONCLUSION

Despite the self-serving statements about “ethical conduct” and helping “disadvantaged youth” on CAF’s website, the Committee finds that Abramoff used CAF as his personal slush fund. In pleading guilty to tax evasion, Abramoff admitted that he “misrepresented the receipt of diverted funds [from the Tribes] as charitable donations and mischaracterized personal and business expenditures as being used for a tax exempt purpose.”²⁵⁹ He further confessed that he “engaged in similar evasive conduct for the tax years 2001 and 2003. Due to this and other evasive conduct, Abramoff attempted to evade approximately \$1,724,054 in individual income taxes for the 2001 through 2003 tax years.”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Capital Athletic Foundation, 2003 Form 990PF.

²⁵⁶ *Id.*

²⁵⁷ May & Barnhard document production (MB-000250) (January–December 2003).

²⁵⁸ *Id.*

²⁵⁹ Plea Agreement, Factual Basis for the Plea, at para. 39, *U.S. v. Jack A. Abramoff* (Dist. D.C., January 3, 2006) (CR-06-001).

²⁶⁰ *Id.* at para. 41.

PART THREE—OTHER

CHAPTER I

COUNCIL OF REPUBLICANS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCACY

Who writes \$50,000 checks to people they don't know if it wasn't what Jack—Jack said these people have a lot of money, they want to give to Republicans, they're taking my advice, and they really just don't want to be bothered with executive directors [like me]. Fine, and then they sent their checks in. And then what did these disappointed people think they were going to get, and you tell me who's committing fraud ... I mean it all fit ...

Deposition testimony of CREA president Italia Federici to Committee staff, October 7, 2005

You are an environmental organization. You come into a lot of money from Indian tribes. My guess is that that money had nothing to do with generosity, or had very little to do with energy or the environment but had a lot to do with Mr. Abramoff saying to his contacts in these tribes, "I want you to stick money into Ms. Federici's organization," and they did.

Comments from Committee Vice-Chairman Byron Dorgan to CREA president Italia Federici during Committee hearing, November 17, 2005

A. BACKGROUND

Among the issues investigated by the Committee is whether monies paid by the Tribes at Jack Abramoff or Michael Scanlon's direction, to or through particular entities, were used for purposes intended by the Tribes. In that context, the Committee is concerned about "contributions" that some of the Tribes made at Abramoff's direction to an organization called the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy ("CREA") and, in particular, the circumstances under which they made those contributions.

CREA was created in 1997 by Italia Federici.¹ In her deposition with Committee staff, Federici stated that she originally formed the organization in the memory of her mother.² According to Federici, her mother passed away two weeks before former Interior Secretary Gale Norton's 1996 campaign for the U.S. Senate ended.³ (Federici testified that she worked on Norton's failed Senate cam-

¹ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

² *Id.*

³ *Id.* During her deposition, Federici recalled first working with Norton on her race for Colorado attorney general, after a volunteer stint on the 1994 Jeb Bush for Governor campaign. *Id.*

paign “from the day that it started to the day that it ended.”⁴) Federici stated that her mother “liked the notion, my idea of a Republican environmental organization, so I decided to kind of honor her memory by creating CREA in 1997.”⁵ Subsequently, Norton and anti-tax activist Grover Norquist came on board as CREA’s honorary national co-chairmen.⁶

According to Federici, CREA later closed “because we reorganized when we moved out here [to Washington, D.C.] in 1999 and [prominent Republican lawyer] Ben Ginsburg became our general counsel and he said, I want to reincorporate you guys in the District [of Columbia].”⁷

It did so.⁸ After having been registered as a 527 political fundraising entity, it reorganized as a 501(c)(4) non-profit organization.⁹ According to CREA’s website, its mission is “to foster environmental protection by promoting fair, community[-]based solutions to environmental challenges, highlighting Republican environmental accomplishments and building on our Republican tradition of conservation.”¹⁰

1. *Abramoff Has His Tribal Clients Pay CREA*

In testimony before the Committee, Federici revealed that, from 2001 through 2003, Abramoff or his clients “contributed” in total about \$500,000 to CREA.¹¹ Evidence obtained by the Committee indicates that Abramoff directed some of his Tribal clients to “contribute” to CREA, occasionally under false pretenses. For example, to induce the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (“Tigua”) into giving \$25,000 to CREA in 2002, Abramoff told a Tribal representative that CREA was “a DeLay organization.”¹²

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.* In her deposition, Federici could not recall having drawn a salary from CREA from 1997–2000. *Id.* In 2001, she believed that “her income tax return said that [she] made like \$25,000.” *Id.* And, in 2002, she believed that she “might have made like 56 [thousand dollars]” and \$85,000 in 2003. *Id.* It is noteworthy that Federici’s salary from CREA appears to have spiked during the period that Abramoff’s Tribal clients contributed to CREA.

⁶ *Id.* Federici described, in her deposition with Committee staff, that Norquist was instrumental to CREA by including CREA in his Wednesday policy meetings and introducing CREA to Newt Gingrich, who served as CREA’s “first kickoff speaker ever, which was huge.” *Id.* She further described Norquist as “[j]ust always helpful, [providing] good advice.” *Id.* According to an email dated January 8, 1999, Federici met Abramoff “at a football game with ... Norquist.” Email between Susan Ralston, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, “Call from” (GTG–E000079149) (January 8, 1999).

⁷ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ Originally called the Coalition of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in mid-2000, CREA was renamed the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy and registered as both a 527 political fund-raising entity and as a D.C.-based 501(c)(4), a nonprofit organization that may engage in some lobbying activities. Josephine Hearn, *DOJ Subpoenas GOP Group*, The Hill, March 1, 2005. However, last year, CREA reportedly edited a reference on its website referring to it as a 501(c)(4), replacing the text with more vague language. *Id.*

¹⁰ Website, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, “Mission Statement,” <http://www.crea-online.org/2222-20.html> (last visited, June 3, 2006). Since its inception, CREA has met skepticism from other environmental groups. See Josephine Hearn, *DOJ Subpoenas GOP Group*, The Hill, March 1, 2005. For example, Republicans for Environmental Protection called the group a “greenscam” in 1998 after it was revealed that the group received significant funding from the mining, logging, chemical and coal industries. *Id.*

¹¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 38–40 (November 17, 2005).

¹² See Interview of Marc Schwartz, president, Partners Group Consultants, by telephone (February 22, 2005).

In March 2002, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”) contributed \$50,000 to CREA.¹³ In soliciting the Tribe for that contribution, Abramoff told that Tribe that CREA did work “in terms of liberalizing environmental rules and that was an activity the Tribe wanted to support.”¹⁴

In 2001, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”) gave \$50,000 and \$100,000 in 2002.¹⁵ Of the \$50,000 that the Tribe paid CREA in 2001, it paid at least \$25,000 in connection with a private fund-raiser, held on September 24, 2001.¹⁶ During that dinner, then-Tribal Chief Lovelin Poncho met Norton and other senior Administration officials.¹⁷

In his interview, former Louisiana Coushatta Vice-Chairman William Worfel testified that the \$25,000 that the Tribe paid to CREA was actually intended to support a “national park research study” that Interior was supposedly conducting—a “pet project.”¹⁸ He was told that the Choctaw had contributed, or intended to contribute, \$25,000 to CREA in support of the study¹⁹ and that “Interior then would look and always consider you [that is, the Tribe] friends because you went out on a limb, you went out, reached in your pockets and helped a pet project of the U.S. Department of the Interior when they was [sic] strapped for funds.”²⁰

The Committee has seen no evidence that this study was ever conducted. Worfel never saw this study and does not know whether such a study was actually conducted.²¹ Former Interior Deputy Secretary J. Steven Griles testified at a Committee hearing that he too is unaware of such a study and is highly skeptical about whether one was ever conducted.²²

Apparently, Abramoff used a different pretext to induce the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (“Saginaw Chippewa”) to contribute at least \$50,000 to CREA. In his interview with Committee staff, former Tribal Council member David Otto recalled that former Tribal legislative director Christopher Petras told him that CREA was a group with which then-Interior Secretary Norton was “involved.”²³ Petras said that supporting a project the Secretary was involved with would “look good” for the Tribe, according to Otto.²⁴ Otto also recalled that he was told that doing so would help them

¹³ See Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27, 2005).

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ *Id.* See “Tribal Lobbying Matters” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 45 (November 2, 2005).

¹⁹ *Id.* See Interview of Nell Rogers, planner, Mississippi Band of Choctaw, in Choctaw, Mississippi (April 27, 2005).

²⁰ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13–14, 2005).

²¹ “Tribal Lobbying Matters” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 50–53 (November 2, 2005).

²² See *id.* at 107 (“I do not have any recollection of that today at all. At some point in my background, somebody may have told me something, but I was not at Interior, and I cannot imagine conducting a poll for Interior, Senator.”).

²³ Interview of David Otto, former council member, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, in Washington, D.C. (August 27, 2004).

²⁴ *Id.*

with appropriations for their school, drug abuse center, senior center, and other facilities.²⁵

Documents reflect that after Norton became Secretary, Abramoff told Petras (and members of his own lobbying team) that Norton supported CREA. In an attempt to get the Tribe to financially support the September 2001 CREA fund-raiser, Abramoff pitched CREA to Petras as “hav[ing] been incredibly helpful on certain specific tribal issues.”²⁶ He also identified CREA as “[Secretary] Norton’s main group outside the department.”²⁷ Having sold CREA on Petras (who was to approach the Tribal Council for a contribution), Abramoff directed his assistant to amend a requested contribution list he was sending to the Saginaw Chippewa to “add in \$50,000 for CREA and put a note in the candidate column as follows: Sec. Norton.”²⁸

The Committee has seen no evidence that Abramoff’s representations about Norton’s interest in CREA are true. Nor has the Committee seen any evidence to suggest that Norton knew of, much less sanctioned, Abramoff or anyone else using her name in seeking fees and donations from Native Americans.²⁹ However, it is clear that, at some point, Abramoff came *to believe* that CREA president Italia Federici had special access at Interior and that she was willing to use it for his or his clients’ benefit. That is reflected in numerous documents, described in this Chapter, illustrating how Abramoff repeatedly went to Federici urgently asking for her help with Interior on pending matters affecting his much-valued Tribal clients. It is also reflected in how much he had these same clients “donate” to CREA. It is further corroborated by a number of internal business communications between Abramoff and his team members that reflect his belief.

A notable example of such a communication is an email, dated January 3, 2002, entitled “Italia Meeting,” from Abramoff to members of his team. In this document, Todd Boulanger, a senior member of Abramoff’s team asked, “Can [Italia] get shit in the President’s budget to [C]ongress?”³⁰

Abramoff responded, “I don’t think she has juice beyond [I]nterior.”³¹ Another example is an email between Abramoff and Boulanger, dated February 12, 2002, entitled “Political Contribution Requests.” In that email, the two discussed including CREA in a political contribution request list they were submitting to the

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Christopher Petras, Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (GTG-E000105234) (September 20, 2001).

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Allison Bozniak, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000107697) (January 31, 2002).

²⁹ Federici, Griles and Norton’s former counselor at Interior, Michael Rossetti, have testified that Norton had no relationship with CREA after Norton became Interior Secretary. Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005); Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005); Interview of Michael Rossetti, former counselor to the Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 28, 2005). In addition, Federici testified that she never had any conversations with Norton between 2001 and 2004 about any of Abramoff’s Tribal clients. Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

³⁰ Email between Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000107575) (January 3, 2002).

³¹ *Id.*

Saginaw Chippewa.³² Abramoff wrote Boulanger, “Todd, did we not request money for CREA from them? That’s our access to Norton. We need \$ for them more than many of these others.”³³

Still another example is an email from Abramoff to business associate and Signatures partner Rodney Lane, entitled “CREA—Freshman Reception.” There, the two discussed “comping” a CREA function.³⁴ Ultimately, Abramoff replied, referring to Federici, “[u]nfortunately, she is critical to me.”³⁵ This email is typical of others, such as an email dated June 27, 2002, that describes Abramoff’s reluctantly “comping” CREA functions—at least some of which appear to have been attended by Members of Congress, senior Administration officials, or their senior staff.³⁶ The Committee finds that only one person could have induced Abramoff so convincingly into believing that Federici had stroke at Interior that he directed his Tribal clients to provide substantial contributions to what she herself described as a “mom and pop non-profit”³⁷—Italia Federici. What she said or did to so induce him into this belief is one question, among others, that this Chapter attempts to answer.

2. Federici Promises To Help Abramoff in Exchange for, or Because of, CREA Contributions

When she testified before the Committee, Federici attempted to explain the Tribes’ largesse to her organization by saying that Abramoff told her that his Tribal clients were concerned that over the decades, Democrats became dominant in electoral politics.³⁸ So, according to Federici, Abramoff told her that those Tribes had become used to giving very “heavily to one political party and ... wanted to diversify.”³⁹ They wanted to make sure that they were giving “more evenhandedly.”⁴⁰

As an explanation for why Abramoff’s clients gave so much to CREA within such a short period of time, this is unconvincing.⁴¹ There is no doubt that Abramoff directed his Tribal clients to contribute to CREA. The question is why? Why would Abramoff have had his much-valued Tribal clients (whom he relied on as a significant source of sizeable federal campaign contributions as well as

³² Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Todd Boulanger, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000025072) (February 12, 2002).

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Rodney Lane (GTG-E000105191) (March 4, 2003).

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ See, e.g., Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Rodney Lane (GTG-E000105140) (June 27, 2002).

³⁷ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ In somewhat surprising testimony, it seems that Federici too found this rationale implausible. While discussing Abramoff’s explanation as to why his Tribal clients were willing to make sizeable contributions to CREA without directly discussing with her CREA’s mission or work, the following exchange occurred during Federici’s deposition. “FEDERICI: Who writes \$50,000 checks to people they don’t know if it wasn’t what Jack—Jack said these people have a lot of money, they want to give to Republicans, they’re taking my advice, and they really just don’t want to be bothered with executive directors [like me]. Fine, and then they sent their checks in. And then what did these disappointed people think they were going to get, and you tell me who’s committing fraud ... I mean it all fit. ... STAFF: [Mr. Abramoff] told you that? FEDERICI: Yes. ...” *Id.* Why, given her concerns, Federici continued to accept these contributions remains unclear. The Committee defers to law enforcement authorities to determine (1) whether, in connection with their contributions to CREA, the Tribes were in fact defrauded and, (2) if they were defrauded, who did so or conspired to do so.

millions in federal lobbying revenue to Greenberg Traurig, secret “gimme five” partnership income with Scanlon, contributions to run his Jewish boys’ school in Maryland; and capital to float his restaurants) pay so much to this obscure organization? Documents in the Committee’s possession suggest that Abramoff did so because of, or in exchange for, special favors that Federici had promised to do for him or his Tribal clients at Interior.

B. ABRAMOFF AND FEDERICI START WORKING TOGETHER

In her deposition with Committee staff, Federici recalled first reaching out to Abramoff, on the advice of friends, to try to persuade him to participate in a real estate investment deal.⁴² In the course of discussing that deal, they first discussed CREA.⁴³ On January 30, 2001, it appears that Federici held herself out to Abramoff as having access to the political appointment process being undertaken by the incoming Administration:

I very much appreciate your generous offers regarding CREA and I’ve been working on the document you requested regarding grassroots and strategy. I look forward to sharing it with you when you return. According to the folks I’ve talked with, Gale is expected to be confirmed with about 80 votes. ... Jeanne Adkins (my friend from [Colorado]) has been offered the CFO position. *She and I are talking later about other positions and she will continue to discuss resumes with appropriate contacts ...*⁴⁴

Abramoff got the hint. After having offered to help raise money for CREA,⁴⁵ he responded, “Thanks so much Italia. Please let me know what I can do to help Dennis Stevens, Mark Zachares (Office of Insular Affairs) and Tim Martin (Bureau of Indian Affairs) be placed. Look forward to hearing from [sic] you regarding CREA.”⁴⁶ Apparently, these were individuals who Abramoff, for his own reasons, wanted placed in the Administration.⁴⁷

According to an email dated March 1, 2001—just seven days before the President nominated Griles for the second highest position

⁴² See *id.*

⁴³ See *id.*

⁴⁴ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000105164) (January 30, 2001) (emphasis added). Federici construed these “generous offers” from Abramoff to mean “[in] general, let’s get you funded, let’s get some support for you guys, this looks like a really good idea.” Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

⁴⁵ See *id.*

⁴⁶ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000105164) (January 30, 2001).

⁴⁷ During Federici’s deposition with Committee staff, staff specifically asked her, “Did you ever help Mr. Abramoff in getting any particular person into the U.S. Department of the Interior at transition in 2000 after the election?” Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005). She responded, “No. Like everyone else in Washington, Jack was forwarding me names of people he thought [then-Interior Secretary] Gale [Norton] would love ... [Abramoff would ask] Hey it would be great if she could interview this person or that person.” *Id.* Documents in the Committee’s possession suggest what Abramoff had in mind. For example, in a contemporaneous email from Abramoff to former Christian Coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed, Abramoff asked Reed for help placing him on the Interior transition team, noting, “this [sic] would be really key for future clients for both of us. Let’s discuss.” Email from Jack Abramoff, Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, to Ralph Reed, Century Strategies, “Interior Dept [sic] transition team” (GTG–E000022954) (October 24, 2000). Reed responded, “ok.” *Id.*

at Interior, Abramoff met with Griles.⁴⁸ Apparently, Federici was present—later reporting to Abramoff that “[a]fter I retrieved my coat I ended up sharing a cab with Steve [Griles]. He really enjoyed meeting you and was grateful for the strategic advice on BIA and Insular Affairs. You definitely made another friend.”⁴⁹

Abramoff responded, in part: “Thank you so much for everything. I am so glad we are working together.”⁵⁰

According to records recently released by the Secret Service, Abramoff visited the White House on March 6, 2001—two days before Griles’ nomination.⁵¹ After Griles was nominated but before he was confirmed, documents suggest, Abramoff tried to approach Griles about tribal issues, in particular, about the BIA’s tribal insurance policy.⁵²

Also in this interim, Abramoff worked with Federici on some special projects. For example, according to an email dated April 10, 2001, entitled “Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton,” Federici tried to help Abramoff get a photo opportunity for Ben Fitial with Secretary Norton.⁵³ Fitial had successfully run for governor of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands (“CNMI”) and reportedly pressured senior CNMI officials to hire Abramoff. In this email, Federici and Abramoff discussed that the Secretary was not doing “photo-ops’ with anyone.⁵⁴ In that context, Federici promised Abramoff that she would “try to figure out what exactly is going on over there.”⁵⁵ Interestingly, Federici also offered to cover

⁴⁸ See Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, “Thanks from me and Steve and Invitation” (GTG–E000037865) (March 1, 2001).

⁴⁹ *Id.* While Griles vaguely recalls having met Abramoff “sometime before becoming Deputy Secretary,” he specifically recalls first meeting him at the September 2001 private dinner for CREA. See Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005). Griles could not remember what he talked with Abramoff about—only that he “spoke and said hello to everyone who was there.” *Id.* A few weeks after that dinner, Abramoff prepared a letter to Griles, thanking him for “calling me today” and expressing appreciation for “your help with the [Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands (“CNMI”)] governor’s race and ensuring that the President does NOT endorse anyone in that race, in particular the liberal “Republican” Juan Babuata, who is running against the Speaker and former chairman of the Bush campaign there, Ben Fitial.” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to J. Steven Griles, U.S. Department of the Interior; to Laura Lippy, Greenberg Traurig, “FW: Letter” (GTG–E000105260) (October 18, 2001) (emphasis in original). At his deposition, Griles had no recollection of having had any conversations with Abramoff about the CNMI, Fitial or “anything like that with the White House.” Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005). Furthermore, Griles insisted that “if [he] would have done something on that, [he] would think that [he] would recall it today.” *Id.* In his draft letter to Griles, Abramoff went further, writing, “I also appreciate anything you can do to prod things forward to get Mark Zachares into position at OIA.” Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to J. Steven Griles, U.S. Department of the Interior; to Laura Lippy, Greenberg Traurig, “FW: Letter” (GTG–E000105260) (October 18, 2001). The Committee has seen no evidence that this letter was ever sent.

⁵⁰ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, “Thanks from me and Steve and Invitation” (GTG–E000037865) (March 1, 2001).

⁵¹ Press Release, Judicial Watch, *U.S. Secret Service Releases to Judicial Watch White House Logs Detailing Abramoff Visits—Logs Appear to be Incomplete, Show 2 Documented Visits Available on Judicial Watch’s Internet Site*, www.judicialwatch.org/abramoff-docs.shtml May 10, 2006 (linking to “Abramoff Secret Service Logs”).

⁵² See e.g., Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, “Subject: urgent tribal issue” (SENCREA 00018) (March 20, 2001).

⁵³ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG–E000105287) (April 10, 2001).

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ *Id.*

Fitial's travel expenses to Washington, D.C. in the future and "schedule [a] meeting with Gale."⁵⁶

Likewise, in an email dated May 7, 2001, entitled, "[former Louisiana Coughatta Chairman] Chief Poncho," Federici asked Abramoff, "[i]s there something that I can do to say thank you for [Chief Poncho's] support for CREA—besides the time with Sec. Norton [?]?"⁵⁷

On July 18, 2001, less than a week after Griles arrived in office,⁵⁸ Abramoff wrote former Louisiana Coughatta counsel Kathryn Van Hoof and an associate covering the Tribe:

I have a call into our guy Steve Griles, the Deputy Secretary and his assistant has a memo on the situation ...

Just so I am clear when he and I do hook up, what is our full wish list at this point other than to inform him of the situation on the ground and the need, possibly, to get some positive signals from Norton to the Governor?⁵⁹

He concluded, "Just want to make sure I make all the asks we need."⁶⁰

Afterwards, with Abramoff apparently having induced at least one of his Tribal clients into contributing to CREA in connection with the September 2001 private dinner, Federici wanted to help with Abramoff's book of business. In an email dated January 2, 2002, entitled "dates for another dinner [sic]," Federici proposed to Abramoff another CREA dinner at a private residence.⁶¹ According to this email, Federici offered to "target" intergovernmental relations officials from agencies that Abramoff "need[ed] to work with on CNMI and Indian issues."⁶² Abramoff was amenable to the idea.⁶³ In a similar email, Federici held out the possibility that she could get Abramoff together with Griles and former Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Neil McCaleb for a small lunch or dinner.⁶⁴ Abramoff responded, "A small lunch with Steve would be huge for us, since we really need to get to know him."⁶⁵ There can be no doubt that a "CREA dinner" that focused on Abramoff's lobbying needs and "target[ed]" agencies that Abramoff "need[s] to

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ Email from Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000105174) (May 7, 2001). This is similar to an email dated a few months later, January 26, 2002, entitled "Hi Italia." There, Abramoff asked Federici whether she had "any word on getting the Chief a meeting with Gale?" Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000018) (January 26, 2002). In response, Federici offered, "I meet with folks tomorrow and I will call you tomorrow in the early evening." *Id.*

⁵⁸ The Senate confirmed Griles as Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Interior Department on July 12, 2001.

⁵⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kathryn Van Hoof, Coughatta Tribe of Louisiana, and Shawn Vasell, Greenberg Traurig, "Status" (COUSH-MiscKVH-0001529) (July 18, 2001).

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000253568) (January 2, 2002).

⁶² *Id.*

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000105067) (January 3, 2002).

⁶⁵ *Id.* The Committee notes the apparent inconsistency between Abramoff's statement in this email and other older emails (some of which the Committee has cited to above) in which Abramoff professes to have a close relationship with Griles.

work with on CNMI and Indian issues”⁶⁶ had little to do with CREA’s tax exempt purpose.

C. CONTRIBUTIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR ACCESS?

A number of records indicate that Federici promised to help Abramoff’s clients in contemplation of continued contributions from Abramoff’s clients to CREA. Among those records is a January 9, 2003, email between Federici and Abramoff, entitled “help?!!,” in which Federici asked Abramoff, “I hate to bother you with this right now, but I was hoping to ask about a possible contribution for CREA ... [we] 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?”⁶⁷

Abramoff responded, “Absolutely. We’ll get that moving asap. [REDACTED] are coming to DC [REDACTED] so I’ll hit them immediately.”⁶⁸

But, he continued, “By the way[,] Gov Foster ... just sent Gale another letter pushing a new compact he signed for [J]ena. Can you make sure Steve [Griles] knows about this and puts the kibosh on it? Thanks.”⁶⁹

Federici promised, “I will tell him where they are now—and with whom. Thanks Jack!”⁷⁰

Likewise, in an email from Abramoff to Federici, dated January 21, 2003, entitled “Intel from Dept of Int/BIA,” Abramoff asked Federici if she could help him get inside information on BIA action on a pending matter affecting the Louisiana Coushatta, one of Abramoff’s clients and a major contributor to CREA.⁷¹ In the very next sentence, he told Federici that a contribution from one of his clients was on the way: “I’ll have it in a week or so. I’m still working on the rest.”⁷²

In response, Federici wrote, “Thanks Jack! I will ask about the timing and content and call you.”⁷³

Similarly, in an April 3, 2003, email entitled, “urgent alert—DOI Proposes Policy Changes in Compact Review Process,” Abramoff attached a memo on this issue to an email to Federici and wrote, “If this attached memo is correct, someone over at BIA is doing some really odd things. Any way to see if this is something coming from the top? All of our tribes are very agitated about this one.”⁷⁴

In response, Federici wrote, “I will definitely see what I can find out. I hate to bug you, but is there any news about a possible contribution from [REDACTED]?”⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000253568) (January 2, 2002).

⁶⁷ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (GTG-E000105202) (January 9, 2003).

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ Email from Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, to Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (SENCREA 10/04 000057) (January 9, 2003).

⁷¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000062) (January 21, 2003).

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 [illegible]) (April 3, 2003).

⁷⁵ *Id.*

Additionally, in an email from Abramoff to Federici, dated April 10, 2003, Federici discussed the costs associated with a CREA program. In response, Abramoff wrote, "I met last night with [a client]. They offered [REDACTED] but I felt badly asking them since they are not getting any cooperation yet. Perhaps once the court case clears in a few weeks Steve [Griles] might be able to grab control of this. [T]hey are great folks."⁷⁶

Another example is contained in two emails from Abramoff to Federici, dated May 1, 2003. There, referring to a matter pending before Interior, Abramoff told Federici that the BIA is "about to screw the Coushattas, and the other tribes there as well" and asked "[c]an you bring this to [Steve Griles'] attention? We MUST get this stopped."⁷⁷ About an hour later, Abramoff reported to Federici that one of his clients was going to send over a contribution to CREA the following week.⁷⁸

In an email dated August 2, 2003, and entitled "Saginaw Cost Share," Federici responded to an email from Abramoff regarding an apparently unrelated tribal issue pending before Interior.⁷⁹ There, Federici invited Abramoff to call her "if there is an urgent matter" and said that she will "try to talk to someone about this first thing."⁸⁰

Still another example can be seen in the email between Abramoff and Federici, dated January 26, 2002, entitled, "Hi Italia." There, Abramoff asked Federici for an update on getting the chief of one of his Tribal clients a meeting with then-Secretary Norton.⁸¹ In the very next sentence, he gave Federici an update on a contribution to CREA from one of his clients.⁸² In the same email stream, he insisted that Federici needed to get information related to the Jena Band's efforts to get a compact, to Griles "immediately."⁸³ A few weeks later, in an email, dated February 15, 2002, between Abramoff and Scanlon, entitled "shit," Abramoff described a phone call he received from Federici about information she obtained from Griles about the Jena deal.⁸⁴

In testimony before the Committee, Federici attempted to explain away her solicitousness for Abramoff's practice as generosity or, in her words, "to be nice"—acts of kindness in the face of complaints by Abramoff, "consistent ... over the course of years," that the Bureau of Indian Affairs ("BIA") was "in the back pocket of people who didn't like him" and that his work-product and clients were not being treated fairly by Interior.⁸⁵ Federici maintained that she

⁷⁶ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000094) (April 10, 2003).

⁷⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000100) (May 1, 2003) (emphasis in original).

⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹ Email between Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig (SENCREA 10/04 000110) (August 2, 2003).

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000018) (January 26–27, 2002).

⁸² *Id.*

⁸³ *Id.*

⁸⁴ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000010914) (February 15, 2002).

⁸⁵ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005). According to Federici, Abramoff elaborated that "his work product and his clients were being mistreated and not treated equitably, not treated the way other lobbyists' clients were being treated." *Id.*

was sympathetic to Abramoff's concerns about not being able to get a meeting on a timely basis or get answers to basic questions.⁸⁶ And, she insisted, with her friend Griles serving as the chief operating officer at Interior, she was happy to help a friend.⁸⁷

Federici's explanation is unconvincing. The documents described above suggest that Federici promised to help Abramoff with Interior because of, or in exchange for, Abramoff's directing his clients to contribute to CREA.⁸⁸ Indeed, contributions from Abramoff's Tribal clients were critical to CREA. During a Committee hearing, Federici admitted that Abramoff and his clients contributed about \$500,000 over the relevant period. Also, during his deposition, Griles told Committee staff that one evening Federici called him very upset after money from Abramoff's clients stopped coming in.⁸⁹ Griles recalled that Federici complained that because "Jack is not giving us funds anymore," she had to "go back and find more money in order to keep [CREA's] activities going."⁹⁰ Griles recalled simply telling Federici that she had to go back to contributors who helped her in the past.⁹¹

Federici's explanation that she was motivated strictly by friendship and generosity is also belied by at least one occasion when Federici apparently lied to Abramoff about a promise to communicate with Griles. In an email, dated September 24, 2002, Abramoff asked Federici for a favor: to ask Griles to mention him to a Tribe with which Griles was meeting.⁹² To this request, Federici responded, "I will remind him about that and I'm sure he'd love to mention your help."⁹³ However, in her deposition, Federici dismissed the email, saying that she did not approach Griles about this because she actually thought Abramoff's request was "cheesy."⁹⁴ But, she never told Abramoff that she decided not to do as she had originally promised.⁹⁵ Why not? Likely to ensure that Abramoff would continue directing his clients to make significant contributions to CREA.

Vice Chairman Dorgan summarized Federici's testimony, and the Committee's skepticism of her testimony, at a recent hearing: "You are an environmental organization. You come into a lot of money from Indian tribes. My guess is that that money had nothing to do with generosity, or had very little to do with energy or the environment, but had a lot to do with Mr. Abramoff saying to his contacts

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ *See id.*

⁸⁸ It is notable that, during her deposition, Federici admitted that she never mentioned Abramoff's concerns about BIA being "in the back pocket" of others, to Griles. *Id.*

⁸⁹ Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005).

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005). *See also* Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (GTG-E000105153) (September 24, 2002).

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

⁹⁵ *Id.*

in these tribes, 'I want you to stick money into Ms. Federici's organization,' and they did."⁹⁶

At the same hearing, the Vice Chairman succinctly described the Committee's belief of why Abramoff's clients contributed so much to CREA, as follows:

I am just telling you that our records are full of these things. It is full of references to the duties that you were performing [or promised to perform] for Mr. Abramoff. Those duties had to do with the term 'juice' that also exists in our set of records. You had 'juice.' You got paid for that 'juice' by having Mr. Abramoff direct funds to your organization, and you spent a lot of time in your correspondence back and forth with Mr. Abramoff about what you are doing; not about the environment; not about energy; [but about] all of these issues that have to do with Mr. Abramoff. It looks to me like you were working for Mr. Abramoff and you were getting money from Indian tribes to do it. That's what it looks like to me."⁹⁷

He also observed, "The way you describe it in this testimony is the Indian tribes are generous; Jack is generous; everybody is generous. That is unbelievable to me."⁹⁸ It is unbelievable to the Committee.

D. WHAT DID FEDERICI DO FOR ABRAMOFF AT INTERIOR?

In her deposition with Committee staff, Federici said that she could only remember talking to Abramoff about three issues—a "school cost-share" issue, relating to the Saginaw Chippewa; the Gun Lake Tribe's land-into-trust application; and the Jena Band's attempts at getting land-into-trust and a compact in Louisiana.⁹⁹

For the Saginaw Chippewa, Abramoff asked Federici to help him with former Interior Deputy Secretary Griles on a "school cost share program."¹⁰⁰ This was one context that, according to Federici, Abramoff told her that the BIA was in the back-pocket of people who did not like him and that his clients were not being treated fairly. Consequently, Federici testified, she felt bad for Abramoff and thought she could help with Griles.¹⁰¹ But, when Abramoff sometimes asked her to get Griles to "kill" this or "put the kibosh" on that, she never told him that she would not do any of it or ever correct him, she said.¹⁰² She wasn't "going to correct a 50-year old, male, conservative activist leader, [and] you know, donor."¹⁰³

About the "school cost share" program, Federici denied having had a substantive conversation with Griles.¹⁰⁴ According to

⁹⁶ "Tribal Lobbying Matters' *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 31 (November 17, 2005).

⁹⁷ *Id.* at 32.

⁹⁸ *Id.* at 33.

⁹⁹ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000110) (August 21, 2003).

¹⁰¹ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ *Id.*

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

Federici, she merely mentioned to Griles, “Is anybody paying attention to what’s going on with the school cost share [?]”¹⁰⁵ Otherwise, she recalled only having repeated Abramoff’s “line” that excluding the Saginaw was “unfair”; that his “[clients] [weren’t] being treated adequately”; and that “[M]embers of Congress are worked into a frenzy.”¹⁰⁶ Regarding her interaction with Griles on these and similar issues, Federici insisted, “[T]hese were not conversations. These were mentions and sort of heads-up ...”¹⁰⁷

The Gun Lake Tribe’s application for land-into-trust also had the potential to negatively affect the Saginaw Chippewa. Federici could only recall that Abramoff told her that Interior was “directly going against what Steve wanted.”¹⁰⁸ However, Federici has no recollection of having talked with Griles about that issue.¹⁰⁹

Finally, regarding the Jena Band’s efforts to get a compact and land-into-trust, which would have harmed the Louisiana Coushatta, Federici testified that Abramoff told her that key conservatives, including James Dobson and Ralph Reed, were writing in opposition.¹¹⁰ As a result, Federici recalls, she just made sure that Griles knew that “conservatives were upset” and were calling into Interior in droves.¹¹¹ According to Federici, the foregoing reflects her memory about her discussions with Abramoff about matters affecting his clients and her communications with Griles about those issues.¹¹²

However, documents indicate that Federici at least promised Abramoff that she would liaise with Griles more extensively than she has admitted to the Committee. For example, according to a September 24, 2002, email, Abramoff asked Federici to talk to Griles about a “Tigua water issue.”¹¹³ Federici responded, “I am calling right now.”¹¹⁴ Similarly, in an email dated December 4, 2002, entitled “[G]un [L]ake [I]ndian [T]ribe [C]asino,” Abramoff complained to Federici about developments relating to this Tribe and conveyed to Federici a strategy, regarding that Tribe’s environmental impact report, to shut down its land-into-trust application.¹¹⁵ Federici responded, “I will call [Steve Griles] asap.”¹¹⁶ Also, in another email dated December 6, 2002, entitled “Gun Lake: New Hope For Gun Lake Casino,” Abramoff urged Federici, “[T]his is what we have to stop.”¹¹⁷ Federici responded, “seeing him at 4pm today.”¹¹⁸

In a related email dated March 6, 2003, and entitled “Saginaw Chippewa Tribe—School Cost Share,” Abramoff asked Federici “if

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ *Id.*

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ *Id.*

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 035) (September 24, 2002).

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

¹¹⁵ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (GTG–E000024441) (December 4, 2002).

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000041) (December 6, 2002).

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

[she] can call Steve on this.”¹¹⁹ She responded, “got it.”¹²⁰ Additionally, in an email from Abramoff to Federici, dated December 2, 2002, entitled “Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino—Shreveport Times,” Abramoff wrote, “It seems that the Jena are on the march again. [I]f you can, can you make sure Steve squelches this again?”¹²¹ Federici responded, “Thanks for the update. I’ll bring it up asap!”¹²²

Likewise, in an email from Abramoff to Scanlon, dated February 15, 2002, entitled “shit,” Abramoff wrote that he “just got a call from [Federici].”¹²³ According to that email, Federici apparently provided Abramoff with then-nonpublic information she indicated that she had gotten from Griles that “as of now, Norton is going to sign the Jena deal.”¹²⁴ Similarly, in an email dated January 21, 2003, entitled “Intel from dept of Int/BIA,” Abramoff asked Federici if there is “any way to find out” when and how the BIA will respond to a letter from Governor Foster about a new Jena casino.¹²⁵ Federici responded, “Thanks, Jack! I will ask about the timing and content and call you. ...”¹²⁶ Abramoff also reached out to Federici about the Jena Band’s casino proposal in another email, dated March 9, 2003, entitled “Jena Choctaw Update.”¹²⁷ Then, Federici responded, “I will call you on Monday with whatever I can find out.”¹²⁸ These emails stand for a modest, but important, proposition: that Abramoff repeatedly asked Federici to contact Griles on issues important to his clients—the same clients that contributed to CREA—and that Federici promised to help.

In attempting to explain away those emails, Federici suggested that she did not necessarily follow-through on Abramoff’s requests.¹²⁹ She explained that after she received such “hair-on-fire” emails from Abramoff requesting that she talk to Griles, she would say “I’ll call” or “something like that.”¹³⁰ But, Federici testified, “[a]nd if I said yes, I’ll try to call Steve, and I couldn’t reach Steve, it’s not like anybody was, you know, necessarily—it could just completely drop off his plate until the next hair-on-fire email, you know. I just figured Jack was throwing stuff against the wall. Maybe somebody else sorted it out.”¹³¹ Federici elaborated as follows:

I would say, I’ll call. But the gist of the email. If he would say—Jack, I think some of them are almost comical. It’s like his hair is on fire: Oh my God, this is happening and

¹¹⁹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (GTG–E000027919) (March 6, 2003).

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000039) (December 2, 2002).

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Michael Scanlon, Capitol Campaign Strategies (GTG–E000010914) (February 15, 2002).

¹²⁴ *Id.*

¹²⁵ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000062) (January 21, 2003).

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ Email between Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, and Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (SENCREA 10/04 000075) (March 9, 2003).

¹²⁸ *Id.*

¹²⁹ Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005).

¹³⁰ *Id.*

¹³¹ *Id.*

that's happening. By the way, great to see you tonight. It's like, you know, you go back and you read some of these. So, if he said, you know, I'm having a problem, this problem with the Saginaw thing, again with the school cost share, this Saginaw thing, this Saginaw thing, can you—or the Jena, you know. ... I mean, I would just take that information and digest it down into what it, the components that it actually was, which is Jack's worried about Jena. And ... if I said I would call Steve I would try to reach him. But if he was traveling or giving a speech or something and a few days passed, I wouldn't try to take it back up again. I mean, again it's something I was just doing to be polite to Jack. It's not my job, and I was actually doing CREA work.¹³²

Federici underscored that while she originally helped Abramoff with his Tribal clients *vis-a-vis* Griles “to be nice, ... after the Saginaw thing it was just, it was way too stressful and, frankly, not my job.”¹³³ But, having repeatedly promised Abramoff that she would speak with Griles on matters at Interior affecting his Tribal clients, she was all too willing to continue accepting significant tribal “contributions” from Abramoff.

E. WHAT, IF ANYTHING, GRILES DID FOR ABRAMOFF'S CLIENTS IS
UNCLEAR

Griles repeatedly testified that Abramoff had no special access to him.¹³⁴ In his deposition, Griles agreed that “[Abramoff] was another lobbyist with whom he did business. Just as [he] did business with many others in town.”¹³⁵

However, some evidence suggesting that Griles may have assisted Abramoff gives rise to concern. Former Louisiana Coushatta Tribal councilman William Worfel testified that Abramoff told him that he would approach Griles about stopping the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians' attempt to get a compact in Louisiana.¹³⁶ Worfel recalls that Abramoff ultimately told him that Griles helped kill, or helped convince the Secretary to reject, the Jena compact.¹³⁷

¹³² *Id.*

¹³³ *Id.* Federici elaborated, “The whole cost share, just the whole like—you know, to the best of my recollection it was like oh my God, Senator this and Senator that, the Senate's leaving in a half an hour and this is going to expire, and why are they doing this, that, and the other thing. And it was just like, you know—I think my initial response to that was, I don't care. And then, you know: But you have to care; it's about money for school for poor kids and it's \$3 million, this is terrible. I mean, it was just way over the top. It was too much pressure on me.” *Id.*

¹³⁴ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 89 (November 2, 2005). *See, e.g.*, “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 89 (November 2, 2005) (testimony of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, Department of the Interior); Letter from Barry M. Hartman, Esq., counsel to J. Steven Griles, Kirkpatrick & Lockhart Nicholson Graham, to Pablo E. Carrillo, Esq. Chief Investigative Counsel, U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, January 3, 2006; Letter from Barry M. Hartman, Esq., counsel to J. Steven Griles, Kirkpatrick & Lockhart Nicholson Graham, to the Honorable John McCain, U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, April 6, 2006.

¹³⁵ Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005) (“That was my vision, and there was nothing unique about it.”)

¹³⁶ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2005).

¹³⁷ *Id.*

During his interview, Worfel also told staff that Abramoff's lobbying associate Stephanie Leger Short told him that Griles was also supposed to help the Tribe with economic development grants.¹³⁸ In her interview, Short, who formerly managed the Louisiana Coushatta account for Abramoff, testified that Abramoff described Griles as "[his] guy" and was always "going to call Griles" and "get on Griles."¹³⁹ Based on Abramoff's comments, Short understood that Abramoff and Griles were "close": "When things got hairy with Coushatta, it was always [that Abramoff] was going to call Griles and see what he could do."¹⁴⁰ Regarding the Louisiana Coushatta, Griles' name came up mostly during the Jena Band's efforts in Logansport and Vinton, Louisiana.¹⁴¹ It also came up, according to Short, on an Agua Caliente tax issue and an issue regarding the Choctaw.¹⁴² According to Worfel, Abramoff said that Griles was willing to help the Tribe because of its "contribution" to CREA, which made the Tribe "a friend of Interior."¹⁴³

Worfel also stated that Abramoff told him that he interviewed Griles for his position at Interior and, in fact, helped him get his job there.¹⁴⁴ He also recalled that Abramoff mentioned Griles' name many times and said that they were "close."¹⁴⁵ From his conversations with Abramoff, Worfel thought of Griles as Abramoff's "point man" or "inside man" at Interior: "[t]hat was his person. Boom, he could pick up the phone and Griles—it was like Griles worked for him."¹⁴⁶ At his interview, Worfel told Committee investigators, "The only thing I can tell you is I've said Steve Griles' name about 20 times since we started this [interview]. [In the context of getting help for the Tribe,] Jack Abramoff said Steve Griles' name maybe 200 times."¹⁴⁷ Worfel's recollection about what Abramoff told him about how Griles could help his Tribe is consistent with the accounts of other Tribal representatives.

Notwithstanding the testimony and documents described above, Griles could recall only one or two conversations with Federici concerning Abramoff's Tribal clients.¹⁴⁸ In that conversation, Griles remembered Federici saying only something to the effect of "I was talking [to] Jack Abramoff, he really would like for you to give him a call."¹⁴⁹ Griles said he believed that this communication may have been related to "an Indian insurrection question."¹⁵⁰ Nor does Griles recall Federici's asking him to help Abramoff's clients.¹⁵¹

Griles denied talking with Federici about matters that, according to documents, Abramoff asked her to discuss with him. In his interview, Griles stated, "I don't recall Ms. Federici ever mentioning

¹³⁸ *Id.*

¹³⁹ Interview of Stephanie Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (August 18, 2005).

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ Interview of William Worfel, former Vice-Chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, in Washington, D.C. (September 13, 2005).

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

¹⁴⁸ Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005).

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ *Id.*

Gun Lake to me.”¹⁵² Similarly, Griles held that he did not “recall ever having a discussion on a Tigua tribe or a water issue with anyone.”¹⁵³ Griles also stated that he did not “recall receiving any information from Ms. Federici on Bay Hills [sic].”¹⁵⁴ Likewise, when asked about Abramoff or Federici asking him to pull [BIA personnel] from the Choctaw elections, Griles asserted “I don’t recall ever hearing of the issue.”¹⁵⁵ Griles’ recollection failed him again when he stated “I don’t recall any discussion with [Abramoff] about Mashpee. I didn’t do tribal recognitions.”¹⁵⁶ Correspondingly, Griles did not “recall a conversation with [Federici] either” regarding the Mashpee recognition.¹⁵⁷ Griles later declared, “I don’t recall today having any discussions with [Federici] about [the Jena Band compact].”¹⁵⁸

Committee staff tried to explore the precise nature of Griles’ relationship with Abramoff and whether Griles did anything to further the interests of Abramoff’s clients on matters pending at Interior. To that end, a discussion about a binder ensued. During his interview, Griles stated that one day he returned to his office to find a mysterious binder with no name on his desk.¹⁵⁹ After inquiring where the binder came from, his secretary told him that it had been delivered to the front desk, and he decided to “just [flip] through it.”¹⁶⁰ Skimming the documents he discovered that the notebook was actually a packet of information about the Jena Band and “looked like it had letters—congressional letters, it had studies or something in it.”¹⁶¹ Accordingly, Griles remembered asking Sue Ellen Wooldridge, Counselor to the Interior Secretary, what to do with the notebook and was informed that it was now a federal record and that he had “no option except to give it to Interior lawyer Michael Rossetti.”¹⁶² Griles maintained that he gave the notebook to Rossetti and “didn’t endorse its contents.”¹⁶³

Rossetti, however, has a different recollection of those events. Rossetti recalled that only after “some time” and “a series of questions that took much longer to get to that answer than I would have thought was necessary,” Griles actually told him where the binder came from: from a member of Congress by way of a chief of staff by way of a lobbyist “who turned out to be Mr. Abramoff.”¹⁶⁴

Griles strenuously disagreed: “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.”¹⁶⁵ Griles testified that

¹⁵² *Id.*

¹⁵³ *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵⁵ *Id.*

¹⁵⁶ *Id.*

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ *Id.*

¹⁶⁰ *Id.*

¹⁶¹ *Id.*

¹⁶² *Id.*

¹⁶³ *Id.*

¹⁶⁴ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 91 (November 2, 2005) (Rossetti’s testimony).

¹⁶⁵ *Id.* at 92 (Griles’ testimony). In an interview with Committee staff, former Abramoff associate Stephanie Leger Short indicated that she prepared the binder. Interview of Stephanie

the conversation concluded with his advising Rossetti “to please make sure the Secretary knew that there were all sides of this issue, and please brief her on that.”¹⁶⁶

With regard to the charge that Griles tried to insinuate himself in matters pending at Interior affecting Abramoff’s Tribal clients, Rossetti’s account is again fundamentally different from Griles. Rossetti recalls that Griles became involved with the Jena’s land-into-trust application issue the second time it was brought up at Interior.¹⁶⁷ Rossetti testified that Griles had several discussions with him during which Griles requested to be involved in his meetings with career employees and the Secretary about a possible decision on the Tribe’s application.¹⁶⁸ Rossetti said that those discussions took place twice in a hallway and in Rossetti’s office and that he thought that it was unusual that Griles was so concerned about those meetings.¹⁶⁹ He speculated that Griles was worried that some secret discussion might be taking place.¹⁷⁰ Rossetti stated that he assured Griles that Griles would be there at the meeting.¹⁷¹

Rossetti testified that Griles’ attendance at a meeting regarding Abramoff’s clients came up again.¹⁷² At that time, Rossetti asked Griles, “[w]hy is this issue so important to you?”¹⁷³ According to Rossetti, Griles simply replied, “I just want to be at the meeting.”¹⁷⁴ On a third occasion, Rossetti asked Griles, “[w]hat’s your deal? What do I need to know? Are there any outside voices that I need to know about?”¹⁷⁵ At that point, according to Rossetti, Griles “turned purple” and immediately left.¹⁷⁶ Ultimately, Rossetti said, Griles told him that he did not have to be at that meeting and did not attend.¹⁷⁷

Relevant to understanding the full extent of Griles’ relationship with Abramoff are any communications that Griles may have had with Abramoff about possibly working at Greenberg Traurig. According to a July 17, 2003, email from Abramoff to Federici, whatever direct line of communication Abramoff had with Griles was disrupted:

Hi there. Are you around for a chat? I am in a most difficult situation regarding Interior and need your advice. Steve [Griles] is nothing but a gentleman and great guy to me, but he can’t (or at least won’t) discuss any of my cli-

Leger Short, former associate, Greenberg Traurig, by telephone (June 16, 2006). She explained that in the binder, which was actually one of about 15 or so, she inserted letters opposing the Jena Band’s land-into-trust application, applicable sections of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (“IGRA”), and other related documents. *Id.* She also noted that, while some copies went to members of the Louisiana delegation, she was “99 percent sure” that Abramoff was supposed to get a copy to the U.S. Department of the Interior. *Id.* But, she had no recollection of Abramoff’s mentioning Griles at the time. *Id.*

¹⁶⁶ “Tribal Lobbying Matters,” *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 92 (November 2, 2005).

¹⁶⁷ *Id.* at 99.

¹⁶⁸ *Id.*

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*

¹⁷⁰ *Id.*

¹⁷¹ Interview of Michael Rossetti, former counselor to the Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 28, 2005).

¹⁷² *Id.*

¹⁷³ *Id.*

¹⁷⁴ *Id.*

¹⁷⁵ *Id.*

¹⁷⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

ents with me. the [sic] problem is that, since he won't do so, and since you are not able to chat with him now, I am left in a real dilemma. I can't deliver anything from Interior for my clients. It is as if the Clinton guys are back in power. I don't know what to do. I have a few clients that need answers, basic answers, from Interior, and I have no one to chat with. What should I do?¹⁷⁸

But, subsequently, on September 9, 2003, Abramoff wrote to some of his associates: "This cannot be shared with anyone not on the distribution list. I met with [Griles] 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 90–120 days."¹⁷⁹

Apparently, on or about January 12, 2004, Griles and Abramoff met with Greenberg Traurig lobbying practice head Fred Baggett.¹⁸⁰ In testifying before the Committee, Griles stated that "[a]t the end of [the meeting], they said, we would like for you to join our firm."¹⁸¹ Griles insisted that he merely "politely listened" and replied, "I'm not leaving the Federal Government."¹⁸² Griles testified that he had made the determination that he was going to serve through "the 4 years of the President before [he] left."¹⁸³ According to Griles, he then returned to Interior and spoke with the agency ethics officer and the deputy ethics officer at Interior about the discussion.¹⁸⁴ Griles remembered that these ethics officials told him that this meeting triggered no waiver or recusal obligations—he did not have to do anything.¹⁸⁵

In contrast to Griles' recollection that "they," that is, Abramoff and Baggett, told him that "we would like for you to join our firm," in his interview with Committee staff, Baggett described the meeting as merely "introductory" and maintained that he never talked

¹⁷⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Italia Federici, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, "FW: Griles' (SENCREA 10/04 000108) (July 17, 2003). While Federici's answer to this email is unknown, she recalled this email during her deposition. Deposition of Italia Federici, president, Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, in Washington, D.C. (October 7, 2005). She testified that she never asked Abramoff or Griles about why Griles was not "discussing [Abramoff's] clients with [him]": "I didn't ask Jack because I didn't want to pry and I didn't raise it with Steve [Griles] because I knew better." *Id.* She elaborated, "I [knew] that if Steve's not going to talk with somebody he's not going to talk with them ..." *Id.*

¹⁷⁹ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to Kevin Ring; Todd Boulanger; Michael Williams; and Duane Gibson, Greenberg Traurig; "Griles' (Bates number 56340) (September 9, 2003). Exactly when and where this conversation occurred, much less what was discussed, remains unclear.

¹⁸⁰ See Event Reminder from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to self, "Steve Griles and Fred Baggett—Sigs' (Bates number 100878) (undated) (indicating that meeting was to occur on "Mon 1/12/2004 [from 5:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.]"). Griles best recollection is that this meeting might have occurred sometime in 2003. See Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005).

¹⁸¹ "Tribal Lobbying Matters" *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 104 (November 2, 2005). But see Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005) (attributing statement to "[e]ither [Abramoff or Baggett] or both").

¹⁸² *Id.* See also "Tribal Lobbying Matters" *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 104 (November 2, 2005).

¹⁸³ *Id.*

¹⁸⁴ Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005); "Tribal Lobbying Matters" *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 104 (November 2, 2005).

¹⁸⁵ Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005); "Tribal Lobbying Matters" *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 104 (November 2, 2005).

to Griles about coming to work at Greenberg Traurig.¹⁸⁶ Baggett also indicated that he had no knowledge about Abramoff (or anyone else at Greenberg Traurig) having had employment discussions with Griles.¹⁸⁷

Days after the meeting at Signatures, on February 3, 2004, Abramoff followed-up with his associates about the prospect of Griles' joining Greenberg Traurig, writing simply, "Has decided he cannot leave the administration before the election."¹⁸⁸ Griles categorically denied having had any other conversations with Abramoff about possibly working at Greenberg Traurig, other than this meeting.¹⁸⁹

Based on the information in its possession, the Committee cannot definitively conclude what, if anything, Griles did to assist Abramoff's clients on matters then pending at Interior. In its totality, the information described above supports relatively modest propositions, namely, that Abramoff *believed* that he had influence over Griles, either directly or through Federici; that Abramoff told others that he had a robust relationship with Griles or had some influence over decision-making at Interior; and that it was likely on that basis that he may have directed his Tribal clients to "contribute" to CREA. However, it must be carefully said that, without more evidence, it is plausible that, in fact relying on his relationship with Federici, Abramoff may have simply exaggerated his access to Griles to his clients.

In any event, given the paucity of evidence in the Committee's possession, the Committee is unable to arrive at any definitive conclusions as to the veracity of Griles' testimony on his relationship, and interaction, with Abramoff during all times relevant. And, without a good faith basis for concern that Griles may have been untruthful with the Committee, further exploration is beyond the scope of the investigation. However, it should be noted that the Committee is troubled by the marked inconsistency between Griles' and Rossetti's testimonies on the narrow issue of whether Griles *tried* to insinuate himself in decision-making processes affecting any of Abramoff's Tribal clients. It is also concerned about the implications of some of the fragmentary evidence discussed above.

F. CONCLUSION

Over the last two years, the Committee's investigation has sought to determine, among other things, whether monies paid by the Tribes at Abramoff or Scanlon's direction to or through various entities were ultimately used for purposes intended by those Tribes. In the case of CREA, by Federici's own admission, Abramoff and/or his clients contributed about \$500,000 to the organization between 2001 and 2003.

From the evidence discussed above, it appears that some of the Tribes were induced into paying CREA because Abramoff told them, among other things, that those payments would get them fa-

¹⁸⁶ Interview of Fred Baggett, Chair, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, in Washington, D.C. (September 29, 2005).

¹⁸⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸⁸ Email from Jack Abramoff, Greenberg Traurig, to DCCasino, Greenberg Traurig, "Griles" (Tracking Number 3707795) (February 3, 2004).

¹⁸⁹ See Interview of J. Steven Griles, former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Interior, in Washington, D.C. (October 20, 2005).

avorable treatment at Interior. The evidence also suggests that Federici may have led Abramoff into believing that she had pull at Interior and that she would use it in exchange for, or because of, contributions by Abramoff's Tribal clients to CREA. Unfortunately, the extent to which Federici actually sought to influence Interior on pending matters affecting Abramoff's clients remains unclear. Also unclear is what, if anything, Griles (who Abramoff believed was Federici's contact at Interior) might have done on behalf of Abramoff's clients at Interior and (if Griles did anything) what his motives for doing so might have been.

Against that backdrop, the Committee is concerned about the veracity of Federici's testimony on several important areas, discussed above.¹⁹⁰ Additional inquiry into those areas by the appropriate authorities appears warranted.

¹⁹⁰ A part of Federici's testimony that concerns the Committee relates to the nature of CREA. When Federici appeared before the Committee on November 17, 2005, a Member asked her whether any of monies paid to CREA as contributions were ultimately used for purely personal purposes. "Tribal Lobbying Matters," *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs*, 109th Cong. at 49 (November 17, 2005). In response, Federici said, "No; not to the best of my recollection." *Id.* at 38-40. Elsewhere in the hearing, Federici responded to a similar question, stating, "No. I mean if money from CREA goes to me, it is salary or reimbursement." *Id.* at 49. Therefore, an outstanding fact question is whether any of those expenses, for which Federici sought and received reimbursement, were purely personal in nature. Elsewhere, Federici testified, "But Senator, I was not abusing non-profit resources, okay?" *Id.* at 40.

PART FOUR—RECOMMENDATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

Over the past two years, the Committee on Indian Affairs (the “Committee”) has developed a robust legislative record on the facts and circumstances surrounding Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon’s relationship with and representation of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (“Choctaw”), the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (“Louisiana Coushatta”), the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (“Saginaw Chippewa”), the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (“Agua Caliente”), the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of Texas (“Tigua”), and the Pueblo of Sandia (collectively, “Tribes”). After careful consideration of that record, the Committee makes the following observations and recommendations.

B. CONTRACTING FOR LEGAL, LOBBYING AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

1. No New or Revised Federal Legislation Needed

The Committee has exhaustively examined Abramoff and Scanlon’s “gimme five” scheme, by which the two bilked the Tribes out of tens of millions of dollars. Without doubt, the depth and breadth of their misconduct was astonishing. Nevertheless, with respect solely to the kickbacks from Scanlon to Abramoff, the Committee concludes that existing federal criminal statutes are sufficient to deter and punish such misconduct.

Indeed, there is no better support for the Committee’s conclusion than Abramoff’s and Scanlon’s guilty pleas. On November 17, 2005, Scanlon pled guilty to, among other things, conspiracy (1) to defraud some of the Tribes under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341 and 1343; and, (2) to defraud and deprive some of the Tribes of Abramoff’s honest services under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341, 1343, and 1346. On January 3, 2006, Abramoff pled guilty to, among other things, (1) conspiracy to commit mail and wire fraud under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341 and 1343; (2) conspiracy to commit honest services wire and mail fraud, under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341, 1343, and 1346; (3) honest services mail fraud under 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341 and 1346.

That Abramoff and Scanlon perpetrated their kickback scheme against Indian tribes does not change the applicability or effectiveness of those statutes as tools to deter and punish such misconduct. The Committee sees no basis for treating Indian tribes differently than other similarly aggrieved parties in this respect. The Committee thus finds no reason or basis to carve out or create a special category for fraud against Indian tribes under federal law.

2. Best Practices Recommendations

Although the Committee does not believe that additional federal legislation is required to address Abramoff and Scanlon’s mis-

conduct, it does recommend that tribes consider adopting their own laws to help prevent a similar tragedy. Over many years and innumerable scandals, the federal and state governments learned difficult lessons regarding appropriate decision-making processes when contracting for services. From these lessons a consensus has developed around core good governance principles. These principles embody a philosophy that focuses on providing sufficient information to constituents regarding the basis for decisions made by government officials, thereby fostering trust and confidence that governmental decisions are being made based on the best interests of the government and not of the individual decisionmakers. Accordingly, the federal and state governments have enacted laws and regulations addressing issues relating to contracting for services and conflicts of interests.

Some Indian tribes have already adopted laws and regulations addressing some or all of these matters, while a significant number have not. The Committee strongly encourages those tribes that have not adopted such laws and regulations to enact laws and regulations that embrace the principles contained in the following recommendations. The Committee notes, however, that it is not recommending that Congress enact legislation mandating tribes to enact laws dealing with these subjects, but that the tribal governments themselves consider the following recommendations and determine for themselves whether enacting such laws might benefit the tribe and its members. Tribal governments, as the government closest and most responsive to tribal members, are best able to develop laws and regulations that appropriately take into account the unique history, cultural and legal authorities of a particular tribe.

a. Contracting for legal, lobbying and other services should follow a specific, open and competitive process

Tribal governments should consider adopting laws applicable to contracting for legal, lobbying or other professional services, at least when the cost of the services will exceed, or has the potential of exceeding, a certain threshold amount. Contracting for these services should not be an ad hoc decision of the tribal council or a tribal official but instead should follow a process that requires decision-makers to assess what it is that the tribe needs; determine the kinds of skills, experience and expertise the contractor must have in order to meet those needs; solicit contracting proposals from the applicable community of contractors or providers, based on a clearly articulated set of requirements; evaluate the responsive proposals in light of the stated requirements; perform appropriate background checks on responding contractors and providers; and document the contracting decision in writing.

b. Contracting rules should be structured to prevent conflicts of interest

Even a fair and open contracting process can be abused. Accordingly, contracting rules should include provisions calculated to prevent improper considerations in the contracting process—such as prohibitions against contracting decision-makers from receiving anything of value from persons or firms seeking to obtain or renew contracts with the tribe; requirements that tribal campaign con-

tributions (including contributions of services or assistance) at or above a certain threshold dollar amount be publicly disclosed; or rules prohibiting tribal council members from voting on any measure relating to a contract where the contractor has contributed to his or her campaign for office. Tribes should consider examining whether, under any circumstances, a firm that provides legal, lobbying or other professional services to the tribe should ever be allowed to contribute money, services or anything of value to the campaign of anyone running for tribal office, or to provide professional services to a tribal official in his or her personal capacity apart from the services being provided to the tribe or to the official in his or her official capacity.

c. Contracting and conflict of interests rules should include appropriate sanctions

To ensure an adequate level of compliance with contracting and conflict of interests rules, there should be appropriate sanctions in place for violations of the rules. Apart from laws criminalizing the receipt of kickbacks and fraud (which many, if not most, tribes have already enacted), tribes should consider enacting laws that would render professional contracts awarded in violation of the contracting or conflict of interests rules to be void or voidable; subject a contractor found to have violated the rules to a contracting bar period or for egregious violations even a permanent bar; and make violation of the conflict of interests rules by a tribal official grounds for civil sanctions such as fines, suspension or even removal from office.

d. Tribes should consider working with tribal organizations and educational institutions to develop model codes and education programs addressing contracting and conflicts of interests

Tribes should consider working with their regional or national tribal organizations or with universities, colleges and law schools to develop model codes or laws to address contracting and conflict of interests issues, as well as “good government” education programs for elected and non-elected tribal officials designed to improve decision-making and avoid conflicts of interests in general but in the contracting process in particular.

C. INTEGRITY OF TRIBAL ELECTIONS

In its investigation, the Committee determined that certain non-tribal members insinuated themselves into and influenced tribal governmental elections. These non-tribal members did so with the intent or understanding that should their allies prevail, they would receive lucrative lobbying contracts from the respective tribe. Examples of these egregious actions include recruiting candidates for tribal governmental positions, organizing and funding comprehensive electioneering efforts, and providing monetary and other assistance to recall successful candidates who were unfavorable to the non-tribal members.

Tribal elections are internal tribal governmental matters that are governed by the laws of each tribe. The Committee, however, is concerned that the economic success of certain tribes and the in-

creasing number of contracts tribes enter into with outside entities may lead to an increase in the efforts of non-tribal members to interfere with or influence tribal elections.

Based on these concerns, the Committee recommends that tribal governments should consider adopting or revising laws applicable to their elections that govern the scope of involvement by non-tribal members and entities. Tribal governments should consider adopting laws that address the following issues:

- Whether, and to what extent, non-members may contribute to campaigns for tribal office.
- Whether, and to what extent, non-members may provide non-monetary support in campaigns for tribal office.
- Limitations on the amount of monetary contributions any person or entity can make to a tribal campaign.
- Reporting requirements for donors and recipients of monetary contributions in tribal elections.
- Prohibiting persons or entities that make monetary contributions to candidates in tribal elections from entering into contracts with the tribe for a specific period of time after the election.

The Committee is aware that some tribes already have comprehensive election laws that address these issues, including prohibiting non-tribal members from making monetary contributions to tribal elections. The Committee commends these efforts as further examples of strong tribal governance and encourages tribes that have not yet adopted laws governing tribal elections to do so.

D. TRIBAL POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Integral to Jack Abramoff's lobbying practice were the substantial political contributions that he requested or directed his Tribal clients to make, and for which he and his team members attempted to take credit. Whenever he pitched his services, he would discuss the need for the Tribe to make substantial political contributions.

Whether following Abramoff's advice or not, Abramoff's tribal clients made substantial political contributions during the time he represented them. The sizeable aggregate campaign contributions by some of Abramoff's tribal clients has focused attention on the treatment of Indian tribes under campaign finance law. This has resulted in calls to restrict tribal campaign contributions. Proposals to limit contributions range from treating Indian tribes like "individuals" for purposes of imposing aggregate caps on their contributions from tribal funds, to treating tribes like corporations, which cannot use treasury funds for contributions but can instead establish separate segregated funds, also known as political action committees ("PACs"), to receive limited voluntary contributions.

Many tribes object to these proposed restrictions on their political contributions, arguing that they are truly unique entities that should not be equated to individuals or corporations. They further argue that they are particularly impacted by Congressional actions, and must be afforded the opportunity to participate in the political process by using tribal funds for political contributions.

On February 8, 2006, the Committee held an Oversight Hearing on Indian Tribes and the Federal Election Campaign Act to exam-

ine this issue. The Federal Election Commission (“FEC”) testified at this hearing that Indian tribes are subject to the same contribution limitations and prohibitions in the federal campaign law as are other unincorporated associations. In instances where a tribe is acting through a corporation or federal government contractor, those tribal entities are governed by the same rules generally applicable to corporations and federal government contractors. Additionally, the FEC informed the Committee that political committees, including candidate and general party committees, must report contributions from Indian tribes.

Concerns were raised by many of the witnesses testifying before the Committee about difficulties in researching and monitoring tribal political contributions. These difficulties do not appear to be unique to Indian tribes, but also exist with respect to researching and monitoring contributions from individual donors and other entities.

The Committee believes that it is prudent to increase the level of transparency with regards to all political contributions, including those from Indian tribes. Thus, after considering the record before it, the Committee recommends, at a minimum, the following either be implemented by rule by the Federal Election Commission or law enacted by Congress.

- Tribes should be required to register with the FEC, which will assign each tribe a unique identifier, for the purpose of better tracking tribal campaign contributions.
- Contributions should be made only in the tribe’s name as it appears on its registration on file with the FEC.
- The contributions must be reported by the recipient in the Tribe’s name.

In the opinion of the Committee, based on the extensive legislative record and the February 8, 2006, hearing, these public disclosure recommendations adequately protect the public trust and confidence in the Federal election system, without unduly excluding Indian tribes from participating in that system.

E. REFERRALS TO OTHER COMMITTEES

1. Possible Misuse of Tax Exempt Organizations

In the course of its investigation, this Committee uncovered numerous instances of nonprofit organizations that appeared to be involved in activities unrelated to their mission as described to the Internal Revenue Service. In addition, the Committee observed that a number of nonprofit organizations were used as instruments to channel money from one entity to another in an effort to obscure the source of funds, the eventual use of funds, and to evade tax liability on funds. Finally, the Committee also observed tax exempt organizations apparently serving as or being used as extensions of for-profit lobbying operations.

Recognizing that oversight of nonprofit organizations under the Internal Revenue Code is not within the jurisdiction of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, the Committee, at the request of the Senate Committee on Finance, transmitted a number of relevant documents pertaining to this issue to the Senate Committee on Finance on February 9, 2006. Those documents are included in this

Report in the supporting documents following the text of the Report.

The Committee believes that the evidence it uncovered raises serious issues involving nonprofit organizations, not only with regard to compliance with existing federal revenue laws, but also with regard to whether existing federal revenue laws should be altered to prevent or discourage such activity. The Committee therefore recommends that the Senate Committee on Finance investigate, hold hearings, and report to the Senate on its findings and recommendations on these issues.

PART FIVE—VIEWS

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

INTRODUCTION

In the Recommendations section of the Report, *“Gimme Five”—Investigation of Tribal Lobbying Matters*, the Committee discusses tribal political contributions and provides a proposed policy concept that it recommends be implemented either by rule by the Federal Election Commission or law enacted by Congress. I concur that more transparency is needed, however, I would clarify that the proposal should also apply to unincorporated associations. Although unincorporated associations are not within the jurisdiction of the Committee or this report, I would broaden this recommendation to ensure that unincorporated associations are included.

DISCUSSION

As the Report accurately notes, the Committee held an Oversight Hearing on Indian Tribes and the Federal Election Campaign Act and received testimony from various witnesses, including the Federal Election Commission (FEC) and others. The Report notes that the FEC testified that Indian tribes are subject to the same contribution limitations and prohibitions in the Federal Election Campaign Act as are other unincorporated associations. Further, the report noted that many witnesses testified about the difficulty in researching and monitoring tribal political contributions from Indian tribes, individual donors and other entities. Consequently, the Committee put forth a policy recommendation for either the FEC or Congress.

Although I agree with the Committee that this issue may need to be addressed, I must provide additional views to this particular recommendation as it could imply that the policy recommendation only applies to Indian tribes. Despite the Committee’s statement that the level of transparency with regards to all political contributions should be increased, the Report could be read to unfairly single out Indian tribes by proposing a recommendation that only addresses contributions by Indian tribes.

In lieu of the Committee’s recommendation regarding tribal campaign contributions, I would propose a broader recommendation of the issue identified by the FEC and other witnesses—that this issue affects Indian tribes and other entities. Since the FEC noted that Indian tribes are subject to the same contribution limitations and prohibitions as other unincorporated associations, I believe that the recommendation should continue this similar treatment, without unfairly singling out Indian tribes, by suggesting the following:

- Each unincorporated association that intends to make a federal campaign contribution should be required to obtain a unique identifier for the purpose of better tracking campaign contributions from unincorporated associations.
- For purposes of this policy only, Indian tribes shall be considered unincorporated associations.
- All federal campaign contributions from unincorporated associations shall include the unique identifier.
- The contributions must be reported by the recipient by the unique identifier as well as the name of the unincorporated association.

While donations from individual donors are subject to the same confusion, my suggestion makes no attempt to address this issue because of the burden and confusion that it would likely impose on individual donors as well as the burden on the FEC to enforce such a provision. I am willing, however, to consider other suggestions on how to increase the transparency of these contributions.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
Subject: RE: Brown Forman
Date: Tuesday, October 24, 1995 12:40AM

Yes, he would do everything they need for him to do to win. He would be very active. What is most important, however, is that this matter is kept discreet. We do not want the opponents to think that we are trying to buy the tax payer movement. This approach should be kept as close to the vest as possible and, in any event, might be best achieved by doing it indirectly. Let's discuss if they are interested to move forward.

 From: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Cc: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Subject: RE: Brown Forman
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 7:00PM

I talked to Kerry about this. \$50,000 would be a big hit for her, but may be able to sell it to Discus. The big question is how active would he be on the issue, especially with everything else he is doing now. For example, would he send letters, make calls, do meetings, and offer advice?

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: FW: Brown Forman
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 8:40AM

Pamela:

Would you please raise this with Kerry?

Mark

 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 To: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Subject: RE: Brown Forman
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 9:32PM

I spoke this evening with Grover. He said that, if they want the taxpayer movement, including him, involved on this issue and anything else which will come up over the course of the year or so, they need to become a major player with ATR. He recommended that they make a \$50,000 contribution to ATR. It seems that, on another "sin tax" matter, he is getting a similarly large contribution to get involved.

It is possible that we could get away with less -- possibly even half -- but I'll have to push, which, of course, I am happy to do. He does not want to do any additional personal representations. He would prefer donations to ATR. Please let me know what you want to do on this. Thanks.

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: Brown Forman
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 11:26AM

Here's the deal:

Grover was very helpful last week in sending the wine/spirits letter to Senate Finance Committee Chairman Roth. Now we urgently need Grover to get even more involved as this issue goes to conference. The onerous provision is in the Senate bill; it is not in the House bill. So it will be a conference issue.

Ideally, we'd like Grover to make this a threshold issue as this reconciliation bill is hashed out. We'd like him to send the same

letter to Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee. Most importantly, we'd like him to weigh in with Gingrich and the rest of the Leadership.

Please tell Grover that Brown Forman is more than willing to make this a paid representation. It strikes me as a perfect match since opposing this change to Sec. 5010 is entirely consistent with Grover's personal philosophy and represents the longstanding position of Americans for Tax Reform. We need a decision soon -- the conference battle is right around the corner and we are already working it.

We need you to get this on Grover's priority list and get him to decide on a level of commitment on his (or ATR's) part.

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

I guess he was reading your mind. Regards.

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

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

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

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jack@[REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, November 09, 1998 10:08 PM
 To: 'ralphreed@[REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE: Hi Ralph

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GTG-E00007910

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

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

—Original Message—

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

Here it is:

March 26, 1999

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

Dear Jack:

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

Our understanding of the current situation

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

[redacted] has determined that this bill would authorize many other [redacted]

Added to the looming specter of this development is the fact that the [redacted]

[redacted] the centerpiece of his [redacted]. Therefore, he is unlikely to do anything that jeopardizes his own legislation. This makes the stakes in this battle even higher, and underscores the need

Memorandum to: Jack Abramoff
From: Ralph Reed
Date: March 30, 1999
Subj: ██████████ Project Services

Per your request, here is a detailed description of the services to be provided by Century Strategies to Preston Gates on the ██████████ project:

1. Direct representation at Capitol by one of our operatives in ██████████
2. Anti-video poker coalition organized in pro-family community
3. Multiple op-eds and letters to the editor in newspapers statewide
4. Regular statewide conference calls with key pro-family activists
5. African-American community event at Capitol protesting video poker
6. 10 or more letters and/or constituent visits to key state Senators, Lt. Governor Windom, Governor Siegelman
7. Write and record radio advertisements on Christian, country, and news-talk stations
8. Design and write print advertisements for newspapers
9. Petition drive effort in evangelical churches
10. Activist mailing to key religious conservative activists and voters
11. Informational packet to 3,000 key evangelical pastors
12. Liaison to national pro-family leadership to lend endorsement to effort

Our consulting fee includes overall strategic management and direction of this project, including building a statewide coalition and representation by one of our operatives in Montgomery. The other services, particularly direct mail, radio ads, and events, will be negotiated with Preston Gates on a per project basis. We can provide additional services upon request.

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

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

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

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

From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Sunday, April 4, 1999 9:24 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: [REDACTED]

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

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

Hope you had a blessed Passover.

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

GTG-E000111992

Linda Ingram

From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [ralphreed@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, April 06, 1999 6:51 PM
To: 'joanne@██████████'
Cc: 'linda@██████████'; 'bary@██████████'
Subject: FW: ██████████

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

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

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

Jack, here is what we are out already:

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

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

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

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

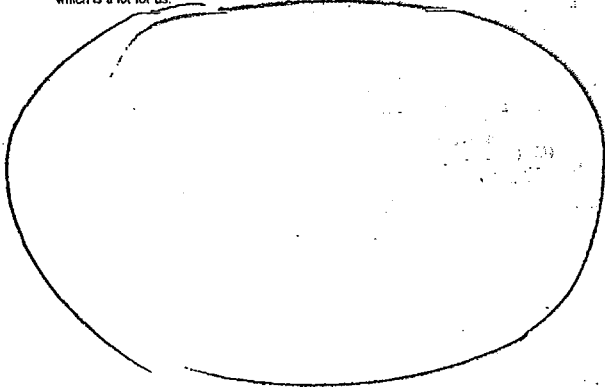
Ralph, I spoke with our managing partner and he has approved the subcontractor arrangement, but does not want the firm to be out big bucks on this, even as a cash flow, for long. So, it would be really helpful if you could get me invoices as soon as possible so I can get Choctaw to get us checks asap.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

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

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

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr (mailto:ralphreed@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 4:44 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

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



-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@ [REDACTED]]
Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 7:04 AM
To: ralph@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FedEx Airbill [REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED] Thanks for the return message confirming [REDACTED] approval of the payment of the invoice. (I saw the initials on the check request, but did not recognize them as [REDACTED] since [REDACTED] is out, this check will probably come to you for signature. We have been requested to pay a \$121,000 invoice on behalf of the Choctaw Indians.....client number 34982-00001. [REDACTED] has approved this unusually large disbursement. The check must go out in Fedex today. Please let me know if there are any issues or if we need to phone [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Preston Gates & Ellis LLP
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000111974



CENTURY STRATEGIES

Invoice

DATE	INVOICE #
4/21/99	98848

BILL TO
Preston, Gates & Ellis Attn: Jack Abramoff [REDACTED]

Please remit payments to: Century Strategies, LLC
[REDACTED]

TERMS
Due on receipt

DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
Alabama Grassroots Project expenses:	359,500.00
Statewide TV buy \$200,000.00	
Statewide Radio buy \$70,000.00	
Hypotenuse Recorded calls \$20,000.00	
Live Operator calls \$20,000.00	
State Consulting team \$20,000.00	
Postcards \$15,500.00	
Statewide Survey \$14,000.00	
<p style="text-align: center;">PAID APR 23 1999 ✓ 230864</p>	
<p>Century Strategies has relationships with Millenium Mail, LLC, and Capital Media, LLC, among others, which allows it to meet its clients' needs in a timely and cost effective manner. These arrangements include agency discounts consistent with industry standards. Original invoices from these and other vendors shall be available upon request.</p>	<p>Total \$359,500.00</p>

6022

FAX [REDACTED]

Invoice

DATE	INVOICE #
4/22/99	MM99001

BILL TO
Century Strategies, LLC
[REDACTED]

Please remit payments to: Millennium Mail, LLC. [REDACTED]

TERMS	PROJECT
Due on receipt	CS99001

DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
Mailer production, design and distribution preparation - Alabama Project # 2 postcard mailer, print 80,000 pieces	8,432.83
Postage on above mailer, 80,000 pieces	19,867.17

Millennium Mail has relationships with Century Strategies, LLC and Capital Media, LLC, among others, which allow it to meet its clients' needs in a timely and cost effective manner. These arrangements include agency discounts consistent with industry standards. Original invoices from these and other vendors shall be available upon request.

Total \$28,300.00

6023

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, April 22, 1999 10:25 AM
 To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Yeaaaaa baaabyyy!!!

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

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@REDACTED]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 1999 4:58 PM
 To: 'ralph@REDACTED'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GTG-E000018:

Preston Gates
 Gambling Project Reconciliation
 as of June 13, 1999

Invoice Number	Invoice Date	Description	Invoice Amount	Actual Revenue	Rev Adj Needed	Invoice Total	Ttl Adj per Invoice	PGE Ck No	Due from PGE
98812	4/1/99	Consulting	20,000.00	0.00	0.00	20,000.00	0.00	230219	
98821	4/7/99	Radio	43,500.00	42,000.00	(1,500.00)			230178	
98821	4/7/99	Postcards	15,500.00	15,500.00	0.00			230178	
98821	4/7/99	Phones	54,452.46	54,452.46	(7,547.54)	121,000.00	(9,047.54)	230178	
98827	4/13/99	TV Buy	125,000.00	125,000.00	5.00	125,000.00	5.00	230219	
98829	4/14/99	Pastor's Letter	1,949.98	1,949.98	0.00	1,949.98	0.00	231493	
98830	4/14/99	Radio buy	15,810.00	15,810.00	0.00	15,810.00	0.00	231493	
98833	4/20/99	TV/Radio Production	19,138.63	19,138.63	0.00			230864	
98833	4/20/99	State Consulting Team	40,000.00	40,000.00	0.00			230864	
98833	4/20/99	Church Bulletin	18,443.00	18,443.00	0.00			230864	
98833	4/20/99	Live Phone Calls	35,585.25	35,585.25	0.00			230864	
98833	4/20/99	Pastors Rally	8,765.00	8,765.00	0.00			230864	
98834	4/20/99	Misc Exp	25,000.00	25,000.00	0.00	121,931.88	0.00	230864	25,000.00
98835	4/20/99	House Legis Consulting	25,000.00	25,000.00	0.00	25,000.00	0.00	230864	25,000.00
98848	4/21/99	Statewide TV buy	200,000.00	199,940.00	(60.00)			230864	
98848	4/21/99	Statewide Radio buy	70,000.00	70,282.50	282.50			230864	
98848	4/21/99	Hypotenuse calls	20,000.00	21,529.34	1,529.34			230864	
98848	4/21/99	Live Phone Calls	20,000.00	32,598.00	12,598.00			230864	
98848	4/21/99	State Consulting Team	20,000.00	20,000.00	0.00			230864	
98848	4/21/99	Postcards	15,500.00	28,300.00	12,800.00			230864	
98848	4/21/99	Statewide Survey	14,000.00	0.00	(14,000.00)	359,500.00	13,159.84	230864	
98849	4/29/99	Statewide TV buy	180,850.00	180,850.00	0.00			231493	
98849	4/29/99	Statewide Radio buy	24,672.40	24,672.40	0.00			231493	
98849	4/29/99	Statewide Radio buy	50,000.00	49,270.98	(729.02)	235,522.40	(729.02)	231493	
98849	4/29/99	Statewide Radio buy	50,000.00	50,000.00	0.00	1,500.00	0.00	231883	
98849	4/29/99	Statewide Radio buy	50,000.00	49,270.98	(729.02)	40,000.00	0.00	231883	
98849	5/1/99	Op Ed	1,500.00	1,500.00	0.00			231883	
98849	5/1/99	Op Ed	40,000.00	40,000.00	0.00			231883	
98849	5/1/99	Statewide TV buy	170,855.00	170,755.00	(100.00)			231883	
98849	5/1/99	Statewide Radio buy	21,092.00	21,092.00	0.70	261,689.00	101.10	231883	
98849	5/1/99	Statewide Radio buy	69,942.00	69,942.00	0.40	30,000.00	(30,000.00)	232258	
98849	5/1/99	Statewide Radio buy	30,000.00	30,000.00	0.00	32,055.19	0.00	233351	
98849	5/1/99	Recorded Msg Phone Calls	32,055.19	32,055.19	0.00	20,600.00	5,000.00		20,000.00
98849	5/1/99	Recorded Msg Phone Calls	32,055.19	32,055.19	0.00	20,600.00	5,000.00		43,640.25
98849	5/1/99	June Consulting Fee	20,000.00	25,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	(5,000.00)		5,000.00
98851	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	43,640.25	43,640.25	0.00	5,000.00	(5,000.00)		4,784.25
98852	6/2/99	Adj Cons Inv 39549	5,000.00	5,000.00	0.00	5,000.00	(5,000.00)		4,784.25
98853	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	4,784.25	4,784.25	0.00	4,784.25	0.00		96,913.88
		Less Adjusted Invoices							
		Total Invoiced To Date	1,489,382.95	1,462,872.33	(26,510.62)	1,489,382.95	(26,510.62)		

6042

To be Invoiced
 TV/Radio Prod Costs 44,865.74 44,865.74 0.00
 Travel and phone expenses To be determined - invoice to follow, backup to be provided upon request

Preston Gates
 Gambling Project Reconciliation
 as of June 13, 1999

Invoice Number	Invoice Date	Description	Invoice Amount	Actual Revenue	Rev Adj Needed	Invoice Total	TU Adj per Invoice	Cost	Vendor
98812	4/7/99	Consulting	20,000.00	20,000.00	0.00	20,000.00	0.00	0.00	Century
98821	4/7/99	Radio	43,500.00	42,000.00	(1,500.00)	42,000.00	0.00	37,380.00	Natl Media
98821	4/7/99	Postcards	15,500.00	15,500.00	0.00	15,500.00	0.00	12,774.82	MM
98821	4/7/99	Phones	62,000.00	54,452.46	(7,547.54)	121,000.00	(9,047.54)	43,561.97	Voter Roll
98827	4/13/99	TV Buy	125,000.00	125,005.00	5.00	125,000.00	5.00	111,254.45	Natl Media
98829	4/14/99	Pastor's Letter	1,949.98	1,949.98	0.00	1,949.98	0.00	1,234.38	MM
98830	4/14/99	Radio buy	15,810.00	15,810.00	0.00	15,810.00	0.00	14,070.00	Natl Media
98833	4/20/99	TV/Radio Production	19,138.63	19,138.63	0.00	19,138.63	0.00	19,138.63	Gannon
98833	4/20/99	State Consulting Team	40,000.00	40,000.00	0.00	40,000.00	0.00	40,000.00	Cap Group
98833	4/20/99	Church Bulletin	18,443.00	18,443.00	0.00	18,443.00	0.00	28,468.20	Conquest
98833	4/20/99	Live Phone Calls	35,585.25	35,585.25	0.00	35,585.25	0.00	0.00	
98834	4/20/99	Pastors Rally	8,765.00	8,765.00	0.00	8,765.00	0.00	0.00	
98835	4/20/99	Misc Exp	25,000.00	25,000.00	0.00	25,000.00	0.00	0.00	
98848	4/21/99	Holmes Legis Consulting	25,000.00	25,000.00	0.00	25,000.00	0.00	0.00	
98848	4/21/99	Statewide TV buy	200,000.00	169,840.00	(60.00)	169,840.00	0.00	177,946.60	Natl Media
98848	4/21/99	Statewide Radio buy	70,000.00	70,292.50	292.50	70,292.50	0.00	62,560.33	Natl Media
98848	4/21/99	Hypotenusa calls	20,000.00	21,529.34	1,529.34	21,529.34	0.00	17,223.47	Voter Roll
98848	4/21/99	Live Phone Calls	20,000.00	32,568.00	12,568.00	32,568.00	0.00	26,078.40	Conquest
98848	4/21/99	State Consulting Team	20,000.00	20,000.00	0.00	20,000.00	0.00	20,000.00	Cap Group
98848	4/21/99	Postcards	15,500.00	28,300.00	12,800.00	12,800.00	0.00	24,297.17	MM
98848	4/21/99	Statewide Survey	14,000.00	0.00	(14,000.00)	359,500.00	13,159.84	0.00	
98849	4/25/99	Statewide TV buy	160,850.00	160,850.00	0.00	160,850.00	0.00	143,156.50	Natl Media
98849	4/25/99	Statewide Radio buy	24,672.40	24,672.40	0.00	24,672.40	0.00	21,966.44	Natl Media
98849	4/25/99	Statewide Radio buy	50,000.00	48,270.98	(729.02)	235,522.40	(729.02)	43,851.17	Natl Media
98849	4/25/99	Op Ed	1,500.00	1,500.00	0.00	1,500.00	0.00	0.00	Century
98849	5/4/99	Consulting	40,000.00	40,000.00	0.00	40,000.00	0.00	0.00	Century
98850	5/6/99	Statewide TV buy	170,655.00	170,755.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	151,971.95	Natl Media
98850	5/6/99	Statewide Radio buy	21,092.70	21,092.70	0.00	21,092.70	0.00	18,772.50	Natl Media
98850	5/6/99	Statewide Radio buy	69,942.00	69,942.00	0.00	69,942.00	0.00	62,248.74	Natl Media
98850	5/12/99	Statewide Radio buy	30,000.00	0.00	(30,000.00)	261,689.00	101.10	0.00	
98850	5/25/99	Recorded Msg Phone Calls	32,055.19	32,055.19	0.00	32,055.19	0.00	25,644.15	Voter Roll
98850	6/1/99	June Consulting Fee	20,000.00	25,000.00	5,000.00	20,000.00	5,000.00	0.00	Century
98851	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	43,640.25	43,640.25	0.00	43,640.25	0.00	34,912.20	Conquest
98851	6/2/99	Adj. Cons Inv	5,000.00	5,000.00	(5,000.00)	5,000.00	(5,000.00)	0.00	Century
98853	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	4,784.25	4,784.25	0.00	4,784.25	0.00	3,827.40	Conquest
Total Invoiced To Date			1,499,382.95	1,462,872.33	(26,510.62)	1,469,382.95	(26,510.62)	1,142,331.47	

6043

To be Invoiced

TV/Radio Prod Costs 44,865.74 44,865.74 0.00 44,865.74 44,865.74 Gannon

Preston Gates
 Gambling Project Reconciliation
 as of June 13, 1999

Invoice Number	Invoice Date	Description	Vendor Inv No	Invoice Amount	Profit	PGE Ck No	A/R Due	Commission R Read	N Rhoades
98812	4/1/99	Consulting	N/A	20,000.00	20,000.00	230219		13,300.00	6,700.00
98821	4/1/99	Radio	R-04-2005	43,500.00	4,620.00	230178		3,072.30	1,547.70
98821	4/1/99	Postcards	MM99012	15,500.00	2,725.18	230178		1,812.24	912.94
98821	4/1/99	Phones	9910023J9	82,000.00	10,890.49	230178		7,242.18	3,646.31
98829	4/1/99	TV Buy	T-04-1000	125,000.00	13,750.55	230219		9,144.12	4,605.43
98830	4/1/99	Pastor's Letter	MM99011	1,949.98	715.60	231483		475.87	239.73
98830	4/1/99	Radio Buy	R-04-2007	15,810.00	1,740.00	231483		1,157.10	582.90
98833	4/20/99	TV/Radio Production	19,138.83 50011	40,000.00	0.00	230864		0.00	0.00
98833	4/20/99	State Consulting Team	4/8 & 5/1	18,443.00	18,443.00	230864		12,264.60	6,178.41
98833	4/20/99	Church Bulletin	7/1/17/05	7,117.05	230864			4,732.84	2,384.21
98833	4/20/99	Live Phone Calls	35,985.25 3174	8,765.00	230864			5,828.73	2,936.28
98833	4/20/99	Pastors Rally	25,000.00	25,000.00		25,000.00		0.00	0.00
98834	4/20/99	Misc Exp	25,000.00	25,000.00		25,000.00		0.00	0.00
98835	4/20/99	House Legis Consulting	200,000.00	21,993.40	230864			14,625.81	7,367.79
98848	4/21/99	Statewide TV buy	R-04-1006/1008	70,000.00	7,732.18	230864		5,141.90	2,590.28
98848	4/21/99	Statewide Radio buy	R-04-2017/2019	20,000.00	4,305.87	230864		2,863.40	1,442.47
98848	4/21/99	Hypotenuse calls	9910023J15	20,000.00	6,519.60	230864		4,335.53	2,184.07
98848	4/21/99	Live Phone Calls	20,000.00 3197	0.00	230864			0.00	0.00
98848	4/21/99	State Consulting Team	20,000.00 36291	4,002.83	230864			0.00	0.00
98848	4/21/99	Postcards	15,500.00 MM99001	14,000.00	230864			2,661.88	1,340.95
98849	4/21/99	Statewide Survey	14,000.00	0.00	230864			0.00	0.00
98849	4/21/99	Statewide TV buy	160,850.00 T-04-1011	17,693.50	231493			11,766.18	5,927.32
98849	4/21/99	Statewide Radio buy	24,672.40 R-04-2023	2,713.96	231493			1,804.78	909.18
98849	4/21/99	Statewide Radio buy	50,000.00 R-05-2000	5,419.81	231493			3,604.17	1,815.64
98515	5/1/99	Op Ed	1,500.00	1,500.00	231883			0.00	0.00
98520	5/6/99	Consulting	40,000.00	40,000.00	231883			0.00	0.00
98520	5/6/99	Statewide TV buy	170,855.00 T-05-1001	18,783.05	231883			12,480.73	6,282.32
98520	5/6/99	Statewide Radio buy	21,092.00 R-05-2003	2,320.20	231883			1,542.93	777.27
98520	5/6/99	Statewide Radio buy	69,942.00 R-05-2008	7,693.66	231883			5,116.28	2,577.38
98529	5/12/99	Statewide Radio buy	30,000.00	0.00	232268			0.00	0.00
98529	5/25/99	Recorded Msg Phone Calls	32,955.19 9910023J23	6,411.04	233351			4,263.34	2,147.70
98548	6/1/99	June Consulting Fee	20,000.00	25,000.00		20,000.00		0.00	0.00
98551	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	43,640.25 3202	8,728.65		43,640.25		0.00	0.00
98552	6/2/99	Adj Cons inv 99c49	3,000.00	0.00		5,000.00		0.00	0.00
98553	6/2/99	Live Phone Calls	4,784.25 3211	956.85		4,784.25		0.00	0.00
				1,489,382.95	320,540.87			123,424.50	79,011.75

6044

1500
 49,000
 26,600.00
 13,400.00

V= reconciles to
 Quickbooks

To be invoiced
 TV/Radio Prod Costs
 44,865.74 50017/60001

Total Invoiced To Date
 123,424.50

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, September 24, 1999 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

GTG-E00007925E

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:04 AM
 To: 'ralph@██████████'
 Subject: RE: ██████████

OK, let me know on the other one as soon as you can.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:37 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: ██████████

Amy, Grover, Lapin, and one other I will get to you.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:34 AM
 To: 'ralph@██████████'
 Subject: RE: ██████████

OK, thanks. Please get me the groups we are using, since I want to give this to her all at once.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:30 AM
 To: jack@██████████
 Subject: ██████████

Here is the program we are recommending to our folks in ██████████ and they agree:

Mail One self-mailer x 85,000 @ .52
 One postcard x 85,000 @ .39
 \$77,350

Television
 10 days, 750 gross rating points statewide @ \$261 per grp. \$391,500

Radio
 2 weeks, statewide 5 frequency
 \$142,536

Radio/Television Production
 5 spots
 \$28,500

List Rental
 85,000 x .08 x 2
 45,000 x .08 x 2
 20,800

Grassroots Phone Banks
 Live Operator 45,000 @ .62
 Taped Message 45,000 @ .42
 46,825

GTG-E000020303

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:18 AM
To: 'ralph@██████████'
Subject: RE: ██████████

Great. Thanks.

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

From: Ralph Reed [SMTP:ralph@██████████]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 12:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: ██████████

The ██████ is what we need right now. We would only need more if the bill passes the House. This is a House only program—the Senate becomes a target only if it passes the House.

Will get you a group.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@██████████]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:09 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: ██████████

Rabbi Lapin does not have a c4. Please give me the name of the c4 you want to use (include address) and we'll divide it among the three groups. Can I assume that we only need \$367,511, or is that what we need right now? Please let me know. Also, if we will need more soon, please let me know when and how much as best you can. Thanks.

GTG-E00002028

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 10:35 AM
To: ralph@██████████
Subject: RE: ██████████

We'll have \$300K for Monday and more shortly thereafter. Because the amount is so big, she needed a couple of days to set the process.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:25 AM
To: jack@██████████
Subject: ██████████

Did you get the address for the ██████████? Is a check coming?

85,000 mailers to conservative evangelicals dropping today.

Phone banks went on last night. We will be making 5,000 or more calls a day. Expect to jam switchboards by next week.

I had two people in ██████████ yesterday. They are working it hard with the grassroots.

GTG-E0000205

Ralph Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [jacka@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 11:59 AM
 To: ralph@██████████
 Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Super. Thanks Ralph.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:27 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

I believe so. If we can kill it in the House definitely. If it goes to the Senate, the worst case scenario is what the pro-family groups spent to defeat video poker and the lottery—each about \$1.3 million. Again, if it dies in the House, \$1 million max, and maybe less. If it goes to the Senate, probably \$1.3 million max. We will keep doing all we can to raise money from national anti-gambling groups, Christian CEO's, and national pro-family groups.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 11:12 PM
 To: ralph@██████████
 Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Spoke with Nell. They have a budget issue. They want to know if we can get through to October on \$1 million. Can we? If not, let me know.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 6:50 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Yes, it will.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 6:45 PM
 To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
 Subject: amy Ridenour

She does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only. I have to go out, but let's chat later tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 9:50 AM
To: 'ralph@[REDACTED]'
Subject: RE: ● update

Thanks. Keep me posted. ATR will be sending a second \$300K today. How much more do we need? We can't lose this. Thanks.

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

From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@[REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 10:49 AM
To: jacka@[REDACTED]
Subject: ● update

The [REDACTED], pro-gambling forces went up yesterday with a statewide saturation radio buy, matching our buy through March 3. Spot is high quality, says ● casinos trying to buy up high-price lobbyists to deny people their right to vote on video poker. We are getting a script.

They are now introducing a different local bill each day, trying to keep us on the defensive.

GTG-E000020467

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K!

11
GTG-E00007890

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 6:28 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

Yes, but last time they sent \$275K, so I want to make sure that, before we send it to ATR I speak with Grover to confirm.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 7:28 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

Once ATR gets their check, should the entire \$300k be sent to the Alabama Christian Coalition again?

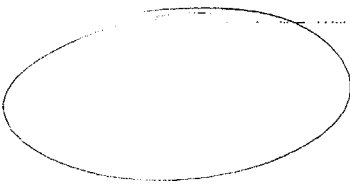
-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 9:48 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1

Please see if you can track down Nell to ask if she got this one. If not, offer to fax it to her. Tell her it's important and about Alabama.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 6:52 PM
To: Nell Rogers
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1

We have to get him more money asap, but he thinks that, after this transfer we should be OK for a while. Can you get me a check for \$300K for Americans for Tax Reform asap?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@atlantic.net] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@atlantic.net]>
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 10:23 AM
To: jack@atlantic.net
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1



From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 7:25 PM
 To: James Kaplan
 Subject: RE: Morella

Any updates?

-----Original Message-----
 From: James Kaplan [mailto:JKaplan@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 2:21 PM
 To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Morella

Jack,

I have put in a message with Bill Miller, her campaign chair and former AA, on the best way to reach her on this issue. I don't think a call in to PJ will hurt. If I do not hear from Bill by 3 or 4, I will call Morella's staff on my own and see what I can do through the people I know there. I will update you by COB to let you know what I have been able to accomplish.

-Jim

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 11:18 AM
 To: Jim Kaplan - office
 Subject: Morella

As we discussed, the DeLay guys want to put this grant through for the Capital Education and Athletic Foundation, which will be a grantor organization to help build the Yeshiva in Kemp Mill. We are not making a big public deal about this, as you can imagine. If it is possible to get a letter from Congresswoman Morella to Congressman DeLay in support of this (asap, by the way), it should swing it. I was thinking of going to PJ Hogan about this, but wanted to run it by you first. Should you make the approach to them, or should I call PJ? Thanks Jim.

THE CAPITAL EDUCATION AND ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, SILVER SPRING MD.

"-\$5,000,000 to the Capital Education and Athletic Foundation in Silver Spring, Maryland, for grants for education reform, the expansion of educational facilities and for the purchase of computer science equipment."

Such funding could be included in the Labor-HHS Appropriations Conference Report (e.g. the Fund for the Improvement of Education or general ESEA related funding) or the VA-HUD Appropriations Conference Report (Community Development Block Grant Program) -- whether this bills are passed as stand alone legislation or as part of an Omnibus Appropriations legislation.

The Silver Spring, Maryland Community

* The Silver Spring, Maryland community, while in generally affluent Montgomery County, contains areas of significant poverty, with many immigrant and low income families. Juvenile delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse are major problems among

GTG-E000087920

the young. Many areas of the community lack sufficient educational and recreational facilities for after-school activities for K-12 young people.

* As a community with many hard working immigrant families struggling to move up the economic ladder, yet with an aging housing and community center infrastructure, Silver Spring is an ideal candidate for a community development grant.

The Capital Education and Athletic Foundation, Silver Spring, MD

* The Capital Education and Athletic Foundation of Silver Spring, MD, is a non-profit grant making entity dedicated to providing educational resources to young people in the Silver Spring, Maryland community. In particular, the Capital Education and Athletic Foundation will work to develop computer facilities, enhance the built learning environment, develop additional educational facilities and reduce class size.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 5:11 PM
To: 'James Kaplan'
Subject: RE: Fax to Morella

I got PJ and he is going to see what he can do as well. I really owe you. Thanks Jim.

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

From: James Kaplan [mailto:JKaplan@██████████]
Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 4:05 PM
To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
Subject: RE: Fax to Morella

Understood. I think this will be handled more on a staff level, but will follow up with Lisa to let her know that Tony Rudy is the point of contact on the issue in Mr. Delay's office.

-Jim

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@██████████]
Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 3:38 PM
To: 'James Kaplan'
Subject: RE: Fax to Morella

Thanks. I don't think Tom knows about this too well, by the way. Tony and the staff are working it through for them. Of course, it's not abnormal that he would not know the details of what they are up to, but I thought I should let you know in case Rep Morella goes directly to Tom.

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

From: James Kaplan [mailto:JKaplan@██████████]
Sent: Monday, October 23, 2000 3:38 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Fax to Morella

<< File: fax to morella on grant.doc >> FYI...

<<fax to morella on grant.doc>>

James Kaplan

GTG-E000087924

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, October 24, 2000 5:34 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: Interior Dept transition team

Please put Ralph on call sheet re Interior Dept transition team

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, October 24, 2000 6:33 PM
To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
Subject: RE: Interior Dept transition team

ok

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, October 24, 2000 6:32 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Interior Dept transition team

this would be really key for future clients for both of us. Let's discuss.

GTG-E0000225

Schedule B
(Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF)

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Schedule of Contributors

Supplementary Information for
line 1 of Form 990, 990-EZ and 990-PF (see instructions)

OMB No. 1545-0047

2001

Name of organization

Employer identification number

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Organization type (check one)

Filers of

Section

Form 990 or 990-EZ

501(c)() (enter number) organization

4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust not treated as a private foundation

527 political organization

Form 990-PF

501(c)(3) exempt private foundation

4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust treated as a private foundation

501(c)(3) taxable private foundation

Check if your organization is covered by the General rule or a Special rule (Note Only a section 501(c)(7), (8), or (10) organization can check box(es) for both the General rule and a Special rule-see instructions)

General Rule-

For organizations filing Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF that received, during the year, \$5,000 or more (in money or property) from any one contributor (Complete Parts I and II)

Special Rules-

For a section 501(c)(3) organization filing Form 990, or Form 990-EZ, that met the 33 1/3% support test of the regulations under sections 509(a)(1)/170(b)(1)(A)(v) and received from any one contributor, during the year, a contribution of the greater of \$5,000 or 2% of the amount on line 1 of these forms (Complete Parts I and II)

For a section 501(c)(7), (8), or (10) organization filing Form 990, or Form 990-EZ, that received from any one contributor, during the year, aggregate contributions or bequests of more than \$1,000 for use exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or the prevention of cruelty to children or animals (Complete Parts I, II, and III)

For a section 501(c)(7), (8), or (10) organization filing Form 990, or Form 990-EZ, that received from any one contributor, during the year, some contributions for use exclusively for religious, charitable, etc., purposes, but these contributions did not aggregate to more than \$1,000 (if this box is checked, enter here the total contributions that were received during the year for an exclusively religious, charitable, etc., purpose. Do not complete any of the Parts unless the General rule applies to this organization because it received nonexclusively religious, charitable, etc., contributions of \$5,000 or more during the year) ▶ \$

Caution: Organizations that are not covered by the General rule and/or the Special rules do not file Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF), but they must check the box in the heading of their Form 990, Form 990-EZ, or on line 1 of their Form 990-PF, to certify that they do not meet the filing requirements of Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF)

Schedule B (Form 990, 990-EZ, or 990-PF) (2001)

123491 12-29-01

Name of organization

Employer identification number

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Part I. Contributors (See Specific Instructions)

(a) No.	(b) Name, address and ZIP + 4	(c) Aggregate contributions	(d) Type of contribution
1	JACK ABRAMOFF [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 177,415.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
2	GBK ASSOCIATES [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 5,500.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
3	DEBRA & JACOB FRENKEL [REDACTED]	\$ 5,400.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
4	MARION & BERNARD MULLER [REDACTED]	\$ 6,300.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
5	COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 1,000,000.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
6	FOXC0M WIRELESS [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 50,000.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)

123456 12-29-01

Form 990-PF

Return of Private Foundation
or Section 4947(a)(1) Nonexempt Charitable Trust
Treated as a Private Foundation

OMB No. 1545-0047

2001

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may be able to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

For calendar year 2001, or tax year beginning _____, and ending _____

G Check all that apply: Initial return Final return Amended return Address change Name change

Name of organization: **CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.**
Employer identification number: [REDACTED]
Address: **C/O JACK ABRAMOFF**
Telephone number: [REDACTED]

H Check type of organization: Section 501(c)(3) exempt private foundation
 Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust Other taxable private foundation

I Fair market value of all assets at end of year: **1,075,189**
Accounting method: Cash Accrual

Part I Analysis of Revenue and Expenses	(a) Revenue and expenses per books	(b) Net investment income	(c) Adjusted net income	(d) Disbursements for charitable purposes (cash basis only)
1 Contributions, gifts, grants, etc., received	1,248,741.			
2 Distributions from split-interest trusts				
3 Interest on savings and temporary cash investments				
4 Dividends and interest from securities	5,249.	5,249.		STATEMENT 1
5a Gross rents				
5b Net rental income or (loss)				
6 Net gain or (loss) from sale of assets not on line 10				
7 Gross sales price of all assets on line 6				
7b Capital gain net (loss) (from Part IV line 2)		0.		
8 Net short-term capital gain				
9 Income modification adjustments				
10a Gross sales less sales tax and allowances				
10b Less: Cost of goods sold				
10c Gross profit or (loss)				
11 Other income	13,420.	0.	13,420.	STATEMENT 2
12 Total. Add lines 1 through 11	1,267,410.	5,249.	13,420.	
13 Compensation of officers, directors, trustees, etc.	0.	0.	0.	0.
14 Other employee salaries and wages				
15 Pension plans, employee benefits				
15a Legal fees STMT 3	5,983.	0.	0.	0.
15b Accounting fees STMT 4	1,696.	0.	0.	0.
15c Other professional fees				
17 Interest				
18 Taxes STMT 5	1,240.	0.	0.	0.
19 Depreciation and depletion	159.	0.	0.	
20 Occupancy	3,600.	0.	0.	0.
21 Travel, conferences, and meetings	6,097.	0.	0.	0.
22 Printing and publications				
23 Other expenses STMT 6	123,286.	268.	13,420.	102,510.
24 Total operating and administrative expenses. Add lines 13 through 23	142,061.	268.	13,420.	102,510.
25 Contributions, gifts, grants paid	50,510.			50,510.
26 Total expenses and disbursements. Add lines 24 and 25	192,571.	268.	13,420.	153,020.
27 Subtract line 26 from line 12	1,074,839.	4,981.	0.	
Net investment income (if negative, enter -)		4,981.		
Adjusted net income (if negative, enter -)			0.	

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Part II Balance Sheets		Actual schedules and amounts in the description column should be for end-of-year amounts only			
		Beginning of year	End of year		
		(a) Book Value	(b) Book Value	(c) Fair Market Value	
Assets	1	Cash - non-interest-bearing			
	2	Savings and temporary cash investments		1,020,306.	1,020,306.
	3	Accounts receivable ▶			
		Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶			
	4	Pledges receivable ▶			
		Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶			
	5	Grants receivable			
	6	Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons			
	7	Other notes and loans receivable ▶			
		Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶			
	8	Inventories for sale or use			
	9	Prepaid expenses and deferred charges			
	10a	Investments - U.S. and state government obligations			
		b Investments - corporate stock			
		c Investments - corporate bonds			
11	Investments - land, buildings, and equipment basis ▶				
	Less: accumulated depreciation ▶				
12	Investments - mortgage loans				
13	Investments - other				
14	Land, buildings, and equipment basis ▶ 44,117.				
	Less: accumulated depreciation ▶ STMT 7 159.		43,958.	43,958.	
15	Other assets (describe ▶ STATEMENT 8)	350.	10,925.	10,925.	
16 Total assets (to be completed by all filers)		350.	1,075,189.	1,075,189.	
Liabilities	17	Accounts payable and accrued expenses			
	18	Grants payable			
	19	Deferred revenue			
	20	Loans from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons			
	21	Mortgages and other notes payable			
	22	Other liabilities (describe ▶)			
23 Total liabilities (add lines 17 through 22)		0.	0.	0.	
Net Assets or Fund Balances	24	Organizations that follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 24 through 26 and lines 30 and 31	<input type="checkbox"/>		
		Unrestricted			
	25	Temporarily restricted			
	26	Permanently restricted			
		Organizations that do not follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 27 through 31	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
	27	Capital stock, trust principal, or current funds	0.	0.	0.
	28	Paid-in or capital surplus, or land, bldg and equipment fund	0.	0.	0.
	29	Retained earnings, accumulated income, endowment, or other funds	350.	1,075,189.	
30	Total net assets or fund balances	350.	1,075,189.		
31 Total liabilities and net assets/fund balances		350.	1,075,189.		

Part III Analysis of Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

1	Total net assets or fund balances at beginning of year - Part II, column (a), line 30 (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	1	350.
2	Enter amount from Part I, line 27a	2	1,074,839.
3	Other increases not included in line 2 (itemize) ▶	3	0.
4	Add lines 1, 2, and 3	4	1,075,189.
5	Decreases not included in line 2 (itemize) ▶	5	0.
6	Total net assets or fund balances at end of year (line 4 minus line 5) - Part II, column (b), line 30	6	1,075,189.

Part IV Capital Gains and Losses for Tax on Investment Income

(k) List and describe the kind(s) of property sold (e.g., real estate, 2-story brick warehouse, or common stock, 200 shs. MLC Co.)

(l) How acquired
P - Purchase
O - Donation

(c) Date acquired (mo., day, yr.)

(d) Date sold (mo., day, yr.)

1a NONE

(e) Gross sales price (f) Depreciation allowed (or allowable) (g) Cost or other basis plus expense of sale (h) Gain or (loss) (e) plus (f) minus (g)

1 Complete only for assets showing gain in column (h) and owned by the foundation on 12/31/69

(i) FMV as of 12/31/69 (j) Adjusted basis as of 12/31/69 (k) Excess of col. (i) over col. (j), if any (l) Gain (col. (h) gain minus col. (k), but not less than -0) or Losses (from col. (h))

2 Capital gain net income or (net capital loss) { If gain, also enter in Part I, line 7 }
{ If (loss), enter -0- in Part I, line 7 }

3 Net short-term capital gain or (loss) as defined in sections 1222(5) and (6)
If gain, also enter in Part I, line 8, column (c)
If (loss), enter -0- in Part I, line 8

Part V Qualification Under Section 4940(a) for Reduced Tax on Net Investment Income
(For optional use by domestic private foundations subject to the section 4940(a) tax on net investment income)

If section 4940(d)(2) applies, leave this part blank

Was the organization liable for the section 4942 tax on the distributable amount of any year in the base period?
If "Yes," the organization does not qualify under section 4940(a). Do not complete this part. Yes No

1 Enter the appropriate amount in each column for each year, see instructions before making any entries

(a) Base period years Calendar year (or tax year beginning in)	(b) Adjusted qualifying distributions	(c) Net value of noncharitable-use assets	(d) Distribution ratio (col. (b) divided by col. (c))
2000	11,824.	3,069.	3.8527208
1999	206.	11,820.	.0174281
1998			
1997			
1996			

2 Total of line 1, column (d) 2 3.8701489

3 Average distribution ratio for the 5-year base period - divide the total on line 2 by 5, or by the number of years the foundation has been in existence if less than 5 years 3 1.9350745

4 Enter the net value of noncharitable-use assets for 2001 from Part X, line 5 4 304,308.

5 Multiply line 4 by line 3 5 588,859.

6 Enter 1% of net investment income (1% of Part I, line 27e) 6 50.

7 Add lines 5 and 6 7 588,909.

8 Enter qualifying distributions from Part XII, line 4 8 153,020.

If line 8 is equal to or greater than line 7, check the box in Part VI, line 4b, and complete that part using a 1% tax rate.
See the Part VI instructions

Part VI Excise Tax Based on Investment Income (Section 4940(a), 4940(b), 4940(e), or 4948 - see instructions)

1a	Exempt operating foundations described in section 4940(d)(2), check here <input type="checkbox"/> and enter "N/A" on line 1		
	Date of ruling letter _____ (attach copy of ruling letter if necessary-see instructions)		
b	Domestic organizations that meet the section 4940(e) requirements in Part V, check here <input type="checkbox"/> and enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	1	100.
c	All other domestic organizations enter 2% of line 27b. Exempt foreign organizations enter 4% of Part I, line 12, col. (b)	2	0.
2	Tax under section 511 (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	3	100.
3	Add lines 1 and 2	4	0.
4	Substitute A (income) tax (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	5	100.
5	Tax based on investment income. Subtract line 4 from line 3. If zero or less, enter -0-		
6	Credits/Payments		
a	2001 estimated tax payments and 2000 overpayment credited to 2001	6a	
b	Exempt foreign organizations - tax withheld at source	6b	
c	Tax paid with application for extension of time to file (Form 8868)	6c	105.
d	Backup withholding erroneously withheld	6d	
7	Total credits and payments. Add lines 6a through 6d	7	105.
8	Enter any penalty for underpayment of estimated tax. Check here <input type="checkbox"/> if Form 2220 is attached	8	
9	Tax due. If the total of lines 5 and 8 is more than line 7, enter amount owed	9	
10	Overpayment. If line 7 is more than the total of lines 5 and 8, enter the amount overpaid	10	5.
11	Enter the amount of line 10 to be credited to 2002 estimated tax	11	0.

Part VII-A Statements Regarding Activities

	Yes	No
1a		X
1b		X
1c		X
1d		
1e		
2		X
3		X
4a		X
4b		X
5		X
6		X
7	X	
8a	X	
9		X
10		X
11		X

1a During the tax year, did the organization attempt to influence any national, state, or local legislation or did it participate or intervene in any political campaign?

b Did it spend more than \$100 during the year (either directly or indirectly) for political purposes (see instructions for definition)?
If the answer is "Yes" to 1a or 1b, attach a detailed description of the activities and copies of any materials published or distributed by the organization in connection with the activities

c Did the organization file Form 1120-POL for this year?

d Enter the amount (if any) of tax on political expenditures (section 4955) imposed during the year
1) On the organization ▶ \$ 0. (2) On organization managers ▶ \$ 0.

e Enter the reimbursement (if any) paid by the organization during the year for political expenditure tax imposed on organization managers ▶ \$ 0.

2 Has the organization engaged in any activities that have not previously been reported to the IRS?
If "Yes," attach a detailed description of the activities

3 Has the organization made any changes, not previously reported to the IRS, in its governing instrument, articles of incorporation, or bylaws, or other similar instruments? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes

4a Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year?
b If "Yes," has it filed a tax return on Form 990-T for this year?

5 Was there a liquidation, termination, dissolution, or substantial contraction during the year?
If "Yes," attach the statement required by General Instruction T

6 Are the requirements of section 508(a) (relating to sections 4941 through 4945) satisfied either:
• By language in the governing instrument or
• By state legislation that effectively amends the governing instrument so that no mandatory directions that conflict with the state law remain in the governing instrument?

7 Did the organization have at least \$5,000 in assets at any time during the year?
If "Yes," complete Part II, col. (c), and Part XV

8a Enter the states to which the foundation reports or with which it is registered (see instructions) ▶
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, MARYLAND

b If the answer is "Yes" to line 7, has the organization furnished a copy of Form 990-PF to the Attorney General (or designate) of each state as required by General Instruction G? If "No," attach explanation

9 Is the organization claiming status as a private operating foundation within the meaning of section 4942(i)(3) or 4942(i)(5) for calendar year 2001 or the taxable year beginning in 2001 (see instructions for Part XIV)? If "Yes," complete Part XIV

10 Did any persons become substantial contributors during the tax year?
SEE STATEMENT 9
If "Yes," attach a schedule listing their names and addresses

11 Did the organization comply with the public inspection requirements for its annual returns and exemption application?
Web site address ▶ WWW.CAPATHLETIC.ORG

12 The books are in care of ▶ JACK ABRAMOFF Telephone no. _____ ZIP+4 _____
Located at _____

13 Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts filing Form 990-PF in lieu of Form 1041 - Check here
and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the year ▶ \$ _____ N/A

Part VII-B Statements Regarding Activities for Which Form 4720 May Be Required

File Form 4720 if any item is checked in the "Yes" column, unless an exception applies

	Yes	No
1a During the year did the organization (either directly or indirectly)		
(1) Engage in the sale or exchange, or leasing of property with a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(2) Borrow money from, lend money to, or otherwise extend credit to (or accept it from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(3) Furnish goods, services, or facilities to (or accept them from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(4) Pay compensation to, or pay or reimburse the expenses of, a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(5) Transfer any income or assets to a disqualified person (or make any of either available for the benefit or use of a disqualified person)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(6) Agree to pay money or property to a government official? (Exception: Check "No" if the organization agreed to make a grant to or to employ the official for a period after termination of government service, if terminating within 90 days.)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
b If any answer is "Yes" to 1a(1)-(6), did any of the acts fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4941(d)-3 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see page 19 of the instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	
c Did the organization engage in a prior year in any of the acts described in 1a, other than excepted acts, that were not corrected before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2001?		X
2 Taxes on failure to distribute income (section 4942) (does not apply for years the organization was a private operating foundation defined in section 4942(j)(3) or 4942(j)(5))		
a At the end of tax year 2001, did the organization have any undistributed income (lines 6d and 6e, Part XIII) for tax year(s) beginning before 2001?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
If "Yes," list the years: _____		
b Are there any years listed in 2a for which the organization is not applying the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) (relating to incorrect valuation of assets) to the year's undistributed income? (If applying section 4942(a)(2) to all years listed, answer "No" and attach statement - see instructions.)	N/A	
c If the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) are being applied to any of the years listed in 2a, list the years here: _____		
3a Did the organization hold more than a 2% direct or indirect interest in any business enterprise at any time during the year?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
b If "Yes," did it have excess business holdings in 2001 as a result of (1) any purchase by the organization or disqualified persons after May 26, 1969, (2) the lapse of the 5-year period (or longer period approved by the Commissioner under section 4943(c)(7)) to dispose of holdings acquired by gift or bequest, or (3) the lapse of the 10-, 15-, or 20-year first phase holding period? (Use Schedule C, Form 4720, to determine if the organization had excess business holdings in 2001.)	N/A	
4a Did the organization invest during the year any amount in a manner that would jeopardize its charitable purposes?		X
b Did the organization make any investment in a prior year (but after December 31, 1969) that could jeopardize its charitable purpose that had not been removed from jeopardy before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2001?		X
5a During the year did the organization pay or incur any amount to:		
(1) Carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation (section 4945(e))?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(2) Influence the outcome of any specific public election (see section 4955), or to carry on, directly or indirectly any voter registration drive?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(3) Provide a grant to an individual for travel, study, or other similar purposes?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(4) Provide a grant to an organization other than a charitable, etc., organization described in section 509(a)(1), (2), or (3), or section 4940(d)(2)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
(5) Provide for any purpose other than religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
b If any answer is "Yes" to 5a(1)-(5) did any of the transactions fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4945 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	
c If the answer is "Yes" to question 5a(4), does the organization claim exemption from the tax because it maintained expenditure responsibility for the grant?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
If "Yes," attach the statement required by Regulations section 53.4945-5(d)		
6a Did the organization, during the year, receive any funds, directly or indirectly, to pay premiums on a personal benefit contract?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
b Did the organization, during the year, pay premiums, directly or indirectly, on a personal benefit contract?		X
If you answered "Yes" to 6b, also file Form 8870		

Part VIII Information About Officers, Directors, Trustees, Foundation Managers, Highly Paid Employees, and Contractors

1 List all officers, directors, trustees, foundation managers and their compensation

(a) Name and address	(b) Title, and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation (if not paid, enter -0-)	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and other compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION LLC	TRUSTEE			
JACK ABRAMOFF	CO-MANAGING MEMBER	0.	0.	0.
PAMELA ABRAMOFF, EFFECTIVE 09/23/02	CO-MANAGING MEMBER	0.	0.	0.
	MINIMAL	0.	0.	0.

2 Compensation of five highest-paid employees (other than those included on line 1). If none, enter "NONE"

(a) Name and address of each employee paid more than \$50,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and other compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
NONE				

Total number of other employees paid over \$50,000 0

3 Five highest-paid independent contractors for professional services. If none, enter "NONE"

(a) Name and address of each person paid more than \$50,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
NONE		

Total number of others receiving over \$50,000 for professional services 0

Part IX-A Summary of Direct Charitable Activities

List the foundation's four largest direct charitable activities during the tax year. Include relevant statistical information such as the number of organizations and other beneficiaries served, conferences convened, research papers produced, etc.

	Expenses
1 HOME SCHOOL PROGRAM WHICH COMBINES ACADEMIC AND ATHLETIC PROGRAMS FOR THE STUDENTS	102,510.
2	
3	
4	

Part IX-B Summary of Program-Related Investments

Describe the two largest program-related investments made by the foundation during the tax year on lines 1 and 2		Amount
1	N/A	
2		
All other program-related investments See instructions		
3		
Total Add lines 1 through 3		0.

Part X Minimum Investment Return (All domestic foundations must complete this part Foreign foundations, see instructions)

1	Fair market value of assets not used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes	
a	Average monthly fair market value of securities	1a
b	Average of monthly cash balances	1b 254,059.
c	Fair market value of all other assets	1c 54,883.
d	Total (add lines 1a, b, and c)	1d 308,942.
e	Reduction claimed for blockage or other factors reported on lines 1a and 1c (attach detailed explanation)	1e 0.
2	Acquisition indebtedness applicable to line 1 assets	2 0.
3	Subtract line 2 from line 1d	3 308,942.
4	Cash deemed held for charitable activities Enter 1 1/2% of line 3 (for greater amount, see instructions)	4 4,634.
5	Net value of noncharitable-use assets Subtract line 4 from line 3 Enter here and on Part V, line 4	5 304,308.
6	Minimum investment return Enter 5% of line 5	6 15,215.

Part XI Distributable Amount (see instructions) (Section 4942(j)(3) and (j)(5) private operating foundations and certain foreign organizations check here and do not complete this part)

1	Minimum investment return from Part X line 6	1 15,215.
2a	Tax on investment income for 2001 from Part VI, line 5	2a 100.
2b	Income tax for 2001 (This does not include the tax from Part VI)	2b
c	Add lines 2a and 2b	2c 100.
3	Distributable amount before adjustments Subtract line 2c from line 1	3 15,115.
4a	Recoveries of amounts treated as qualifying distributions	4a 0.
4b	Income distributions from section 4947(a)(2) trusts	4b 0.
c	Add lines 4a and 4b	4c 0.
5	Add lines 3 and 4c	5 15,115.
6	Deduction from distributable amount (see instructions)	6 0.
7	Distributable amount as adjusted Subtract line 6 from line 5 Enter here and on Part XIII, line 1	7 15,115.

Part XII Qualifying Distributions (see instructions)

1	Amounts paid (including administrative expenses) to accomplish charitable, etc., purposes	
a	Expenses contributions, gifts, etc. - total from Part I, column (d), line 26	1a 153,020.
b	Program-related investments - Total from Part IX-B	1b 0.
2	Amounts paid to acquire assets used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes	2
3	Amounts set aside for specific charitable projects that satisfy the	
a	Suitability test (prior IRS approval required)	3a
b	Cash distribution test (attach the required schedule)	3b
4	Qualifying distributions Add lines 1a through 3b Enter here and on Part V, line 8, and Part XIII, line 4	4 153,020.
5	Organizations that qualify under section 4940(a) for the reduced rate of tax on net investment income Enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	5 0.
6	Adjusted qualifying distributions Subtract line 5 from line 4	6 153,020.

Note The amount on line 6 will be used in Part V, column (b), in subsequent years when calculating whether the foundation qualifies for the section 4940(c) reduction of tax in those years

Part XIII Undistributed Income (see instructions)

	(a) Corpus	(b) Years prior to 2000	(c) 2000	(d) 2001
1 Distributable amount for 2001 from Part XI, line 7				15,115.
2 Undistributed Income, if any, as of the end of 2000			0.	
a Enter amount for 2000 only			0.	
b Total for prior years 19__ ,19__ ,19__		0.		
3 Excess distributions carryover, if any, to 2001				
a From 1996				
b From 1997				
c From 1998				
d From 1999				
e From 2000	11,592.			
f Total of lines 3a through e	11,592.			
4 Qualifying distributions for 2001 from Part XII, line 4 ▶ \$ 153,020.			0.	
a Applied to 2000, but not more than line 2a			0.	
b Applied to undistributed income of prior years (Election required - see instructions)		0.		
c Treated as distributions out of corpus (Election required - see instructions)	0.			
d Applied to 2001 distributable amount				15,115.
e Remaining amount distributed out of corpus	137,905.			
5 Excess distributions carryover applied to 2001 (if an amount appears in column (a), the same amount must be shown in column (d))	0.			0.
6 Enter the net total of each column as indicated below	149,497.			
a Corpus Add lines 3f, 4c, and 4e Subtract line 5	149,497.			
b Prior years' undistributed income Subtract line 4b from line 2b		0.		
c Enter the amount of prior years' undistributed income for which a notice of deficiency has been issued, or on which the section 4942(a) tax has been previously assessed		0.		
d Subtract line 5c from line 6b Taxable amount - see instructions		0.		
e Undistributed income for 2000 Subtract line 4a from line 2a Taxable amount - see instr			0.	
f Undistributed income for 2001 Subtract lines 4d and 5 from line 1 This amount must be distributed in 2002				0.
7 Amounts treated as distributions out of corpus to satisfy requirements imposed by section 170(b)(1)(E) or 4942(g)(3)	0.			
8 Excess distributions carryover from 1996 not applied on line 5 or line 7	0.			
9 Excess distributions carryover to 2002 Subtract lines 7 and 8 from line 6a	149,497.			
10 Analysis of line 9				
a Excess from 1997				
b Excess from 1998				
c Excess from 1999				
d Excess from 2000	11,592.			
e Excess from 2001	137,905.			

Part XIV Private Operating Foundations (see instructions and Part VII A, question 9) N/A

1 a If the foundation has received a ruling or determination letter that it is a private operating foundation, and the ruling is effective for 2001, enter the date of the ruling
 b Check box to indicate whether the organization is a private operating foundation described in section 4942(i)(3) or 4942(i)(5)

2 a Enter the lesser of the adjusted net income from Part I or the minimum investment return from Part X for each year listed

b 85% of line 2a

c Qualifying distributions from Part XII, line 4 for each year listed

d Amounts included in line 2c not used directly for active conduct of exempt activities

e Qualifying distributions made directly for active conduct of exempt activities. Subtract line 2d from line 2c

3 Complete 3a, b, or c for the alternative test relied upon

a "Assets" alternative test - enter

(1) Value of all assets

(2) Value of assets qualifying under section 4942(i)(3)(B)(i)

b "Endowment" alternative test - Enter 2/3 of maximum investment return shown in Part X, line 6 for each year listed

c "Support" alternative test - enter

(1) Total support other than gross investment income (interest, dividends, rents, payments on securities loans (section 512(a)(5)), or royalties)

(2) Support from general public and 5 or more exempt organizations as provided in section 4942(i)(3)(B)(ii)

(3) Largest amount of support from an exempt organization

(4) Gross investment income

	Tax year		Prior 3 years		(e) Total
	(a) 2001	(b) 2000	(c) 1999	(d) 1998	
2a					
b					
c					
d					
e					
3a					
3b					
3c					
3d					
3e					
3f					
3g					
3h					
3i					
3j					
3k					
3l					
3m					
3n					
3o					
3p					
3q					
3r					
3s					
3t					
3u					
3v					
3w					
3x					
3y					
3z					

Part XV Supplementary Information (Complete this part only if the organization had \$5,000 or more in assets at any time during the year-see page 26 of the instructions.)

1 **Information Regarding Foundation Managers**

a List any managers of the foundation who have contributed more than 2% of the total contributions received by the foundation before the close of any tax year (but only if they have contributed more than \$5,000). (See section 507(d)(2))

JACK ABRAMOFF

b List any managers of the foundation who own 10% or more of the stock of a corporation (or an equally large portion of the ownership of a partnership or other entity) of which the foundation has a 10% or greater interest

NONE

2 **Information Regarding Contribution, Grant, Gift, Loan, Scholarship, etc., Programs**

Check here if the organization only makes contributions to preselected charitable organizations and does not accept unsolicited requests for funds if the organization makes gifts, grants, etc. (see instructions) to individuals or organizations under other conditions, complete items 2a, b, c, and d

a The name, address, and telephone number of the person to whom applications should be addressed

b The form in which applications should be submitted and information and materials they should include

c Any submission deadlines

d Any restrictions or limitations on awards, such as by geographical areas, charitable fields, kinds of institutions, or other factors

Part XV Supplementary Information (continued)

3 Grants and Contributions Paid During the Year or Approved for Future Payment

Recipient Name and address (home or business)	If recipient is an individual, show any relationship to any foundation manager or substantial contributor	Foundation status of recipient	Purpose of grant or contribution	Amount
<p><i>a</i> Paid during the year</p> <p>ESHKOL ACADEMY, 11215 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]</p>	<p>CONTROLLED</p>	<p>501(C)(3)</p>	<p>PAYMENT OF LOGO & WEB DESIGN AND NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING</p>	<p>50,510.</p>
<p>Total ▶ 31</p>				<p>50,510.</p>
<p><i>b</i> Approved for future payment</p> <p>NONE</p>				
<p>Total ▶ 31</p>				<p>0.</p>

Part XVII Information Regarding Transfers To and Transactions and Relationships With Noncharitable Exempt Organizations

Table with 3 columns: Question, Yes, No. Contains questions 1, a, b, c, d regarding transfers and transactions with noncharitable exempt organizations.

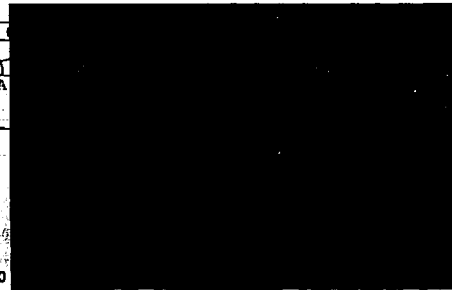
Table with 4 columns: (a) Line no., (b) Amount involved, (c) Name of noncharitable exempt organization, (d) Description of transfers, transactions, and sharing arrangements.

2a Is the organization directly or indirectly affiliated with, or related to, one or more tax-exempt organizations described in section 501(c) of the Code (other than section 501(c)(3)) or in section 527? Yes No

Table with 3 columns: (a) Name of organization, (b) Type of organization, (c) Description of relationship.

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than taxpayer or fiduciary) is based on all information of which preparer has any knowledge.

Signature of officer or trustee, Preparer's signature, Firm's name (or yours if self-employed), address, and ZIP code.



From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 11, 2001 9:13 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: Status on Murkowski

Will do right now.,

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
Sent: Thursday, January 11, 2001 9:17 PM
To: 'abramoff@██████████'
Subject: RE: Status on Murkowski

resend me the resume.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff@██████████ [mailto:abramoff@██████████]
Sent: Wednesday, January 10, 2001 7:01 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Status on ██████████

The most important job of all for us is the head of the office of insular affairs, and there is a Senate staffer who is a commie (works for ██████████) who has been carrying the water for the unions for five years. His name is ██████████. As you see from this note, he is trying to stop our guy - Mark Zachares - and put in a statesider who will do his bidding. I don't think this rises to the level of Karl Rove, of course, but wanted to find out what you think we should do to combat this. He is on the Interior transition team and could be killing us without our even knowing. Can we get someone to get a message to Sansanetti (head of Interior transition) that he is to ignore this guy and name Zachares? Thoughts?

-----Original Message-----
From:
Sent: Wednesday, January 10, 2001 4:30 PM
To: abramoff@██████████
Subject: Status on ██████████

██████████ of ██████████'s staff has said the following:

He has advised Tom Sansonetti that he does not believe that any "islander" can handle this job because of being too directly involved with the "islands."

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

5/8/2004

GTG-E00002185

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 22, 2001 7:10 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Saginaw Chippewa

I had a discussion with Chris Petras today. Larry Rosenthal has been bad mouthing us non-stop and it is getting increasingly difficult for Chris to maintain our position. Larry is going to be hired and he offered me a chance for us to bid on getting them money for a school. I told him we were not interested in this arrangement, that we have serious tribal clients who understand the value of our efforts and that if members of his council are insisting that they plight their trough with Larry, he should do so and I wish him luck (all said with great friendship to Chris). My view of this is that a representation under these circumstances will not be very profitable or large and that Larry will try to steal credit for anything we achieve. Frankly, given the animus of our Hill and new Administration friends toward Larry and his clients, we need not get anywhere near this problem. After the Saginaws are told by our friends how dead they are, and after their appropriations are zeroed out, they'll be back. Sorry guys.

GTG-E000027597

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION
OF
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER, INC.

Under Section 102 of the Delaware General Corporation Law

The undersigned, a natural person, for the purpose of organizing a corporation not for profit and without authority to issue capital stock under the provisions and subject to the requirements of the laws of the State of Delaware (particularly Chapter 1, Title 8 of the Delaware Code and the acts amendatory thereof and supplemental thereto, and known, identified, and referred to as the "General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware"), hereby certifies that:

FIRST: Name. The name of the corporation (hereinafter called the "Corporation") is: American International Center, Inc.

SECOND: Registered Office. The address of the Corporation's registered office in the State of Delaware is 53 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware, 19971. The name of the Corporation's registered agent at that address is the Corporation itself.

THIRD: Purpose. The purpose of the Corporation is to engage in any lawful act or activity for which a corporation may be organized under the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware; provided that no part of the net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to, any member of the Board of Directors, officer or other private person, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the foregoing purposes of the Corporation.

FOURTH: Capital. The Corporation is not to have authority to issue capital stock.

FIFTH: Term. The Corporation is to exist for a perpetual term.

SIXTH: Members. The Corporation shall have no members (except to the extent required by the laws of the State of Delaware, in which event the Members shall be the members of the Board of Directors).

SEVENTH: Management. The business and affairs of the Corporation shall be managed by or under a Board of Directors, which shall have and exercise all of the rights, powers and responsibilities of a board of directors under the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware.

EIGHTH: Elimination of Certain Liability of Directors. The personal liability of the Directors of the Corporation is hereby eliminated to the fullest extent permitted by subsection 102(b)(7) of the General Corporation Law of the State of Delaware, as the same may be amended and supplemented.

NINTH: Incorporator. The name and post office address of the incorporator is:

Jennifer Kulas
Saul Ewing, LLP
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Wilmington, Delaware 19899

TENTH: Bylaws. The incorporator shall adopt the Bylaws on behalf of the Corporation.

ELEVENTH: Board Composition. All conditions, qualifications, requirements, privileges and regulations regarding the governing Board of the Corporation shall be fixed and governed by the Bylaws of the Corporation.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, the incorporator has signed this Certificate of Incorporation this ___ day of February, 2001.

Jennifer Kulas

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2001 11:43 AM
To: 'Italia@██████████'
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@██████████>
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@██████████>
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 ██████████, Senator ██████████, Congressman ██████████, Congressman ██████████ - 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 ██████████

Bye for now,
Italia

GTG-E000037865

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

Jack A. Abramoff
[REDACTED]

March 16, 2001

Kathryn Van Hoof, Esq.
Van Hoof & Associates
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Kathryn,

I greatly appreciate your decision to retain Greenberg Traurig, LLP and look forward to working with you and the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. This letter will confirm the terms of our representation.

As we have agreed, Greenberg, Traurig ("the firm") will assist the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana ("the Tribe") with the renewal of its compact with the State of Louisiana, regional gaming issues, and obtaining its public policy goals in Washington, D.C. We will look to you for our direction on these issues.

As part of our routine in opening new matters, we provide an engagement letter to our clients setting forth our understanding of the services we will be expected to perform, and the basis for our compensation. The firm will perform the work described above at \$125,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.

An advance fee deposit of \$125,000.00 is requested. We will deposit the advance in a trust account, and bill the first portion of our work against it. In accordance with our understanding, please forward to us a payment of \$125,000.00 representing the first month's payment of our fees.

COUSH-MiscKVH-00011

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP
[REDACTED]

2/19/01

MIAMI NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO BOSTON PHOENIX WASHINGTON, DC LOS ANGELES
RIS PALMA FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

Kathryn Van Hoof, Esq.
March 16, 2001
Page 2

Enclosed and incorporated by reference into this letter is a copy of our firm's Billing Policies which explains more about our billing practices.

In the event that your account should become more than sixty (60) days past due, we reserve the right, in our sole discretion consistent with the rules of professional conduct, to cease doing any work on any matter we are working on for the Tribe until past due amounts have been paid.

I will personally be in charge of the firm's role, and will assure that all necessary tasks are undertaken and complete. We anticipate that several of our attorneys and government affairs professionals will be involved in this representation. We will assign the representation to ensure that the representation is carried out in the most effective but efficient manner.

The representation may entail some work that is considered lobbying under the federal lobbying disclosure law. Consequently, where appropriate we will register the tribe as our client and report our activities on your behalf under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

The firm has conducted a review in order to assure that no conflict of interest exists between our representation of you and any representations of any of our clients. Our firm in its entirety represents a number of clients, both private and governmental entities, with multifaceted interests in many issues. These clients include, as you know, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. We do not currently, and would not in the future, represent another client in connection with any of the specific matters in which we were representing you, if that other client's interest in those matters was adverse to yours.

Existing or new clients may in the future seek our services in connection with matters which are not substantially related to our work for you. In some instances, the interests of those clients may be adverse to yours. It must be clearly understood that our firm cannot undertake to represent the Tribe without assurance that the Tribe will not seek, on the basis of this representation, to disqualify us from representing other clients in any matter that is not substantially related to our work for you. We recognize that your prospective consent to conflicting representation contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply in any instance where as the result of our representation of you we have obtained sensitive proprietary or otherwise confidential information that, if known to any other client of ours, could be used in another such matter by that client to your material disadvantage.

Both we and you must be continually alert to the development of any conflicts. Please contact us immediately if you become aware of a conflict or potential conflict, or take actions that would make a fresh conflict check prudent.

GREENBERG TRAUER, LLP

COUSH-MSCKVH0001180

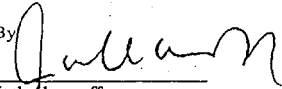
Kathryn Van Hoof, Esq.
March 16, 2001
Page 3

We believe that the above provisions and the attachment hereto outline in reasonable detail our agreement as to this representation. If you find these arrangements satisfactory, please sign this letter and return it to me, keeping a copy for your files. Our representation will conform to the terms of this agreement. We sincerely appreciate the opportunity to represent you, and we look forward to a successful relationship.

Very truly yours,

GREENBERG TRAURIG

By


Jack Abramoff
Senior Director of Government Affairs

Enclosure

Accepted and agreed to this 20th day of March, 2001.
Conshatta Giles of Ia.
By Paul Parks
Title Chairman
Date 3/20/01

ja.Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Monday, March 26, 2001 10:24 AM
 To: Italia @
 Subject: FW: Clinton aides gave last-minute OK to 3 tribes / Atlanta Journal

Please note the Seminole issue, which we discussed. I leave it in your hands.

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

From: Wilson, Padgett (AstDir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, March 26, 2001 9:57 AM
 To: DCChoctaw
 Subject: Clinton aides gave last-minute OK to 3 tribes / Atlanta Journal

Clinton aides gave last-minute OK to 3 tribes
 They then got jobs connected to Indian casinos
 Sean Murphy - Boston Globe
 Sunday, March 25, 2001

In the final days before leaving office, two Clinton administration officials quietly reversed the findings of Interior Department staff historians to recognize three groups as Indian tribes, thus giving them the right to open casinos, a privilege often worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

Then the two officials stepped directly from their high-level administration posts into lucrative positions representing gaming tribes. The decision, plus two other last-minute rulings in support of tribes already operating casinos, gave one final boost to the Indian gaming industry, which in the 1990s allied itself with the Clinton administration by generously contributing campaign funds.

Among the beneficiaries were Florida's Seminole tribe, which gained approval

Subj: Coushatta political program
 Date: 04/12/2001 10:20:02 PM Central Daylight Time
 From: abramoff@
 To: kvanhoo@

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 60 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:

2

\$200,000

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.

3

Cost:

\$287,500.00

Research - Qualitative

Monday, April 16, 2001

KVANHOOF

CUSH-MICKEY-20011922

Description:
 The qualitative research we will launch is absolutely necessary for an issue such as the one we face. This research will help identify the efforts of the opposition and provide valuable tools for our offensive efforts.
 Completion Date:
 April 30, 2001

✓ Cost:
 30,000.00
 ④ Research - Quantitative

Description:
 I recommend doing at least one more poll to test positive messages, the political strength of our opposition, and the overall political environment in Allen Parish. The poll already completed was somewhat helpful, but we need more specific data, both geographically speaking (the last poll was statewide) and on our possible messages.

✓ Cost:
 17,000.00
 Completion date:
 April 15, 2001

⑤ PAC Creation and Management

Description:
 We will build both a federal and state political action committee for the tribe and manage its day-to-day operations. The PAC will be completely controlled by the tribal decision makers, but we will handle all fundraising and other administrative duties (such as filing the appropriate paperwork, complete the proper reports etc.)

✓ Cost:
 There is no out of pocket expense for this. There is an administrative fee, but this money will be paid out of the PAC, not from the tribe directly. This fee depends on the size of the PAC and the number of fundraising efforts conducted. This is a nominal charge that will depend on the size of the PAC.
 Completion date:
 The PAC will be created by April 30th and will operate until indefinitely.

Budget Summary	
Organization	\$200,000
Advocacy/Mobilization	\$287,500
Qualitative Research	\$ 30,000
Quantitative Research	\$ 17,000
PAC Management	\$ 0
Total	\$534,600

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

Monday, April 16, 2001

Monday, April 16, 2001
 18:56:00
 isVanhoof

COUSH DIRECTV# 0001633

Subj: Coushatta political program
 Date: 04/12/2001 10:20:02 PM Central Daylight Time
 From: abramoff@ [redacted]
 To: kvanhoof@ [redacted]

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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.

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Completion Date:

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3

Cost:

\$287,500.00

Research - Qualitative

Monday, April 16, 2001

[redacted] K Vanhoof

Message0265	
Subject:	Re: Kathy
From:	Mpsscannon
Date:	4/18/2001
To:	abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Message Body	
<p>I will bill away! I need that bonus to by me a brand new cadilliac!</p> <p><< Subj: RE: Kathy Date: 4/17/2001 9:09:26 PM Eastern Daylight Time From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com To: Mpsscannon@aol.com</p> <p>Super. It is critical that you run the chairman's campaign, and that he wins! We're charging these guys up the wazoo, so this will be the key deliverable. Make sure you bill your hours like a demon. Almost no one else is billing this client yet, so there is plenty of room. You should be able to qualify for a hefty bonus just on this one (let alone Kickapoo and all the other fun).</p> <p>-----Original Message----- From: Mpsscannon@aol.com [mailto:Mpsscannon@aol.com] Sent: Tuesday, April 17, 2001 7:22 PM To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com Subject: Kathy</p> <p>Jack, the following are strategy e-mails between me and Kathy. They are hard to follow so here is the long and short of it. The gov sent a letter to Kathy last week demanding 11% instead of 6%. Kathy and I agreed to tell the gov to shove it up his ass in a letter - but we devised a political strategy around it. We are going to leak the letter from the gov asking for 11%- then once it gets printed run a telephone patch through campaign creating the aura of outrage in the community. Here is the latest exchange</p> <p>Subj: Re: (no subject) Date: 4/17/2001 7:11:16 PM Eastern Daylight Time From: Mpsscannon To: KVanhoof</p> <p>I think the letter is fine. I think we should do the following: I'll get the reporter on this letter issue. I will tip them off - telling him/her that the state is raking the tribe over the coals for 11% and a big fight has erupted. The tip will be totally off the record. I will then direct the reporter to you to confirm the tip. When the reporter calls you - you should say the following: "Can I talk to you on background?" When the reporter say yes - ask the reporter again- "This is totally on background right? I can't confirm this on the record" She/he will say yes again. Then you let it rip. Tell them that the state is trying to extort money from the tribe etc. and tell her/him about the letters.</p>	

She/he will then ask for copies of the letters.
You then tell him/her that she can have them but that you are providing them

off the record and her story must only reference them "as copies of which were obtained by"

If we can execute this exchange successfully we then do the following:

- 1) We have a tribe spokesperson confirm the letters and slam the gov's office for the outrageous demand and condemn them for putting private correspondence into the public realm.
- 2) We write a letter to the gov's office asking them to cease from divulging private correspondence to the media.
- 3) Once the story is published - we pound them with patch through phone calls for a few days.
- 4) The chairman should write an OP-Ed on the issue, and we will write several letters to the editor from our allies.
- 5) We then sit back and see what they do.
- 6) I will follow your lead. If we can execute this strategy successfully, it puts you in control of the playing field. They will be on their heels. Then you can determine if you want to go in for the kill (if we execute this successfully they will think they over played their hand and will look for a way out) or you can sit back and let the rest of the political program play out.

I will be in position by 10:00am tomorrow. It may be a good idea to chat this over on the phone before we pull the trigger?

<< Subj: Re: (no subject)
Date: 4/17/2001 6:36:18 PM Eastern Daylight Time
From: KVanhoof
To: Mpsscanlon

I was beginning to think I was getting soft since I can't make headway on this matter so far. Thanks for the complement. :-) The chairman is the one

who'll agree to the letter. I told him today that you were reviewing and I would email to him once it passed muster. Now we just need to figure out the best way to get this to press, or not. What do you think we should do?

Also - word is that the vice chairman will run against the chairman in May. He's ready to move forward with the campaign. Need your input. We gotta win.

Kathy >>

Michael Scanlon

Michael Scanlon

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

----- Headers -----

Return-Path:

Received: from rly-yd01.mx.aol.com (rly-yd01.mail.aol.com [172.18.150.1]) by air-yd02.mail.aol.com (v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Tue, 17 Apr 2001 21:09:26 -0400

Received: from mia-srv02.gtlaw.com (ns1.gtlaw.com [209.187.139.11]) by rly-yd01.mx.aol.com (v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Tue, 17 Apr 2001 21:09:08 -0400

Received: by mia-srv02.gtlaw.com with Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19) id ; Tue, 17 Apr 2001 21:08:49 -0400

Message-ID:

From: abramoff@gtlaw.com

To: Mpsscannon@aol.com

Subject: RE: Kathy

Date: Tue, 17 Apr 2001 21:08:47 -0400

MIME-Version: 1.0

X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

Content-Type: text/plain;

charset="iso-8859-1"

>>

Michael Scanlon

Subj:	Re: Political Program funding
Date:	04/18/2001 5:00:39 PM Central Daylight Time
From:	Mps@scanlon
To:	KVar@hoof

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 from \$1,000 a month to \$5,000 a month depending on the size and the amount of activity.

I hope this makes more sense. Sorry for the confusion! If there is any way to get the initial money out today it would be great!

Michael Scanlon

Wednesday, April 18, 2001

Wednesday, April 18, 2001

COUSH-MiscFin-0000368

Subj:	Re: Political Program funding
Date:	04/18/2001 5:00:39 PM Central Daylight Time
From:	Mpsscanton
To:	KVantool

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).

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I hope this makes more sense. Sorry for the confusion! If there is any way to get the initial money out today it would be great!

Michael Scanton

Wednesday, April 18, 2001

COUSH-MiscFin-0000368

[REDACTED]

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2001 2:03 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Disregard previous email

Hi [REDACTED]

Never mind about the tribal issue. I just got an email from Jack and he told me that he and Steve worked it out already. You might want to let Steve know that Jack already asked for an invoice for the focus groups too. Thank Steve for me.

Thanks [REDACTED]
Italia

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2001 1:44 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: urgent tribal issue

Hi [REDACTED]

Since Steve has a copy (according to Jack), I am not going to try to get it to anyone else at Interior.

I just wanted to make sure Steve actually saw this.

Thanks,
--Italia

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, [mailto:abramoff@REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 6:10 PM
To: Italia [mailto:Italia@REDACTED]
Subject: urgent tribal issue

I Italia. I hate to bother you with something so trivial, but...

SECRET 00014

of our hard core tribes is being screwed by the BIA and we really need somehow to get to the Secretary to undo this fast. Their insurance business is just about to go under (days away) and BIA is just not responding since there is no new head there.

I have sent this to Steve as well, but I thought that perhaps you might be able to get this to the Secretary directly to get action. Here is the one pager on this:

Bureau of Indian Affairs Tribal Insurance Policy Putting Indian-Owned Insurance Companies Out of Business

Background

A November 15, 2000 memorandum (attached) issued by Jim Thomas, Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Office of Tribal Services, to the BIA Regional Directors regarding the purchase of insurance by tribal self-determination contractors unilaterally imposed a new requirement on said contractors to obtain insurance from a company licensed by the state in which the tribe is located.

Since the release of the memorandum, tribal self-determination contractors seeking to renew their insurance policies with Indian-owned insurance companies have been denied their requests by BIA regional offices because the Indian-owned companies are not licensed in the states in which tribes will purchase their services. The policy has also had a detrimental affect on the Indian-owned insurance companies who are being prohibited by the BIA from continuing to provide insurance services to existing tribal clients. If this anti-business policy is not revoked, it is only a matter of time before Indian-owned insurance companies are forced by the BIA to close their doors.

BIA Insurance Policy is Flawed and Should be Revoked

The memorandum failed to take into account that many tribal self-determination contractors purchase their insurance from Indian-owned insurance companies due to these companies' unique understanding of tribal businesses and reservation economies, and the policy was imposed independently by BIA bureaucrats without tribal consultation or input.

* Tribal self-determination contractors are not required by Federal statute in the Indian Self-Determination Act to obtain insurance from a company licensed by the state in which they reside. In addition, the new policy fails to address insurance companies that may have been organized pursuant to tribal law and/or Federal charter, which are not subject to state regulatory authority.

* The policy seeks to impose state regulatory law on Indian Reservations, which is fundamentally at odds with established law as well as principles of self-determination.

Conclusion

The new BIA insurance policy severely limits the ability of tribes to select their own insurance carriers and is having a detrimental impact on tribal economic development efforts, both on tribes operating their own insurance companies who are offering proven, cost-effective coverage to other tribes nationwide and the tribal businesses who rely on these services.

The best solution is to rescind the policy in its entirety, but at a minimum, it should be modified to clarify that the requirements of state licensing have no application to an Indian-owned insurance company.

The information contained in this transmission is confidential.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ u=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 10:52 AM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Subject: RE: Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton

You are so wonderful! I'll pass this on.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 10:59 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton

I'm so sorry this was such a mess. I'll try to figure out what exactly is going on over there. Also, if Mr. Fitial has the time to come back I would be happy for CREA to cover his travel expenses. We are doing an event this summer similar to the convention event - with state environmental secretaries and other leaders. Lots of these folks can't travel on the state dime and CREA helps with those expenses. Maybe we could have a panel on economic and environmental issues in the territories and invite Mr. Fitial back as a guest of honor and speaker - and schedule the meeting with Gale then.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 10:51 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: RE: Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton

If they are going to have a problem on the photo, let's hold on it for now, since I don't want him to come all the way back without a photo. We'll get it another time. Thanks again for all you did on this. You are wonderful!

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 10:50 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton

Chad Calvert is talking to Brian Waidmann today about it. Chad thinks that the only problem may be the picture. Apparently, Gale has not done photo-ops with any congressional people, Govs, etc. It's not about Mr. Fitial, it sounds like some policy they are instituting. I don't know why. Anyway, hopefully we should know more by this afternoon.

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 4:12 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: Ben Fitial seeing Secretary Norton

Do you think this can still happen this week?

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GIG-0001052

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2001 12:05 PM
To: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff)
Subject: RE: Choctaw money coming to AIC

Send it to me. I'll get it to Howard Philips.

-----Original Message-----
From: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff)
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2001 9:46 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Choctaw money coming to AIC

Tell me where to send the check for conservative caucus- and for this I might actually let you win at rball today!

Michael Scanlon

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
To: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff) <scanlonm@...>
Sent: Wed May 02 09:05:46 2001
Subject: Choctaw money coming to AIC

Scanlon is active again. I am going to try to get us \$175K. \$100K to Ralph; \$25K to contributions- (\$5K immediately to Conservative Caucus); rest gimme, faye.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, May 08, 2001 8:54 AM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: RE: Chief Poncho

Sounds great.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italiaf@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, May 08, 2001 9:45 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Chief Poncho

I would love to visit him in Louisiana and I can make time for a private get together anytime that it works on his schedule Wednesday. In fact, just keep me in your back pocket in case there is a hole.

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, May 07, 2001 11:30 PM
 To: italiaf@redacted
 Subject: RE: Chief Poncho

I love the idea of the busts. On the Chief, when we meet him, you can thank him. If there is time in the schedule, let's also shoot to do a private get together, though this might not work on this one day trip. Also, perhaps we could get you to visit them?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italiaf@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, May 07, 2001 8:47 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: Chief Poncho

In the hubbub of trying to get Gale's schedulers to get their act together and getting Steve endorsements, I didn't even ask...is there anything else that I can do for the Chief's visit? Is there something that I can do to say thank you for his support for CREA - besides the time with Sec. Norton?

By the way, for the dinner series - I think the gift for the trustees and guests of honor should be busts of Theodore Roosevelt. What do you think?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@redacted

GTC-E000105174

The Coughatta Political Program

Michael Scanlon
June 26, 2001

The Coughatta 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.

Hello I am calling from Action Research, a nationwide polling firm and I have a few questions regarding Indian Gaming in the State of Louisiana. Do you have a few minutes to answer some questions on this important topic?

- 1) Are you familiar with the Coshatta Indian Tribe and their Casino operation in Kinder, Louisiana called the Grand Casino?
- 2) Have you ever visited the Coshatta Grand Casino?

If no to 1 and 2 terminate

- 3) Several years ago the state agreed to let the Coshatta Indians build the Grand Casino and in return the Coshatta Indians agreed to give state and local governments \$18 million dollars of its casino revenues to go for improving public schools, hiring police and road improvements.

Currently the Coshatta Indians and the government have been trying to re-negotiate their original deal. The Coshatta Indians have agreed to give the state and local governments over \$49 million dollars but only after they receive a report from the politicians detailing what the previous Indian Casino money has been spent on.

Stating it's a matter of principal, the Politicians refuse to give the Indian Tribe an accounting for what they spent the money on and now the two sides have reached a stand-off.

- 4) Do you support the tribe's efforts in getting a full accounting of where the money was spent?
- 5) Would you support the tribe if they refused to give any more money to the local government until the politicians provide a report on how the money was spent?
- 6) Would you be willing to call or write your local elected in support of the Coshatta Indian Tribe?

[Capture name and phone number of Yes respondents to 4,5, and 6. and]

- 7) Would you refuse to support any company or group that engaged in gambling?

[capture name and phone number of yes respondents to number 7]

The Coushatta Political Program

How The Database Has Been Used to Date

We have completed over 16,500 direct contacts from individual voters to the governor. Below is a summary of the different types of contacts we have made.

- We have completed 3,047 phone calls from our employees to the governor's office. On average we were completing 36 calls per hour over a seven-day period.
- When our phone program was running, the governor's office was receiving a phone call roughly every two minutes from our supporters.
- We organized the casino employees and generated 937 individual letters.
- The first wave of our mail campaign will generate over 5,000 postcards to the governor's office by the weekend.
- We have generated over 6,400 citizen calls to the governor.
- We have generated 127 letters from businesses to the governor.
- We have completed over 100 phone calls from business owners to the governor's office

*An employee postcard campaign is scheduled to begin this week with a target of an additional 1,700 contacts.

The Coughatta Political Program

To Be Completed (Original program)

- We have an additional 50,000 pieces of direct mail that will be in mailboxes this week. The mail will generate roughly 5,000 postcards to the governor's office.
- We will complete 5,000 calls to the governor's office at the same time the mail is landing.
- We will complete an additional 1,000 employee calls to the governor.
- We will have an additional 1,000 personalized letters from businesses hit the governor's office in the next week.
- An additional 1,700 employee postcards will be sent to the governor by early next week.

When completed the program will have resulted in 30,200 direct contacts with the governor's office.

The Coushatta Political Program - Local

We launched a local program on Friday that includes the tactics listed below. Our objective is to have the number of voters who contact our targets equal a number that could swing his or her election.

Calls

We will run patch-through calls to each of the identified targets at the recommended frequency. For example, we will run a phone campaign that will result in 4,000 completed calls to the DA from eligible voters in support of the tribe. For the school board we will complete 1000 calls, etc.

Letters

We will hit each of the targets at the frequency suggested with letters or postcards in support of our position. Each of the written communications will come from the targets home precincts.

Petition Drives

We will deliver "I support the Coushatta Tribe and I vote petitions" to the targeted offices. Each of the petitions will have the appropriate number of signatures.

Localized Mail

I recommend that we mail the home precincts of each of the targeted office holders, with one advocacy mail piece each that contains an individualized message. For example, in school board district six we will mail a piece that says "Call School Board Member Carolyn Manuel and tell her to not to cut off our education funding – tell her to support the Coushatta compact position." In district two we will use the appropriate name, etc.

The Coushatta Political Program

Political Recommendations

- The Coushatta Accountability Campaign should be waged.

- Later this year, I strongly recommend engaging Harrah's in a political dialogue.

- Participating in next year's local and state elections is an absolute must.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) / [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 11, 2001 10:42 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE:

Use SVJA, Inc.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 11, 2001 8:23 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir DC-Gov)
Subject:

We will do the disperment to the company and then the company will disperse to jeff u andrew and I. What company shall we use Tony Rudy

GTG-E000088881

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sounds good.

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

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

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

GTG-E000011945

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 8:44 AM
To: 'mscanlon1@ [REDACTED]'
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

Send it to me.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@ [REDACTED] (mailto:mscanlon1@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 9:24 AM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

Great! Just let me know what you need and when. I am having the wire info sent to rodney now.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
 Apparently it's a huge project for Ralph. It'll give us \$500K to start to pass through CCS and as much as \$4 million over the year. This should really help us get the sales price up.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@ [REDACTED] (mailto:mscanlon1@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 9:14 AM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

No problem! Also, do you have any instructions on the project you need to run through CCS?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
 Great. Please call me in the car at about 1:30. [REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@ [REDACTED] (mailto:mscanlon1@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 7:31 AM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

I am tied up this morning, but we can meet after 1 or talk on the phone if you are out and about.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
 Great. Please let's chat tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@ [REDACTED] (mailto:mscanlon1@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, June 28, 2001 7:56 PM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: FW: Friedman

GTG-E000011951

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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@██████████
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?

GTG-E000011965

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@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 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 -
 Coushatta
 350- choctaw 2
 400 - chocataw 3
 Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a total of 2.1. Not bad :):)

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
 Sent: Mon Sep 10 07:31:04 2001
 Subject: for planning purposes

Can you let me know how much more (than the current 4/- \$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

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

GTG-E0000113995

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@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 12:19 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: for planning purposes

I'll take the man title for now- but not tomorrow, 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@██████████>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
 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@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 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 -
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 400 - chocataw 3
 Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a total of 2.1. Not bad :):):)

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
 Sent: Mon Sep 10 07:31:04 2001
 Subject: for planning purposes

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 to assess where I am at for the school's sake. Thanks Mike.

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 intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email
 and destroy all copies of the original message.

GTGE0000113847

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 8:23 AM
 To: Roseman, Courtney (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: FW: Greetings

Yes, but wait till I'm in.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Roseman, Courtney (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 9:10 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: FW: Greetings

I have the invite that Italia emailed to me yesterday. Do you want me to forward it to you?

Courtney Roseman

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Roseman, Courtney (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) <rosemancc@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Sep 20 08:56:02 2001
 Subject: FW: Greetings

Please call Italia and tell her I might have another candidate to be a trustee and ask if she can email me as an attachment an invitation/letter about the event on Monday so I can forward it to them asap.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 8:41 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Greetings

Please do not hesitate to send information to me regarding events or other items you feel are important. I can always present the information to the Council. You may send the information as an attachment that I can print or simply fax the information to my office and to my attention.

I will be in D.C. Tuesday. If scheduling works that would be great. If not, we can always schedule for the near future. Take care.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 To: cpetras@ [REDACTED] <cpetras@ [REDACTED]>
 Date: Thursday, September 20, 2001 12:56 AM
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Tuesday night dinner might work. Will you still be in DC?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, September 19, 2001 9:46 PM
 To: 'Chris'
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Thanks Chris. Actually Monday evening is a very important event which a few tribes are participating in. It is a very small dinner with the Assistant Sec. McKaleb and Dep Sec Griles, as well as a number of other Assistant Secs. It is for those tribes and others who are trustees of Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy (CREA). I did not push you on this one, since to have a trustee for costs \$50K. All of my tribal clients (Choctaw, Chitimacha, Coushatta, and Kickapoo) are participating. I know it is terribly last minute, and probably was out of the range of what you can do right now, but

STG-E000105223

I thought I'd mention it to you anyway. CREA is Norton's main group outside the department (she used to be chairman) and they have been incredibly helpful on certain specific tribal issues. Anyway, we'll find another time to get together.

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 19, 2001 11:46 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings

I am sorry about having to cancel our dinner for tomorrow. I am traveling, instead, to D.C. on Monday. I spoke with Laura and she indicated that your schedule, with a possible exception Monday evening, is full regarding meal times. If next week is full, perhaps another time will work. Take care. -----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: cpetrasc@██████████ <cpetrasc@██████████>
 Date: Friday, September 14, 2001 3:35 PM
 Subject: RE: Greetings

Hi. What a crazy situation. I am fine, still at home recovering from surgery. Hope we will get to see each other next Thursday night as planned. Let's reconfirm Thursday morning. Did we pick a location? If not, how about Sushi Taro at ██████████

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, September 14, 2001 3:25 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings
 Greetings

Did you survive Tuesday's event? I had just left a meeting on the Hill and suddenly became part of a massive evacuation from the Capitol and nearby buildings. I may still be in town next week. Please let me know how you are. -----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: cpetrasc@██████████ <cpetrasc@██████████>
 Date: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 8:08 AM
 Subject: RE: Greetings

Anyone coming with you (for reservations purposes)? -----Original Message-----

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 7:51 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings

Sounds good. 6:00 PM on the 10th, Capitol Grille.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: cpetrasc@██████████ <cpetrasc@██████████>
 Cc: roseanc@██████████ <roseanc@██████████>
 Date: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:23 AM
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Capitol Grille?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 4:28 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings

Sounds good. Just let me know where you would like to dine.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: cpetrasc@██████████ <cpetrasc@██████████>
 Cc: roseanc@██████████ <roseanc@██████████>
 Date: Monday, August 20, 2001 5:23 PM
 Subject: RE: Greetings

An early dinner would work on the 10th, 6 PM?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 2:57 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings
 Jack,

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
 BOARD OF DIRECTORS
 Sunday, September 30, 2001 3:00 p.m.

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 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.) Board Restructuring – Both Directors, Mann and Scanlon **MOVE** and **SECOND** That due to circumstances beyond his control, Director David Grosh had relinquished his position with the **AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER**. 2.) Roles and Responsibilities - 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.

BB/CGS 023743

COLLIER SHANNON SCOTT

005/008

- IV. ANNOUNCEMENTS: Next meeting scheduled for October.
- V. ADJOURNMENT: Director Mann MOTIONED to adjourn,
Director Scanlon SECONDED.

BB/CCS 023749

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted], on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 10:07 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE:

Great.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 10:46 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE:

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

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, October 04, 2001 11:38 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject:

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

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GTG-E000028079

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 5:16 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 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 301-681-6998) AND email how the call goes in great detail.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 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@ []>
 To: Linda Ingram <linda@ []>; Jack Abramoff (E-mail) <abramoffj@ []>
 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@ [mailto:laner@]
 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@ [mailto:ralph@]
 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@ []>
 <mailto:[mailto:mike@ []>
 Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 12:22 PM
 To: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Subject:

GTG-E000023050

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 drafts of the language, but we are still battling 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 won't 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.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2001 10:09 AM
To: 'mike@
Subject: Re: Trips

U dat man!
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@
To: abramoffj@
Sent: Mon Oct 15 10:54:08 2001
Subject: Trips

Hey - I will be in Saginaw tomorrow 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) [mailto:jack@dir.dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 10:18 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

I love life!! We need to get you down there to get them moving on the political phase. How about if we both try to go soon. We should try to do both [REDACTED] and Choctaw and take a plane. Let's discuss when you are back in town.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 8:00 PM
 To: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

The political machine (data base etc) attacking the gulf coast, and hitting the attorney who filed, falls under the approved funding schedule of 1.5 - 1.5 - 1.6. Of which we have received the first two waves of funding but need the third. The [REDACTED] effort, and the positive effort IS NOT covered under the approved funding schedule - and will be very pricey.

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

From: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:55 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

But these things have not yet been funded by them, right? So there is more gimme five coming on these as well, right?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
 To: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Absolutley - The political monster is part of this campaign, BUT there is alot more work to do. We need to completely take over [REDACTED], use the political army we built in this campaign to take over the [REDACTED], and launch the positive campaign to get the facility in [REDACTED]. There is much work to be done!

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

From: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

By the way, even with this done, don't we have a large longer term project to do for them there? Remember we promised when we had dinner with the chief that we would make them the most powerful folks in the state. I thought that was waylaid because of the attack on their compact, but we should renew that one, no? more moolah, and gimme five.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 2:24 PM
 To: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov
 Subject: [REDACTED]

Neil knows this but you may want to call her and spin how effective I am. The [REDACTED] as is his chief of staff and several others.

Late Friday the gov reached out to the tribe to tell them he is on their side. It may be a good idea to call Neil and take full credit for this. Tell her we have been pounding him, and it looks like victory is not far away. We have been racking up letters from powerful folks, working with his pollster to cook the books, and push polling our tales off. I think we may close this out soon. But we have another wave of funding we need to get in. Its a big one too. We should try to get it in before the end of the month. I can't controll how quickly the gove comes on board, so its a good idea to get the money in soon. Make sense?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2001 12:14 PM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Letter

Just got this. Unfortunately it was already sent. Thanks.

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

From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2001 10:44 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Letter

On the white paper: should we include the names of the people in the Eastern regional office who are supposedly handling this issue?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 10:00 PM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: Letter

I chatted with Steve today on this.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 9:46 PM
 To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
 Subject: FW: Letter

This has to be prepared for couriering to Steve Grites at Interior. I want to see it before it goes out. I have the attachments and will put them in the tape. This has to go out as soon as possible in the morning, but only after I have seen it. Thanks.

[on letterhead]

The Honorable J. Steven Grites
 Deputy Secretary of the Interior

Dear Steve:

Thanks for calling me today. I appreciate your help with the CNMI governor's race and ensuring that the President does NOT endorse anyone in the race, in particular the liberal "Republican" Juan Babuata, who is running against the Speaker and former chairman of the Bush campaign there, Ben Frital. I also appreciate anything you can do to prod things forward to get Mark Zachares into position at OIA.

As I mentioned, I am forwarding over the materials to get the notice published which you discussed with Kathy van Hoof at the CREA dinner. Thanks for helping with this one as well.

I hope to see you soon.

Warmest regards,

Jack Abramoff

GTG-E00010526

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 TH-4604HT) is about half a year (March-April)
> after awarding a contract. With regards,

>

> VADIM
> Assistant to Mrs. Nevskaya

Everytime something doesn't work out the way "I" think it should, I say to Hashem,
Beseder, Abba, I know everything will work out the way you want it to.

So it will take the same amount of time either way.

I will fax you a letter stating that I am purchasing this equipment for the IDF, and at
the same time get a signed letter from the commander of Paratroop brigade 890 to "who this
may concern" Mr Shmuel Ben Zvi is purchasing this thermal device for us.... And we can go
both to RAYTHEON and FLIR (near Boston) who sells the better MILCAMEXP.

Then we just need "end user" clearance from the State Department.

Baruch Hashem.

About the passages,

1) Daf wav in the hagdama of the Zohar mentions Beladin.
2) And parchas Balak in the Zohar says that before Moshlach comes three towers will burn
in the gate of Rome (edom), I freaked out when I saw how the schematic drawing in newweek
referred to the smaller (45 story) world trade center building is referred 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.

MEMORANDUM

TO: KATHY VANHOOF
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LOUISIANA 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 we're 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

2
BB/LC 017923

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 from 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

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

BB/LC 017926

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] 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:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 7:36 PM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 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@gtlaw.com [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@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: LDA pump for second half

No problem. Ill get on the phone with them right now.

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [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?

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GTG-E000012245

From: Mike Scanlon (mike [REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 4:52 PM
To: kvanthoo([REDACTED])
Cc: abramoff([REDACTED])
Subject: invoices



GT Battleground Louisiana Invoice on
Invoice.doc (1... Battle Gro...

<<GT Battleground Invoice.doc>> <<Louisiana Invoice 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!:)

GTG-E000011383

Tribal Council Members Otto and Kahgegab Announce
Formation of New Slate of Candidates to run in Saginaw
Chippewa Tribal Elections

Slate of 8 Will Run on Platform of Reform

For Immediate Release
October 26, 2001

Contact: David Otto
██████████
Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.
██████████

Mt. Pleasant – Current Saginaw Chippewa Council Members David Otto and Maynard Kahgegab, Jr., today announced that they have organized and will lead a slate of candidates in the upcoming elections. The new group of candidates are called the “Slate of 8” and will focus their campaign on the message of reform.

“The Slate of 8 represents honesty, integrity and vision – something that the Committee for Responsible Government unfortunately completely lacks. We organized the Slate of 8 ourselves and are asking the tribal members to vote for us so that we can put the scandal plagued politics of this tribe in the past.”

The Slate of 8 contains two current council members as well as the following other candidates:

Robert Pego	Lindy Hunt
Diana Quigno-Grundahl	Raymond Davis
Gerald Slater	Tim Davis

The Slate of 8 will run on an over all platform of reform, but will stress specific issues, such as developing a comprehensive health insurance plan, providing an elders facility, diversifying business interests, and developing stronger ties in Washington D.C. and at the state and local level to advance tribal concerns.

“We are launching our campaign immediately and we plan to talk, meet and communicate with every voter in this tribe before Election Day at least two times. This tribe needs a new beginning and in order to do that the tribe needs new leadership. The Slate of 8 represents a brighter tomorrow, and in tribal language, we need to burn some sage to smoke out the wrongdoing of our opposition”

####

SLATE OF 8

Maynard Kahgegab Jr.

David Otto

Robert Pego

Diana Quigno-Grundahl

Tim Davis

Gerald Slater

Lindy Hunt

Raymond Davis

November 15, 2001

Dear Friend,

The election on November 6 was an historic event for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe. It was the day the people of this tribe swept away the politics of the past, and started a new era of positive and responsible government. Your vote, and the votes of your friends and family, brought change and the *Slate of Eight* to your tribal government and we thank you.

Now that the election is over, it is time to start working. The new tribal council will be sworn in on December 5, and right away, we will begin working for the future. We will start by keeping our campaign promises to have regular community meetings, to increase the tribe's business diversification and ultimately, to work for a brighter future for our tribe.

The slate of eight promised honesty, integrity and vision, and that is exactly what you will get. While we will have many challenges over the next two years, your council will remain focused on one thing: working for the people of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe.

Very sincerely yours,

The Slate of Eight

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA - HOUSING ACCT.

PAY

***One Million and 00/100 Dollars

TO THE ORDER OF

GREENSBURG TRAVEL INC

003664
3566

DATE

10/30/2001


AMOUNT

\$1,000,000.00

Paul J. [Signature]
Paul J. [Signature]
Accounting Clerk

GTG023510-ACCT

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Sunday, October 30, 2001 3:00 p.m.


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.

BB/AIC 000634

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 7:31 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: saginaw

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

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 8:22 AM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: RE: saginaw

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

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 7:51 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: saginaw

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

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@scanlon.com

GTG-E000012235

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 2:14 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: don't forget!!!

Ballot security at Saginaw!!!!

GTG-E000012251

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 7:57 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon all'
Subject: FW: don't forget!!!

Are we all set? I can't handle losing two elections in the space of 4 days!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike.scanlon@dc.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 3:17 PM
To: abramoff, [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov]
Subject: RE: don't forget!!!

got it.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff, [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov]
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 3:14 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: don't forget!!!

Ballot security at Saginaw!!!!

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@dc.gov

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] 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 Alabama 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 Alabama money will come in very soon - it's counted as a projection until its in the bank.
- 3) The overall numbers in the amounts I owe you are exactly \$1 million smaller than 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>>

GTG-E000012278

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:30 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Give me five

Yes, as far as I know it does not matter. In essence you are an agent for the tribe and these funds were never yours (the company's).

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:21 AM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: RE: Give me five

That would be huge! The only thing is that I am set up as a sub-s -not an LLC can I still do it?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 7:21 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Give me five

By the way, on the payment to Cap Athletic, you can make the case that the [redacted] gave you the funds to make the contribution for them, and there is no tax event. That's what the firm is doing.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:03 PM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 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 Alabama money will come in very soon - its counted as a projection until its in the bank.
- 3) The overall numbers in the amounts I owe you are exactly \$1 million smaller that what we projected last month because your section of the Louisiana Battleground program was paid directly to GT-so I took the whole thing of the chart. I did leave it on the distribution chart so you can see what the "value" of your share to date - approximately 5.4 mill. has gone to you or third party entities at your direction.
- 4) These breakdowns are all we have on our plate for 2001.
- 5) Lets get back on the plane!!!! We need more!

REDACTED

GTG-E000012276

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:33 AM
 To: Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Great news!!!!

Fantastic. Thanks Ron.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:31 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Great news!!!!

This is super. Now, at least, I get to make some use of the 3 1/2 months I spent in Michigan for Gore. As you know I am very close to both Senators and the Democrats in the House delegation. I remember our earlier cancelled trips to Michigan. Please let me know what I can do to help. I would really like to take a significant role with this client...obviously to whatever degree you decide is appropriate.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 10:23 PM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Baggett, Fred (Shld-Tal-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
 Subject: RE: Great news!!!!

The good man (liberal lobbyist for the vanquished members of the tribal council - who had us removed as their lobbyists at the beginning of the year) does not yet know. He is going to be told in a meeting which they want me to attend. Our guys hate him intensely, so they want to make it as painful as possible.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 9:54 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Baggett, Fred (Shld-Tal-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
 Subject: Re: Great news!!!!

This is fantastic. It was a long hard road getting to this point but well worth the wait. I wonder how Larry R. took this great news?

Shawn M. Vasell

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
 To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@...>; Baggett, Fred (Shld-Tal-Gov/Adm) <Baggett@...>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@...>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulanger@...>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasell@...>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@...>; Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis) <smithmd@...>; Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov) <laner@...>; Platt, Ronald (Dir-

GTG-E000028114

DC-Gov) <PlattR[REDACTED]; Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <legers[REDACTED];
Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis) <slomowitza[REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Nov 06 21:33:51 2001
Subject: Great news!!!!

I just got off the phone with Chris Petras, government affairs head for the Saginaw
Chippewa. Today they had their election. We had Scanlon up there running our slate. We
won 7 of the 8 slate positions and now control the council! Our guys will be Chief and
Sub Chief. Chris will head the 1 month transition and we will be on board as soon as they
are in. I figure the representation will be \$100-150K/month.

GTG-E000028115

From: Abramoff, Jack ([redacted]) on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:43 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw Election

I love it!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@ [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:39 AM
To: Aaron Stetter; Chris Cathcart; Patrick Gould; Robin Axline
Cc: jweber1962@ [redacted]; baron@ [redacted]; abramoffj@ [redacted]; jjdiehl14@ [redacted]
Subject: Saginaw Election

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

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

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

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

GTG-E000002297

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:31 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: Article

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

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph. [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 6:28 PM
To: 'abramoffj' [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Subject: RE: Article

wow. these guys are really playing hard ball. they also did a full page ad in the austin-american today. do you know who their consultant(s) are?

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 6:27 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Article

Great. Full page ad attacking Cornyn in the Washington Post today (page 5). We are trying to reduce size and fax to you now.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph. [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:55 PM
To: 'abramoffj' [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Subject: RE: Article

great work. get me details so i can alert cornyn and let him know what we are doing to help him.

talked to ed young again today. incredibly engaged and excited. he is planning on hosting a breakfast with the top pastors in houston to get them all mobilized and to provide cover for cornyn. we may invite cornyn to address them.

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

From: abramoffj [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. Cornyn 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 [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Cc: abramoffj [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Subject: Article

John, here is a good backgrounder on what they are up too.

Nov. 11, 2001, 12:21AM

Despite pitfalls, reservation plans casino opening

By RICHARD STEWART

Copyright 2001 Houston Chronicle

While the Tigua Indians of far West Texas battle in court to keep their lucrative casino open, the Alabama-Coushattas of East Texas are learning to deal blackjack, roll roulette wheels and operate slot machines in what they hope will become the closest gambling hot spot to Houston.

The East Texas casino near Livingston could be in operation as early as Christmas, said Kevin Battise, chairman of the tribal council. But that opening is far from certain. It is dependent upon the tribe finding a way around legal opposition to casino gambling by the state government.

The attorney general's office would certainly file a lawsuit to block the opening of a casino.

"If we get into trouble over this, I'm the one who's liable," Battise said with a chuckle. "And I don't think I'd do too well in jail."

What the Alabama-Coushattas are planning in their "entertainment complex" is modest, Battise said. "We can't afford to start out with a Las Vegas-style resort operation. We have to start out small."

He admitted that many members of the combined tribe have no personal love of gambling or the crowds that a casino might bring. They need the money a casino could generate.

Two years ago, the tribe voted 201-62 to bring gambling to the reservation.

By that time, their Louisiana cousins had a thriving and growing casino, Grand Coushatta, north of Kinder, La. While the Texas tribe struggled with soaring unemployment, low wages and other problems, they watched their related tribe have full employment and prosperity fueled by gamblers -- many of them from Texas -- at their casino.

The Alabama and Coushatta tribes once inhabited parts of what is now the state of Alabama. While they were separate tribes, they have long lived together and have intermarried over the generations. In the 1760s, many began migrating west. A group of Coushattas remained in western Louisiana. In the 1780s, many Alabamas and a smaller number of Coushattas took up residency in Texas.

The Tiguas, one of the Pueblo tribes, started their casino near El Paso in 1993 and now make about \$60 million a year.

Battise said his tribe could make good use of gambling income. Like many other reservation residents, he once had to commute 85 miles each way to a job in Houston. The tribe closed its tourist facility at the end of the summer, he said.

"We hated to do that, because almost all of us had worked there at one time or another.

But it was just losing too much money. And I'm not talking about thousands of dollars, I'm talking about hundreds of thousands of dollars," he said.

The tribe could use the money from a casino for education or health benefits, Battise said.

"We have a terrible problem of diabetes among our members. We need money to deal with that."

The prosperity would not be limited to tribal members, he said.

"We would employ many people from surrounding communities without regard to race," he said.

Unlike many other Indian casinos, the Alabama-Coushattas plan to operate their casino themselves -- at least at the outset -- Battise said. It will probably start as a small operation in an existing building at the front of the tribal complex on U.S. 190, 17 miles east of Livingston.

The location is not where the tribe really wants its casino to be, he said.

The Alabama-Coushattas have purchased 4,000 acres to the west of their 4,600-acre reservation and some of that land adjoins U.S. 59, Battise said. If that land can be declared part of the tribal trust, the tribe would like to put their casino there.

Not only would that keep most of the traffic away from the quiet, wooded area the tribe has long inhabited, but it would make it even more convenient to gamblers from Houston.

Battise noted that Interstate 10 is full of buses bringing gamblers from Houston to gambling boats at Lake Charles, 143 miles away, and to the Grand Coushatta casino, which is 175 miles from Houston. The Alabama-Coushatta casino would be half as far.

The Alabama-Coushattas will probably end up in court fighting the state for the right to operate a casino, Battise said.

Texas Attorney General John Cornyn has been outspoken in his opposition to Indian casinos. He has said that casino gambling isn't just illegal for Indian tribes, "Casino gambling is illegal for all Texans," he said.

"That law is simple and is grounded in the Texas Constitution: Gambling is illegal in Texas," Cornyn said. "My responsibility as attorney general is to enforce the laws of the state."

Cornyn's office filed a lawsuit against the Tiguas in 1999, claiming that in 1987, the tribe made a legally binding commitment not to establish gambling on its reservation as a condition of becoming a federally recognized tribe.

The Tiguas argued that Texas opened up the state to Indian casinos when it approved bingo and a state lottery. Tribes in several other states have used similar arguments to open reservation casinos.

On Sept. 27, U.S. District Judge Garnett Thomas Eisele ruled in favor of the state and gave the tribe until the end of November to cease operation. He has since turned down a request for a new trial, and the decision is being appealed.

In the last legislative session, the Texas House passed a bill that would have allowed casinos on Indian reservations, but a similar measure never made it to the floor of the Senate.

"In some states, the government has helped out the Indians," he said. "But, in Texas, there still seems to be this Old West idea of keeping the Indians down."

He noted that with only a little more than 1,000 members, half of them living on the reservation, the Alabama-Coushattas have never had enough votes to be much of a political force.

The Alabama-Coushattas made the same pledge in 1987 to never have gambling on their reservation. That pledge, Battise said, was negated when Texas started to allow certain forms of gambling within the state. It is hypocritical, he said, for Texas to operate a lottery while forbidding the Indians to operate a casino.

There is one alternative to a casino, Battise noted. If the tribe can't open a casino, perhaps it can operate a large-scale bingo operation, similar to those operated by some tribes in Oklahoma.

"You know," he said, "some of the Alabamas went to Oklahoma, too."

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] 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@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 10:26 AM
 To: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Subject: RE: Texas

town Hall sounds great!

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:31 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Texas

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@reed.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:28 AM
 To: 'abramoffj' [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 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 [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:28 AM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Cc: mike@scanlongould.com
 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@reed.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:21 AM
 To: 'abramoffj' [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Subject: RE: Texas

i think so. i'm scheduled to talk to cornyn 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 [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2001 6:58 PM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: FW: Texas

Ralph, this is CRITICAL. Can we get it?

GTG-E000023274

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[REDACTED]]
 Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2001 5:43 PM
 To: abramoff[REDACTED]; ralph[REDACTED]
 Cc: Eric [REDACTED]
 Subject: Texas

Can we get anything out of the AG's 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 the AG 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 AG 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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT/LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 8:26 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: please call me as soon as you can

I had a chat with him tonight. They are willing to help us on Tigua. Let's discuss. Do you want to chat tomorrow morning, around 11?

-----Original Message-----
From: BACISIDRO [mailto:BACISIDRO] [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 7:29 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: please call me as soon as you can

My friend Jack Abramoff, I am very interested in your call with Mr. Ralph Reed. In addition to the Texas Lawyer, the Indian Country issue quotes President George W. Bush from a meeting we had with him in 1998 that the Kickapoo Nation is very different than the Tigua situation. The timing is perfect for us to make a move. I need your help to get the ball in the end zone. May God Bless you. Isidro

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 2:10 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
 Subject: FW:

You better tell him you already started.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 3:00 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@ [REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE:

I strongly suggest we start doing patch-throughs to perry and cornyn. we're getting killed on the phones.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 2:57 PM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: FW:

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 1:21 PM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject:

Look out! This was in the el paso times today
 Tiguas seek support with state, DC ads

Gary Scharrer
 El Paso Times

The Tiguas took their public relations offensive to the state and national capitals Monday with full-page newspaper ads portraying their gambling casino as a lifeline and appealing for support to keep Speaking Rock Casino open.

The tribe placed identical ads in the Austin American-Statesman and in newspapers in Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Fort Worth, imploring people to contact Texas Attorney General John Cornyn and "beg him to save our families."

Cornyn contends that casino gambling is illegal in Texas. A federal judge has agreed and ordered the Tiguas to shut down the casino gambling operation at Speaking Rock by Nov. 30. The tribe has appealed the order. The ad in the Austin newspaper cost the tribe about \$20,000. The Tiguas paid considerably more for space in the Washington Post, which has a daily circulation of about 760,000. The Tiguas would not say what it cost to buy full-page ads in the big-city newspapers, although spokesman Marc Schwartz said the media buy probably exceeded \$100,000. The ad spots in the Washington Post and Texas newspapers highlighted the 1993 opening of Speaking Rock Casino as the event that reversed the Tiguas' habitually high unemployment and meager living to full employment, modern housing and easy access to college and health care. The tribe contends that Cornyn "is using a 'legal technicality' to close the door both on Speaking Rock and on its future. But Cornyn said the ad reminded him of a message that President Theodore Roosevelt gave to Congress in 1903 when he said, "No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it: Obedience to the law is demanded as a right; not asked as a favor."

The ad message in the Texas newspapers and in the Washington Post is nearly identical, although the Post spot is framed as a letter to President Bush and asks him to convince Cornyn to back off. "We'd like to invite (Cornyn) to take a moment to see the community he's about to destroy," the Tiguas said in their ad. Cornyn will visit El Paso Thursday

GTG-E000023240

to speak at the El Paso Better Business Bureau's annual "torch award" noon luncheon at the Marriott. He is not expected to accept the Tiguas' invitation to visit the reservation. State Rep. Paul Moreno, D-El Paso, is urging El Pasoans to peacefully demonstrate against Cornyn.

"Mr. Cornyn must understand that El Pasoans will not accept his malicious act to quash the Tiguas' request for a stay on the unusually harsh punishment on the Tiguas and El Paso County," Moreno said. As of late Monday, Cornyn's office reported receiving 71 pro-Tigua e-mail responses and five favoring the state's position; and 92 pro-Tigua phone calls and 9 pro-state phone calls.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2001 10:01 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: After Cornyn gets whacked in El Paso, let's chat on the phone

Fine, but I still hope he gets whacked so we can work on both [REDACTED] and getting [REDACTED] helping us.

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

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2001 10:13 PM
To: 'abramoffj[REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: After Cornyn gets whacked in El Paso, let's chat on the phone

Ok. We are sending 50 pastors to give him moral support.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld [REDACTED]

From: Mike Scanlon [mike@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, November 22, 2001 11:39 AM
 To: sbramoffj@██████████
 Subject: FW: TIGUA NEWS-Two more tribes are ready to join casino battle

FYI

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

From: Brian J. Mann [mailto:brianjmann1@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, November 22, 2001 5:31 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Cc: Chris Cathcart
 Subject: TIGUA NEWS-Two more tribes are ready to join casino battle

AUSTIN AMERICAN STATESMAN

Two more tribes are ready to join casino battle

By Gary Susswein

American-Statesman Staff

Wednesday, November 21, 2001

Texas Attorney General John Cornyn's battle against casino gambling on Indian reservations could become a three-front effort. As the Tigua Indians took another legal step this week to keep open the Speaking Rock casino in El Paso, the Alabama-Coushatta tribe planned to announce it will open its own casino in East Texas as early as Christmas. And Cornyn questioned whether the Lucky Eagle casino run by the Kickapoo tribe along the Mexican border is legal. The San Antonio Republican's anti-gambling efforts have drawn fire from Tigua supporters in West Texas and could become a major issue as he runs for the U.S. Senate in 2002. His office, though, says it's a matter of law. "The law is clear: Casino gambling is illegal in Texas. That law applies to the Tiguas, the Alabama-Coushattas and the Kickapoos," said spokeswoman Jane Sheppard. In September, a federal judge agreed with Cornyn that the Tiguas, who are bound by a federal statute to obey state gambling laws, must shut down Speaking Rock and ordered it closed by midnight Nov. 30. The Tigua tribe -- which has created 800 jobs and paid for social services from casino revenue -- said it is allowed under state law to sponsor any gambling activities that the state can sponsor. And tribal attorneys said the casino -- with its slot machines and other games of chance -- is no different from the state lottery. As the tribe starts to make budget cuts and prepare for a shutdown, its lawyers are appealing the court ruling and this week asked the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to allow the casino to remain open while the appeal is pending. "It's operated for eight years in full view, so it doesn't seem like it's doing irreparable harm," said spokesman Marc Schwarz, who said a two-hour protest is planned for the night of the scheduled shutdown. As the Tiguas' battle with Cornyn reaches its climax, the Alabama-Coushatta will make the first move in what will likely become their own battle. Tribal leaders plan to announce they will open a casino on their 4,600-acre Livingston reservation, about 90 miles northeast of Houston, possibly by Christmas. The tribe voted two years ago to allow casino gambling on its land, and tribal members have been studying up on blackjack and other games. Like the Tiguas, they are required to follow state gambling laws. And as in the Tiguas' case, the legal battles will revolve around whether they are prohibited from sponsoring gambling or permitted to sponsor activities the state would be allowed to sponsor. A tribal spokesman declined to give details about the casino Tuesday but said the timing of the announcement was related to the scheduled closure of the Speaking Rock Casino in El Paso next week. The brewing battles over casino gambling may also stretch down to the Rio Grande Valley. There, the Kickapoos operate poker and blackjack tables and machines that look like slot machines but don't dispense coins to winners. Instead, they dispense pull tabs that tell players whether they've won and can be redeemed for money. "If John Cornyn ever decides any operation we're doing here is illegal, we will stop playing that game and we will go to his office and explain our position as to why it is legal," said spokesman Isidro Garza. "We never want to play our activities contrary to the law of the State of Texas." But Cornyn's office said that already appears to be happening. "It's quite clear from the

games promoted on their Web site that those types of games are illegal in Texas and under (federal Indian gaming laws) as well," said Sheppard. You may contact Gary Suszwein at gusszwein@statesman.com or 445-3654. UPDATES Visit the statesman.com home page for the latest local and state news.

All those IRS checks aren't in the mail
Out-of-date addresses leave 33,555 rebates, refunds in need of good homes.
» A list of all Travis and Williamson county residents with unclaimed tax money.

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CONTESTS

Holiday Menu Contest: Through 12/7

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3

2

GTG-E000000628

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, November 26, 2001 7:45 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: FW: [REDACTED]

We won't be able to get anything back from him, but we could put in for more for [REDACTED] in his name and just keep it for the effort. Should we, or would that seem too weird to Nell?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Monday, November 26, 2001 8:38 AM
 To: abramoffj@abramoff.com
 Subject: RE: FW: [REDACTED]

We can use the money I have set aside -but that's all we have left. If [REDACTED] blows up, or anything else, it's all out of pocket. Can we get any of the 500k we gave [REDACTED] back? We are dipping into our pockets in TX- which was his project, now using reserves for [REDACTED] which was his project- we could really use that dough. possible or am I on crack?

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

From: abramoffj@abramoff.com <abramoffj@abramoff.com>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlon.com>
 Sent: Sun Nov 25 22:58:43 2001
 Subject: RE: FW: [REDACTED]

Yes, do it. What will it cost from our gimme five, or is this all moolah you had already set aside (I hope so!!).

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 10:19 PM
 To: abramoffj@abramoff.com
 Subject: Re: FW: [REDACTED]

Ok, I put a call into some folks I know and here are the broad strokes of what I am going to do. I am putting our own field operation in [REDACTED] to cover all three sites, I am turning on phones hitting reps and dems. I am launching a negative campaign against the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], including radio and TV. I am launching a negative ad campaign against [REDACTED] and [REDACTED], and others. This will be big, and now that the slots are in, its gonna take some time to be effective. I will give [REDACTED] 48 hours before committing any dollars, but [REDACTED] by Tuesday, I need carte blanche to go after this thing.

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

From: abramoffj@abramoff.com <abramoffj@abramoff.com>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlon.com>; Mpscanlon@abramoff.com <Mpscanlon@abramoff.com>
 Sent: Sun Nov 25 21:43:49 2001
 Subject: FW: [REDACTED]

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@reed.com]
 Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:46 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@abramoff.com'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

agreed. we will push this hard from the grassroots, legislators, and from [REDACTED]

Abramoff, Jack

001139446

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 4:00 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: 11-29-01 TIGUA NEWS-Perry offers job aid to Tiguas

What is he thinking?

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

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 3:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: 11-29-01 TIGUA NEWS-Perry offers job aid to Tiguas

December 5, 2001
DALLAS MORNING NEWS
Perry offers job aid to Tiguas
Tribe is committed to saving casino from shutdown by state 11/29/2001 Associated Press
AUSTIN - Gov. Rick Perry said Wednesday that he wants to help Tigua Indians and other El Pasoians find new jobs if the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino is shut down as the state wants. "Those are Texas citizens who could be out of work, and we've got a lot of different ideas at different agencies," Mr. Perry said. The tribe is appealing a shutdown order by Texas Attorney General John Cornyn. He believes it violates Texas laws that prohibit casino-style gambling. Mr. Perry and a federal court agreed with Mr. Cornyn, but on Tuesday the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals allowed the casino to remain open while the tribe appeals. Lawyers for the Tiguas have argued that the tribe is a sovereign nation, meaning it can do anything the state of Texas is allowed to do. They say the casino is structured so that it meets the requirements of the state Lottery Act, which would mean the casino is legal as long as the state lottery is legal. The Tiguas say they would be forced back into poverty if denied the \$60 million the casino pulls in annually. The tribe has more than 1,200 members, and the casino employs about 850 people, 800 of whom are not tribal members. "Governor Perry has finally recognized the economic devastation El Paso and the Tigua Indians will suffer due to the unwarranted action the state of Texas took against our Pueblo," said Tigua Gov. Aldert Alvidrez, head of the Yaleta del Sur Pueblo tribe, which operates the casino. Mr. Alvidrez said he welcomed state help with the tribe's efforts to diversify economically but criticized Mr. Perry for not doing more. "It is unfortunate that Governor Perry did not take a more proactive approach and familiarize himself with Native American issues, which might have prevented the situation as it currently exists in Texas," Mr. Alvidrez said. Mr. Perry said he met with Rep. Norma Chavez, D-El Paso, on Tuesday and has discussed alternatives to casino gambling with the Texas Department of Economic Development. "We're working closely with the Tiguas, trying to work with the tribe on issues of how the state of Texas can work with them, being innovative," said Mr. Perry, a gambling opponent. Ms. Chavez said she requested the meeting with Mr. Perry before the court granted the stay allowing the casino to remain open. She wanted the state to be ready to quickly respond to unemployment and other economic effects the closing would have on employees and El Paso, which also had recent layoffs at a clothing manufacturer, Ms. Chavez said. "It doesn't mean we're conceding. We're not," Ms. Chavez said. The governor's attention to the issue is appreciated, Ms. Chavez said. But "I don't like seeing the governor dance with the issue of Indian gaming." Mr. Perry said his administration's ideas for the gaming facility include continuing the operation of legal games such as bingo, or using the facility as a music venue. Ms. Chavez and Mr. Alvidrez said that Mr. Perry's ideas did not change their strong opposition to closing the casino. Mr. Alvidrez invited Mr. Perry to visit the tribe while attending a governors' conference in El Paso this weekend. "All lands of the Pueblo have multiple entrances including access from the front and rear, whichever would be more convenient for Gov. Perry," he said. Said Mr. Perry, "I don't imagine that I'll be going out to the local casino."

GTG-E000002327

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
 of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:18 AM
 To: 'Ralph Reed'
 Subject: RE: TIGUA NEWS-Full House, as a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino

OK, thanks.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph [redacted]]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:31 AM
 To: 'abramoffj [redacted]'
 Subject: RE: TIGUA NEWS-Full House, as a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino

We are talking to the head of the criminal division every day. He tells us that law enforcement will be moving in any day now. Cornyn told the pastors the same thing on Friday at Second Baptist. Cornyn has said he will enforce the law to the fullest extent, and that means arrests and shuttering it. We have been told it could happen this week. We have done candlelight vigils, radio buys, protests on the casino grounds, phone banks, telephone trees, pastor roundtables, and are in daily consultation with the AG and his staff, both legal and political. His chief political advisor is Karl Rove's business partner, formerly of Rove and Company. Let's talk today about what else we might do. But if the client loses us in the meantime, they will not get anyone better to advance their cause.

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

From: abramoffj [redacted] [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:09 AM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: FW: TIGUA NEWS-Full House, as a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino

We are going to lose this client if we can't get this thing closed. What can we do? What are they waiting for?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 8:43 AM
 To: abramoffj [redacted]
 Subject: FW: TIGUA NEWS-Full House, as a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino

FYI - lets talk.

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

From: Brian J. Mann [mailto:brianjmann [redacted]]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 6:56 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Cc: Chris Cathcart
 Subject: TIGUA NEWS-Full House, as a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino

STAR TELEGRAM-FT. WORTH
 12-05-01

Full house

GTG-E000023491

As a court fight looms, gamblers fill the Alabama-Coushattas' new casino. By KAREN BROOKS Star-Telegram Staff Writer LIVINGSTON - Tucked deep in the Piney Woods of East Texas is an unassuming wood-frame building, no larger than a four-bedroom house, that is about to become the next battleground for Indian gaming in Texas. Open less than two weeks with little fanfare and no advertising, the Alabama-Coushatta Entertainment Center has enjoyed capacity crowds daily in spite of rain, cold weather, and two-hour waits to play the slots, blackjack and poker. "It's unbelievable," said Kevin Battise, council chairman for the Alabama-Coushatta tribe of Texas, which has a reservation near Livingston, about 100 miles northeast of Houston. "I can't imagine what it would have been like if we had advertised." Taking their cue from the phenomenal success of the Tigua Indian tribe's Speaking Rock Casino near El Paso - and 200 other tribes across the nation that run more than 300 casinos - the Alabama-Coushattas hope that gaming can relieve their community's 46 percent unemployment rate. "It is sad, but the truth is the only form of economic development, the only route available to reach self-determination for this tribe is gambling," said Thomas Rodgers, a consultant with Carlyle Consulting Company in Alexandria, Va., which represents the National Indian Gaming Association, a coalition of 160 tribes across the nation that have some form of gambling. "With the lack of infrastructure, the lack of education, the lack of a hospital, this is our only way to keep the tribe together." In El Paso, the Tiguas are fighting a lawsuit filed by Texas Attorney General John Cornyn to shut down Speaking Rock. Cornyn says the 1987 law that gave federal recognition to both tribes prohibited gaming. The Tigua argue that the law gives them the right to run the same games of chance as the state, and that the creation of the Texas Lottery in 1991 allowed them to open in 1993. And now, as the Alabama-Coushatta watch thousands of players pass through the doors of their new enterprise every day, they are gearing up for a parallel fight. Just three days before opening the casino Nov. 24, the Alabama-Coushatta launched a pre-emptive strike against Cornyn with a lawsuit demanding that they be allowed to operate. The suit invokes the same law Cornyn is citing in his suit against the Tiguas. "We put a few machines in, started a legal action and forced the state's hand," Battise said. "We firmly believe we are right and legal, and will win any litigation. That's why we did it this way." Cornyn has said that the law is clear that the 1991 lottery legislation did not clear the way for "Las Vegas-style casinos" and that he will fight the tribe in their venture. "If illegal gambling is in fact taking place, Attorney General John Cornyn has no other alternative than to enforce the laws of the state," spokeswoman Jane Dees Shepperd said. The Alabamas and the Coushattas arrived in Texas from Alabama and Louisiana at about the turn of the 19th century. About 550 members of the combined tribe now live on the reservation. An additional 440 live off the reservation in Texas and other states. The tribe was opposed to opening a casino for many years, but voted in 1999 to open one. The Tiguas' success was already evident, and the popular Grand Casino Coushatta, three hours away in Kinder, La., was thriving as well. Open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, the former gift shop near Livingston is a fraction of the size of the 800-employee Speaking Rock casino. The Alabama-Coushatta's facility can handle about 500 players. Players must have a free membership card and be 21 to play. Alcohol is neither served nor allowed in the building. Similar to the operation run by the Tiguas, card players at the Alabama-Coushatta center must pay 50 cents per hand - the only profit the tribe gets from the game. The rest of the money gambled goes into a player pool that pays out the winnings. This is how both tribes contend that their games are legal, and different from Las Vegas casinos, which have a house bank. The Tiguas have gotten resolutions of support from both the city and county of El Paso, but neither Polk County nor Livingston officials have taken an official stance on the Alabama-Coushatta center. Of the approximately 170 casino employees, about half of them are members of the tribe, Battise said. Battise estimates that the payback rate for players on the slots has been about 96 percent - higher than the odds in nearby Louisiana. On Saturday afternoon, hopeful players stood in line for nearly an hour to take their chances inside. Conversation seemed centered on the idea of gaming in Texas and the battle going on in El Paso. Many stayed just a few minutes, vowing to come back only after the casino had gotten bigger, which tribal leaders say will depend on how the litigation goes. Lines outside the center gave way to a longer wait inside for a spot to play, but Sugar Land resident Margaret Gonzales got the chance to play - and left the casino happy, with nearly \$1,000 in winnings. "I think Texas should have casinos," she said. "If you're going to play, you're going to go anywhere to play. Why go across to another state when the tax dollars can stay right here?" Battise said the tribe was encouraged by the stay a federal court granted the Tiguas last week and said a loss by the Tiguas would not deter the Alabama-Coushatta. "We're prepared for a long, drawn-out battle with the state," he said. "We feel like if they [the Tiguas] win, we both win. If they lose, we have another bite at the apple." Staff writer Bill Hanna contributed to this report. Karen Brooks,

OPERATION REDWING

A STRATEGY FOR MAKING THE SAGINAW CHIPPEWA TRIBE
THE MOST DOMINANT POLITICAL ENTITY IN MICHIGAN

December 6, 2001

**ARE PROGRAMS LIKE
OPERATION RED WING
SUCCESSFUL?**

YOU DECIDE

BEFORE

AFTER

Background

Two things, *and only two things*, actually influence politicians: money and public opinion.

Operation Red Wing, like other successful political operations, fuses both key motivating factors in American Politics together. When done, and done correctly there is very little a tribal council cannot deliver for their people. Make no mistake, this program when launched does not change the minds of a few legislators, it changes the *entire* political landscape. Operation Red Wind does so by building and mobilizing a passionate and vocal grassroots entity that eclipses most political organizations in existence.

By building and mobilizing this political army, we will expand your reach throughout Michigan, not only among its leaders but also among its people. We will be organized in every election district, in every town hall and on every block. This program is designed to reach your political objectives the old fashion way, it is designed to make you a political powerhouse from the ground up. In order to do this, we must bring the two motivating factors in American politics together, simultaneously, to reach our objectives.

Operation Red Wing will do exactly that; this program will put the right mix of resources and political tactics in the public arena at the same time to reach our designated objectives.

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where almost instantaneously, for whatever purpose,
and only yourself.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For Red Wing we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will identify, classify and organize members of our political army. This will become your grassroots database.

The second component will identify, classify and organize all qualitative research we gather for this strategy. Both will be imported into two custom-built political databases. As we execute Operation Red Wing, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the citizens in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate them into a custom-built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities who already benefit from the tribe.

We will gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. (if you approve, customer lists), and we will import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses, and then sort them by election districts. The districts run from U.S. Senator down to school board and once completed, you can tap into this database and mobilize your supporters in ANY election, or on any issue of your choosing.

The political army will grow quite quickly to a sizeable force. Your employees alone represent a decent sized unit for political mobilization. When you combine that small unit with every vendor who does business with the tribe, along with their employees, you have literally tens of thousands of individuals who make their living off the tribe. Once organized under this program, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously, for whatever purpose you choose. This is an extremely powerful tool.

Qualitative (opposition) Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Red Wing. Over the next six weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on any entity who can be classified as opposition and enter it into this database. The research will include nearly every piece of information on the opposition you can imagine. Once gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To summarize in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

With these two organizational and recruitment plans
 include the immediate establishment and implementation of
 every viable initiative, we will ensure that the
 2007-2008.

Recruitment

With the two databases constructed, we have the information and the bodies necessary to wage a political battle. However, the goal of this strategy is to not only place you in a position to fight a political battle, but also to dominate the political landscape. In order to do that, we must go outside the natural resources of the tribe (vendors, customers, employees, patrons, etc.) and recruit others who will either support our efforts, or oppose the efforts of our opposition.

To find these individuals, we have developed a survey technique that identifies active voters based on philosophical positions that will either support our stance or adamantly oppose our opposition. We execute these surveys through the mail or by telephone under the auspices of a public opinion poll. Once completed, we have identified tens of thousands of individuals whom we can mobilize at a moments notice. We then apply them to the political database.

When the process is completed we know everything about the individuals that can be of use in the political arena. We know where they live, how they vote, to whom they will call or write, and what their position is relative to the casino issue. These records are again broken out by election district statewide.

When we combine our profiled and newly recruited individuals with the natural resources of the tribe, we will have a political database with enough active records to swing nearly every statehouse, state senate or congressional election in Michigan. This statewide network will not only be helpful in persuading elected officials in Central Michigan on the issues facing the tribe, but also will be helpful in gaining support from elected officials with whom the tribe has never interacted. An added bonus is found in the fact that if the tribe finds itself facing an aggressive act by the state legislature, it has a statewide network that it can tap into to protect itself politically.

With these two organizational and recruitment phases completed, we will then be in position to mobilize our new army. But before we charge our new army with a mission, we first must identify the best "message" to motivate them.

Messaging

Knowing what to say and *how* to say it is a key part of American politics. As we begin to fine-tune Operation Red Wing by choosing specific issues and races, we will identify the best arguments to back up the tribe positions. We do this by conducting extensive polling. Through a series of specially designed public opinion surveys, we will identify which arguments work with every segment of the voting population, and more importantly, which arguments best move our army to action.

Once we have our arguments and messaging down, we can pinpoint exactly which phrases, words, and slogans move every segment of the electorate we are trying to persuade. In addition, we know who our audience is, where they live and what modes of communication best reach them.

In short, we know what the people are thinking before they do, it is then a process of simply reaching out to them and bring them on board.

Mobilization

Once we have organized the tribes natural resources, identified supporters outside the tribe, identified the messages that move the public, and educated our army, we are then ready to turn our army loose.

At this stage of the game we will have in the range of over 50,000 individuals in our electronic database. We know who they are, where they live, how to contact them, and how to motivate them. At the right time we will ask each one of them to call, write, and contact the appropriate elected officials in support of, or in opposition to, any issue the tribal council sees fit.

If we were to generate 50,000 contacts to the governor, FROM REAL MICHIGAN VOTERS, on any issue, he will stand up and take notice to say the very least.

Conclusion

Operation Red Wing is a complex step-by-step political campaign designed to meet predetermined objectives. Each step is vitally important and must be executed in sequence for the overall plan if it is to be successful. The steps are as follows:

Organization

Recruitment

Messaging

Education

Mobilization

When completed, the tribe will have built a grassroots army of over 50,000 real voters that it can call on for offensive or defensive political efforts. This also means that the tribe will be in a position to affect the political future of any statewide candidate on the ballot. If you launch this program, you can be a candidate's best friend, or worst nightmare.

Our job is to build this for you, how you use it is entirely your prerogative. Operation Red Wing is a powerful program that when launched will elevate the tribe to the level of the United States' other most powerful tribes.

Budget and Timeline

The total cost of Operation Red Wing is \$4,207,000.

Cost Break Out

Organization: \$1,857,000.00

This covers hardware and software design, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Timing: December 15, 2001 – January 15, 2001

Recruitment: \$800,000.00

This covers design and execution of survey instrument, identification, execution, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Timing: January 15, 2001 – February 1, 2001

Messaging: \$650,000.00

This covers all polling work including messaging and tracking polls.

Timing: TBA

Education: \$400,000.00

This covers all advocacy efforts such as direct mail, advocacy phone calls, advertising, etc.

Timing: January 1, 2001- February 1, 2001

Mobilization: \$500,000.00

This covers patch-through calls, advocacy calls, direct mail, petition drives, field-staff visits, letter patch-through, postcard campaign, e-mail campaign, etc. Again, we will complete 50,000 direct contacts to the governor.

Timing: TBA

Opposition Research

We have also finished the opposition research phase of the campaign. You should have received via FedEx today both Volume One and Volume Two of the opposition research. First, we must look at the language, identify any past or current bill status in regards to a ban on smoking; and identify the major players who will attempt to block this language from going into law. It is important to look at the language so you know what has worked and has not worked in the past. Moreover, you will find enclosed a list of campaign contributions for key targets in the Michigan State Senate and Michigan House of Representatives. You will also find campaign contributions and company information for the Detroit Casinos, big tobacco companies, as well as organizations such as the Michigan Restaurant Association. Below is a brief summary of our opposition and their stance on a smoking ban.

One opponent is the Michigan Restaurant Association. Their position is that with so many establishments already smoke free, there is no need for a law outlawing smoking everywhere and such a law is a violation of their rights.

Another opponent may be the Detroit Casinos. Any law outlawing smoking will no doubt hurt their business. Consequently, they will stop at nothing to make sure any bill prohibiting smoking does not get passed. Currently, they are bringing lawsuits against the State of Michigan in opposition to slot machines at race tracks. I believe they will try a similar tactic with this issue.

Thirdly, big tobacco will be a formidable opponent. These companies include, but are not limited to, Philip Morris of Michigan, Brown and Williamson, and RJR Tobacco. Similar to the Detroit Casinos, the bottom-line of these companies will be affected and they too, will stop at nothing to make sure a smoking ban is not passed. They have significant resources and will no doubt use those resources.

Finally, the legislators in the Michigan Senate and House will be tough. So far, the legislature has not wanted to engage in such an issue due to the fact that it will stir up a lot of commotion. As similar smoking ban bills were introduced in the past, these legislators have not shown any interest in debating such bills. I believe that if we show them that the voters support is there, they will begin to move on the issue.

Make no mistake, these players are not the only players that will be involved. These are just the biggest. I think that we have the advantage due to the fact that we are starting early and we are hitting the ground running.

Polls

We have conducted an initial poll throughout the state and in a number of key media markets. Once we determine our supporters, we will work with them directly and indirectly to ensure your initiative succeeds. The results are attached. As stated before, we believe that support for clean-air and smoke free establishments is already there, but it is necessary to keep going at the issue head on and not lose momentum to defeat the opposition.

“Ballot Question Committee” and other legal processes

On a similar note, there is the question of whether or not to register for a “Ballot Question Committee.” In summary, any “person” who spends \$500 or more in a calendar year to influence voters for or against the qualification, passage, or defeat of one or more ballot questions in Michigan must form and register a “Ballot Question Committee.” A person is defined as individuals, corporations, partnerships, etc. Whether to challenge the law’s applicability based on your sovereign status is entirely up to you. We will await direction from you on this topic.

Conclusion

As I have stated before, our strategy is to go at the opposition hard and not relent until we have won the battle. We do know them inside and out and I believe that we can win this battle despite the delay in starting. As always, please feel free to call me with any questions or concerns and I will keep you apprised any changes and progress.

Overview

In November 1996, voters in Michigan approved Proposition E (Prop E) that effectively authorized three casinos to be built in the city of Detroit. This proposal is a political roadmap that describes the methods and tactics needed to repeal Prop E, and effectively reclaim the Detroit metro market for the Soaring Eagle Casino & Resort. The campaign to successfully repeal Prop E consists of a citizen ballot initiative that requires registered voters in the state to sign a petition requesting the measure be placed on the ballot. The second phase will be a traditional ballot campaign designed to ensure that 50 percent plus one of the Michigan electorate votes for our ballot language. Please find below a brief synopsis of the battleground as we see it, the legal requirements for such a campaign and the tactics CCS will employ.

Background

The Michigan Gaming Control and Revenue Act, also known as Proposition E, was approved on November 5, 1996 by a vote of 51% to 49%. Prop E effectively authorized three licensed casinos to be built in the city of Detroit. The act also vests the Michigan Gaming Control Board (MGCB, a Type I state agency within the Michigan Department of Treasury) exclusive authority to license, regulate, and control the three authorized casinos. The Act authorizes the MGCB to promulgate necessary Administrative Rules to properly implement, administer and enforce the amended Act as well as provides for the licensing, regulation, and control of casino gaming operations, manufacturers and distributors of gaming equipment and supplies, casino employees, and those who participate in gaming.

Furthermore, Prop E imposes certain taxes and fees on casinos and others involved in casino gaming. The revenue from the taxes levied is dedicated to K-12 public education in Michigan, and for capital improvement, youth programs, and tax relief in the city of Detroit. Proposition E created certain funds for the operation of the Board to license, regulate and control casino gaming; and funds for compulsive gambling prevention programs and other casino-related State programs.

The campaign to pass Proposition E was heavily funded by gaming interests in Michigan. Gaming interests spent over \$5 million on the ad campaign, while their opposition only spent \$250,000. Atwater Entertainment Inc. and Greektown Casino LLC spent nearly \$1 million alone in securing Proposition E for the November 1996 ballot. The Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe, who currently owns 90% of Greektown Casino, also budgeted roughly \$1 million to secure Proposition E. Moreover, the tribe's business partners, Ted Gatzaros and James Papas, also contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars of their own money. The campaign was a complete success and ultimately secured promising positions for Atwater Entertainment Inc. and the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe.

Key Players

The three gaming facilities currently in Detroit are the MotorCity Casino (Mandalay Resort Group & Atwater Entertainment), Greektown Casino (Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe & Monroe Partners LLC) and the MGM Grand Detroit (MGM Grand Inc/Partners Detroit LLC).

Each facility is 75,000 sq. ft. and equipped with roughly 2,500 slot machines and 100 table games. According to 2002 figures the overall revenue generated by the three facilities was \$1.1 billion.

The three facilities also employ roughly seven thousand people directly in their casinos or dining facilities. The casinos have agreed to employ 51% Detroit residents and agreed to purchase 30% of total goods and services from Detroit owned business, Detroit resident-based business, minority-owned business, and women-owned business. Overall, the casino employee wages alone total \$334 million.

Political Landscape of Detroit and Beyond

Due to the current budget crisis in various states and cities, gaming has evolved into a "quick fix" for cash starved governments. The state of Michigan and city of Detroit are no different. Governor Jennifer Granholm is trying to close a \$1.9 billion deficit while Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick is facing a \$196 million shortfall. As a result, gaming revenue takes on a whole new importance as it is viewed by gambling proponents as the savior of financially strapped governments. Mayor Kilpatrick is already looking to the estimated \$105 million in casino taxes for next year's budget.

The state of Michigan's gaming tax rate is 18% of the gross gaming revenue, plus state and municipal service fees of \$12.3 million per casino. The overall contributions from the three casinos account for one-third of the city's entire tax receipts. While the automotive, manufacturing and health care industries were laying people off over the last few years, the Detroit casinos were booming. The three casinos' annual revenue totaled more than \$1 billion in 2001, up from \$743 million the previous year, before the Greektown casino even opened.

In addition, Detroit's three casinos pay the city about \$8 million a month through wagering-tax revenue. That figure has risen steadily each fiscal year, from about \$4 million on average during the 1999-2000 fiscal years.

We can conclude that the city of Detroit will launch a full scale effort to suppress this initiative. Based on the enormous budget deficit and the tax revenue generated from the casinos, to say nothing of the nearly 7000 jobs that will be lost, Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick will undoubtedly do everything in his power to quash any effort to repeal Prop E.

Furthermore, the passage of Proposition E was a boon for the casino industry. The efforts of Atwater Entertainment Inc. and the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe should be viewed as a most successful power play to shape and craft public opinion in their favor, and they will not go down without a fight this time. Mandalay Resort Group, Atwater Entertainment Inc., the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe, and MGM Grand Inc. have all realized tremendous windfalls as a result of their efforts. There is little doubt that they will initiate a comprehensive campaign to quash this recall before it gains enough steam to be considered a threat.

Petition Drive

Petition drives such as the one we will endeavor to implement are subject to a number of strict legal guidelines set forth by the state. A citizen initiated law that has been passed, such as Proposition E, can only be amended or repealed by a subsequent vote of the electors or by a three-fourths vote of the members serving in each house of the legislature.

In order to initiate legislation, we must secure, on petitions, the signatures of registered voters in an amount not less than eight percent of the total votes cast for all candidates for governor in the last gubernatorial election. In the 2002 Michigan gubernatorial election, 3,219,864 votes were cast, so 257,590 *valid* signatures would be needed.

Petitions do not have to be pre-approved by the Secretary of State prior to circulation; however, we must file the petition and acquired signatures with the Secretary of State by 5:00 PM on May 26th in order to ensure placement on the general election ballot. The Secretary of State and the Board of Canvassers then has 60 days prior to the election (September 2, 2004) to verify the signatures and submit the proposal to the legislature.

The method of initiative used in Michigan is an "indirect initiative measure." Once the signed petitions are filed and verified, the proposal is automatically submitted to the legislature. The legislature then has 40 session days, or until October 28, 2004, to enact or reject the proposed measure or to propose a different measure on the same question. If the legislature takes no action, votes not to enact the proposed measure, or proposes a different measure on the same question/issue, the question is automatically placed on the ballot.

The above analysis of the applicable law for citizen petition drives gives us the legal framework in which we must work, but it does not provide us with the day-to-day tactics and strategy that will ultimately win this campaign. We have laid out on the following pages the tactics that CCS will employ to get this language on the ballot, and ultimately passed into law.

Opposition Research

As with any campaign, it is critical to know who your enemy is, and what he will attempt to do. This is often referred to as the qualitative research portion of the campaign. We have already identified a number of the more obvious enemies to an initiative like this one. Clearly, those who stand to lose the most money will undoubtedly oppose our efforts. What we will learn, however, is who else may oppose an effort like this one and what resources they may commit to defeating our efforts. As you know, we will compile every piece of information imaginable about the opposition. Once we have done this, the information will be added to our internal database designed to be ready at a moment's notice. Ultimately, that information can be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose, such as the individuals in your political database, the press or third party interest groups. Most importantly, we will have a foundation of useful information to use later, in our ballot campaign.

Messaging and Polling

Before we can begin, we must know what kind of recognition and awareness exists among the electorate. This poll will be the first of many taken to gauge and track the movement of public opinion. Without knowing where we stand, it is impossible to effectively manage this campaign. More importantly, it is important to "benchmark" where we and our opponents stand before any money is spent on either side. This gives us our starting point.

This first poll will also provide our team with the first look at where and how we will build our political organization that will become critical in the second phase of the campaign. Additional polls will be taken as necessary to provide us with accurate tracking of the progress we are making, as well as to monitor any progress our opponents make.

Signature Team

Before the process begins, CCS will with its legal team, draw up the appropriate language and develop a petition that meets with state requirements. Once the petition meets with all of our legal specifications, CCS will employ its own signature gathering team comprised of a number of influential members of the state-wide community. As you know, we maintain a diverse network of highly influential members of the most important communities in Michigan. These individuals will form the backbone of our signature gathering team.

In addition, our team will fan out in previously segmented portions of the state and begin the arduous task of collecting enough signatures to qualify the petition for the ballot. As you know, the minimum required number of signatures will not be sufficient, as the state of Michigan is notorious for checking each signature thoroughly to ensure its validity. We predict the practical threshold to be over 500,000 signatures to legally qualify the petition for the ballot. We anticipate that the process - complicated by a number of factors such as competition with additional petition drives, heavy political activity in the election year, and of course, harsh weather - will require between 6 and 8 months to complete. As we mentioned, the deadline to have the petition approved is May 26, 2004.

Advertising

After determining the level of awareness and support for our position, we will employ a series of targeted advertising campaigns throughout the state. The only clear way to educate the broad cross-section of the electorate needed for this effort is to reach them through mass media. We will develop a series of print, radio and television advertising pieces that will educate citizens throughout the state about the campaign, and more specifically, about the process of signing the petition. The education campaign will allow our signature team to have far greater success in far less time. Without the advertising piece, our team will quite literally get lost among the hundreds of other political issues that will be discussed during next year's political season. The advertising campaign will respond directly to the demands of the signature team and will increase the potency and volume as needed and directed by our team on the ground.

Ballot Campaign

Once the question has been successfully placed on the ballot, the issue must win by popular vote. That is, we must convince 50 percent plus 1 voter that repealing Proposition E is the right step for Michigan. At this point, it is a general campaign waged for the minds of Michigan Voters.

Organization and Recruitment

Our first step is to build your political organization from the ground up. Your political infrastructure is very much in place and fully operational from previous campaigns that you have conducted, but we must reconstruct the heart of the data with individuals who are in support of this particular issue. That will require a systematic analysis of the entire state, identifying where support lies, and where it does not. We will achieve the first step of this analysis using polling data on day 1 of the campaign. Without a quantitative look at the issue, we will not know where to begin. Once we have identified key locales and targeted constituencies, we will begin to identify and recruit new members of your political database.

As you know, CCS uses a tried and true method of recruitment. Our system of phone surveying identifies those voters who will act on your behalf. We will contact individuals whose demographic information is aligned with our cause, and then further qualify them using a series of questions that identify them as active supporters. Finally, these individuals will be fed back into your political matrix.

Opposition Research

While we will have completed the bulk of the opposition research for the Petition Drive, it will be critical to ensure that our information is both pertinent and productive. We will conduct another comprehensive qualitative assessment of the threats that are positioned against your campaign. We will need to be diligent to stay ahead of any new, previously unidentified threats to the campaign and have the information readily available to disseminate throughout our political system.

Messaging and Polling

A very important aspect of this campaign will be the messaging phase. A ballot initiative such as this will be extremely hard to define, and it will be even harder to define who, amongst the general electorate, will support us. We will need to run a series of polls to determine what key messages and phrases will ultimately motivate our supporters to head to the polls on Election Day, and keep our detractors at home. In addition to determining the message, the polling data will give us a clear idea of how steep the hill is that must be climbed. That is, we will know how loud our message will have to be throughout the campaign.

Third-Party Allies Program

Just as it is important to identify our opposition, it will be crucial to identify those individuals and organizations who will support your effort. Our polling will likely help to determine who will be our most likely targets, but once they have been identified, we will directly and indirectly work with them to support their efforts to see this ballot measure succeed. Likely groups include Christian organizations and other minority religious outlets throughout the state.

Mobilization

Unlike the petition drive, the ballot campaign will require a full-scale mobilization campaign designed to turn out our supporters and keep the opposition at home. We will use three main forms of communication to mobilize and win this campaign – phones, mail and advertising. The campaign will be vigorous and will be complicated by the fact that Michigan will witness a flurry of political activity from Labor Day 2004 through Election Day.

As with any campaign, we will use our polling to track public opinion, while constantly refining our message. The volume and intensity of the campaign will be determined by our standing in the polls. We anticipate fierce resistance from not only the Detroit casinos, but also from key political figures in the city and in Lansing.

The bar for mobilization in this case is quite high. It is far easier to motivate people to work *against* something than to get them to work *for* something. The organizational phase of the campaign will be critical to ensure that we have at our disposal thousands of would-be supporters who we know how to contact and with what message to contact them.

From there, we will employ a direct mail campaign in an effort to educate voters throughout the state regarding our position on the repeal of Prop E. We anticipate using between 4 and 5 pieces of mail in all of our targeted regions. However, as with each portion of the second campaign, we will be unable to determine the exact frequency of our tactics until we have poll results closer to the time of the campaign.

Additionally, we will wage several phone campaigns. The first and most frequent tactic will be to develop an advocacy phone campaign directed at our targeted audiences. The phones can be turned on and off as needed throughout the state and in Detroit. We will also use a phone campaign in an intense Get Out The Vote (GOTV) effort as the campaign comes to close in late October and early November.

In addition, we can employ an extensive patch-through phone campaign directed at key elected officials in Detroit and in Lansing. As these officials support and oppose our efforts, we can adjust a message from our supporters to these elected officials demanding their support or keeping them from opposing the effort.

Finally, we anticipate using an extensive advertising campaign using television, radio and print media. It is clear that this fight will be a tough one, and in order to win, your voice will need to be heard above all others. Our media production team will be ready to place ads throughout the state as soon as we receive ballot approval. It will be critical to hit the ground running in this phase as air time will be at a premium during next year's federal election cycle.

Budget

For this aggressive strategy to be successful, we must begin immediately. All of our initial "ramping-up", including opposition research and at least one initial poll, must be completed and ready for our team to hit the ground as early as September 2003. Below we have outlined the costs for running such a campaign, and estimates for the subsequent ballot initiative. Actual costs for the ballot campaign will be determined once the petition drive is successful.

Petition Drive

Opposition Research	\$560,000
Messaging and Polling	\$650,000
Signature Campaign	\$1,400,000
Advertising	\$2,000,000
Total	\$4,610,000

Ballot Campaign (estimates)

Organization and Recruitment	\$250,000
Opposition Research	\$160,000
Messaging and Polling	\$300,000 - \$500,000
Third-Party Allies Program	\$250,000
Mobilization	\$2,000,000 - \$4,000,000
Total	\$2,960,000 - \$5,160,000

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Sunday, December 09, 2001 9:36 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@██████████'
 Subject: RE: update

We have built up plenty, as demonstrated by what the LG and dozens of legislators are doing for us. Also, point out that the budget crisis is making this tougher than ever...they either vote for this or a general tax increase. Finally, remind them that our original plan included media. They did not agree to fund it at first, but now the other side is on tv and radio.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld [██████████]

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: Ralph Reed <ralph@██████████>
 Sent: Mon Dec 10 00:34:24 2001
 Subject: RE: update

Ralph, they are going to faint when they see these numbers. They will want to know why we have not built up any residual strength for the tons of money we have already spent. Give me some ammo on that and I'll do my best.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Sunday, December 09, 2001 5:03 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@██████████'
 Subject: RE: update

\$70K for radio; \$140K for two weeks of radio.

\$225K a week for TV; \$450K for two weeks of TV.

they are on TV and radio. we need both; minimum of one or mixture thereof.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Saturday, December 08, 2001 7:21 PM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: RE: update

Give me a number.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, December 07, 2001 5:32 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@██████████'
 Subject: FW: update

I think we better move

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld [██████████]

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

GTG-E00001905

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2001 7:08 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon all'
Subject: FW: AL

Next year, we need to give him a pittance and we need to keep most of this ourselves.

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

From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@ralphreed.com)
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 8:23 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [REDACTED]

this is from a senior [REDACTED] operative. fascinating. Note they plan to come back in January:

Just spoke to the Rules Committee Chair [REDACTED] and he says they will probably not be back this session. He says however that this does not mean they may not try to come back if they see us snoozing. He did say however that they are going to try to come back in the Regular Session of 2002. I want us to discuss real budgets and ground help on this project so we are ready and primed in this districts to do war and get ready for the 2002 election at this same time. I asked him about leaning on members of the Rules Committee and keeping this off of the calendar and he thought it might be a good idea. We can talk in the am about direct hits on this.

GTG-E000023792

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2001 7:12 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 7:16 PM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

What's a troglodyte?

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov <abramoffj@dc.gov>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlon.com>
 Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 4:11 PM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: Re: Saginaw

Did we win it?

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov <abramoffj@dc.gov>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlon.com>
 Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
 Subject: Saginaw

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

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@scanlon.com

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GTG-E000002365

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.dhs.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2001 7:13 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

Did chris say what the hold up was?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Mon Dec 17 18:09:34 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Yes they will
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
To: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
Sent: Mon Dec 17 17:52:38 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

These knuckleheads are never going to do it!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

Did we win it?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
Subject: Saginaw

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

GTG-E000002363

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION
611 Pennsylvania Ave., SE
Suite #375
Washington, DC 20003

54510004

Bill Date : December 19, 2001

Ms. Nell Rogers
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
[REDACTED]

INVOICE

For Professional Services Rendered

Total Current Invoice: \$ \$500,000.00

Balance Due: \$ \$500,000.00

Wiring Instructions for Capital Athletic Foundation:

Account [REDACTED]
ABA# [REDACTED]

408191 10 02

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:Jack.Abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Sunday, December 23, 2001 10:37 AM
 To: 'GRHalpern@...' [mailto:GRHalpern@...]
 Subject: RE: big check from CCS and investment in Altoona Curve

Given KayGold is really me and wouldn't take long for an attorney to get through, wouldn't it be smarter to have the CCS money paid to and earned by the business trust (or even one or all of the trusts set up for the kids), and then have that/those trust/s invest in and own the restaurant?

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

From: GRHalpern@... [mailto:GRHalpern@...]
 Sent: Sunday, December 23, 2001 10:13 AM
 To: abramoffj@... [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Subject: Re: big check from CCS and investment in Altoona Curve

1. Because of the PG situation, the ideal is to have the check payable to KayGold, LLC. However, there is no bank account with that name. Should I contact George Craven to open one up, or did Rodney take care of that already?

We also have the issue of the a/c only being FDIC insured to 100K. but I can ask George about that. (like put the excess of 100K in a one month T-bill or 3 month T-bill through George's bank and just roll is over every month until you need it).

2. Since you need to guarantee a loan to Altoona, it is probably best NOT to put it into another entity and have that entity guarantee such a loan.

From what I briefly read, Altoona might not let you keep it in a trust unless it has certain large amount of assets. and we don't want to expose a large amount of assets to Altoona. Like I said, I need time to review the details in the offering that discuss this, and then get with Gary Altman on this portion of the estate plan. I hope to do this in the first or second week of Jan.

Therefore, for now keep in your name.

As far as your exposure with assets in your personal name, you really have very little assets in your name except for Sports Suite and ML account, and I really would like to have that changed to KayGold, LLC. But I need to work with Rodney on that, and he is very busy with the restaurant.

However, if there is a successful lawsuit against you, your wages can also be subject to payment of a liability. Therefore, CCS paying you in the name KayGold helps. But your GT salary is still subject.

In a message dated 12/23/2001 8:21:18 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@... writes:

Do I want to take that check to me in my name, or to a trust entity? I ask this because of the pg situation. Also, do I want to have the Curve investment in my name or in the name of one of the trusts? Same reason.

5/10/2004

GTG-E000012336

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 30, 2001 7:47 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (ASDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

Thanks. It's important. You should introduce Lisa to her so [REDACTED] can start to take over this chore.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (ASDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 30, 2001 12:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

I called [REDACTED] on Friday and he confirmed that the money had NOT been wired into the CAF account. I'll call [REDACTED] on Monday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 27, 2001 1:20 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

If not, can you call Nel [REDACTED] to find out what the story is? Thanks.

GTC-E0001439

Adjusting Journal Entries
CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, C
December 31, 2001

11/11/2002 10:57:27 AM

Done by: Date: Index:

Reviewer: Date:

AJE No.	Account Description	W/P Ref	Account Number	Debits	Credits
1	CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES-ESHKOL			50,510.00	
1	Advertising Expense				50,510.00
TO MOVE ADVERTISING EXPENSE TO ESHKOL ADVERTISING (LOGO & WEB DESIGN, NP ADS)/DIRECT CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES					
2	Organization Costs			500.00	
2	Accum Amortization-Org Costs				150.00
2	Retained Earnings				350.00
TO RECORD ORGANIZATION COSTS & AMORTIZATION PER TR					
3	Amortization Expense			100.00	
3	Depreciation Expense			159.00	
3	Accum Amortization-Org Costs				100.00
3	Accum Depreciation - Equipment				159.00
TO RECORD AMORT & DEPN					
4	CONTRIBUTIONS			12,620.00	
4	REIMB FOR EQUIPMENT				2,700.00
4	TUITION				9,920.00
TO SEPARATE TUITION & EQUIPMENT REIMB FROM CONTRIBUTIONS					
5	Insurance - Health - Employee			1,972.00	
5	CONTRIBUTIONS				1,972.00
TO RECORD JA PAYMENT OF CAF'S HEALTH INSURANCE AS A CONTRIBUTION					
6	DUE TO SPORTS SUITES			10,000.00	
6	CONTRIBUTIONS				10,000.00
TO RECORD CHECK FROM SSA AS CONTRIBUTION FROM JA					
7	DUE TO JACK ABROMOFF			3,443.00	
7	CONTRIBUTIONS				3,443.00
TO RECORD JA PAYMENT OF CAF EXPENSES AS CONTRIBUTION FROM JA					
8	A/R-LEXINGTON			675.00	
8	Advertising Expense				675.00
TO RECORD PAYMENT TO ANTON DESIGNS ON BEHALF OF LEXINGTON AS A/R-LEXINGTON					
9	Deposits			10,000.00	
9	CONTRIBUTIONS				10,000.00
to record JA's payment of CAF's ice rink deposit as contribution					
Totals				89,979.00	89,979.00

MB-002062

12:58 PM

10/01/02

Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
SunTrust Bank							0.00
Total SunTrust Bank							0.00
Harbor Capital Acct							0.00
Deposit	11/13/2001		Alabama-Coushatt...	Account Opening Balance	Alabama-Cou...	1,000.00	1,000.00
Check	11/29/2001		Harbor Capital Nat...	Corporate Check order	Bank Service ...	-80.45	999,919.55
Deposit	11/30/2001				HCBN	1,024.37	1,001,943.92
Deposit	12/31/2001			Interest	HCBN	1,819.16	1,002,863.08
Total Harbor Capital Acct						1,002,863.08	1,002,863.08
Merrill Lynch CMA							0.24
Check	1/10/2001		Merrill Lynch	Check order fee	Bank Service ...	-17.55	-17.31
Deposit	1/18/2001				Bank Service ...	17.31	0.00
Deposit	5/14/2001				Jack Abramoff...	100.00	100.00
Check	5/15/2001	708	U.S. Treasury	Extension of time to file		-3.00	97.00
Check	5/15/2001		Merrill Lynch	Reverse previous credit	Bank Service ...	-17.31	79.69
Deposit	5/23/2001				Jack Abramoff	162,000.00	162,079.69
Deposit	5/31/2001				ML	0.16	162,079.85
Check	6/5/2001	704	DC Treasurer	VOID: Annual Report	Licenses and ...	0.00	162,079.85
Check	6/5/2001	705	Washington State...	VOID: Out of pocket costs	Advertising	0.00	162,079.85
Check	6/20/2001		Wire ... Jason D. Murdoch	Scotland Trip	Travel	-5,000.00	177,079.85
Check	6/21/2001		Merrill Lynch	Transfer fee	Bank Service ...	-20.00	177,059.85
Deposit	6/26/2001				Ems & Larry ...	1,000.00	178,059.85
Deposit	6/26/2001				Foxconn Wirel...	30,000.00	208,059.85
Check	6/26/2001	709	Teachers.com	Teachers	Dues and Su...	-950.00	207,109.85
Deposit	6/29/2001				ML	484.47	207,594.32
Check	7/5/2001	710	Rabbi Mayer Schiller	for Ethkol	Consulting	-3,500.00	204,094.32
Check	7/16/2001	711	Richard Anderson...	Moving Spend	Moving Exp...	-2,000.00	202,094.32
Check	7/16/2001	712	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-4,583.33	197,510.99
Deposit	7/18/2001				Foxconn Wirel...	10,000.00	207,510.99
Check	7/20/2001		Rabbi Daniel Lapin		Loan Rec. Ra...	-30,000.00	177,510.99
Deposit	7/31/2001	713		Interest	ML	176.24	177,687.23
Check	8/6/2001	714	Dov Lipman	Business Reimbursement	Advertising	-389.48	177,297.75
Check	8/7/2001	715	May & Barnhard, P...	Inv # 7000	Accounting	-576.00	176,721.75
Check	8/7/2001	716	May & Barnhard, P...		Accounting	-380.00	176,341.75
Check	8/7/2001	706	DC Treasurer	VOID: Name Change Fee	Licenses and ...	0.00	176,341.75
Check	8/13/2001	719	Leaseco	School Van, Title & License	Automobile E...	-225.00	176,116.75
Check	8/15/2001	720	Ben Mackler	Web Design	Advertising	-3,750.00	172,366.75
Check	8/17/2001	721	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-4,983.32	168,283.43
Check	8/20/2001	722	Ed Laing Investigat...	Background Check	Miscellaneous	-128.40	168,155.03
Check	8/20/2001	723	Anton Design	Brochures, bus. cards	Advertising	-8,308.01	159,847.02
Check	8/21/2001	724	Rifkin, Livingston, ...	Retainer	Legal Fees	-3,000.00	156,847.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				Diana & Mich...	600.00	157,447.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				Dawn L. & De...	30.00	157,477.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				GBK Associa...	5,500.00	162,977.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				Steven H. Hirh	36.00	163,013.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				Lawrence S. ...	100.00	163,113.02
Deposit	8/22/2001				Howard W. S...	1,000.00	164,113.02
Check	8/23/2001	707	May & Barnhard, P...	VOID: Tax Return Prep	Accounting	-1.00	164,112.02
Check	8/31/2001	725	Richard Goldberg	Reimbursement	Travel	-153.20	163,958.82
Deposit	8/31/2001				ML	444.99	164,293.82
Deposit	9/4/2001		Robin & Dennis Be...		Robin & Denn...	500.00	164,793.82
Check	9/13/2001	726	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	161,293.82
Check	9/13/2001	727	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-1,127.00	159,166.82
Check	9/13/2001	728	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.66	156,875.16
Check	9/13/2001	729	Ramar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	156,675.16
Check	9/14/2001	730	Dov Lipman	Cobra	Medical	-571.00	156,104.16
Check	9/24/2001	731	DC Treasurer	Name Change Registration	Licenses and ...	-50.00	155,994.16
Check	9/24/2001	732	Magen David Cong...		Rent	-1,200.00	154,794.16
Deposit	9/25/2001				Foxconn Wirel...	10,000.00	164,794.16
Check	9/26/2001	733	Pearson Education	Books	Program Exp...	-1,917.86	161,876.30
Check	9/27/2001	734	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,201.81	159,674.49
Check	9/27/2001	735	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	156,174.49
Check	9/27/2001	736	Ramar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	155,974.49
Check	9/27/2001	737	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	152,849.49
Deposit	9/28/2001			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-150.00	152,699.49
Deposit	9/28/2001			Interest	ML	306.30	153,005.79
Check	10/8/2001	738	Dov Lipman	Reimburse Laptop for school	Program Exp...	-3,511.00	149,494.79
Check	10/8/2001	739	Ed Laing Investigat...	Background Check	Miscellaneous	-133.75	149,361.04
Check	10/10/2001	717	Leaseco	School Van	Fixtures, Furn...	-26,060.00	123,291.04
Check	10/10/2001	718	Silver Spring Agency	Van	Liability Insur...	-5,301.00	117,990.04
Check	10/15/2001	740	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	114,865.04
Check	10/15/2001	741	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	111,365.04
Check	10/15/2001	742	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.81	109,073.23
Check	10/15/2001	743	Ramar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	108,873.23
Deposit	10/16/2001			Various Depositor	-SPLT-	7,980.00	116,853.23
Check	10/23/2001	744	Fileal for Governor	VOID:	Contributions	0.00	116,853.23
Check	10/29/2001	745	Magen David Cong...		Rent	-2,400.00	114,453.23

MB-002063

12:58 PM
10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	10/30/2001	745	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	111,294.73
Check	10/30/2001	747	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	107,794.73
Check	10/30/2001	748	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.61	105,503.12
Check	10/30/2001	749	Itamar Simhon-1099	Eshkol	Consulting	-200.00	105,303.12
Deposit	10/31/2001			Interest	ML	280.12	105,583.24
Deposit	11/1/2001			Deposit	Debra J. Jaco...	2,000.00	107,583.24
Deposit	11/1/2001			Deposit	Jerry & Toby ...	720.00	108,303.24
Deposit	11/1/2001			Deposit	R.H. Greenbe...	200.00	108,503.24
Deposit	11/1/2001			Deposit	R.H. Greenbe...	680.00	109,183.24
Deposit	11/1/2001			Deposit	Judah A.N. Fr...	1,620.00	110,783.24
Check	11/5/2001	750	Van Cleve & Asso...	Thermal Imager	Fixtures, Furn...	-18,057.00	94,346.24
Check	11/6/2001	751	National Council of...		Advertising	-1,690.00	92,696.24
Check	11/6/2001	752	Jewish Week		Advertising	-4,602.00	88,094.24
Check	11/6/2001	753	Jewish Action		Advertising	-1,827.50	86,266.74
Check	11/6/2001	754	Chicago Jewish N...		Advertising	-473.50	85,793.24
Check	11/6/2001	755	Chicago Jewish Star		Advertising	-462.40	85,330.84
Check	11/6/2001	756	Intermountain Jew...		Advertising	-733.80	84,597.04
Check	11/6/2001	757	Jewish Transcript		Advertising	-372.00	84,225.04
Check	11/6/2001	758	Jewish Journal of ...		Advertising	-196.20	83,828.84
Check	11/6/2001	759	Jewish News of Gr...		Advertising	-507.00	83,321.84
Check	11/6/2001	760	Wisconsin Jewish ...		Advertising	-235.00	83,086.84
Check	11/6/2001	761	Jewish Press		Advertising	-2,475.00	80,611.84
Check	11/6/2001	762	Jewish Chronicle		Advertising	-252.30	80,359.54
Check	11/6/2001	763	Where What When		Advertising	-160.00	80,199.54
Check	11/6/2001	765	Kansas City Jewis...		Advertising	-372.60	79,826.94
Check	11/6/2001	766	Connecticut Jewis...		Advertising	-447.50	79,379.44
Check	11/6/2001	767	Jewish Exponent		Advertising	-1,159.80	78,199.64
Check	11/6/2001	768	Jewish Journal of ...		Advertising	-318.20	77,881.44
Check	11/6/2001	769	Cleveland Jewish ...		Advertising	-347.10	77,514.34
Check	11/6/2001	770	Baltimore Jewish ...		Advertising	-1,816.00	75,698.34
Check	11/6/2001	771	Atlanta Jewish Tm...		Advertising	-520.80	75,177.54
Check	11/6/2001	772	Jewish Journal of L...		Advertising	-2,450.00	72,727.54
Check	11/6/2001	773	Detroit Jewish News		Advertising	-423.50	72,304.04
Check	11/6/2001	774	Jewish Media Group		Advertising	-1,877.30	70,426.74
Check	11/6/2001	775	St. Louis Jewish L...		Advertising	-372.00	69,954.74
Check	11/6/2001	776	Jewish Advocate		Advertising	-1,068.00	68,886.74
Check	11/6/2001	777	Canadian Jewish ...		Advertising	-1,625.00	67,261.74
Check	11/6/2001	764	Jewish Advocate	VOID:	Advertising	0.00	67,261.74
Check	11/7/2001	778	DC Treasurer	Per Gall Halpern	License and ...	-50.00	67,211.74
Check	11/8/2001	779	Forum Publishing ...	Books, non-reimbursable	Program Exp...	-4,870.00	62,331.74
Check	11/8/2001	780	Washington Jewis...	Non-reimbursable	Advertising	-1,489.00	60,852.74
Check	11/15/2001	781	Rabbi Hayin Lifsh...		Consulting	-6,000.00	54,852.74
Check	11/15/2001	782	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	51,727.74
Check	11/15/2001	783	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	48,227.74
Check	11/15/2001	784	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.61	46,036.13
Check	11/15/2001	785	Itamar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	45,736.13
Check	11/15/2001	786	Ben Kadkier	Web Design	Advertising	-6,750.00	39,086.13
Check	11/28/2001	787	Anton Design	Eshkol and Lexington Group work	Advertising	-3,411.32	36,574.81
Deposit	11/30/2001			Interest	ML	139.15	36,713.96
Check	12/1/2001	788	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	33,588.96
Check	12/1/2001	789	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	30,088.96
Check	12/1/2001	790	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.61	27,797.35
Check	12/1/2001	791	Itamar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	27,597.35
Check	12/1/2001	792	Care First Blue Ch...	Group # 4V56	Medical	-986.00	26,611.35
Check	12/1/2001	793	Metropolitan Agents	Registered Agent Fee	License and ...	-150.00	26,461.35
Check	12/5/2001	794	Ner Israel Rabbinc...		Eshkol	500.00	26,961.35
Check	12/14/2001	795	Rabbi Lifshitz		Consulting	-5,000.00	21,961.35
Check	12/14/2001	796	Shinong-Levinas	Eshkol Retainer	Consulting	-3,000.00	18,961.35
Check	12/14/2001	798	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	14,461.35
Check	12/14/2001	799	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.61	12,169.74
Check	12/14/2001	800	Itamar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	11,969.74
Check	12/14/2001	801	Motor Vehicle Ass...	Eshkol Excise tax, 2001 Ford Van	Taxes Expense	-1,236.77	10,732.97
Check	12/14/2001	797	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	7,607.97
Deposit	12/14/2001			Unknown Deposit	-SPLIT-	11,260.00	18,867.97
Check	12/20/2001	802	Care First Blue Ch...	Group # 4V56	Medical	-986.00	17,881.97
Check	12/25/2001	803	Rabbi Bonchek	Plane Tickets	Travel	-474.00	17,407.97
Check	12/26/2001	804	Rabbi Bonchek	Travel Expenses	Travel	-70.00	17,337.97
Bill Print -Check	12/28/2001	805	Gall R. Halpern &		Accounts Pay...	-400.00	16,937.97
Deposit	12/28/2001			Deposit	Sports Suites ...	10,000.00	26,937.97
Check	12/31/2001	806	Mark Hanchett-1099		Consulting	-3,125.00	23,812.97
Check	12/31/2001	807	Dov Lipman-1099		Consulting	-3,500.00	20,312.97
Check	12/31/2001	808	Richard Anderson...		Consulting	-2,291.61	17,811.36
Check	12/31/2001	809	Itamar Simhon-1099		Consulting	-200.00	17,411.36
Check	12/31/2001	810	Jewish Federation ...	VOID:	Contributions	0.00	17,411.36
Deposit	12/31/2001			Interest	ML	23.78	17,435.14
Total Merril Lynch CMA						17,435.14	17,435.14

12:58 PM
10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Suspense Bank							0.00
Check	12/3/2001	556	Adelberg, Rudow...	Direct pmt by JA for CAF	Legal Fees	-2,982.50	-2,982.50
Deposit	12/3/2001			Deposit	Jack Abramoff...	2,982.50	0.00
Total Suspense Bank						0.00	0.00
Lexington Group, LLC							0.00
Total Lexington Group, LLC							0.00
Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road							0.00
Total Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road							0.00
Eshkol, Inc.							0.00
Total Eshkol, Inc.							0.00
Livsar Enterprises, LLC							0.00
Total Livsar Enterprises, LLC							0.00
Fixtures, Furniture & Equipment							0.00
Total Office Equipment							0.00
Fixtures, Furniture & Equipment - Other							0.00
Check	10/10/2001	717	Leaseco	School Van	Merrill Lynch ...	26,060.00	26,060.00
Check	11/5/2001	750	Van Cleve & Asso...	Thermal Imager	Merrill Lynch ...	18,057.00	44,117.00
Total Fixtures, Furniture & Equipment - Other						44,117.00	44,117.00
Total Fixtures, Furniture & Equipment						44,117.00	44,117.00
Loan Rec, Rabbi D. Lapin							0.00
Check	7/20/2001	713	Rabbi Daniel Lapin		Merrill Lynch ...	30,000.00	30,000.00
General Journal	9/25/2001	3	Daniel Lapin & Ass...	D. Lapin reprmt loan to JA ML A...	Jack Abramoff	-30,000.00	0.00
Total Loan Rec, Rabbi D. Lapin						0.00	0.00
Accounts Payable							0.00
Bill Pmt -Check	12/28/2001	805	Gail R. Halpem & ...		Merrill Lynch ...	400.00	400.00
Bill	12/31/2001		Gail R. Halpem & ...		Accounting	-400.00	0.00
Total Accounts Payable						0.00	0.00
Jack Abramoff							0.00
Total Jack Abramoff							0.00
Jack Abramoff Payable							0.00
General Journal	5/1/2001	2	Jack Abramoff	Paid by JA directly	Accounting	-360.00	-360.00
Deposit	5/14/2001		Jack Abramoff	Tr fr 519-37794	Merrill Lynch ...	-100.00	-460.00
Deposit	12/3/2001	556	Jack Abramoff	Direct pmt to Adelberg for CAF	Suspense Bank	-2,982.50	-3,442.50
Total Jack Abramoff Payable						-3,442.50	-3,442.50
Payroll Liabilities							0.00
Total Payroll Liabilities							0.00
Sports Suites Payable							0.00
Deposit	12/28/2001		Sports Suites	Trans fr 519-37813	Merrill Lynch ...	-10,000.00	-10,000.00
Total Sports Suites Payable						-10,000.00	-10,000.00
Investment, Jack Abramoff							0.00
Total Investment, Jack Abramoff							0.00
Opening Bal Equity							-0.24
Total Opening Bal Equity							-0.24
Retained Earnings							0.00
Total Retained Earnings							0.00
Suspense							0.00
Total Suspense							0.00
Campaign Income							0.00
Total Campaign Income							0.00
Contributions Income							0.00
Jack Abramoff							0.00
Deposit	5/23/2001	1083	Jack Abramoff	Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-162,000.00	-162,000.00
General Journal	9/25/2001	3	Daniel Lapin & Ass...	D. Lapin reprmt loan to JA ML A...	Loan Rec, Ra...	30,000.00	-152,000.00
Total Jack Abramoff						-152,000.00	-152,000.00
							0.00

3,240.00
1,800.00
2,000.00 +
720.00 +
720.00 +
720.00 +
720.00 +
9,920.00 *

.....
Tuition
20

Point of Sale & Receipts
MB-002066

MB-002066

12:56 PM
10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Total							0.00
Alabama-Coushatta Ent. Ctr.							0.00
Deposit	11/13/2001		Alabama-Coushatta...	Account Opening Balance	Harbor Capita...	-1,000,000.00	-1,000,000.00
Total Alabama-Coushatta Ent. Ctr.						-1,000,000.00	-1,000,000.00
Deposit	9/4/2001	2031		Light Vision Equipment	Merrill Lynch ...	-500.00	-500.00
Total Capitol Campaign Strategies						-500.00	-500.00
Total Capitol Campaign Strategies						0.00	0.00
Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians							0.00
Total Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians						0.00	0.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	500		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-500.00	-500.00
Total Foxcom Wireless						-500.00	-500.00
Deposit	6/26/2001	152	Foxcom Wireless, L...	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-30,000.00	-30,000.00
Deposit	7/18/2001	184	Foxcom Wireless, L...	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-10,000.00	-40,000.00
Deposit	9/25/2001	222	Foxcom Wireless, L...	Corporate Check	Merrill Lynch ...	-10,000.00	-50,000.00
Total Foxcom Wireless						-50,000.00	-50,000.00
Deposit	6/26/2001	4706		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-1,000.00	-1,000.00
Total						-1,000.00	-1,000.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	2095		[No description]	Merrill Lynch ...	-1,620.00	-1,620.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	2096		[No description]	Merrill Lynch ...	-1,620.00	-3,240.00
Total						-3,240.00	-3,240.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	4171		Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-1,000.00	-1,000.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	4172		Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-3,000.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4173		Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-5,000.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4174		Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-7,000.00
Total						-7,000.00	-7,000.00
Total						0.00	0.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	5259		Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-200.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	5258		Printer Computers	Merrill Lynch ...	-600.00	-800.00
Total						-800.00	-800.00
GBK Associates							0.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	421	GBK Associates	[No description]	Merrill Lynch ...	-5,500.00	-5,500.00
Total GBK Associates						-5,500.00	-5,500.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	2901		Tzedakah (Donation)	Merrill Lynch ...	-50.00	-50.00
Total Dean L. & Devorah L. Grayson						-50.00	-50.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	4548		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-660.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	5641		Computer	Merrill Lynch ...	-960.00	-1,620.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	4549		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-2,280.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4550		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-2,940.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4551		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-3,600.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4558		Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-100.00	-3,700.00
Total						-3,040.00	-3,040.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	1071	Steven H. Hirth	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-36.00	-36.00
Total						-36.00	-36.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	1042		[No description]	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-2,000.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	2910		Wash-Computer	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-2,200.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	1043		[No description]	Merrill Lynch ...	-4,000.00	-6,200.00
Total						-4,300.00	-6,300.00

7,200 x .75 = 5,400 cont
x .25 = 1,800 tuition

7200

MB-002067

Susanne
with
letter

12:58 PM
10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
M&M Ford-Lincoln-Mercury							0.00
Total M&M Ford-Lincoln-Mercury							0.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	2940	[REDACTED]	Donation-Visual Aids	Merrill Lynch...	-1,000.00	-1,000.00
Total						-1,000.00	-1,000.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	8945	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	1,000.00	-1,000.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	1001	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	-720.00	-1,720.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	8944	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	1,000.00	-2,720.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	1002	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	-720.00	-3,440.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	1003	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	-720.00	-4,160.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	1004	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	-720.00	-4,880.00
Total						-4,880.00	-4,880.00
S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus)							0.00
Total S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus)							0.00
Deposit	8/22/2001	3845	[REDACTED]	[No description]	Merrill Lynch...	-100.00	-100.00
Total						-100.00	-100.00
Restricted							0.00
Total Restricted							0.00
Unrestricted							0.00
Total Unrestricted							0.00
Contributions Income - Other							0.00
Total Contributions Income - Other							0.00
Total Contributions Income						-1,235,946.00	-1,235,946.00
Grants							0.00
Total Grants							0.00
Legacies & Bequests							0.00
Total Legacies & Bequests							0.00
Membership Dues							0.00
Total Membership Dues							0.00
Miscellaneous Income							0.00
Total Miscellaneous Income							0.00
Program Fees							0.00
Total							0.00
Deposit	10/16/2001	4536	[REDACTED]	Tuition	Merrill Lynch...	-200.00	-200.00
Deposit	11/1/2001	4539	[REDACTED]	Tuition	Merrill Lynch...	-200.00	-400.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4540	[REDACTED]	Tuition	Merrill Lynch...	-200.00	-600.00
Deposit	12/14/2001	4541	[REDACTED]	Tuition	Merrill Lynch...	-200.00	-800.00
Total						-800.00	-800.00
Program Fees - Other							0.00
Total Program Fees - Other							0.00
Total Program Fees						-800.00	-800.00
Reimbursed Expenses							0.00
Total Reimbursed Expenses							0.00
Advertising							0.00
Check	6/5/2001	705	Washington State...	VOID: Out of pocket costs	Merrill Lynch...	0.00	0.00
Check	6/5/2001	714	Dov Lipman	Business Reimbursement	Merrill Lynch...	369.48	369.48
Check	6/15/2001	720	Ben Meckler	Web Design	Merrill Lynch...	3,750.00	4,139.48
Check	8/20/2001	723	Anton Design	Brochures, bus. cards	Merrill Lynch...	8,306.01	12,445.49
Check	1/16/2001	751	National Council of...		Merrill Lynch...	1,650.00	14,095.49
Check	1/16/2001	752	Jewish Week		Merrill Lynch...	4,822.00	18,917.49
Check	1/16/2001	753	Jewish Action		Merrill Lynch...	1,827.50	20,527.99
Check	1/16/2001	754	Chicago Jewish N...		Merrill Lynch...	673.50	21,201.49
Check	1/16/2001	755	Chicago Jewish Star		Merrill Lynch...	462.40	21,663.89
Check	1/16/2001	756	Intermountain Jew...		Merrill Lynch...	733.80	22,397.69
Check	1/16/2001	757	Jewish Transcript		Merrill Lynch...	928.00	22,789.69

Website development is for Eshkol - treat as charitable distribution Page 6
 = 1) Limb for Equi. work = 2,700
 2) Tuition = 99.20

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Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	11/6/2001	758	Jewish Journal of ...		Merril Lynch ...	196.20	22,965.89
Check	11/6/2001	759	Jewish News of Gr...		Merril Lynch ...	507.00	23,472.89
Check	11/6/2001	760	Wisconsin Jewish ...		Merril Lynch ...	235.00	23,707.89
Check	11/6/2001	761	Jewish Press		Merril Lynch ...	2,475.00	26,182.89
Check	11/6/2001	762	Jewish Chronicle		Merril Lynch ...	252.30	26,435.19
Check	11/6/2001	763	Where What When		Merril Lynch ...	160.00	26,595.19
Check	11/6/2001	765	Kansas City Jews ...		Merril Lynch ...	372.60	26,967.79
Check	11/6/2001	766	Connecticut Jews ...		Merril Lynch ...	487.50	27,455.29
Check	11/6/2001	767	Jewish Exponent		Merril Lynch ...	1,159.80	28,615.09
Check	11/6/2001	768	Jewish Journal of ...		Merril Lynch ...	318.20	28,933.29
Check	11/6/2001	769	Cleveland Jewish ...		Merril Lynch ...	347.10	29,280.39
Check	11/6/2001	770	Baltimore Jewish ...		Merril Lynch ...	1,818.00	31,098.39
Check	11/6/2001	771	Atlanta Jewish Tim...		Merril Lynch ...	520.80	31,619.19
Check	11/6/2001	772	Jewish Journal of L...		Merril Lynch ...	2,450.00	34,069.19
Check	11/6/2001	773	Detroit Jewish News		Merril Lynch ...	423.50	34,492.69
Check	11/6/2001	774	Jewish Media Group		Merril Lynch ...	1,977.50	36,469.99
Check	11/6/2001	775	SL Louis Jewish Li...		Merril Lynch ...	372.00	36,841.99
Check	11/6/2001	776	Jewish Advocate		Merril Lynch ...	1,068.00	37,909.99
Check	11/6/2001	777	Canadian Jewish ...		Merril Lynch ...	1,625.00	39,534.99
Check	11/6/2001	784	Jewish Advocats	VOID	Merril Lynch ...	0.00	39,534.99
Check	11/9/2001	780	Washington Jews...	Non-reimbursable	Merril Lynch ...	1,489.00	41,023.99
Check	11/12/2001	786	Ben Mackler	Web Design	Merril Lynch ...	6,750.00	47,773.99
Check	11/28/2001	787	Anton Design	Eshkol and Lexington Group work	Merril Lynch ...	3,411.32	51,185.31
Total Advertising						51,185.31	51,185.31
Amortization Expense						(475) - low linton	0.00
Total Amortization Expense						50.50 Eshkol and VET	0.00
Automobile Expense							0.00
Check	8/13/2001	719	Leaseco	School Van, Title & License	Merril Lynch ...	225.00	225.00
Total Automobile Expense						225.00	225.00
Bank Service Charges							0.00
Check	1/10/2001		Merril Lynch	Check order fee	Merril Lynch ...	17.55	17.55
Deposit	1/16/2001		Merril Lynch	Refund Service Charges	Merril Lynch ...	-17.31	0.24
Check	5/15/2001		Merril Lynch	Reverse previous credit	Merril Lynch ...	17.31	17.55
Check	6/21/2001	Fee	Merril Lynch	Transfer fee	Merril Lynch ...	20.00	37.55
Check	9/28/2001		Merril Lynch	Service Charge	Merril Lynch ...	150.00	187.55
Check	11/29/2001		Harbor Capital Natl...	Corporate Check order	Harbor Capita...	80.45	268.00
Total Bank Service Charges						268.00	268.00
Benefits Expense							0.00
Medical							0.00
Check	9/14/2001	730	Dov Lipman	Cobra	Merril Lynch ...	537.00	537.00
Check	12/4/2001	762	Care First Blue Ch...	Group # 4V56	Merril Lynch ...	866.00	1,403.00
Check	12/20/2001	802	Care First Blue Ch...	Group # 4V56	Merril Lynch ...	866.00	2,269.00
Total Medical						2,509.00	2,509.00
Moving Expenses							0.00
Check	7/16/2001	711	Richard Anderson...	Moving Stipend	Merril Lynch ...	2,000.00	2,000.00
Total Moving Expenses						2,000.00	2,000.00
Benefits Expense - Other							0.00
Total Benefits Expense - Other							0.00
Total Benefits Expense						4,509.00	4,509.00
Cash Discounts							0.00
Total Cash Discounts							0.00
Communications							0.00
Telephone							0.00
Total Telephone							0.00
Communications - Other							0.00
Total Communications - Other							0.00
Total Communications							0.00
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	10/23/2001	744	Fillet for Governor	VOID	Merril Lynch ...	0.00	0.00

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Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	12/31/2001	810	Jewish Federation ...	VOID	Merill Lynch ...	0.00	0.00
Total Contributions - Other						0.00	0.00
Total Contributions						0.00	0.00
Depreciation Expense							0.00
Total Depreciation Expense							0.00
Dues and Subscriptions							0.00
Check	6/26/2001	709	Teachers.com	Teachers	Merill Lynch ...	950.00	950.00
Total Dues and Subscriptions						950.00	950.00
Equipment Rental							0.00
Total Equipment Rental							0.00
Insurance							0.00
Disability Insurance							0.00
Total Disability Insurance							0.00
Liability Insurance							0.00
Check	10/10/2001	718	Silver Spring Agency	Van	Merill Lynch ...	5,301.00	5,301.00
Total Liability Insurance						5,301.00	5,301.00
Insurance - Other							0.00
Total Insurance - Other							0.00
Total Insurance						5,301.00	5,301.00
Interest Expense							0.00
Finance Charge							0.00
Total Finance Charge							0.00
Loan Interest							0.00
Total Loan Interest							0.00
Mortgage							0.00
Total Mortgage							0.00
Interest Expense - Other							0.00
Total Interest Expense - Other							0.00
Total Interest Expense							0.00
Licenses and Permits							0.00
Check	6/5/2001	704	DC Treasurer	VOID: Annual Report	Merill Lynch ...	0.00	0.00
Check	8/11/2001	706	DC Treasurer	VOID: Name Change Fee	Merill Lynch ...	0.00	0.00
Check	8/24/2001	731	DC Treasurer	Name Change Registration	Merill Lynch ...	50.00	50.00
Check	11/7/2001	778	DC Treasurer	Per Gail Halpern	Merill Lynch ...	50.00	100.00
Check	12/4/2001	793	Metropolitan Agents	Registered Agent Fee	Merill Lynch ...	150.00	250.00
Total Licenses and Permits						250.00	250.00
Miscellaneous							0.00
Check	8/20/2001	722	Ed Laing Investigat...	Background Check	Merill Lynch ...	128.40	128.40
Check	10/8/2001	739	Ed Laing Investigat...	Background Check	Merill Lynch ...	133.75	262.15
Total Miscellaneous						262.15	262.15
Office Supplies							0.00
Total Office Supplies							0.00
Payroll Expenses							0.00
Total Payroll Expenses							0.00
Postage and Delivery							0.00
Total Postage and Delivery							0.00
Printing and Reproduction							0.00
Total Printing and Reproduction							0.00
Professional Fees							0.00
Accounting							0.00
General Journal	5/1/2001	2	Gail R. Halpern & ...		Jack Abramof...	360.00	360.00
Check	8/7/2001	715	May & Barnhard, P...	Inv # 7000	Merill Lynch ...	576.00	936.00
Check	8/7/2001	716	May & Barnhard, P...		Merill Lynch ...	360.00	1,296.00
Check	8/23/2001	707	May & Barnhard, P...	VOID: Tax Return Prep	Merill Lynch ...	0.00	1,296.00
Bill	12/31/2001		Gail R. Halpern & ...	Services Aug 1-Dec 31, 2001	Accounts Pay...	405.00	1,696.00
Total Accounting						1,696.00	1,696.00

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10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Consulting							0.00
Israel Blackberry Project							0.00
Total Israel Blackberry Project							0.00
Consulting - Other							0.00
Check	7/5/2001	710	Rabbi Mayer Schiller	for Eshkol	Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	3,500.00
Check	7/18/2001	712	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	4,583.33	8,083.33
Check	8/17/2001	721	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	4,583.32	12,666.65
Check	9/13/2001	726	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	16,166.65
Check	9/13/2001	727	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	19,291.65
Check	9/13/2001	728	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.66	21,583.31
Check	9/13/2001	729	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	21,783.31
Check	9/27/2001	734	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	24,074.92
Check	9/27/2001	735	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	27,574.92
Check	9/27/2001	736	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	27,774.92
Check	9/27/2001	737	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	30,899.92
Check	10/15/2001	740	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	34,024.92
Check	10/15/2001	741	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	37,524.92
Check	10/15/2001	742	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	39,816.53
Check	10/15/2001	743	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	40,016.53
Check	10/30/2001	746	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	43,141.53
Check	10/30/2001	747	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	46,641.53
Check	10/30/2001	748	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	48,833.14
Check	10/30/2001	749	Itamar Simhon-1099	Eshkol	Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	49,133.14
Check	11/15/2001	781	Rabbi Haym Lifshitz...		Merrill Lynch ...	5,000.00	54,133.14
Check	11/15/2001	782	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	57,258.14
Check	11/15/2001	783	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	60,758.14
Check	11/15/2001	784	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	63,049.75
Check	11/15/2001	785	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	63,249.75
Check	12/1/2001	786	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	66,374.75
Check	12/1/2001	789	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	69,874.75
Check	12/1/2001	790	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	72,166.36
Check	12/1/2001	791	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	72,366.36
Check	12/14/2001	795	Rabbi Lifshitz		Merrill Lynch ...	5,000.00	77,366.36
Check	12/14/2001	796	Shinberg-Levinas	Eshkol Retainer	Merrill Lynch ...	3,000.00	80,366.36
Check	12/14/2001	798	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	83,866.36
Check	12/14/2001	799	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	86,157.97
Check	12/14/2001	800	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	86,357.97
Check	12/14/2001	797	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	89,482.97
Check	12/31/2001	806	Mark Hanchett-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,125.00	92,607.97
Check	12/31/2001	807	Dov Lipman-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	3,500.00	96,107.97
Check	12/31/2001	808	Richard Anderson...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,291.61	98,399.58
Check	12/31/2001	808	Itamar Simhon-1099		Merrill Lynch ...	200.00	98,599.58
Total Consulting - Other						98,599.58	98,599.58
Total Consulting						98,599.58	98,599.58
Eshkol Services							0.00
Total Eshkol Services							0.00
Legal Fees							0.00
Check	8/21/2001	724	Rifkin, Livingston ...	Retainer	Merrill Lynch ...	3,000.00	3,000.00
Check	12/3/2001	556	Adelberg, Rudow, ...	Direct prmt by JA for CAF	Suspense Bank	2,982.50	5,982.50
Total Legal Fees						5,982.50	5,982.50
Rabbi D. Lapin							0.00
Total Rabbi D. Lapin							0.00
Professional Fees - Other							0.00
Total Professional Fees - Other							0.00
Total Professional Fees						106,278.08	106,278.08
Program Expense							0.00
Check	9/26/2001	733	Pearson Education	Books	Merrill Lynch ...	1,987.86	1,987.86
Check	10/8/2001	738	Dov Lipman	Reimburse Laptop for school	Merrill Lynch ...	3,511.00	5,498.86
Check	11/9/2001	779	Forum Publishing ...	Books, non-reimbursable	Merrill Lynch ...	4,070.00	9,568.86
Check	12/5/2001	784	Net Israel Rabbinc...	Eshkol	Merrill Lynch ...	600.00	10,168.86
Total Program Expense						10,168.86	10,168.86
Rent							0.00
Check	9/24/2001	732	Magen David Cong...		Merrill Lynch ...	1,200.00	1,200.00
Check	10/29/2001	745	Magen David Cong...		Merrill Lynch ...	2,400.00	3,600.00
Total Rent						3,600.00	3,600.00
Repairs							0.00
Building Repairs							0.00

teachers

12:58 PM

10/01/02

Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Total Building Repairs							0.00
Computer Repairs							0.00
Total Computer Repairs							0.00
Equipment Repairs							0.00
Total Equipment Repairs							0.00
Repairs - Other							0.00
Total Repairs - Other							0.00
Total Repairs							0.00
Supplies							0.00
Marketing							0.00
Total Marketing							0.00
Office							0.00
Total Office							0.00
Supplies - Other							0.00
Total Supplies - Other							0.00
Total Supplies							0.00
Taxes Expense							0.00
Check	5/15/2001	708	U.S. Treasury	Extension of time to file	Merill Lynch ...	3.00	3.00
Check	12/14/2001	801	Motor Vehicle Ass...	Eshkol Excise tax, 2001 Ford Van	Merill Lynch ...	1,236.77	1,239.77
Total Taxes Expense						1,239.77	1,239.77
Travel & Ent							0.00
Entertainment							0.00
Total Entertainment							0.00
Meals							0.00
Total Meals							0.00
Travel							0.00
Check	6/20/2001	Wire ...	Jason D. Murdock 1	Wire out to J.D. Murdock	Merill Lynch ...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	8/31/2001	725	Richard Goldberg	Reimbursement	Merill Lynch ...	153.20	5,153.20
Check	12/26/2001	803	Rabbi Bonchek	Plane Tickets	Merill Lynch ...	874.00	6,027.20
Check	12/26/2001	804	Rabbi Bonchek	Travel Expenses	Merill Lynch ...	70.00	6,097.20
Total Travel						6,097.20	6,097.20
Travel & Ent - Other							0.00
Total Travel & Ent - Other							0.00
Total Travel & Ent						6,097.20	6,097.20
Utilities							0.00
Gas and Electric							0.00
Total Gas and Electric							0.00
Water							0.00
Total Water							0.00
Utilities - Other							0.00
Total Utilities - Other							0.00
Total Utilities							0.00
Interest Income							0.00
HCNB							0.00
Deposit	11/30/2001			Interest	Harbor Capita...	-1,124.37	-1,124.37
Deposit	12/31/2001			Interest	Harbor Capita...	-1,819.18	-2,943.53
Total HCNB						-2,943.53	-2,943.53
ML							0.00
Deposit	5/31/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-0.16	-0.16
Deposit	6/28/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-484.47	-484.63
Deposit	7/31/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-626.35	-1,110.98
Deposit	8/31/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-444.80	-1,555.77
Deposit	9/28/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-306.30	-1,862.07
Deposit	10/31/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-280.12	-2,142.19
Deposit	11/30/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-190.15	-2,332.34
Deposit	12/31/2001			Interest	Merill Lynch ...	-23.78	-2,356.12

Page 8

MB-002072

12:58 PM
10/01/02
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2001

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Total ML						-2,305.32	-2,305.32
Interest Income - Other							0.00
Total Interest Income - Other							0.00
Total Interest Income						-5,248.85	-5,248.85
Other Income							0.00
Total Other Income							0.00
Other Expenses							0.00
Total Other Expenses							0.00
No acct							0.00
Total no acct							0.00
TOTAL						0.00	0.00

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 7:10 PM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: FW: dates for another dinner?

Norton attending the one she did in October. We had Chitimacha and Coushatta there.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 7:40 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: FW: dates for another dinner?

Can she get Gayle Norton to attend. Why not start at the top.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@...>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasells@...>; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@...>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@...>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@...>
 Sent: Wed Jan 02 19:37:52 2002
 Subject: FW: dates for another dinner?

She has the ability to get folks to these dinners. Who should we get to come?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 4:36 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: dates for another dinner?

Hi Jack:

We are ready to plan another one of our CREA dinners with Julie Finley. Are there any dates that are not good for within the next six weeks? I know that you won't want to do anything before the 22nd of January b/c of Signatures. Also, I propose that the target for this dinner be intergovernmental relations folks from a number of the agencies. If you like that idea, we will focus on the folks from each agency who you need to work with on CMMI and Indian issues. Let me know what you think and if we should alter are target audience! --Italia

GTG-E000253568

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 11:28 PM
 To: [REDACTED] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

agree

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

From: [REDACTED] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 11:56 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?
 Importance: High

I think we should keep some of your money at Harbor and then open the rest with Bill at SunTrust. [REDACTED] really saved us today with a 5 minute transfer from CAF to Livsar and the promise that he would turn around deposit checks right away (within 24 hours or less).

It can't hurt to have two banks contacts willing to do anything you want. We may need that.

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

From: [REDACTED] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 4:53 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: [REDACTED] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?
 Importance: High

It went into CAF Harbor account today.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 To: [REDACTED] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov); [REDACTED] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: 12/29/2001 11:20 PM
 Subject: did we ever get teh \$500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

If not, can you call Nell [REDACTED] to find out what the story is? Thanks.

GIG-E000107574

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.dhs.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 12:43 PM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Subject: RE: dates for another dinner?

A small lunch with Steve would be huge for us, since we really need to get to know him. Also, I asked Kevin to coordinate with you as to others who might be interesting. Hope you are well. I am back in NYC! Urgh!

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 11:38 AM
 To: abramoffj
 Subject: RE: dates for another dinner?

I just need to check with our hostess but that sounds like a very good timeframe to me. I'll email you back as soon as I check in with her and Steve (I invite Steve to every event). Also, have you had the chance to have dinner with Neil McCaleb yet? He was unable to attend our event in September at the last minute b/c of the tornado (he went home to pick up his wife and then got stuck in VA). If not, I will either invite him to this dinner or ask Steve about having him join a small group for lunch or dinner by himself.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 7:38 PM
 To: italia
 Subject: RE: dates for another dinner?

You are wonderful! Let me pow wow (pardon the lingo!) with our guys and come back with a list. It looks like we might have to delay opening until the very beginning of February. If you can, how about the second week for the dinner?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 4:36 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: dates for another dinner?

Hi Jack:

We are ready to plan another one of our CREA dinners with Julie Finley. Are there any dates that are not good for within the next six weeks? I know that you won't want to do anything before the 22nd of January b/c of Signatures. Also, I propose that the target for this dinner be intergovernmental relations folks from a number of the agencies. If you like that idea, we will focus on the folks from each agency who you need to work with on CNMI and Indian issues.

Let me know what you think and if we should alter are target audience!

--Italia

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GTG-E000105067

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@wcd.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:21 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Italia Meeting

Put together an email which I can send to her and I'll see what we can do.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:45 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Italia Meeting

Getting in the budget is huge, plus it looks good to the client getting a quick kill in January.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:42 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Italia Meeting

I don't think she has juice beyond Interior.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:24 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Italia Meeting

Yes, can she get sh# in the President's budget to congress.

If we could put [redacted] in the budget we'd be 90% done for the year because our friends would have a leg to stand on and demand that it be included in the approps bills.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:22 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Italia Meeting

Can Italia do so?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 2:03 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Italia Meeting

Can she get some general requests into the President's budget?

Funding for the Choclay
 For Homes in Fossil Energy, etc....

GTC-E000107575

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 10:43 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

I agree. He is a bad version of us! no more money for him.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:12 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

No - but I'd like to know what the hell he spent it on - he didn't even know the dam thing was there - and didn't do shit to shit to shut it down!

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:11 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

That's a silly question! He "spent" it all the moment it arrived in his account. He would NEVER admit he has money left over. Would we?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:03 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

On the political front, Did Ralph spend all then money he was given to fight this - or does he have some left? -----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 10:39 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: [REDACTED]

What is our response to this one?!

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 9:25 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: [REDACTED]

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:08 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon

GTG-E00001

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 2:13 PM
To: 'mike@██████████'
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Spoke with nell. Wez gonna bè rich!
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
To: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
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@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Sun Jan 06 09:48:48 2002
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Call William et al with the good news

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 9:16 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: Re: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Yeah baby! The timing couldn't be better!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Sun Jan 06 09:00:47 2002
Subject: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@██████████>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@██████████>
CC: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasells@██████████>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@██████████>; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@██████████>
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@██████████>
To: Todd Boulanger <boulangerT@██████████>

MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM
FROM: MIKESCANLON
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 and operating illegally in Texas for 6 years. We shut down The Alabama Coushatta Facility in roughly ninety days.

Mike

BB/LC 015391

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 8:38 AM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Caliente tribe

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:00 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Caliente tribe

I will work on this today and report back.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 8:53 AM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Caliente tribe

Thanks Mike. I am going to Palm Springs. The Monday would be perfect. Can we get it set up?

-----Original Message-----
From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 7:58 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Caliente tribe

Jack:

This weekend, Tony informed me of your pending travel, so I took the liberty of contacting Michael yesterday to inquire about arranging a meeting with the Caliente. Below is a portion of his response. What days would you be available?

And, thank you for your generosity! I will do what is necessary to ensure that your faith was well placed.

I will do a preliminary check-in with Agua Caliente - I assume we're talking about the 21st maybe? It would be impossible to secure a meeting on Sunday the 20th. Palm Springs is just a 35 minute plane ride from LAX. A meeting in DC or a bit later in CA might be better in that I can give you a better lay of the land and let you know what their pressing issues are. Though, if Jack has down time while out West I think it would be shrewdly spent courting Agua. Richard Milanovich, the Tribal Chairman, is Republican, while most of the Council is Democrat (it is only a five member council). They were \$100,000 Sponsors or above for Bush's Inauguration. They have a Sacramento Lobbyist who advises them on their Republican giving, though from my estimation he is small potatoes. You may be well served to travel with Jack to impress upon them the firm's bi-partisan credentials.

Let me know how you think I should proceed. Meanwhile I will test the political climate - which is always uncertain this time of the year, since three of the five council members are always up for re-election every March. Two members at large are up every year, while one officer is up each year. The size of their council may be civilized but their annual election cycles are not!

GTG-E000059107

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 8:10 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: Agua Caliente

Let me know when we can chat with your friend Michael. Regards.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:45 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Texas

Damn right.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:41 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: Texas

He is out of his fucking mind!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@redacted <abramoffj@redacted>
To: ralph@redacted <ralph@redacted>
Sent: Mon Jan 07 21:51:36 2002
Subject: RE: Texas

It's not shuttered yet. let's get this thing closed and then we'll see what we can do. As we type they are gambling away.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:18 PM
To: 'abramoffj@redacted'
Subject: RE: Texas

Done.

Hope these developments help with client.

I think we should budget for an ataboy for cornyn.

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

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@redacted <abramoffj@redacted>
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@redacted>
Sent: Tue Jan 08 00:11:31 2002
Subject: RE: Texas

Great. As to the legislative proposal, even though they don't meet, we should have one of the tigers announce that he is going to introduce it next session, so we scare them out of working with these casinos. It should be someone who is mega safe from a district not near these. Also, we have to fire some shots at Kickapoo.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 11:46 AM
To: 'abramoffj@redacted'
Subject: RE: Texas

we have talked to the AG's office. here's the skinny:

GTG-E000010854

1. The Fifth Circuit judge is going to rule on the Tiguas on Wednesday, 1/9. This is the appellate ruling on the Tiguas appeal of the order by a lower federal court to shut down their casino by November 15, 2001. We have to watch this ruling very carefully. The AG feels there is no ambiguity in the law and the ruling should be very clear. He feels the Tiguas filed this appeal simply to delay the inevitable and operate as long as they could.

2. The AC case is before a very solid judge. The AG's office is very confident of victory in the case, but they do not expect him to rule before the Fifth Circuit does on Wednesday. If they win the Fifth Circuit, this case will go our way very rapidly. The cases are both under the same state law.

3. The TX legislature does not meet this year. We could agitate for this in Alabama in the session beginning tomorrow.

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

From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 11:11 AM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: RE: Texas

Great. Let's get it rocking and go out in the press with it.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:13 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@]
 Subject: RE: Texas

easy to get our tigers to introduce that in both places. alabama session begins tomorrow.

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

From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:12 AM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: RE: Texas

Even if we never get it passed, it will scare the you know what out of vendors and make life tough on the tribe. We should do it in Alabama too.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:41 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@]
 Subject: RE: Texas

we have tigers. tx leg only in session every other year. let me check. good idea.

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

From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:43 AM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: RE: Texas

Great. thanks Ralph. we should continue to pile on until the place is shuttered. Perhaps we could get one of our guys in the legislature to introduce a bill which disqualifies from state contracts any vendor who provides goods or services to a casino in the state? This way Perry and Cornyn can sit back and not be scared. Let one of our tigers go get em. Do we have someone like this and can we get it introduced as soon as possible?

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@]
 Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:21 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@]
 Subject: RE: Texas

see previous email. we are discussing this with the head of criminal division today; looks like the heads up that we got on December 15, and which i passed on to you that evening, is finally happening, but we will confirm and provide you with additional G-2. We did get our pastors riled up last week, calling his office. maybe that helped but who knows.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 5:19 PM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: Texas

Please see if you can get independent confirmation that they did go to court as the article says. For some reason we can't find this elsewhere on line. Thanks.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:32 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Sounds good.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:43 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Not sure on the incorporation - I am checking it out. I have leads on buying the operations - It takes a while so lets just keep rolling as is. On another note - we have to weigh the money we would save vs. how much more work we would have to do, and the time of ROI.
 If we buy a mail house outright, we will loose money in the first year probably just on staffing, supplies and logistics. If we buy a big shop we will lose money a longer - we have to find the right balance - which I will. Once we do that then we can answer the incorporation questions.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:11 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Let's do it fast so we can stop throwing away money. Can I help get it lined up? Do you want me to incorporate a company for us to do it?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 8:32 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

I love the numbers - but your right - we have to move fast to lock in phones and- mail. I think we can cut 5mil right off the top of our outgoing expenses that way just to start.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 6:59 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: January 2002 gimme five

Choctaw		\$4.7	(\$4 net)
Choctaw		3	(2.5)

[redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]

(moral of the story: we are spending over \$10M with other people! We have to buy mail house, phone house, etc. so we get part of that one too!!)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 9:59 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: status at sagchip

We'll get it!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 10:25 AM
To: abramoffj@REDACTED
Subject: RE: status at sagchip

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

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@REDACTED [mailto:abramoffj@REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 9:53 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: status at sagchip

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

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

GTG-E000024627

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2002 8:26 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: sagchips

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

GTG-E000024563

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 7:21 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: call from Agua Caliente tribe today

I probably only want the hawker.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 4:31 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: call from Agua Caliente tribe today

only to palm springs? (louisiana?) still want the hawker 400 or do you want a lear?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 3:19 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: call from Agua Caliente tribe today

OK, please arrange a plane to leave late Tuesday night and return Thursday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 12:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Litwack, Maury (Intern-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: call from Agua Caliente tribe today

Next Wednesday, 6/26 is best for them. It will be with 5 council members—Judy didn't give me names, but i can get them when i call her back. The meeting will be held at 10 am at the tribal office:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 8:02 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov); Litwack, Maury (Intern-DC-Gov)
Subject: call from Agua Caliente tribe today
Importance: High

When their representative calls, please tell him/her that I am out of the office today, but that I mentioned that they would be calling, and I was wondering if we could come to meet with them Wednesday lunch and afternoon this week. If so, please find out the details as to time and place (precise) for the meeting and who is likely to be in attendance. If they can't do it this Wednesday, then tell him/her I'll call back at the end of their day and we'll find another time. Of course, email me immediately when they call (or call my cell, if it is still when I have it today). Thanks.

GTG-E000059370

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 1:30 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sag chips

Tell Chris they have to get their political operations on the ground moving and fast. They need Scanlon in there to get them organized. We'll handle the federal side.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 1:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag chips
Importance: High

Camp's office just called Chris and told him that the group that got ousted is planning a take-over in the next couple of weeks and that the police may not get involved..so they may need federal help. This is all rumor right now, but Chris seemed concerned.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 11:13 AM
 To: 'MCNATIVE'; [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Hi there

Yes I would like to meet with them. How do we set it up for tomorrow? Jack Abramoff

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

From: MCNATIVE [REDACTED] <MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]>
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED] <abramoffj@[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Tue Jan 22 12:09:49 2002
 Subject: Re: Hi there

Jack:

Just spoke with Judy in Richard's office and she said he is booked all day tomorrow and Thursday - in part because he has been away from the office for over a week. Do you want to meet with Virginia and Candace, and maybe Merino? Let me know I think I can get two out of the three together - if not all.

Sorry about not being able to nail down Richard.

Michael

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 3:42 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

He is, but there is an ego thing going on there. he is not mad at us, but he has been nervous about our getting such a big contract, figuring correctly that their enemies at the tribe would be upset. That's why deliverables are the key. He and Maynard are at odds a bit. The original deal was that whoever got the most votes would be chief and the next guy would be subchief, as between the two of them. Maynard beat him out. Problem is that Maynard's style needs some work: too much "me" and "I" and not enough "we". David just needs to hold our hands again so he is calm on the lobbying front.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:52 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

I thought Otto was one of our guys?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:47 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

He wants an excuse to get Otto to town to make sure he is OK with us. Otto and Maynard are starting to be at contretemps.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

Member meetings are gonna be out of the question because of the state of the union...what is there problem?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:26 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

Bizarre.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

just talked to chris...he has no clue what they want to do.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 2:17 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Saginaw School Construction

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 5:49 PM
 To: 'MCNATIVE@' [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Great. Thanks.
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: MCNATIVE@ [REDACTED] <MCNATIVE@ [REDACTED]>
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Tue Jan 22 18:45:32 2002
 Subject: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Jack:

Candace Pate and Virginia Siva are free tomorrow evening for dinner. You are to call Candace direct on her cell to decide on time and place - her number is [REDACTED]

Brief background -

Virginia is from the Siva and Petencio families - and has held her At-Large seat for several years. She is contemplating running for Chairman, pending a preliminary polling of key families. What is remarkable about her is the At-Large seats are up for election each year, so she has a consistent power base in the tribe that is loyal to her.

Candace comes from the Petencio family which is one of the largest families at Agua Caliente - both of her parents have served on council in the past and her father was once Tribal Chairman. She has served on council for several years as an At-Large Councilor. Last year she ran for Vice-Chairman of the tribe and lost by one vote. This year she is seeking her old seat. Candace has an MBA.

The Council has five members on it - now, for the first time three of the five are non-allottees - which was inevitable sooner or later. The allottees essentially own much of Palm Springs and the surrounding canyon area and lease their land to various developers and business interests for extended periods to derive handsome incomes.

I hope all this is helpful - if you encounter any glitches give me a call on the cell phone [REDACTED]. Candace and Virginia and very good friends of mine - you will enjoy meeting them. They are also related to the Tribe's Treasurer - so if they prevail in their election pursuits in March - they will have controlling interest on the Tribal Council

Michael

GTG-E000056764

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 7:27 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Importance: High

dinner

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

From: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 6:57 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

5pm
Canyon Bistro
415 North Palm Canyon Drive (Main Street in Palm Springs)
[REDACTED]

(next to Blue Coyote and Village Florist)

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 6:50 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Pls call her and tell her I'm in mtg and set this up for an early dinner wherever they want Jack Abramoff

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

From: MCNATIVE6 [REDACTED] <MCNATIVE6 [REDACTED]>
To: abramoffj [REDACTED] <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Jan 22 18:45:32 2002
Subject: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Jack:

Candace Pate and Virginia Siva are free tomorrow evening for dinner. You are to call Candace direct on her cell to decide on time and place - her number is [REDACTED] Brief background -

Virginia is from the Siva and Petencio families - and has held her At-Large seat for several years. She is contemplating running for Chairman, pending a preliminary polling of key families. What is remarkable about her is the At-Large seats are up for election each year, so she has a consistent power base in the tribe that is loyal to her. Candace comes from the Petencio family which is one of the largest families at Agua Caliente - both of her parents have served on council in the past and her father was once Tribal Chairman. She has served on council for several years as an At-Large Councilor. Last year she ran for Vice-Chairman of the tribe and lost by one vote. This year she is seeking her old seat. Candace has an MBA. The Council has five members on it - now, for the first time three of the five are non-allottees - which was inevitable sooner or later. The allottees essentially own much of Palm Springs and the surrounding canyon area and lease their land to various developers and business interests for extended periods to derive handsome incomes.

I hope all this is helpful - if you encounter any glitches give me a call on the cell phone [REDACTED] Candace and Virginia and very good friends of mine - you will enjoy meeting them. They are also related to the Tribe's Treasurer - so if they prevail in their election pursuits in March - they will have controlling interest on the Tribal Council Michael

GTG-E00005676

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 8:20 PM
To: MCNATIVE@[redacted]
Subject: RE: any updates for tomorrow?

Thanks. Are you available now for me to call so we can chat a bit about this?

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

From: MCNATIVE@[redacted] [mailto:MCNATIVE@[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 8:54 PM
To: abramoff@[redacted]
Subject: Re: any updates for tomorrow?

Jack:

They are best friends and allies in everything in life! They are first cousins - and so is Merino - indicative of their family's influence in the tribe. Virginia's father and both of Candace's parents are allottees - so they come from some element of privilege. Both of them attended the Democratic and Republican conventions last year. I am dear friends with both and we have vacationed together in Utah and Hawaii - under the guise of Indian business. Two years ago they were official sponsors of Sundance - and they also sponsored the Inauguration - as I mentioned.

They are a lot of fun - eager to hear what you think.

Michael

5/6/2004

GTG-E000059086

Carrillo, Pablo (Indian Affairs)

From: Benjamin Mackler
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 5:57 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Re: web site

What ever works for you, works for me. The only other additional info I guess I need to give you are the new fee:

50% fee is \$1750.00
 hosting fees \$375.00

Fee due up front is \$2125.00

and, we will base the intro flash animation on the design you choose and it will loosely follow that. Usually it is good to have words and themes displayed in this intro along with pictures, If I could get from you a list to choose from/work with it would be very beneficial.

Thank you
 have a good nite

Speak with you soon

All the best
 Ben

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

From: "Chris Cathcart" <chris@[REDACTED]>
To: "Benjamin Mackler" <bmackler@[REDACTED]>
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 5:43 PM
Subject: RE: web site

i thiknk that is fine. just let me know what additional information and funds i will need to get to you.
 Chris

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

From: Benjamin Mackler [mailto:bmackler@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 5:41 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Fw: web site

Hi Chris, I just got this from Jack, do you want to go forward in this

7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 2 of 10

direction, at this price or do you want to stick with what we discussed.

By
going this route you will also get an intro movie.

Let me know what you think

speak to you soon

all the best
ben

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

From: <abramoffj@██████████>
To: <bmackler@██████████>
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 5:31 PM
Subject: RE: web site

> The 3500 option is fine with me. let's do it.

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Benjamin Mackler [mailto:bmackler@██████████]
> Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 11:24 AM
> To: abramoffj@██████████
> Subject: Re: web site

>

> Hi Just spoke to Mike,

> He gave me the brief overview and said I should call Chris Cathcart to
> discuss it further. He mentioned the \$3500 option rather than the

> \$2750,

> do

> you know if they wanted to change the route we discussed, or was he
> just

> mistaken.

>

> Speak to you soon

>

> Thanks

> Ben

> ----- Original Message -----

> From: <abramoffj@██████████>
> To: <bmackler@██████████>
> Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 11:08 AM
> Subject: Re: web site

>

>

>> Did u try to call him? His cell is ██████████. Keep calling him

until

u

>> get him please. Thanks.

7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 3 of 10

>> Jack Abramoff
>>
>>
>> -----Original Message-----
>> From: Benjamin Mackler <bmackler@[REDACTED]>
>> To: abramoffj@[REDACTED] <abramoffj@[REDACTED]>
>> Sent: Thu Jan 24 10:55:48 2002
>> Subject: Re: web site
>>
>> Hi Jack:
>> I just wanted to let you know that I haven't yet heard from Mr. Scanlon.
> How
>> would you like me to proceed?
>>
>> Speak with you soon
>>
>> All the best
>>
>> Ben
>>
>>
>>
>> ----- Original Message -----
>> From: <abramoffj@[REDACTED]>
>> To: <bmackler@[REDACTED]>
>> Cc: <mike@[REDACTED]>
>> Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 8:44 PM
>> Subject: RE: web site
>>
>>
>>> Yes. I have copied him here. Mike, can you let Ben know when to
get
to
>>> you?
>>>
>>> -----Original Message-----
>>> From: Benjamin Mackler [mailto:bmackler@[REDACTED]]
>>> Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2002 6:53 PM
>>> To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
>>> Subject: Re: web site
>>>
>>> Hi Jack:
>>> I just wanted to update you on my proceedings.
>>> I have not been able to get in touch with Mr. Scanlon. I called
> yesterday
>> a
>>> few times and today again, but to no avail. Do you know of an
alternate
>> way
>>> of contacting him?, possibly email?

7/22/2005

Re: web site

>>>

>>>> Thank you

>>>

>>>> I look forward to speaking to you soon

>>>> BEn

>>>>

>>>>

>>>>

>>>>

>>>> ----- Original Message -----

>>>> From: <abramoffj@██████████>

>>>> To: <bmackler@██████████>

>>>> Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 11:53 AM

>>>> Subject: Re: web site

>>>>

>>>>

>>>>> Yes to all

>>>>> Jack Abramoff

>>>>>

>>>>>

>>>>> -----Original Message-----

>>>>> From: Benjamin Mackler <bmackler@██████████>

>>>>> To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@██████████>

>>>>> Sent: Sun Jan 20 11:43:21 2002

>>>>> Subject: Re: web site

>>>>>

>>>>>> Hi Jack:

>>>>>> I just checked, amerintcent.org is available. I will go ahead

and

>>>>>> register

>>>>>> the domain and set up hosting today for the site. I will

purchase

it,

>> and

>>>>>> we can just add it to the overall cost of the site. Does that

work

> for

>>>>> you?

>>>>>

>>>>>> I just checked out the two websites, are we going to have

briefings

> and

>>>>> the

>>>>>> such on the homepage like the Heratige Foundation? just trying.

to

get

>> an

>>>>>> overall picture of where we are going...

>>>>>>

>>>>>>

>>>>>>> So I should use pictures/imagery of americana, landmarks and

high

7/22/2005

Re: web site

>> profile
 >>>> government buildings (whitehouse, capital, monuments...)?
 >>>>
 >>>> Talk to you soon
 >>>>
 >>>> Ben
 >>>>
 >>>> ----- Original Message -----
 >>>> From: <abramoffj@██████████>
 >>>> To: <bmackler@██████████>
 >>>> Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 11:25 AM
 >>>> Subject: Re: web site
 >>>>
 >>>>
 >>>>> Hi ben. Is amerintcent.org available? If so use that. Yes on
 > hosting.
 >>>> Use
 >>>>> style of a think tank like heritage or isis in malaysia.
 >>>>> Jack Abramoff
 >>>>>
 >>>>>
 >>>>> -----Original Message-----
 >>>>> From: Benjamin Mackler <bmackler@██████████>
 >>>>> To: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 >>>>> Sent: Sun Jan 20 11:04:14 2002
 >>>>> Subject: Re: web site
 >>>>>
 >>>>> Hi Jack:
 >>>>> Sounds good to me, I think option 1 is a good way to go. I
 will
 get
 >>>> started
 >>>>> asap. I just checked, and both domains are taken. Are there
 others
 >> you
 >>>> want
 >>>>> me to look into now?
 >>>>>
 >>>>> Do you want me to set up hosting as well?
 >>>>>
 >>>>> if so,
 >>>>>
 >>>>> it will cost \$70 for the domain name
 >>>>> \$40 set up fee
 >>>>> \$21.95 a month for hosting
 >>>>>
 >>>>> That comes to an total of an additional \$375 that will go to
 the
 >> hosting
 >>>>> company. This will be the same plan that I set up for eshkol
 and

7/22/2005

Re: web site

> also
>>>>> Lexington Group.
>>>>>
>>>>> As far as style of the site goes, what were you thinking?, are there
>> any
>>>>> sites out there that you like and would like me to pull from?
or
>> general
>>>>> themes. Governmental/patriotic? commerical business?
>>>>>
>>>>> Let me know what you think
>>>>>
>>>>> speak to you soon
>>>>>
>>>>> Ben
>>>>>
>>>>>
>>>>>
>>>>>
>>>>>
>>>>> ----- Original Message -----
>>>>> From: <abramoffj@[REDACTED]>
>>>>> To: <bmackler@[REDACTED]>
>>>>> Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 10:31 AM
>>>>> Subject: RE: web site
>>>>>
>>>>>
>>>>>> Let's go with option number one. can you get things moving?
Can
>> you
>>>>> see
>>>>>> what kind of domain name you can get: AIC.org, or
>>>>>> AmericanInternationalCenter.org?
>>>>>>
>>>>>> -----Original Message-----
>>>>>> From: Benjamin Mackler [mailto:bmackler@[REDACTED]]
>>>>>> Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 9:28 AM
>>>>>> To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
>>>>>> Subject: Re: web site
>>>>>>
>>>>>> Hi Jack
>>>>>> As always, it would be my pleasure to help you out in any
way
>>> possible.
>>>>>> Thank you for this opportunity.
>>>>>>
>>>>>> As far as a budget goes, with the information you provided
me,
the
>>> site

7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 7 of 10

>>>>> would consist of 5-7 pages and have flash (as the key "goodie")

>>>>> Here are three options to consider:

>>>>>

>>>>> 1. If you want a site with just flash on the homepage and inside

>> pages

>>>>> but

>>>>> no pre homepage intro flash "movie" it would be \$2750

>>>>> 2. For a website with a flash intro "movie" and then flash on the

>>>>> homepage

>>>>> the price would be \$3000.

>>>>> 3. If you want flash on all the pages (not just the homepage) as

>> well

>>>>> as

>>>>> an

>>>>> intro flash "movie" it would be \$3500

>>>>>

>>>>> Besides Flash, if there were any other "goodies" that you had in

>> mind,

>>>>> please let me know and we can factor them in.

>>>>>

>>>>> Along with the site, as always I provide free updating of

>> information

>>>>> for

>>>>> a

>>>>> full year plus as many email back contact forms you wish.

>>>>>

>>>>> If you have any questions or concerns please let me know. I look

>>>>> forward

>>>>> to

>>>>> speaking with you soon

>>>>>

>>>>> All the best

>>>>>

>>>>> Ben

>>>>>

>>>>>

>>>>>

>>>>>

>>>>> ----- Original Message -----

>>>>> From: <abramoffj@██████████>

>>>>> To: <bmackler@██████████>

>>>>> Sent: Saturday, January 19, 2002 10:24 PM: >

>>>>> Subject: web site

>>>>>

7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 8 of 10

>>>>>
>>>>>> Ben, I need to set up a web site for the American
International
>>>> Center,
>>>>>>> which should have all sorts of goodies to make it look
real.
It
>>>> should
>>>>>> have
>>>>>>> links to various other think tanks, including ISIS in
Malaysia,
>> the
>>>>>>> statehood movement in Puerto Rico, Heritage, Americans for
Tax
>>> Reform,
>>>>>>> National Center for Public Policy Research, Cato
Institute,
> Toward
>>>>>>> Tradition. Can you create something? What would the
budget
be?
>>> We'd
>>>>>> need
>>>>>>> a section about "who we are", "contact us", our
leadership,
etc.
>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>

>>>>>>> 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]
>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>

7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 9 of 10

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>>>>> and destroy all copies of the original message.
>>>>>
>>>>> To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an
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7/22/2005

Re: web site

Page 10 of 10

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>

7/22/2005

MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM
FROM: MIKE
SUBJECT: JENA—BLUE LAKE
DATE: 1/27/2002
CC:

William,

Attached are the following:

- 1) An article on another Indian Gaming facility in California that was rejected by BIA for failure to provide information about their background and financing. This could serve as precedent.
- 2) It looks as though the Jean are attempting again to put a facility in Mississippi at the same time they are continuing their efforts in Louisiana. Attached is a letter for DOI on the issue we were able to acquire through our efforts. They are CLEARLY MUCH better financed than we thought last week.

On that note – I would like to speak with you tomorrow about our conversation on Friday regarding Patrick Martin and the Jena. I think it is imperative that we make a large statement with our efforts given what has unfolded.

To that end, I would like to request a larger budget to deal with the Jena and make our muscle felt. I will have figures for you in the am, but I would like a significant increase (an additional 1.2 mil to make our point).

Thanks



Mike.

BB/LC 015410

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Sunday, January 27, 2002 12:34 PM
 To: Italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Hi Italia

Thanks Italia. Great you are back on line. I have another urgent issue which has come up and which we need to get to Steve immediately. There is a tribe in Mississippi and Louisiana called the "Jena Choctaw". They are a federally recognized tribe and are trying to get a gambling compact in Mississippi and/or Louisiana. The Jena are also trying to get land put into trust (ostensibly for "economic development", but really for gambling). This is totally horrible for both the Choctaw in Mississippi and the Coushatta. The Interior Department BIA has sent a letter out (I will fax this to you right now at the [REDACTED] number) soliciting local input, as if they are going to do this!! we have to squash this very, very hard and fast. Please let me know if you think I should come in and see Steve on this. The last time the bureaucrats at BIA did this, they put land in [REDACTED] district into trust, or tried, and were bashed by the WH, as you may recall. This was a week or so ago. At the end, they took it out of trust. These guys need to not put any land into trust without all of us signing off. Please let me know if you get this email OK, and I'll send the fax now. Thanks Italia.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Sunday, January 27, 2002 11:03 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Hi Italia

Hi Jack:

I meet with folks tomorrow and I will call you tomorrow in the early evening - maybe 5:30 or 6pm. My meeting is late in the day...have a good rest of the weekend!

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2002 8:28 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]; Italiacre@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Hi Italia

Any word on getting the Chief a meeting with Gale? Please let me know as soon as you can. Thanks so much. By the way, [REDACTED] they have another [REDACTED] to you very soon as well.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 1:20 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: Choctaw invoice to fax



Choctaw
Invoice.doc (66 KB)

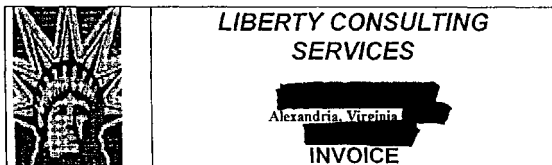
Please fax to Nell with a cover:

Dear Nell,

Per my email about Alexander Strategy Group, attached please find the invoice for Liberty. If you could send their monthly check to me, though, it would be a big help and I will get it to them directly. Starting in March, they'll fax the invoices to you directly.
Thanks.

Regards,

Jack



LABOR

DATE	QUANT.	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	TOTAL
Feb. 2002		Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians - Consulting Services Feb '02	\$5000.00	5000.00
		TOTAL		\$5000.00

TRAVEL AND MISCELLANEOUS

DATE	QUANT.	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	TOTAL
		TOTAL		\$0

INVOICE TOTALS \$5000.00
 LABOR
 MATERIALS
 TRAVEL AND MISC.
 TOTAL DUE

\$5000.00

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@wdc-recipients.cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 31, 2002 5:18 PM
To: Boznik, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Lets Roll now!



2K3601_XIS (22
KB)

Please add in \$50,000 for CREA and put a note in the candidate column as follows: Sec. Norton. Then, please print this and attach to the following letter, which needs to be fed ex'd to Nell Rogers:

Dear Nell,

Per our previous discussions, attached please find the list of political contributions which would be helpful if the tribe could make. If you do them as a big group, it'll give us a great visual for the Congress, but if you can't that's fine too.

Thanks.

Regards,

Jack

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

From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 31, 2002 4:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Lets Roll now!

GTG-E000107697

FROM : DIAMOND, RASH

FAX NO. :

Jul. 20 2004 04:26PM P2

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tom Diamond

FROM: Norman J. Gordon

Date: February 4, 2002

RE: Telephone Conversation with Bryant Rogers

I had a telephone conversation this afternoon with Bryant Rogers, a lawyer in Santa Fe, who represents a number of Indian Tribes. He advises me that he was asked by Mr. Jack Abramoff, a lobbyist in Washington, D.C. whether the Tiguas were attempting a solution to the order that may be outside the courts. According to Mr. Rogers, Mr. Abramoff is with a firm that is well connected to the Bush Administration (Greenberg Trauring Firm in Washington, D.C. which represented the Bush Campaign in the Florida dispute-lobbying arm) and has been effective in the past in efforts for other tribes. He is willing to come to El Paso and meet with the Council at no cost to discuss whether he can be of assistance. His phone number is [REDACTED].

RE: Update

Page 1 of 2

[REDACTED]

From: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 04, 2002 1:51 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Update

Thanks Chris. I have seen it. great work. Did Mike give you the list of items the firm wants regarding AIC? If not, here it is attached. Can you let me know how many of these you can put together? Thanks.

<<FW: Greenberg Traurig: List of Information Needed.DOC>>

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

From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, February 04, 2002 11:39 AM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Update

Jack:

Not sure if Ben showed you, but the AIC Web site is live at <http://www.amerintcent.org/home.html>.

Chris

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

From: abramoffj@[REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, January 31, 2002 6:18 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Update

Thanks.

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

From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, January 31, 2002 6:04 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Update

10-4. Should have most of the content tomorrow.

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7/22/2005

RE: Update

Page 2 of 2

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7/22/2005

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2002 7:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: FW: TX

Whining idiot. Close the f'ing thing already!!

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

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2002 5:11 PM
To: Jack Abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: TX

from a TX operative:

Just spoke with a source close to the Attorney General who tells me they anticipate either February 8 (this Friday) or February 11th-next Monday -- will be the date Judge Eisele shuts down the Tigua casino. His order would dispatch federal marshals to the facility to close it. Judge Eisele cannot enforce his previous order to shut down the casino until the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals officially sends its ruling back to Eisele (this was postponed from 2/7 to 2/11). Judge Eisele has taken a very strong, uncompromising stance against the casino. While he has the leeway on when to act when he receives the appeals court ruling, all indicators are that he will do so. Cornyn is pushing very hard to shut the casino ASAP. In fact, you may also remember that he filed a court request to speed up the closure of the speaking rock casino.

We are also told that the AG is considering going back to the judge in the Alabama Coushatta case on the same day to request an expedited order to shut down the Livingston casino. They argue that judge has no choice anyway based on the Fifth Circuit appellate ruling, so they want it to happen immediately.

Keep in mind that they expect the Tiguas to appeal---if only as a delaying tactic. The AC would likely follow suit. That means this could drag on longer until the Supreme Court denied cert. So we have to be prepared for that possibility.

CTG006970-JA

Subject: RE: Moving down the street.....
 You're next!!!

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

From: Safavian, David (mailto:David.Safavian@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 11:58 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: FW: Moving down the street.....

DHS

David H. Safavian
 Chief of Staff
 Office of Congressman Chris Cannon

[REDACTED]

Tel: [REDACTED]
 Fax: [REDACTED]

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

From: Volz, Neil
 Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 8:07 PM
 To: Volz, Neil
 Subject: Moving down the street.....

After nearly eight great years of working for Team Ney, I am leaving this wonderful job and entering another. I have accepted a position with the law and lobby firm Greenberg Traurig, LLP. This a great opportunity, and I am looking forward to the many new challenges it will bring.

It is not easy leaving here. Bob is such a great friend and has been a fantastic boss. Whether it was working as an unpaid intern in the Ohio State Senate what feels like decades ago, or managing our operation as Staff Director and Chief of Staff right now, I have enjoyed every minute of it.

My first day at the firm will be Tuesday, February 19th. Paul Vinovich will be the new Staff Director for the committee, while Will Heaton will be both the Chief of Staff for the personal office, and remain the Chairman's Executive Assistant at the committee. Clearly, team Ney is in extremely capable hands and ready for whatever the future throws our way. I look forward to saying goodbye and/or explaining my new responsibilities further to people on an individual basis. I can be reached for the next couple days at this email or my personal email address - neivolz@[REDACTED]. I'll let you know my new numbers and address as soon as I get them. Please take care.

Neil

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5/8/2004

GTG-E000089433

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:42 AM
To: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: FW: tiguas

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

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:39 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: tiguas

here's the latest move, just as we predicted:

El Paso Times Wednesday, February 6, 2002
In brief: Tiguas file for stay of casino closing Lawyers for the Tigua Indian tribe of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo filed a motion for a stay of mandate Monday with the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. The stay would allow the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino to remain open while the case is on appeal. The appeals court, in New Orleans, ruled last week that it would send its ruling, upholding a lower court's decision that the casino is illegal under Texas law, back to El Paso's federal court so the order can be enforced. The lower court ruled in September 2001 that the casino must shut down.-Jennifer Shubinski

GTG006969.JA

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 9:54 AM
To: Mike Scanton att
Subject: I'm on the phone with Tigua!

Fire up the jet baby, we're going to El Paso!!

GIG006971-JA

307470

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 9:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: I'm on the phone with Tigua!

Yawzah!-

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 11:40 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: i'm on the phone with Tigua!

I want all their MONEY!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:54 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: i'm on the phone with Tigua!

Fire up the jet baby, we're going to El Paso!!

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GTG-E000075991

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 9:43 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sagchip meeting in NM and Tiguas

Sorry to hear this. hope you feel better. Let's yak on the phone tomorrow.

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

From: Mike Scanlon (mailto:mike@██████████)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 9:59 PM
To: 'abramoffj@██████████'
Subject: Re: Sagchip meeting in NM and Tiguas

I am real sick. Been puking all night. Ill check in- in the am.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
Sent: Wed Feb 06 20:14:35 2002
Subject: Sagchip meeting in NM and Tiguas

Are we meeting tomorrow morning? Let's do so. It's important that we are ready for Monday's trip. Regarding Sagchip, we need to present a plan to resolidify these guys politically. Tiguas we'll discuss. 10:30 good, or 11?

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GTG-E000024827



February 7, 2002

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: EXECUTIVE SESSION DISCUSSION

Tom Diamond asked me to contact Mr. Jack Abramoff of the Greenberg Trauring firm in Washington to see about arranging a time when he would be able to meet with Tribal Council.

I spoke with Mr. Abramoff this morning and he would like to make a short presentation to the Council next week. He could be in El Paso for a meeting on Tuesday. Realizing that you already have a Council meeting that morning, should I ask him about the afternoon?

Would you please let me know if that would be acceptable? Thanks for your attention to this matter.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond

[REDACTED]

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 12:22 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Aic Letter

AIC letter:
paragraph one - strike all after "questions." Inseert language that starts sescond paragraph ending with questions.

Insertr somewhere:
While Mr. Abnramoof and His team have been an unbeivebal assest tou our organization, we feel that if as a vendor of ours if we are presented with such an unexplicbalbe line of questioning again, we will unfortuantley review and vote on your continuing representation at our next board meeting.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
mike@[REDACTED]

- 1) [REDACTED]
- 2) Yes
- 3) Yes -- under construction.
- 4) 2001
- 5) Brian J Mann, Davis A Grosh
- 6) See mission statement
- 7) See Mission statement and materials
- 8) No
- 9) Yes
- 10) AIC has agreements with several law firms, advertising firms and public relations firms.

Section II

- 1) Brian J Mann, David A Grosh, Vacancy
- 2) Brian J Mann
- 3) Yes
- 4) Brian J Mann
- 5) AIC's relationship with the Malaysian Embassy is largely in a public relations capacity.
- 6) Generally speaking no- one controls the operations of the AIC other than the board by unanimous vote.

Section III

- 1) From variety of entities. AIC doesn't not solely receive money from the Embassy of Malaysia if that is your question.
- 2) This is information we do not share with outside entities.
- 3) Yes, but we do not share the percentages with outside entities.
- 4) This information is not shared with outside entities.

Section IV

- 1) We have no answer for that question. For a history of the AIC please see background materials.
- 2) We do not know, but if you find out, please feel free to share that information with us.
- 3) Another good question.
- 4) We represent several countries, and entities based in the United States. We represent all our participating entities in roughly the same manner.
- 5) We were not aware of this, and on this point we would also love to know why that is.

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

You iz da man.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 3:54 PM
 To: abramoffj@REDACTED
 Subject: RE: FW: [REDACTED]

Ok on this, Ill take care of it and get all the payouts rolling.

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

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 9:29 AM
 To: abramoffj@REDACTED
 Subject: Re: FW: [REDACTED]

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@REDACTED <abramoffj@REDACTED>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@REDACTED>
 Sent: Wed Feb 06 22:16:49 2002
 Subject: FW: [REDACTED]

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@REDACTED]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:36 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: [REDACTED]

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

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GTG-E000018!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 08, 2002 9:42 AM
To: Neil Volz home; Zilio, Mayra (BSIF-Mia-Mktg)
Cc: Baggett, Fred (SHld-Tal-Gov/Adm); Grossman, Sandy (Dir-Mia-Mktg); Cobb, Audrey (AdmAsI-Mia-Mktg)
Subject: RE: FYI...

I'll do better than that. I'll put you in direct touch with Neil. Neil/Mayra, I leave it to you to coordinate on this. thanks.

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

From: Zilio, Mayra (BSIF-Mia-Mktg)
Sent: Friday, February 08, 2002 10:18 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Baggett, Fred (SHld-Tal-Gov/Adm); Grossman, Sandy (Dir-Mia-Mktg); Cobb, Audrey (AdmAsI-Mia-Mktg)
Subject: FYI...

In case you have not seen this week's issue, there's a mention of a new member in the DC lobbying team. Let us know when he will start, title, and if a resume can be made available to us for bio, release, etc.

National Journal
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Saturday, February 9, 2002

PEOPLE

People for February 9, 2002
Erin Heath
Lobby Shops

A top lobbyist at Greenberg Traurig's Washington office, Jack Abramoff, has recruited a new Republican lobbyist for his team: Hill staffer Neil Volz. Volz, 31, works as the chief of staff for Rep. Bob Ney, R-Ohio, and as the staff director for the House Administration Committee, which Ney chairs. How does Volz handle two jobs at once? "A lot of hours, a lot of coffee," he says with a laugh. Volz wasn't always set on entering public service. While still in college, he landed his first job—a marketing associate for Pinnacle Data Systems Inc., an Ohio-based computer-technology company. But it took just one political science class to steer Volz in a different direction, and soon he signed on as a legislative assistant to then-Ohio State Senate President Stanley Aronoff. Volz volunteered to help Ney, who then was also a state senator, with Ney's first congressional campaign in 1994. After Ney won, Volz joined him in Washington as a press secretary. Volz became chief of staff three years later, and he added the committee job last year. Volz says he'll miss the flow of the legislative process, but now he plans to "enjoy it from a different angle."

GTG-E000089431



**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

February 8, 2002

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: MEETING WITH JACK ABRAMOFF

Per your instructions, I have scheduled the meeting with Jack Abramoff for Tuesday, February 12th at 2:30 p.m., at the Council offices. These arrangements have been confirmed with Mr. Abramoff.

Mr. Abramoff is the attorney that was discussed at last Tuesday's Council meeting and will be making a short presentation on his capabilities.

I am sending a copy of this memo to Tom so that he will be aware of the time and place.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond

From: abramoffj [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Saturday, February 09, 2002 8:00 PM
 To: mike [redacted]
 Subject: RE: TEXAS-Court denies Tiguas stay

We have to strategize on this one.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
 Sent: Saturday, February 09, 2002 9:35 AM
 To: abramoffj [redacted]
 Subject: Fw: TEXAS-Court denies Tiguas stay

Uh oh?

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

From: Brian J. Mann <brianmann [redacted]>; David Flaherty <david [redacted]>; Erin Yeaman <erin [redacted]>; Amy Biederman <amy [redacted]>; Patrick Gould <patrick [redacted]>; Mike Scanlon <mike [redacted]>; Chris Cathcart <chris [redacted]>
 Sent: Sat Feb 09 06:20:08 2002
 Subject: TEXAS-Court denies Tiguas stay

EL PASO TIMES-NEWS
 SATURDAY FEBRUARY 9, 2002
 Court denies Tiguas stay
 Jennifer Shubinski
 El Paso Times
 Coming Sunday

What's next for Speaking Rock Casino employees? Read Sunday's El Paso Times for a special report on the topic. The U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals on Friday denied the Tigua tribe's lawyers' request for a stay to keep Speaking Rock Casino open while further appeals were pursued. The appeals court in New Orleans delivered what might be the final blow for the Tiguas in the more than 2-year-old court battle with the state. The ruling came just three days before the court is to send its mandate, upholding a lower court's order that the casino is illegal under state law, to federal district court in El Paso. The mandate requires the cessation of gaming activity at the casino. "Today's decision clearly demonstrates the complete disregard for the sovereign rights Congress established for our pueblo . . .," Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez said in a press release. "We will never give up this fight." Tribal lawyers will file an emergency request Monday through Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia to issue a stay pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, Tigua spokesman Marc Schwartz said. Still pending before the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals are motions for a rehearing before the three-judge panel and for a hearing before the full court. Jane Shepperd, spokeswoman for the Texas attorney general's office, declined to comment. Casino worker Isabel Huerta, 30, said she and other employees were hoping the court would issue the stay and keep the casino from closing down next week. "It's not great news, not just for me but for a lot of employees. It affects a lot of people," said Huerta, a single mother. Huerta, who is not a Tigua, said she doesn't have any firm plans for a new job, despite the ongoing legal battles and the appeals court's recent opinion that affirmed a lower court's order that the casino violates the state's gaming laws. "I've applied in several places, but far as immediate plans, I have none," she said. "I was hoping we'd get granted the stay." Texas Attorney General John Cornyn filed suit against the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo on Sept. 27, 1999, and claimed that the casino was illegal under state law. U.S. District Judge Garnett Thomas Eisele ruled Sept. 27, 2001, that the casino was operating in violation of Texas law and ordered it shut down. The Tiguas appealed the case to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, and at the time requested a stay while the case was being heard. The appeals court granted that stay but later reversed it when the court upheld Eisele's decision last month. Jennifer Shubinski may be reached at jshubinski@elpasotimes.com

following Texas law and he will prevail in the courts. Texas will close those casinos down that are operating illegally," Deaton said. The Tiguas lawsuit centers on the tribe's sovereignty on whether it has political authority over gambling and other reservation issues. The Tiguas have been operating the Speaking Rock Casino since November 1993 when it first opened with bingo. It has since turn into a full-fledged casino offering slot machines, card and dice games and off-track betting. The casino employs 800 people and pulls in \$60 million a year.



February 10, 2002

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: MEETING WITH JACK ABRAMOFF - REVISED

Mr. Abramoff will be arriving at around 12:30 pm on Tuesday and wanted to know the possibility of meeting a little earlier, at around 1:30 p.m. If that is possible, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 10:42 AM
To: Chris
Subject: RE: wednesday's meeting

This is a potential problem! Who might be joining? They have to be totally part of the family. We cannot risk that they are in the opposing camp. Please let me know what you have in mind as soon as possible. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 10:07 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: wednesday's meeting

I just spoke with the sub-chief and he has indicated that the Council is going into session to vote on the travel for Wednesday. He did indicate, however, that another Council member or two could be joining the meeting. I will know the outcome by 12:00 noon.

5/8/2004

GTG-E000024973

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:33 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon office
 Subject: FW: Texas

pathetic

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@reedomranch.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 9:24 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@abramoff.com'
 Subject: RE: Texas

got it. we're talking to our contacts today. now that we have the supremes on board, we're pushing hard for immediate lower court action on the AC. they want to do that and are willing, but in the end it's up to the judge. if they push too hard and insult the judge, the judge becomes difficult and it backfires. expect to have an update for you later today.

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

From: abramoffj@abramoff.com [REDACTED]
 Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 8:03 PM
 To: Ralph Reed
 Subject: RE: Texas

Ultimately, as you can imagine, the main target is the AC. I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I'd love us to get our mitts on that moolah!! Oh well, stupid folks get wiped out. Now let's get AC.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@reedomranch.com]
 Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 1:56 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff [REDACTED]
 Subject: Texas

major victory. now it's on to livingston. but note they plan a legislative battle now that they have lost in the courts:

> Associated Press : Texas Wire
 > Tigua casino set to close barring Supreme Court stay
 >
 > The Associated Press
 > Web Posted : 02/11/2002 2:08 AM
 > After years of legal wrangling, a casino run by the Tigua Indian tribe was
 > set to close Monday, barring a last-minute stay by the U.S. Supreme Court.
 > Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez said tribal attorneys planned to file an
 > emergency request Monday morning to keep their Speaking Rock Casino open
 > until the tribe exhausts its opportunity for appeal.
 > Last week, the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans declined
 > to grant a stay that would have kept the casino open.
 > Texas Attorney General John Cornyn filed a lawsuit to close the casino in
 > 1999, six years after it opened.
 > Cornyn's office has maintained that state law prohibits casino-style
 > gambling and that the Indians are subject to that law because of an
 > agreement they signed in 1987 that restored their trust relationship with
 > the federal government.
 > The tribe has said it is a sovereign nation and not subject to specific
 > state criminal laws. Tribal officials have also said their games of chance
 > are structured so they comply with the Texas State Lottery Act and that
 > they have the right to do anything allowed to the state.
 > In January, a three-judge panel of the court affirmed a lower court ruling
 > that the tribe's casino violates state law and must close. That mandate

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:19 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Political Contribution Requests

CREA is Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy. The trustees group (which the other tribes do) is \$50K. this is the group which Norton was chairman of before she went to Dol and which she supports still. Asking him for another \$50 is going to knock his socks off. Call him and tell him that this was inadvertently left off the list and ask what we should do, since Norton is very soon going to host another dinner of the trustees (he is aware of the last one) and we want to make sure they are included.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:13 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Political Contribution Requests

The list they approved was sent a while ago. You mentioned the CREA request to me and Chris when he was in town with Otto (remember in your office). I will inform him. How much?

What does CREA stand for? He requires short descriptions of PACs and campaigns so he can explain it to the council. Also, do you have an address for the organization?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:08 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Political Contribution Requests

Todd, did we not request money for CREA from them? that's our access to Norton. We need \$ for them more than many of these others. I can't find them on the list, but I can't even recall if we discussed it. did we?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 15, 2002 12:53 PM
To: 'cpetras@...' [redacted]
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Political Contribution Requests
Importance: High

Chris, per your request please find attached 3 Word documents (House Leadership, Republican and Democratic contribution requests). These are our "wish lists" for the 2nd session of the 107th Congress. If you have any questions, please give me a call. Thanks.

<< File: House Leadership Requests (2002 - Campaign dollars).DOC >> << File: Saginaw Democratic Contribution Request.DOC >>
 << File: Saginaw Republican Contribution Request.doc >>

GTG-E000025072

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

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

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

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

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

Even if we had to take some money out of our retainer to pay Scanlon to work the ground for them for crying out loud...

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

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:01 PM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

I am going there tomorrow by the way, on the way back from Nevada. Meeting with our slate on the council, chief, subchief, et al, to make sure they start doing the local political work they need to do to stay in power.

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

From: [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

He said he would go back to the council with it shortly. He wanted to hold off until we got the \$270K or so in hand to give out...then go back for another line item. I think if we tell them about the next meeting (who is going to be there, yadda yadda)...plus the Choctaw are there, they'll give the money.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:35 AM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

Did he respond to the crea request?
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: [REDACTED]
 To: 'cpetras' [REDACTED] <cpetras@...>
 CC: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] <abramoffj@...>
 Sent: Tue Feb 12 11:34:16 2002

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 10:38 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: TIGUA INDIANS

This guy NEEDS us to save his ass!!

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

From: Mjschwartz [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 10:33 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: TIGUA INDIANS

Jack:

Certainly enjoyed your visit and efforts to help our client. I look forward to receiving your proposal and we will do everything possible to make it come to fruition. Best,

Marc

GTG006968-JA

31413

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 9:22 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: CREA Request

This will help us get William scared about Blue Lake, hopefully increasing our budget.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 10:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: CREA Request

Great..... Kevin is going to draft the CATs letter to the president and Norton saying "no more Indian gaming expansion"..... I want to light a fire under Griles's ass.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 10:13 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: CREA Request
Importance: High

They are supposed to approve the CREA contribution this morning.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 9:31 AM
To: 'cpetras@██████████'
Subject: CREA Request
Importance: High

Chris, I just noticed that the CREA (Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy) contribution was inadvertently left off the list (Remember we discussed it with Jack when Sub chief Otto was in town?). As you know, CREA is the group which Secretary Norton was chairman of before she went to DoI and which she still strongly supports. A \$50,000 contribution is required to be a trustee of the organization. All of our tribes have given at this level and have found it very beneficial. Secretary Norton is very soon going to host another dinner of the trustees and we want to make sure that the Saginaw Chippewa's tribal leadership is included.

We strongly recommend that the Saginaw Chippewa play an active role with this organization. What is your recommendation on how to proceed?

I am sorry that this wasn't included in the most updated request matrix. This is my fault. -Todd

thanks

Ben

1

GTG-E000025046

RE: AIC

Page 1 of 2

[REDACTED]

From: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 11:06 AM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: AIC

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 10:41 AM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Cc: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: AIC

I have not forgotten about him. He will be paid in our next "billing cycle", which is Monday. I can even Fed Ex him the check.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 12:23 PM
To: ccathcart@[REDACTED]
Cc: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: AIC

Can you get him paid?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ben Mackler [mailto:bmackler@[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 2:26 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: AIC

Hi Sorry to bother you about this but I have emailed Chris from AIC and have not heard back from him. It has been two weeks. I have made two references on separate occasions about closing out the AIC invoice but he has not responded. Would the final check be coming from you guys or should I keep pursuing him?

Speak to you soon
Thanks

Ben

7/22/2005

RE: AIC

Page 2 of 2

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[REDACTED]

7/22/2005

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=United States of America/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 4:22 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma



1XKPO1!.DOC (23 KB)

We should discuss this. this is Otto's father-in-law's tribe. We do a recall, election and take over. Lets discuss.

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

From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 4:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Mike Scanlon (E-mail)
Subject: Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma

Here is a summary of relevant portions of the C-A Constitution and by-laws. Recall is pretty straightforward. Let me know if you need anything else.

GTG-E000010917

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, February 15, 2002 8:33 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: shit

Let me see if I can get him to do everything, and I mean everything in town for \$100K or less. Get me a list of what you think he should be doing.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, February 15, 2002 9:13 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: shit

Tried calling you. All we have left is 160k if you wanna give it to him ill send it down. I'm on cell if you for a while.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████com <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>
 Sent: Fri Feb 15 06:18:02 2002
 Subject: shit

I just got a call from Italia. Steve told her that, as of now, Norton is going to sign the Jena deal. We have to ratchet this up. For openers, we must get the national Christian groups going. I am going to chat with Reed and try to get a price, but we are going to have to do something. We have to turn up the heat on this. we cannot lose this. I just tried to call your cell. Can you call me asap at home?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

GTG-E000010914

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Saturday, February 16, 2002 10:12 PM
 To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
 Subject: RE: Update on a few fronts!

Super. I am going to respond to Michael now, and will cc you. Let's coordinate to make this work well.

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
 Sent: Saturday, February 16, 2002 10:52 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: Update on a few fronts!

Jack:

I spoke to Michael about this Wednesday and he thought that a dinner and sporting event would go a long way with Virginia et al (especially dinner at your place). Let me know if you think there are things I can/should do to assist this visit.

Thanks.

Michael D. Smith
 Greenberg Traurig
 [REDACTED]

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

From: MCNATIVE [REDACTED] <MCNATIVE@ [REDACTED]>
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Sat Feb 16 22:48:20 2002
 Subject: Update on a few fronts!

Jack

Sorry for not getting back with you earlier! I was in the midst of moving, then had to fly to Albuquerque and launch a new Philip Morris Native Youth Wellness Initiative and am now back on the Menominee Reservation - surrounded by boxes - patiently awaiting various contractors to complete their tasks!

Virginia has filed to run for the Chairman of Agua Caliente, while Candace filed to run for the At-Large seat on Tribal Council. Virginia will have a tough challenger in Richard, though I believe Candace will win by a comfortable margin. Knowing Virginia - I don't think she would vie for that position if she didn't think she had a good chance - so time will tell. I assisted them with their candidacy statements and will fly out the weekend before the election to see what we can shore-up. The actual election is March 19th.

This is their contact information:

Candace Patencio
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

E-Mail: cpatencio@ [REDACTED]

Virginia Siva
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

Take care. I am in Wisconsin until Thursday and then go to Chicago for a board meeting and then fly to Key West on Saturday for a week-long vacation.

Michael

PS Candace and Virginia are both going to be in Washington the week of February 24th - initially for NCAI's Executive Council meeting and then NIGA business.

Ac

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 11:50 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Update on a few fronts!

Let's discuss this.

—Original Message—

From: MCNATIVE [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 11:20 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: Re: Update on a few fronts!

Jack:

When Candace and Virginia are in DC - I am in Key West - so I will miss them - though will see them a few weeks later when I am in Palm Springs.

On the election front, Agua voters must register weeks in advance in order to participate in the election - so now is the time they need to shore up their support!

I hope all is well - take care,

Michael

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o= [REDACTED] /ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 10:56 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Tigua

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 11:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Tigua

Dawg, we're going to miss the meeting on Tuesday at this rate. Let's not blow this one because we don't get them a proposal. Get me something asap!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@ [REDACTED]]
Sent: Saturday, February 16, 2002 4:02 PM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: Tigua

Still working - Ill have it done befoer noon tomorrow so you can get it deon to schartz.
Too nice of a day to work! Michael Scanlon Scanlon Gould Public Affairs [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
mike@ [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 7:40 AM
To: Candace Patencio
Subject: Hi Candace

I hope this finds you well. Michael tells me that Virginia and you are going to be in Washington, DC next week. I would love to get together with you if possible. Coincidentally, that is the week that we open Signatures, a high end fine dining restaurant which I own. We have a special reception there Wednesday night for Senator Tim Hutchinson (I'd love to introduce you to him - and then we could all have dinner). Thursday night is the grand opening, and you are certainly invited to attend that one as well. There should be quite a few Members and Senators there. Anyway, I'll call you this week to see if you can make it and if we can get together. Are you guys basketball fans? If so, the Wizards (Michael Jordan) are playing and I'd love to have you join us for that too. Of course you probably have SOME work to do that week as well!! :-)

February 18, 2002

TO: Jack
 FR: Kevin
 RE: Sandia Pueblo

I am attaching information from the Sandia Pueblo's website that provides background on the mountain settlement, the casino, and the tribe generally.

For purposes of Wednesday's meeting, here are some bullet facts to know:

- The whole mountain fight boils down to what is the eastern boundary of the Pueblo's land. They have strong evidence that it includes the main ridge of the Sandia Mountain. Those opposed claim that their border ends at the foothills of the mountain.
- There has been litigation which has mostly gone the Pueblo's way. In April 2000, Pueblo and the U.S. Government reached a settlement. This settlement must be ratified by Congress by November 15, 2002. Intervening parties, including private homeowners and interests, have not signed onto the settlement.
- This is the tribe's biggest and most important public policy effort.
- Bingaman supports the settlement and apparently has a draft circulating that tweaks it in a way that the tribe can live with it. Domenici is opposed. Heather Wilson is opposed, although it is not clear whether she is taking her cue from Domenici or hearing from landowners in her district.
- We have heard that Norton has asked for a review of the Solicitor's Opinion written by Leshy and approved by Babbitt at the very end of the Clinton Administration. That opinion was favorable for Sandia and there is concern that Interior is moving to oppose the settlement.
- The Pueblo are represented by Tim Locke with the Smith Free Group. I don't have last year's numbers, but the representation appears very small (in '99, it was \$10K/month). Smith Free also represented the Paucatuck Eastern Pequot, but no other tribes. Reid Chambers, the Sonosky Chambers attorney who that referred Hopi to me, and his partner both believe that Locke is not up to the job, especially if they are going to get this thing done by November 15 of this year, an election year. They wanted the tribe to get rid of him, but they decided to keep him on.
- When asked to refer some folks to the tribe to work solely on this effort, Locke recommended some weak folks in town, including the Advocacy Group. (In contrast, I told Reid's partner that they should talk only to the big players in town because this is such a big lift, and then proceeded to distinguish us from them).

GTG-E000003016

- As I mentioned to you before, the tribe apparently is very stingy with its money. They will need to be educated that spending money on an effort like this is worth it for all the reasons you know: they need to assert themselves in the state, where they have become one of the largest employers, as well as the fact that they otherwise are going to keep paying to litigate this disaster. Our effort is a sprint, not a marathon – although we think our success will convince them to hire us on after we win.
- The pitch: I want to set aside a little time to talk with you (and Scanlon, if he is going to be there) about what is said. There are certain things we need to mention. For example, I want Reid and his firm to keep sending us these opportunities, and since they will be in the room during the pitch, we have to make sure we tell the Pueblo that they have a strong legal team in place and we hope to offer a lobbying effort that is equally qualified for the heavy lift at hand, blah blah blah.
- I do not have the names of the Pueblo that will be in our meeting, although I know there will be a few of them.
- Casino: According to their materials, the casino has over 1,370 slots.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 18, 2002 7:31 AM
To: Bryant Rogers
Subject: Saginaw Chippewas meeting Choctaws

Chris told me this morning that Cheryl is setting up the SagChips to visit the Choctaws, which is great. It is important that they see how things are done right. There is one thing I wanted to mention though. I was told that Cheryl might be working to set up a separate meeting for Chief Maynard with Chief Martin. Based on the dynamic in the room during our meeting last week, I think you could tell that there are some jealousies among the group, particularly Sub Chief Otto and the others feeling that Chief Maynard might not be including them in stuff. Therefore, I think we should be careful about setting up separate meetings and, ideally, keep everyone together for everything for now. Let me know if you agree on this. Thanks Bryant.

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
 Sent: Monday, February 18, 2002 10:49 AM
 To: 'Marc Schwartz'
 Subject: Operation Open Doors

Tig-Operation
 Open Doors Fina...
 ATTORNEY CLIENT
 CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION

Dear Marc,

Attached please find Mike Scanlon's Operation Open Doors plan. I appreciate your conveying this to the Governor and Tribal Council.

As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro-bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the federal level and assist with the effort to obtain a Class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between \$125,000 to \$175,000 per month for our clients.

I know that the prospect of a lobbying firm working for free until the major victory has been achieved is unusual, but, with the success rate we have had over the past decade, we are sufficiently confident in our abilities that we can afford to take this risk. Our motivations for this representation are manifold, including the critical importance of not allowing tribal sovereignty to be eroded by the actions of the State of Texas. While we are Republicans, and normally want all Republicans to prevail in electoral challenges, this ill advised decision on the part of the Republican leadership in Texas must not stand, and we intend to right this using, in part, Republican leaders from Washington.

Of course, it would be insincere of me to not note that our other motivations include the hope and expectation that, if we succeed, we can expect to have a long term relationship with the tribe by representing their interests on the federal level.

The proposal Mike Scanlon has prepared is, in our view, the best chance the tribe has to overcome the gross indignity perpetuated by the Texas State authorities. Indeed, as I mentioned on the phone, the several day delay getting this to you was the consequence of our wanting to ensure that we have a path to get this done, and a couple of Senators willing to ram this through initially. I am pleased to note that both are in place.

Coupled with this plan, we anticipate that the tribe will have to make approximately \$300,000 in federal political contributions. We are currently preparing a target list of those contributions and hope to have that to you shortly. Perhaps in the interim, the tribal council could approve that gross amount, with detail to follow.

Mike and I are both free to answer any questions you might have on this proposal and we look forward to getting moving rapidly.

Kindest regards,

Jack Abramoff
 Senior Director
 Government Affairs

Operation Open Doors

February 18, 2002

GTG-E000076140

The singular objective of our strategy is to open the doors of the Speaking Rock Casino within the next 4 months.

Our objective is clear, and in the following pages we are going to tell you exactly how we intend to reach our objective. Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nation-wide political operation. This political operation will result in a Majority of both federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time.

The network we our building for you will give you the political clout needed to end around the obstacles you face in your own back yard. Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly, and we will do that through both love and fear.

Without this national political operation we believe you stand no chance of achieving a *permanent* legislative solution to your problem any time soon. This strategy will help us get the legislative ball rolling, but more importantly it will provide us the muscle to withstand an expected legislative backlash after section 107a is repealed.

Make no mistake; the true value of this strategy is not the legislation. Quiet frankly the legislative solution itself is not what one would call rocket science. The truly important part of what we are doing is providing political support to the legislative solution that we have already identified.

Before going forward we would like to make it completely clear that this strategy is not full proof. However, under no circumstances do we believe it could be classified as high risk either. We have waged similar strategies in the past that have been successful and we will wage many more in the years to come. Your responsibility is to determine if this strategy has reasonable prospects for success, and then completely commit yourself to it.

As we presented in our initial meeting, we firmly believe that if you execute this strategy in its entirety, your doors will be open and gaming will return in the immediate future.

Strategic Overview

The first and most important fact of Operation Open Doors is that you will be launching a massive, national, political operation. This political campaign will be waged at varying intensity in up to 250 congressional districts spanning roughly 30 states.

The reason we point this out is to give you a better understanding of exactly what we do. Plainly put, we will be running advocacy and political campaigns similar to the ones you have already waged in Texas, but in 250 individual congressional districts and several dozen states. Granted that our campaigns will be far less direct, and based on more individualized issues, but similar tactics will be employed.

Using kindness and political pressure we will identify majorities in both Houses, then build the political operations in their districts that will ensure their support before the legislative relief is put forward. Once the legislative vehicle has passed, we will activate the political network ensuring that the legislation is not defeated, or reversed.

To do all the things we have mentioned in the strategy we follow a simple strategic model to get you where you need to be. It is important to note, that to be successful you must execute all of them in sequence. The strategic phases are as follows:

- Organization
- Identification
- Research
- Recruitment (Third Party Allies)
- Execution.

The pages that follow will walk you through each stage and explain the individual tactics executed therein.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For Operation Open Doors we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will identify, classify and organize members of our new political army.

The second component will identify, classify and organize all qualitative research we gather for this strategy. Both will be imported into two custom built political databases. As we execute Operation Open Doors, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the individuals in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate (or redirect) them into a custom built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities that already benefit economically from the tribe, and that have support bases outside the state.

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from U.S. Senator down to State Representative.

Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments.

At this point you will have a national political network.

Depending in the amount of vendors you have and their physical locations, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously. This is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Qualitative Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Open Doors. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the Members we have targeted and place it into this database.

The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents.

Once the qualitative research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To put things in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

Identification / Research

Once we have both political databases in place we can begin the identification process. What we do in this phase of the program is identify a series of targets. Your database will tell us where you are politically strong in a national sense, and then we build a target list of allies based on that data.

For example, lets say that your long distance carrier is sprint communications. Sprint benefits by having you as a client, they make thousand of dollars a year on commutations services and hardware they provide to the tribe. Our system we will immediately tell us that Santa Cruz, California is the home of Sprint Communications, who the U.S. Representatives from the area are and obviously the two U.S. Senators.

Instantly, we have identified a power base outside of your own community that you never knew existed, and if we educate them and properly, two powerful U.S Senators and a House Member are now on our team.

This process is repeated with every vendor that does business with the tribe. From paper clips, to the manufacturer of your slot machines, our identification process will tell us where our NATIONAL power base truly is.

The identification process is important because it helps us strategically target supporters, but its most important aspect is the fact that it allows you to build a large network in a very, very short period of time. Without this process it would take you years to determine who may or may not help the tribe. Our system does it almost overnight.

Perhaps the most time consuming part of this process is the anti-gaming cross-referencing portion. Once we have imported the data and identified our potential political allies, we immediately run a legislative cross-reference on the politicians identified. This cross-reference immediately tells us if the elected official has a voting history that could clearly be construed as anti-Indian or anti-gaming. This helps identify potential enemies, and helps determine if we should "write off" certain Members of Congress as potential allies even though we have supporters in their districts.

Recruitment

At this point in the strategy we identified our relief mechanism in repealing 107a, we have redirected your political resources for a federal fight, and identified allies in both chambers of congress.

It's now time to go after our targets and lock down the support we need.

We will do this largely through the vendor portion of the database we built you. We will make contact with your key suppliers and vendors in the target districts and recruit them for the cause.

Put plainly, the vendors who have benefited financially from the tribe over the years are about to thank the tribe in a very political way. Its time they pay a little back, and all we are going to ask these companies to do is lobby their federal representatives on our behalf.

We will do this by utilizing a series of tactics. We will call them, write them a letter and in many cases place a personal visit. In our communications we will educate them as to what the issue is, and how they can help. We will inform them that we need them to contact THEIR representative and support the tribe.

For example, when a Congressman or Senator gets a call from a home state employer asking for their support for the repeal of section 107a – they will listen. In addition we may not need them leading up to a vote, but after the fact. And when the local business owners are supporting them, they will be much more likely to stand behind a decision they made.

This out reach effort is the largest part of the program. We will be reaching out to not only your vendors and suppliers, but to their individual employees as well. We could find ourselves drafting hundreds of thousands of letters soliciting their support, and an equivalent number to their employees, and their family members. The multiplier effect of this program is enormous. If you have one supplier in California, and a hundred employees at that supplier, you have a nice power base there. When you add the employees family members to the count you have gone from nothing to 250 voters in someone's district fighting for you.

Now imagine that nationwide.

Execution

The execution of the program will unfold in the exact same manner as the proposal, with one small exception. The execution of the program will be conducted on two separate tracks, by two separate teams. While our main focus, and the majority of our staff is dedicated to the political strategy, we will have a legislative team in place getting the legislation introduced (most likely as an amendment).

That said, the rest of the program will follow a series of sequential steps. They are as follows:

Organization

- 1) We will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer program that houses your database. This database will be for your use only, available on-line for your use, and will be the permanent property of the tribe.
- 2) We will have a team come to El Paso to gather all relevant data so that we can import it into your database. Ordinarily we simply ask for data such as vendor lists, employee list etc. In some cases customer lists can be helpful, but they are not required. Furthermore, if we do believe this information will be helpful we will sign any confidentiality documents to ensure the lists safety.
- 3) In one week to ten days we can have your data fully integrated and the system in place.

Identification

- 1) Before the system design is even completed we can get the data sets necessary to being the identification process. At this point we will report to you our preliminary target lists.
- 2) We will dispatch a field research team to conduct research on the allies identified (such as how many employees they have, if they are financial supporters the Member of Congress etc).
- 3) We then establish criterion or goals for member contact in each targeted district.

Research

- 1) When we establish the list of opponents we will conduct a comprehensive opposition research program on the individual. This research is intended to keep our opponents "in line".
- 2) In targeted "friendly" districts we will conduct traditional polls to determine the strength and weakness of our position. Our objective here is to compile data that shows each member that the public favors our position. This data will be shared with the Members of Congress in certain districts.

Execution

At this point we are roughly two weeks into the program. We have built a national network, identified our targets, gathered the appropriate research to win with "honey and vinegar" it is now time to mobilize in their districts. This portion of the program is a very gray area; our efforts will vary from district to district. However, the following is what we typically do in the targeted districts.

- 1) ***Business owner letter and follow up call campaign.***
We will make contact with the owner of the business who supplies you with services and provide them a letter to sign and send to their members. We will then provide call script for that person to follow up. Field visits to the identified businesses are usually conducted
- 2) ***Employee phone bank.*** For the companies with large employee bases we will conduct a phone-bank operation to their Representatives.
- 3) ***Employee letter writing campaign.*** We will have each employee in each targeted districts write an individual letter to their Representatives.
- 4) ***We recruit third parties*** to write and call in the targeted districts, these individuals include large donors, other large business owners former staffers etc.
- 5) ***Third party advocacy campaigns.*** In some districts we will encourage large employers to take out advertisements under their name advocating our position.

These are the five main tactics we use in our efforts. While these may seem rather simple, please remember the enormity of the overall project. If we have **only one** business execute this program in each district we target we will place 62,500 calls and 62,500 letters to federal legislators.

On average we see three employers in the targeted districts participate. We can reasonably expect generating roughly 375,000 individual contacts from this program. 375,000 calls and letters in support of a political position is an extremely large show of force, and more than enough muscle for us to achieve our objective.

Budget / Timeline

***Note:**

Due to the time sensitivity, we will conduct the Organization, Identification and Research phases on a rolling basis.

Organization

Cost: \$1,875,000.00

Timeline: February 19, 2002 – February 27, 2002.

Identification

Cost: \$845,000.00

Timeline: February 23 – February 27, 2002

Research

Cost: \$935,000.00

Timeline: February 25- February 27, 2002

Execution / Advocacy

Cost: 1,745,000.00

March 1, 2002 – program completion

Total: \$5,400,000.00

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 18, 2002 10:12 PM
To: Patencio, Candace (ACC)
Subject: RE: Hi Candace

Believe me, I understand the NEED big time!! :) let's chat tomorrow to make plans. I'll give you a buzz on cell. Regards.

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

From: Patencio, Candace (ACC) [mailto:cpatencio@██████████]
Sent: Monday, February 18, 2002 2:09 PM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: RE: Hi Candace

Yes, the e-mail has found me well. I don't know what would happen if it found me sick???? Just being a little silly...it is Monday what can I say.

Yes, Virginia, Moraino and I will be in DC from 2/24-3/1. The full Tribal Council along with the proxies will be attending the NCAI & NIGA meetings. Hopefully, it will be an interesting agenda with some exciting topics. You never know with these meetings.

Spoke with Virginia she said she would like to go to dinner but neither of us are basketball fans (As you can tell fine dining is something we enjoy). Now with these invitations how do you expect us to want to work???? Especially, since we will need to find time to go shopping. The key word is NEED.....and I am sure your wife would agree with us. Anyway, call me later in the week and we will try and confirm our plans.

Candace

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
Sent: Sunday, February 17, 2002 5:40 AM
To: Patencio, Candace (ACC)
Subject: Hi Candace

I hope this finds you well. Michael tells me that Virginia and you are going to be in Washington, DC next week. I would love to get together with you if possible. Coincidentally, that is the week that we open Signatures, a high end fine dining restaurant which I own. We have a special reception there Wednesday night for Senator Tim Hutchinson (I'd love to introduce you to him - and then we could all have dinner). Thursday night is the grand opening, and you are certainly invited to attend that one as well. There should be quite a few Members and Senators there. Anyway, I'll call you this week to see if you can make it and if we can get together. Are you guys basketball fans? If so, the Wizards (Michael Jordan) are playing and I'd love to have you join us for that too. Of course you probably have SOME work to do that week as well!! :-)

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GTG-E000057210

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:05 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

1 hour 45 minutes and counting my friend

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:38 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: Fw: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

This is on the front page of today's paper while they will be voting on our plan!

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

From: Brian J. Mann <brianjmann@██████████>; David Flaherty <david@██████████>; Erin Yeatman <erin@██████████>; Amy Biederman <amy@██████████>; Patrick Gould <pat@██████████>; Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>; Chris Cathcart <chris@██████████>
Sent: Tue Feb 19 06:43:25 2002
Subject: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

EL PASO TIMES

Tuesday, February 19, 2002
450 casino employees officially terminated
By Jennifer Shubinski
El Paso Times

One week after Tigua tribal officials complied with a federal court order to shut the casino down, 450 people received their final termination notice and 60-day severance packages Monday. A line wound out the door at Speaking Rock Casino Monday morning as employees waited to get their checks and turn in uniforms. About 200 people kept their jobs, but Tigua spokesman Marc Schwartz said there may be more layoffs. Many of the employees said they didn't know where to look for a job and were disappointed the casino had to close. "I am an old lady, it's going to be difficult for me to find another job," said Guillermina Morales, 60. Morales worked in house keeping for the casino for four years. Jennifer Shubinski may be reached at jshubinski@elpasotimes.com Full story in tomorrow's El Paso Times

GTG-E000001140

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:46 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

Is life great or what!!!

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

From: Mike Scanlon (mailto:mike@██████████)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:38 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: Fw: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

This is on the front page of todays paper while they will be voting on our plan!

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

From: Brian J. Mann <brianjmann@██████████>
To: Aaron Stetter <aaron@██████████>; David Flaherty <david@██████████>; Erin Yeatman <erin@scanlongould.com>; Amy Biederman <amy@scanlongould.com>; Patrick Gould <pat@██████████>; Mike Scanlon <mike@██████████>; Chris Cathcart <chris@██████████>
Sent: Tue Feb 19 06:43:25 2002
Subject: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:42 AM
To: Chns
Subject: RE: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

Can you hand out the invoice (but only to the slate of 8) and just read them the memo? The opposition should just hear this at the table orally and get nothing in writing. Will that work?

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:55 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: Re: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

When I brought up the issue previously, the response was it was too soon to ask. However, I just talked to the Chief and he said bring the materials over. I have the materials but need to know if all can see the documents or if there is another document that needs to be typed outlining the program and payment costs? Something that says basically here is the program, here is what the Tribes use the program for, here is what it will cost total and with quarterly payments. I need a document that everyone who would be utilized throughout the process can see. Thanks. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
To: cpetras@██████████ <cpetras@██████████>
Date: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:03 AM
Subject: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

>Up to date on the sports suites proposal and get that approved asap? I
>have
>to get closure here. The other participants are getting antsy about
>this and want to get moving, and bills are coming due. Let me know if
>I need to make any calls on it. Thanks Chris.
>
>
>
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>postmaster@██████████
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2002 8:15 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: SAGINAW: visits

You are going to have to tough through this for a while unfortunately. Until we hit a stride and the council is more stable, he is our one secure ally there and this is what floats his boat. You need to organize a few others to relate to him, such as Neil, so they can spell you a bit on this, but we are not going to discourage him on this stuff just yet.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2002 8:59 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: SAGINAW: visits

We need to get a grip on Chris coming in every 2 weeks. I don't see the value in it, and he seems to want to hand-deliver every check. He needs to give us some leeway here... and allow us to deliver these since we're the ones doing all the work. You'd need to think of a way to discuss this with him.

GTG-E000025141

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]
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] (fax)
 [REDACTED] (cell)
 mike [REDACTED]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster: [REDACTED].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: 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@...>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@...>; Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <legers@...>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@...>; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@...>
 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 Doolittle thing. He said he talked to Doolittle (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: Monday, February 25, 2002 10:12 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: TIGUA ARTICLES



feb24.pdf (210 KB)

That fucking idiot put my name on an email list! what a fucking moron. He may have blown our cover!! Dammit. We are moving forward anyway and taking their fucking money.

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

From: PGroupMktg@ [mailto:PGroupMktg@]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 9:44 AM
To: amata@ ; jerry@ ; jhart@ ; kgover@ ; kmaahs@ ; kparker@ ; lena@ ; nk@ ; ozhorse@ ; pmazz@ ; Taliman@ ; tribalcouncil@ ; UNMIRVETERAN@ ; ydspt@ ; abramoffj@ ; cdiamond@ ; pmagers@
Subject: TIGUA ARTICLES

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:08 PM
 To: GRHalpern@ [REDACTED]
 Cc: ghalpern@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Lexington

My replies below after yours in regular type.

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

From: GRHalpern@ [REDACTED] [mailto:GRHalpern@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 11:10 AM
 To: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Cc: ghalpern@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Lexington

MY REPLY BELOW.

In a message dated 2/26/2002 10:55:50 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff@ [REDACTED] writes:

ent="Microsoft Word 9"> Responses below

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

From: GRHalpern@ [REDACTED] [mailto:GRHalpern@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:04 AM
 To: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Lexington

1. pls. ask your GT office to fed ex me what they have. If it was around in 2001, depending which state it was set up in we need to do the annual filing so we don't forfeit the LLC status. I ALREADY ASKED THEM TO DO THIS. DID THEY NOT DO IT YET? JUST GOT THE FAX NOW WHEN I CAME BACK FROM MEGILLAH.
2. Is someone drawing up the Operating agreement showing your 50%? NO, BUT WE HAVE TO GET TO THAT.OKAY. I'LL PUT ON MY LIST TO DO. WOULD YOU MIND IF I ASK [REDACTED] TO HELP US OUT W/THE LEGAL STUFF. NO OFFENSE TO [REDACTED] BUT I WASTE TOO MUCH TIME(AND YOUR MONEY) ASKING [REDACTED] WHAT THE STATUS IS, IN GENERAL. (JUST B/T US PLEASE). I could not agree more. Yale is a disaster. I like him, but he is a terrible lawyer
3. If the business operates out of VA then we have VA filings. If the income that your earn is from another state, that's what I mean by SOURCED, we deal w/the state or states as well. WHAT SHOULD IT BE? I SEE DC FILINGS ON THE FAX FROM YOUR OFFICE. I WILL ASK YALE WHY HE DID DC. MOST OF THE TIME WE SET UP AS MD LLC SINCE THE LLC RULES ARE BETTER IN MD THAN DC. BUT I'M SURE HE HAS HIS REASONS. IF YOUR PARTNER WORKS OUT OF VA THEN I NEED TO CHECK VA RULES AND FILING REQUIREMENTS. I DON'T KNOW OFF HAND. OK, there is no reason to be in DC.

5/8/2004

GTG-E000011514

IS THE VA ADDRESS THE OFFICIAL ADDRESS YOU GUYS ARE USING ON YOUR INVOICES ETC? I'LL CHECK THE WEB SITE. Not sure either way

4. what states are the clients in that will be paying you? VARIOUS AND OVERSEAS. SINCE YOU RENDER THE SERVICE HERE IN DC/VAMD WHICHEVER, I DON'T THINK WE NEED TO WORRY BUT AGAIN THIS WILL DEPEND ON S CORP AND LLC STATUS. DIFFERENT RULES FOR DIFFERENT STATES FOR DIFFERENT ENTITIES. I DON'T KNOW THESE RULES OFF HAND BUT I'LL ASK JEFF MAY TOMORROW.

5. do you have a web site on this business? YES, WWW.LEXINGTONGROUPUSA.COM

PLEASE GIVE ME AN IDEA OF THE MONEY YOU THINK WILL COME IN OVER 2002. ARE WE TALKING 50K, 100K, 1M? JUST BALL PARK SO I COULD TRY TO PLAN THE BEST WAY. maybe \$500K max, but could easily be \$10K

In a message dated 2/26/2002 8:39:00 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff@██████████ writes:

BELOW IN CAPS

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

From: GRHaberm@██████████ (mailto:GRHaberm@██████████)

Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 12:18 AM

To: abramoff@██████████

Subject: Lexington

I just found out from Laura about Lexington. She told me that she opened up a bank a/c for this LLC. she thinks Yale did the filings. she didn't have any copies in her files. Can I check with Yale? I THINK WE HAVE THEM IN OUR OFFICE AT GT

so I would just like to confirm that it is taken care of. Is it a MD LLC? I THINK IT'S A DC LLC. Laura tells me there is a VA location for this entity? do you have an operating agreement? what % is yours. NO OPERATING AGREEMENT YET, BUT I OWN 50%

In the 1999 file I saw a check to Ben Mackler. Laura thought maybe it was for Estkol even though it was with a Lexington email. Pls. let me know so we can 1999 him and deduct from KayGold since Lexington wasn't around in 2001. or was it? I CAN'T RECALL, BUT I THINK IT WAS. YOU'LL GET THE PAPERS THIS MORNING AND SEE

Also, for tax purposes, maybe we could do some planning. what does this entity do? POLITICAL CONSULTING how much do you expect it to earn? NO IDEA (al FAMILY-SANSSERIF-is it DC source income? HOW DO YOU MEAN SOURCE? If not, maybe we should have an S corp and save money on the SE tax (like I wanted to do with KayGold but can't b/c CCS is DC and we would get killed with the DC bus. tax).

If your partner is willing to set up a pension plan, both you guys can shelter some income in there. LET'S DO IT

when you have a chance please tell me about this entity so I can try to do some tax planning. JUST SOMETHING I HAVE SET UP WITH A GUY WHO GT WOULD NOT HIRE BUT WHO WILL DO A LOT OF BUSINESS

5/8/2004

GTG-E000011515

Also, since I didn't know about it, I didn't tell Bruce about it. I think we should. FINE

Please don't keep these things from me. I hate to be the last one to know! :) fy:Adiaf-> I AM NOT KEEPING THINGS FROM YOU. AS PAM WILL TELL YOU, IF I DON'T THINK ABOUT SOMETHING OR AM NOT DEALING WITH IT, THE WAY MY MIND WORKS I MIGHT AS WELL NOT BE INVOLVED. THUS, IT HAS NOT COME TO MIND WHEN WE HAVE BEEN CHATTING. I HAVE NOT REASON TO HIDE ANYTHING FROM YOU. :-)

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5/8/2004

GTG-E000011516

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:13 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: (no subject)

You should call them for tomorrow and get together to discuss strategy. Don't forget that they are leaving DC very soon. Can you do it? how about bringing them by to the Hutchinson event tomorrow night, and then we'll do dinner with them?

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

From: MCNATIVE@ [REDACTED] (mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 6:18 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: (no subject)

Jack

Just a short note to say that once again my Agua crew enjoyed the pleasure of your company! They're looking forward to seeing you tomorrow!

I hope Virginia prevails - It could be a great relationship/client!

Michael

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:13 PM
To: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: (no subject)

They are really great. Even if nothing ever comes of it, it has been a real blast meeting these guys. they are fun and wonderful people. Mike Scanlon and I are going to do everything we can to help them. they are really great. thanks again for making the connection and I'll keep you posted. Regards.

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

From: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED] [mailto:MCNATIVE@\[REDACTED\]](mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 6:18 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: (no subject)

Jack

Just a short note to say that once again my Agua crew enjoyed the pleasure of your company! They're looking forward to seeing you tomorrow!

I hope Virginia prevails - it could be a great relationship/client!

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000059253

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 10:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: LA Times article in Word format.



PREACHER AT THE
ORGY.doc (72 K... Our enemy

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

From: MoHunwit [mailto:MoHunwit@...]
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 11:04 PM
To: abramoffj@...
Subject: LA Times article in Word format.

Same article, different format.

GTG-E000057241

lc

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 9:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Agua Caliente

I saw them tonight. They really can't wait for you to lead them to the promised land! Tomorrow night, after the reception at Sigs, let's take them to dinner and lock up the deal.

GTG-E000057184

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 1:44 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Candace Patencio

Call Laura to do it
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov) <gertneri@ [REDACTED]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed Feb 27 14:43:06 2002
Subject: RE: Candace Patencio

who are the Hutchinson guys?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 2:39 PM
To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Candace Patencio

Please let the Hutchinson guys know that they are coming (Candace, Virginia Siva and a third fellow - can't remember his name). Tell them that they are not currently going to be able to contribute, but that they will in March be in a position where they control their tribe and will be able to be helpful on a Choctaw level.

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

From: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 11:56 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Candace Patencio

will go to Hutchinson event tonight between 6:30-8pm (she'll "float in"). She'll also go to dinner tomorrow after Sigs. I can leave her a message for what time and where.

Ilisa Gertner
 Executive Assistant
 Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
 Greenberg Traurig, LLP
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

ph: [REDACTED]
 email: gertneri@ [REDACTED]

GTG-E000057185

1c

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 28, 2002 6:12 AM
To: MoHunwit [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Background article on soon to be ex-chairman. Sorry for the error and delay.

By the way, is this Candace, Virginia or Moraino sending this? I have a different email for Candace and Moraino, so I just wanted to check. Thanks.

—Original Message—

From: MoHunwit [REDACTED] [mailto:MoHunwit@REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 10:55 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Background article on soon to be ex-chairman. Sorry for the error and delay.

INSIDE STORY; PREACHER AT THE ORGY; For 17 years, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians Has Followed Richard Milanovich's Gospel of Hard Work and Self-Reliance. Will Casino Money Change Everything?

The Los Angeles Times; Los Angeles, Calif.; Dec 10, 2000; TOM GORMAN;

Abstract:

By following Milanovich's conservative lead, the Agua Caliente Indians today are perhaps the most financially sophisticated of the state's 107 federally recognized tribes. While other tribes have used their casino success to launch non-gambling businesses, the Agua Caliente are building a future that's not just economically diverse, but stresses self-reliance and a strong work ethic. In the process, Milanovich has emerged as perhaps the most influential tribal leader in California.

The Agua Caliente tribe, too, is expanding. It will rebuild its casino in downtown Palm Springs, and its new \$80-million casino adjacent to Interstate 10 near Rancho Mirage will open in April. But unlike others, the tribe intends to finance and manage its casinos without outside help. It will continue to develop the land it controls in the heart of a desert resort region green with golf courses and tourist dollars. And thanks in large part to the will and infectious work ethic of its tribal chairman, the Agua Caliente will be the California tribe best prepared to handle the onrushing future.

To that end, Milanovich won't allow tribe members to engorge on casino profits, as other tribes in California have allowed. Members of the Table Mountain Rancheria near Fresno, for instance, were receiving checks of about \$15,000 every month, and each family was given \$250,000 to build a custom home. Other tribes won't reveal how much they pay their members, but the evidence is in their mansions and fancy automobiles. By contrast, Agua Caliente Indians receive about \$2,000 a month, Milanovich says—enough to add to the comfort of their lives, but not enough to allow them to not work at all. An annual \$400,000 education budget allows the tribe to send every young person to a private college, and to pay for such other school-related costs as band and sports uniforms and fees associated with extracurricular activities, he says.

Full Text:

(Copyright, The Times Mirror Company; Los Angeles Times 2000 all rights reserved)
 Richard Milanovich, who doesn't like to gamble because he doesn't like losing money, grins broadly from the podium at the Spa Hotel and Casino in downtown Palm Springs as he gives away a million dollars of the casino's gambling profits. "Oh, this is so much fun," he says, announcing a \$150,000 donation to the Palm Springs Fire Department.

Sitting expectantly in the audience are representatives of 53 other local organizations, including the Palm Springs Boys and Girls Clubs, a seniors center, the Palm Springs Public Library and various VFW posts. They have come

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GTG-E000057216

to share in the fruits of the thriving casino operated by the Agua Caliente band of Cahuilla Indians, and no one is enjoying this event more than Milanovich, the tribal chairman and today's master of ceremonies.

The giveaway has been an annual event since the tribe launched its casino 5 1/2 years ago, and it might be easy to dismiss it as the tribe's attempt to buy goodwill in the community. There may be some truth to that; politically, Milanovich is nobody's fool.

But reflecting the values instilled in him as a boy by his father, a steelworker of ugoslavian descent, Milanovich also feels it's the right thing to do. "We live in this community. We benefit by this community. And we give back to the community," Milanovich says, sounding almost maudlin.

Milanovich's effort to extend his personal ethic to the entire Agua Caliente tribe has been no less dramatic. During his 17 years as tribal chairman, he has challenged his followers to look beyond the comfortable lifestyle afforded by a reservation that includes, by pure serendipity, some of the choicest real estate in the one of the world's choicest desert resorts, and to take control of their future.

By following Milanovich's conservative lead, the Agua Caliente Indians today are perhaps the most financially sophisticated of the state's 107 federally recognized tribes. While other tribes have used their casino success to launch non-gambling businesses, the Agua Caliente are building a future that's not just economically diverse, but stresses self-reliance and a strong work ethic. In the process, Milanovich has emerged as perhaps the most influential tribal leader in California.

Sitting to Milanovich's right during the giveaway are California Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante and then-state Assemblyman Jim Battin, who are participating in the ritual mating dance between money and politicians—a dance that's become more intense since last March, when voters passed Proposition 1A, a state constitutional amendment that gives Indian tribes the exclusive right to operate Nevada-style slot machines and card games in California. Unlike those polished politicians, Milanovich stumbles over his script, mispronounces and forgets names, talks in incomplete sentences and generally performs so poorly that everyone in the room aches for him.

But no one doubts the sincerity of his words, the spontaneity of his laugh, the warmth of his smile. Even Tom Tucker, executive director of the California Council on Problem Gambling, accepts an oversized \$25,000 check without any hint of irony. Tucker still worries about social consequences as California gambling spreads through Indian casinos, and says only 10 of the state's 42 casinos have contributed to his organization. But he says none has given more money, or with greater sincerity, than the Agua Caliente.

"Richard has told me he's sensitive to the fact that certain people are vulnerable [to gambling], and he said he'd never want to get wealthy from someone else's vulnerability or sickness," says Tucker. "I thought that was real decent of him. Maybe other people in the gaming business feel that way, but they haven't said that. Just Richard."

a reservation casino does not reflect a tribe's heart and soul, and in the case of Agua Caliente, that's a good thing. There are finer Indian casinos in California, ones with more neon, more glitz, greater aesthetics. The Agua Caliente casino, the state's only Indian casino in a downtown resort area, is functional at best.

The tribe built the casino on the grounds of the Spa Hotel—it renamed the complex the Spa Resort Casino last month—after it and a Las Vegas casino giant dropped a partnership plan. Poker, blackjack and pai gow are available, but video gambling and new slot machines are the real moneymakers. Hundreds fill the meeting rooms of the hotel's former convention center, as well as the tent the tribe erected to accommodate more.

Today the casino boasts 1,150 machines, including about 800 Vegas-style slots that clatter relentlessly as coins drop into the metal hoppers. As in Nevada casinos, this one is smoky (tribal reservations are exempt from California's no-smoking laws). Like Nevada casinos, there's booze, and complimentary sodas and fruit drinks are also offered. But the place is exciting only if you've never been to Vegas.

Yet with the passage of 1A, Las Vegas has come to California. Tribes up and down the state are upgrading their casinos. Some tribes are building their first-ever casinos. Some will turn the operations over to management companies, sit back and wait for their share of the profits to pour in.

The Agua Caliente tribe, too, is expanding. It will rebuild its casino in downtown Palm Springs, and its new \$80-million casino adjacent to Interstate 10 near Rancho Mirage will open in April. But unlike others, the tribe intends to finance and manage its casinos without outside help. It will continue to develop the land it controls in the heart of a desert resort region green with golf courses and tourist dollars. And thanks in large part to the will and infectious work ethic of its tribal chairman, the Agua Caliente will be the California tribe best prepared to handle the onrushing future.

And yet prosperity may pose the greatest challenge for Milanovich. As his tribe anticipates the huge profits that Nevada-style gambling will generate, he's under pressure to open the financial tap for tribal members who don't share his resolve to pay off a projected \$210 million in tribal debts and invest in other tribal businesses. The chairman finds himself in the uncomfortable position of a preacher at an orgy, and you have to wonder how long he'll be welcome.

Richard Milanovich holds to three truths: there is little in life more satisfying than earning a paycheck for an honest job; it's important to take time to walk; and being an Indian brings privileges and responsibilities, as well as an obligation to cherish the past and protect the future.

"Chairman Milanovich is insightful and quick-witted, and brings to the table a long view of tribal politics in California," says Mark A. Macarro, chairman of the Pechanga band of Luiseno Indians in Temecula and television spokesman for the state tribes' campaigns to legalize Indian casinos in California. "He's characteristic of a dwindling group of tribal leaders steeped with a sense of legacy, of what needs to be protected."

Milanovich's mother, LaVerne, was an Agua Caliente Indian who, as a teenager in the 1930s, went to visit her mother in Los Angeles and met 20-year-old Steve Milanovich, in town from Indiana looking for work. The couple married—no state in the nation has more Native Americans than California, but very few are full-blooded—and had a daughter. Their second child, Richard, was born shortly after his father was shipped overseas with the Army in World War II. The couple's relationship suffered in the separation, and they divorced.

Without a stable male influence in his life, young Milanovich strayed. One night he was with a bunch of older boys who beat up a Marine and took his money. At 14, he spent 2 1/2 months in juvenile hall and another 10 1/2 months at an honor camp near Idyllwild, in the mountains above Palm Springs. "I was not happy, but I learned the discipline that had been so lacking in my life."

After his release, Milanovich bounced between his dad's place in Cleveland and his sister's home in Banning, where he learned how to operate heavy equipment. He joined the Army at 17, knowing he could shine as an infantryman because he enjoyed long, hard hikes. He served 2 1/2 years in Germany and was a tracker on long-range reconnaissance patrols. Discharged at age 20, he returned to Los Angeles, where, among other things, he sold vacuum cleaners and encyclopedias door to door.

Still adrift, Milanovich had a child by one relationship, enrolled in college courses, and at 26 got married to another woman. That relationship lasted five years, producing two children. A political conservative, Milanovich almost reenlisted in the Army to serve in Vietnam, and he came close to joining the John Birch Society.

At the time, the Agua Caliente band was at an enviable crossroads, the result of the bizarre configuration of its desert reservation.

When the federal government drew the boundaries of the tribe's 32,000-acre reservation in 1876, it got a lucky break, although no one could have imagined it at the time. The land designated for tribal use included four canyons, two cemeteries and the eight-acre site of its historic hot springs—a site that later became downtown Palm Springs, where the Spa Resort Casino is situated today.

In addition to that common-use land, the bulk of the reservation was laid out checkerboard-style in mile-wide squares across what was then a barren desert swath alongside the eastern slopes of the San Jacinto Mountains.

Alternating squares of land went to the Southern Pacific Railroad, because the government believed that a fractured reservation would weaken tribal unity over time and hasten Indian assimilation into American culture. In 1959, after years of court battles, the unassigned checkerboard squares were individually allotted to the 106 members of the tribe at the time—including Milanovich and his mother.

By the time Milanovich got actively involved with the tribe, the tribal members who received personal allotments were landlords over much of the growing cities of Palm Springs and neighboring Cathedral City. For many of them, life was good as they leased their land to business, retail and residential tenants.

Today some 40,000 people in Palm Springs, Cathedral City and a bit of Rancho Mirage live on land leased from the tribe and from individual Agua Caliente Indians. Also, some of the most prominent businesses are on Indian land, including Palm Springs' convention center, the Wyndham, Marquis and Hilton hotels, the Mission Hills Country Club in Rancho Mirage, and the Cathedral Canyon Country Club and Doral Palm Springs Resort in Cathedral City. The city bought an Indian's land to build its airport.

Milanovich admits he was living the good life with money from his leased land: skydiving, scuba-diving, partying, drinking, even living for a while in Malibu. But he saw firsthand the risk of the tribe's growing sense of entitlement. He recalls that his late mother was content to cash her rent checks and not to work beyond that. "When my mom went to pick up her tenant's lease payment, I was embarrassed that she hadn't toiled for it," he says. "I still don't understand it. But that mentality, of just sitting back and collecting our lease checks, permeated our people. It was creating a society of individuals who didn't see a need to improve their lives, and their children didn't have an impetus to improve their lives. And it was fostering the idea that we as Indian people couldn't do anything on our own."

Some Indians' allotments were sold in the 1960s by their non-Indian conservators in what would later be exposed as a scandalous rip-off of tribal members. The city of Palm Springs was no more generous toward the tribe, instituting land-use decisions that blocked development of tribal land within the city limits so money could be steered to non-Indians. But in 1977, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a federal court ruling that the reservation was free of city government zoning control, and tribal members were finally able to develop the land as they saw fit.

Meanwhile, Milanovich had been hiking the canyons of his ancestors near Palm Springs, thinking about both the past and future. "He wasn't particularly doing anything at that time in his life," says his wife of 23 years, Melissa, whom he married in 1977 and with whom he has three children. "But hiking in the canyons put a spark in him. He said he wanted to find out more about his people."

The year Milanovich married Melissa he was appointed a proxy member of the tribal council to fill a vacant seat. The next year, at age 35, he was elected to the council. He quickly won over skeptics who questioned how a man of split heritage and married to a blue-eyed blond could claim such devotion to Indian culture. Says Milanovich: "They saw that what was in my heart was stronger than the color of my skin and the sound of my name."

The tribe's first significant step toward a more secure future came in 1993. A developer had built the Spa Hotel on leased reservation land in 1962 and later sold it to new owners. By 1990, the hotel had deteriorated badly, reflecting poorly on the tribe's public image. Milanovich argued that the tribe should buy the hotel outright from the bank that had repossessed it and restore its original sparkle.

"There was concern that we would be biting off too much, that we would fail," recalls Milanovich, whose dark and menacing eyes are tempered by his explosive laugh. "But I said we've got to try. We had to show that we were capable, and intelligent, and willing to take the risk of managing our own business—and our destiny."

The tribal council finally agreed, and in 1993 purchased the hotel from the bank that held its mortgage.

Around the same time, a growing number of tribes in California—including some just a few miles from Palm Springs—were opening casinos without state or federal permission, and profiting handsomely from them. The Agua Caliente tribe refrained from such boldness. Some members didn't think the tribe should rely on gambling as

a source of revenue. It would invite problems, they argued. Others hesitated because it was against the law. Milanovich, still the conservative Republican, was hesitant too, but ultimately he felt that the tribe should exercise its sovereignty and open a casino before its ability to do so got mired in politics.

"We knew that if we didn't slick our foot in the door, it would become more and more difficult to get into gaming," he says. "By then we knew we could operate a casino because we'd been running the Spa Hotel."

In 1995, the tribe launched its casino, and Southern California had its closest approximation of a Vegas-style resort: a hotel with gambling, a health and beauty spa, pools and dining. The tribe has since bought a second hotel, begun building another casino, helped launch a local bank and now runs a business development office that's packaging developable land in the heart of Palm Springs.

In 1996, Milanovich returned to college and earned a bachelor's degree in business management from the University of Redlands. The new challenge to the tribe, says Milanovich, is to ensure the financial security of its 368 members. For all the wealth that some individual tribal members have amassed through their land leases, the tribe's 262 younger members, born since 1959, have no allotted lands to call their own. Their retirements need to be funded.

To that end, Milanovich won't allow tribe members to gorge on casino profits, as other tribes in California have allowed. Members of the Table Mountain Rancheria near Fresno, for instance, were receiving checks of about \$15,000 every month, and each family was given \$250,000 to build a custom home. Other tribes won't reveal how much they pay their members, but the evidence is in their mansions and fancy automobiles. By contrast, Agua Caliente Indians receive about \$2,000 a month, Milanovich says—enough to add to the comfort of their lives, but not enough to allow them to not work at all. An annual \$400,000 education budget allows the tribe to send every young person to a private college, and to pay for such other school-related costs as band and sports uniforms and fees associated with extracurricular activities, he says.

"Gaming allows us to take our rightful place on the political stage, to make known our hopes and dreams, but it's not our end goal," Milanovich says. "We know gaming won't last. The laws will change at some point. But it's a means to an end. It has brought us sorely needed revenue which has allowed us to diversify even more, so the future of the tribe is secure."

"But that doesn't mean that tribal members should simply get more money" as casino profits rise. "They will still have to become viable, working members of society."

Despite his hard-line approach, Milanovich has a remarkable number of admirers and very few critics. The Palm Springs mayor once suggested that Milanovich run for public office, but he says he has already found his place in politics, as chairman of the Agua Caliente Indians.

"A tribal chairman must not only be responsive and faithful to those who elect him," says Macarro, the Pechanga Indian tribal chairman, "but he has to be able to operate in other environments where the ground rules are different, the values are different. You sometimes have to be a negotiator, other times a visionary. You're part executive, part diplomat."

Milanovich does well in Sacramento, Macarro says, because of the experience he developed working with local government agencies in Palm Springs, striking compromises where appropriate but not undermining the tribe's autonomy.

"He's one of the finest examples of leadership that I've encountered in my six years of government involvement," says Palm Springs Mayor Will Kleindienst. "He's patient and respectful. He doesn't deal from emotions. I've never seen him lose his temper . . . but he'll articulate why his position is important."

The head of the local office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Don Magee, says Milanovich "has a gift of exercising neutrality. He doesn't offend. He walks the fence very carefully [and] on any reservation, that's hard to do."

Milanovich has won support from rank-and-file tribal members "because he's fair in his reasoning and thinking. He doesn't strong-arm anyone," says Barbara Gonzales-Lyons, the tribal council's vice chair. His strengths, she says, "are in his charisma, his ability to empathize with others."

Milanovich can be tough, though. Among his first tasks as a tribal council member was to implement a pact with the Palm Springs City Council that was unique at the time in the United States: The tribe agreed to generally abide by the city's land use and planning decisions, even over sovereign Indian land that the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled was exempt from such conditions. The tribe, Milanovich says, understood the benefits of a Palm Springs that was aesthetically cohesive.

The tribe, however, reserved the ultimate right to do with its land what it wanted in case of a conflict. Over the years, the tribe has ignored only a handful of city wishes. Prime among them: allowing billboards on Indian land, despite a Palm Springs billboard ban.

Similarly, when Milanovich and other tribal leaders met with the Gov. Gray Davis' staff last year to discuss new state guidelines for Indian casinos, he walked out during comments by Davis' chief negotiator, William A. Norris, a retired federal appellate judge. Norris was explaining how the state would disburse casino revenue to non-gambling tribes, rather than leave such decisions to the tribes themselves. "He was saying it was the state's responsibility to take care of the tribes," Milanovich says, "and I thought to myself, 'Since when has California been concerned about Indian tribes?' It was very patronizing."

On occasion, Milanovich has advocated for the greater tribal good at the expense of individual Indian land owners. In a 1984 address to the Palm Springs City Council, for example, he began speaking in support of individual tribal members wanting to lease their land in picturesque Andreas Canyon to a resort developer. Abruptly, Milanovich stopped and announced that he personally could not support the development plans because they would irreparably harm the canyon beauty and tribal heritage.

"We were inclined to support the development, because we thought the tribe was all for it," says Frank Bogert, the mayor at the time. But then Milanovich "gave the damndest speech you ever heard, about how his ancestors lived there and how they loved the canyons, and all the artifacts that were there. To hear Richard talk so deeply from his heart, it almost made you cry."

The City Council rejected the development.

Milanovich's few critics within the tribe choose their words carefully, and their message is almost lost in the nuances. Tribal matriarch Vyola Ortner, who disagrees with Milanovich on various issues, struggles in composing her remarks, and finally writes them down: "He always wants to be liked, and wants to please everyone." He leads by consensus, she says, "and has a hard time making decisions without a lot of agonizing."

The reason Milanovich has been reelected tribal chairman for eight consecutive two-year terms, some tribal members say, is that no other strong personalities have risen from within the tribe to seriously challenge him.

Money may complicate that. Listen hard enough and you'll hear a drumbeat for change, especially among younger tribal members without land who want a bigger share of casino profits if, as expected, gambling revenues skyrocket in the years ahead.

"There is a certain amount of pressure to increase the per-capita [stipends]," Milanovich concedes. "We've explained to them that we first want to get our second casino up and running, and get the downtown one up and running, and then work to retire our tribal debt associated with the two casinos and the hotel. I think our people understand that. They know that, as a tribe, we have to build for our future, and it may not always be in gaming."

There even has been resentment, he says, that the tribe gives away so much money to community organizations while not disbursing more to its own members. "We've explained that we as a tribe are helping pay for community programs because they have their own funding shortfalls--and we as tribal members benefit from those community programs as well. It's just the right thing to do," Milanovich says.

Tribal member Jeannette Dodd acknowledges some tension within the ranks about the amount of casino profits

disbursed to the Agua Caliente Indians. "We've been told we won't be getting an increase [in per-capita revenue sharing] until 2001—and that it'll be a minimal increase," says Dodd, 33. "And some people are upset by that. A lot of us see what members of other tribes are making. It's a lot more than us."

The internal debate is not so critical that Milanovich's leadership is in jeopardy, Dodd says. "Some people say he should retire because he's been doing it for so long. But on the other hand, nobody else wants the job, and he's so well-known in California, he can walk through doors where anyone else would have a hard time. He's turned into a good politician."

If there's tension among the Agua Calientes over Milanovich's leadership, it's not apparent this day as he hands out \$1 million. The chairman introduces Ortner, who is on the committee that makes the donation decisions, and they smile generously at each other, because today all is good.

Casino bucks rain over the audience—\$5,000 here, \$25,000 there—and everyone is ecstatic. Milanovich clearly delights in rewarding organizations that are working hard in the community. That's just the way it should work, he says.

The respect is mutual. "We love you, Richard!" yells Cathedral City Council member Sarah DiGrandi, and Milanovich's embarrassed laugh fills the room full of beneficiaries. Everyone laughs with him, all the way to the bank.

[Illustration]

Caption: PHOTO: (no caption); PHOTOGRAPHER: Cheryl Himmelstein; PHOTO: Milanovich on the grounds of the Spa Resort Casino in downtown Palm Springs, which the tribe plans to rebuild in the wake of Prop. 1A but without outside help.; PHOTOGRAPHER: Cheryl Himmelstein

Credit: Tom Gorman is a Times staff writer. His last article for the magazine explored the future of Las Vegas

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dk-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 8:05 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw \$

We're almost at where we were last year! Let's keep it going baby!!!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 7:05 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw \$

No problem - Next payment comes April 15 and is 1.4 bringing year up to 4 total.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 9:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Next Choctaw \$

See if you can get her to send my share to Capital Athletic Foundation. She liked using that entity anyway. This is for the next payment, not the past one. how much would that be, do you know?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

GTG-E0D0110037

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.dhs.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 8:45 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: call me at home

Yes, go for it big time.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:20 AM
 To: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov
 Subject: RE: call me at home

Agua Calliente

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:25 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: call me at home

The AC race?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:17 AM
 To: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov
 Subject: RE: call me at home

Hey - How much do you want me to spend on the AC race - I gotta get a team out there ASAP - Like 3 people - Then rotate a new team in after that - So travel is goanna run about 20k and materials like 5 - 10k. Should we go for it?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:09 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: call me at home

I am not going to tell them about the decision. I don't trust them

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:01 AM
 To: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov
 Subject: RE: call me at home

jack - Please fdo me a favor - Tell Rudy and the rest of the loud mouths over there - not to talk to the press about the decision tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.dhs.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 7:12 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: call me at home

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 06, 2002 6:30 PM
 To: 'Patencio, Candace (ACC)'
 Subject: RE: how are we doing?

Keep pushing her. We're near the finish line and can't slow down now. I know you know this more than anyone! Let me know if there is more we can do to help.

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

From: Patencio, Candace (ACC) [mailto:cpatencio@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 06, 2002 7:15 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: how are we doing?

I guess we are doing fine. The guys are wonderful. Virg had a controversial day so is feeling apprehensive. So, needless to say she is complaining. But I told her to get over it we have a busy weekend. She said "I'm not going", I said "To late we are already committed." She laughed. Anyway, thank you very much.

Candace

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 06, 2002 3:40 PM
 To: Patencio, Candace (ACC)
 Subject: how are we doing?

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GTG-E000057252

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
#375

Washington, DC 20003

W: 202-547-3600

F: 202-547-0084

INVOICE

DATE: March 6, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
The Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso
████████████████████
El Paso, TX ██████████

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
03/06	Professional Services	\$ 817,000.00
	TOTAL	\$817,000.00

Make all checks payable to: Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
 of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 10:37 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Sandia

Good point!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 10:33 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Sandia

Hey - its still a W-- and I will take the W any way we can - now a 4.5 W would be nicer - but wait till Thursday when COUSH comes to town!

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 7:40 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Sandia

No kidding. Ring brought us down! Next time one of these guys brings us something we are not going to listen to their fucking whining.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 6:59 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: Sandia

2.75 is chump change!!! What he hell were we thinking?

Michael Scanlon
 Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 mike@redacted

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@redacted

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, March 08, 2002 3:24 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: DC Plan

I'll look for the pinto and Rolls in my driveway tomorrow night. We're gonna be rich. What am I saying?! We ARE rich!!!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
 Sent: Friday, March 08, 2002 3:44 PM
 To: abramoffj@[redacted]
 Subject: RE: DC Plan

Can call cell right now- in all seriousness- I just didn't have time to write three options. So the one you have is rolls- if they want pinto we can do that plan in stages as a way to offer choice- we can hit anthony in the black and hispanic communities, but let the rest of the program drop- or we could simply do the legislative end etc Is that ok?

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

From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
 Sent: Fri Mar 08 15:41:45 2002
 Subject: RE: DC Plan

Call cell
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
 To: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]>
 Sent: Fri Mar 08 15:33:54 2002
 Subject: RE: DC Plan

I don't sell pintos!

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

From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]>
 To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
 Sent: Fri Mar 08 14:51:05 2002
 Subject: RE: DC Plan

Looks great, but weren't we going to do the three scenarios: Rolls, Caddy and Pinto?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
 Sent: Friday, March 08, 2002 1:47 PM
 To: abramoffj@[redacted]
 Subject: DC Plan

<< File: DC - Operation Anthony.doc >> Attached is the DC political Plan.

<<DC - Operation Anthony.doc>>

Michael Scanlon
 Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

GTG-E000011535

Candace Patencio
Candidate for Member of the Tribal Council

March 8, 2002

Dear Friend,

While every election is important, this year's tribal council election will directly impact the future of our tribe. The stakes have never been higher. Your vote can send a message that our tribe chooses to elect leaders who will work for ALL tribal members.

We need an honest, effective and experienced council to move our tribe toward a brighter future. That's why I am asking for your vote. As a tribal council member, I will use my education and gaming business experience to help further our successes while continuing to honor our rich legacy of strength and community. I will work hand-in-hand with you to make smart decisions that produce positive changes for the tribe.

Casting your vote for me means that you support an *honest, effective and experienced* tribal council. A vote for me is a vote for smart business decisions and a prosperous future.

Your vote is critical. All of us can choose to bring a positive change by working together. But to do it, I need your vote by **March 19th**.

Sincerely,

Candace Patencio

Virginia Siva

Sincere Leadership ★ Inspired Results

March 8, 2002

Dear Friend,

Your vote in this year's Tribal Council elections will play a major role in determining the direction of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. This is an important crossroad, let's choose a positive direction and make a difference together.

As a candidate for Tribal Chairman, I want to bring a new energy into the Council, lead with conviction and work for results that benefit you. My objective is to take the lessons and successes of the past and use them to guide us into an even greater future. I do this with you in mind.

Our tribe needs a leader that understands your concerns and is in tune with your needs. I am an experienced member of the tribal council and I know our community well. Already closely tied to the community, I will remain in touch and available to all members. It is time that our tribe has a leader who is dedicated to working for you.

A vote for me is a vote for new beginnings and a brighter future. New ideas and a fresh outlook are important to the continued prosperity of our tribe. I will use every resource at my disposal to ensure that the tribe's success is the people's success, **YOUR success.**

I ask for your vote and together we **WILL** make a difference and secure our children's future.

Sincerely,

Virginia Siva

VIRGINIA SIVA
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

I would like to thank everyone for coming out tonight for this community meeting.

I am Virginia Siva and I am running for Tribal Chairman.

I have visited many of you over the past few days. And, I believe that meeting face-to-face is very important between council leadership and tribal members.

To be effective, a good leader must have a strong and open relationship with all tribal members.

I want to bring a new energy into the council. My main goal is to take the lessons and successes of the past and use them to guide us into an even greater future.

Our tribe needs a leader that understands your concerns and is in tune with our needs. I am an experienced member of the tribal council and I know this community well.

As tribal chairman I will always have an open door policy. I want to represent you and your needs in a positive way.

A vote for me is a vote for a new beginning and a brighter future.

New ideas and a fresh outlook are important to the continued prosperity of our tribe.

I will use every resource to ensure that the tribe's success is the people's success, **OUR SUCCESS!**

Again, thank you for coming out this evening. I ask you for your support and your vote. Please make sure to send in your ballots!

Your vote will send a message: that our tribe chooses to elect leaders that are *in touch* and that will give back to our community.

THANK YOU.

CANDACE PATENCIO
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

Thank you all for attending our meeting tonight. It is wonderful to see so many tribal members gathered together.

For those of you who don't know me, I am Candace Patencio and I am running for the Tribal Council.

As a tribal council member, I will use my education and gaming business experience to help further our successes as a tribe while at the same time continuing to honor our rich legacy of strength and community.

BB/AC 005411

I will work hand-in-hand with you to make smart decisions that produce positive changes for the tribe.

Casting your vote for me means that you support an *honest, effective and experienced* tribal council.

A vote for me is a vote for smart business decisions and a prosperous future.

Your support is important. All of us can choose to bring a positive change by working together. But to do it, I need your vote.

BB/AC 005412


Educating Jewish Children with Learning Disabilities

4445 Old Court Road, Baltimore, MD 21208 • tel.: 410.486.5323 • fax: 410.653.9830
 email: ptach@jewishspecialcd.org • website: www.jewishspecialcd.org

March 12, 2002

Capital Athletic Foundation
 c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff

Washington, D.C.

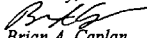
Dear Mr. & Mrs. Abramoff,

On behalf of P'TACH, I would like to express my appreciation to you for your generous support of our school. Your gift of \$14,500* from the Capital Athletic Foundation will help us to continue to provide the finest Judaic and secular education to our learning disabled children. As donor, you have not received anything in return for your contribution.

With P'TACH's help, these children have the opportunity to lead normal, productive lives. Most of our children can look forward to being mainstreamed and those who cannot are prepared for vocational schools. Of course, all of these children will have the strong foundation of a Jewish day school education to carry with them throughout their lives.

Once again, I thank you for including P'TACH in what I am sure is a long list of worthwhile causes that you support.

Sincerely,


 Brian A. Caplan
 Executive Director

* No goods or services were rendered in connection with this donation.

GTC001764-JA-P

Rabbi Yeshia A. Benstein
 Principal

Brian A. Caplan
 Executive Director

Jacob L. Szajowicz
 Director of Development

Paulette A. Pollack
 Administrator

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 1:55 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Cough

Great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 2:48 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: Cough

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: Cough

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: Cough

<< File: Cough - WM Post Jena Fight Memo.doc >> Here is what is going down to William

<<Cough - WM Post Jena Fight Memo.doc>>

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
mike@redacted

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

GTG-E000011588

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:03 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Let's chat about these guys. I agree about the sports suites, but we need to energize this. we spent the time and won the election, and now have a great contract with them. they are not happy with the service they are getting. We need to step up and save this (a lot less work to turn this into a winner than to find another rich tribe and bring them to this point). they are apparently unhappy that you are not there. I am seeing Chris Petras tomorrow and will get a temperature and we'll find a way to fix it. we need a beautiful girl to send up there to do our work. I am really not kidding. This deal is a big part of our financial life and we cannot let it slip away.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:29 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Jack - the fact that they are not doing sports suites has nothing to do with them not seeing results on my end - the are just friggin cheap - and losers - I very seriously doubt we will ever see another penny from them - and there was no chance that they were ever going to do the sports suites. We really have to watch these guys.

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 3:02 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: those f'ing SagChips

Dave Otto just told me that they are not going to do the sports suites. He said they are under fire and are worried that they are spending too much money. I really am worried that they are not seeing results from us up there, so they are starting to rethink doing stuff with us. can you PLEASE get someone up there asap?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 5:54 PM
 To: 'mike@██████████'
 Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

No, too much \$. \$500k is enough.
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon <mike.██████████@██████████>
 To: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 Sent: Wed Mar 13 18:29:14 2002
 Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Sure - I will do it - there is another payment coming due - I can get 1 mil in there in about two weeks - IS that ok?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:54 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw (or one of the others) made to "Capital Athletic Foundation" up to \$500K? I need to get more money in there. thanks.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

March 14, 2002

Governor Stewart Paisano
Pueblo of Sandia

[REDACTED]

Dear Governor Paisano:

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the Pueblo of Sandia (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services in connection with the Tribe's efforts to obtain passage of federal legislation resolving its claim to Sandia mountain on terms satisfactory to the Tribe. Scanlon Gould will be employed directly by the Pueblo of Sandia and will work through the office of the Governor.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following services:

Building of National Political Organization:

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Cost: \$1,857,000.00

Polling and qualitative research

Estimated 2 surveys n=300 1 survey n=500

Opposition reach Modules on key targets

Cost: \$100,00.00

Employee letter writing program

Estimated 1000 individual letters

Cost: \$300,000.00

In- State Vendor Letter Program

Estimated 1000 personalized letters form business owners

Cost \$400,000.00

Bank Shot vendor letter program

Estimated 100 personalized vendor letters to targeted Members or Congress outside of New Mexico.

Cost: \$50,000.00

Employee- Vendor and Supporter Phone program

Estimated 5,000 calls from individuals, employees and business owners to targeted Members (most cost associated with Identification calls, and pre-screen calls - estimated 15,000 completed calls will be made in process)

Cost \$25,000.00

BB-SP 004934

For the above stated services, Scanlon Gould will be paid a total of \$2,750,000.00 inclusive of expenses. It is agreed that payment for the stated services shall be due as follows:

Payment for the organization and research phases of the campaign \$1,857,000.00 is due immediately (see attached invoice).

Payment for the remaining components of the program (\$375,000.00), is due on or before March 29, 2002.

The tribe may cancel this agreement with 10 days notice, however, given the time sensitive and intensive nature of this campaign, payments for first two phases, (\$1,857,000.00) is due in advance and is non-refundable.

Materials purchased, developed or generated in the execution of this program, including but not limited to hardware, software and data shall be the permanent property of the tribe. All information provided to or generated by Scanlon Gould in connection with its work for the tribe shall remain confidential and shall not be released or provided to any third party without the tribes prior written consent.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Stewart Paisano

Date

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

SCANLON GOULD
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

March 14, 2002

Governor Stewart Paisano
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

*Tribe always
should always
be Capitalized*

Dear Governor Paisano:

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the Pueblo of Sandia (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services in connection with the Tribe's efforts to obtain passage of federal legislation resolving its claim to Sandia Mountain on terms satisfactory to the Tribe. Scanlon Gould will be engaged directly by the Pueblo of Sandia and will report to the office of the Governor.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following services:

Building of National Political Organization:

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Cost: \$1,857,000.00 *SIB. \$1,875,000*

Polling and qualitative research

Estimated 2 surveys n=300 1 survey n=500

Opposition reach Modules on key targets

Cost: \$100,000.00

Employee letter writing program

Estimated 1000 individual letters

Cost: \$300,000.00

875,000

In-State Vendor Letter Program *from*

Estimated 1000 personalized letters *from* business owners

Cost \$400,000.00

Bank Shot vendor letter program

Estimated 100 personalized vendor letters to targeted Members of Congress outside of New Mexico.

Cost: \$50,000.00

AF

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Employee-Vendor and Supporter Phone program

Estimated 5,000 calls from individuals, employees and business owners to targeted Members (most cost associated with Identification calls, and pre-screen calls - estimated

15,000 completed calls will be made in process)

Cost \$25,000.00



SP-S 000046

[REDACTED]

MAR-18-2002 MON 04:28 PM SCSE&M/UPPA

FAX NO. [REDACTED]

P. 03

For the above stated services, Scanlon Gould will be paid a total of \$2,750,000.00 inclusive of expenses. It is agreed that payment for the stated services shall be due as follows:

Payment for the organization and research phases of the campaign \$1,875,000.00 is due immediately (see attached invoice).

Payment for the remaining components of the program (\$875,000.00), is due on or before March 29, 2002.

The Tribe may cancel this agreement with 10 days notice, however, given the time sensitive and intensive nature of this campaign, the initial payment, (\$1,875,000.00) is due in advance and is non-refundable.

Scanlon Gould understands and acknowledges that the services contracted for by the Tribe under this agreement are urgent and represents that it has the experience and capability to timely deliver public affairs services in an expeditious, effective and professional manner. Scanlon Gould further agrees that, while the Tribes objective is to secure passage of legislation resolving the tribes claim to Sandia Mountain during the current congressional session on terms acceptable to the tribe, if that objective is not met, Scanlon Gould will continue to provide its public affairs services, without additional charge until that objective is obtained.

Scanlon Gould agrees that it will provide statements periodically and as requested by the tribe outlining the progress of the ^{campaign} and briefly describing its activities and the expenses incurred by it.

Scanlon Gould shall render services hereunder as an independent contractor and nothing herein shall create any association, partnership, joint venture employer or agency relationship between Scanlon Gould and the tribe.

Materials purchased, developed or generated in the execution of this program, including but not limited to hardware, software and data shall be the permanent property of the tribe. All information provided to or generated by Scanlon Gould in connection with its work for the tribe shall remain confidential and shall not be released or provided to any third party without the tribes prior written consent.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL - NOT
FOR CIRCULATION /
COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND
STAFF ONLY



SP-S 000047

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Stewart Paisano

3/19/02

Stewart Paisano

Date

Michael P. Scanlon

3/18/02

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL - NOT
FOR CIRCULATION /
COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND
STAFF ONLY



SP-S 000048

MAR 18 02 01:54p

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto: [REDACTED]]
Sent: Friday, March 15, 2002 7:35 AM
To: ringk [REDACTED]
Cc: abramoff [REDACTED]; Amy Biederman; Aaron Stetter; Chris Cathcart; Erin Yeatman
Subject: Sandia

Hey - hope you feel a little better after the call yesterday - I have a whole team on this. Our plan right now is to get in a and show some immediate muscle so they feel like they are spending there money wisely
- as well as showing Wilson that there is an organized effort out there.

We are working on messaging over the weekend, but the first letters we generate will be from tribal members saying something like "this issue is sacred to us and we vote - please help us in this very important issue.

Its just general - but we will generate some immediate noise - it will make the client happy and buy us some time to really gear up. We think our real muscle in this is going to come from the casino vendors. We think we can get 100 or so to write Wilson within ten days - I think she will really take notice of this. We are also going through her donor list and mailing them.

Our thinking here is that at least some of them will agree with us on the issue - and once they get our stuff they will contact Wilson. When she starts hearing from her donors, business owners and tribal members I think the environment for you will be ripe. The contacts on this will start hitting not his coming Monday but the Monday after.

We will send over a strategy memo that outlines this and the other tactics we are using. Give me a cal if you see any problems with this so far.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000002746

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 15, 2002 2:56 PM
To: 'Rodney Lane'
Subject: FW: Personal financial statement



Personal Financial
Statement -...

Here is the latest one I have. We should remove the Suncruz item from it, and add in the restaurant (value at \$2M I think). Also, put in \$5M revenue/yr from CCS, valued as \$30M (multiple of 6). Check with Gail before we send over to anyone, since I want to make sure it's consistent with the rest of the stuff I am sending them. We should not reveal this to anyone but Gail, though, since no one knows the CCS stuff. Thanks.

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

From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 6:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Personal financial statement

I made a couple of slight changes and made sure the numbers add up. I gave no additional information beyond listing First Gate so you may wish to elaborate.

If you can look this over, make revisions and get it back to me tonight, I'll fax it over to Bill in the morning.

GTG-E000011577

MAR-18-2002 MON 04:28 PM SCSEB/UPPA

FAX NO. [REDACTED]

P. 05

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[REDACTED]

INVOICE

DATE: March 18, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
Governor Stewart Pelsano
[REDACTED]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
03/18	Professional Services	\$1,875,000.00
	TOTAL	\$1,875,000.00

Wire all funds to:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies
[REDACTED]

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COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND
STAFF ONLY


SP-S 000049

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 5:30 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: We need to meet with ney

I agree, when can we see him? We need to show him the list of those to whom they gave. Was he on it? if not, find out the name of his PAC and his personal committee with addresses and we'll get checks right now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 5:52 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: We need to meet with ney

I think you should be in on it
Tony Rudy

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 7:04 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Think about this

I don't think we should send anything until we are paid though.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 6:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Think about this

Do you think it is worthwhile to send the Sandia governor a "lay of the land" memo/email that says they are f'd unless we get moving and here is what we are going to do. I know we already are hired, but I want to give us some cover in case we don't get the settlement passed. Also, we should let them know of the changed circumstances -- we thought Domenici was blah and in the middle when we now learn he clearly is working this from the other side. Kevin Ring

GTG-E000003062

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 5:21 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Caliente

Thanks. Yes, I got a call from Candace. Virginia did not listen to Mike Scanlon's campaign guidance and did not work hard enough. Very sad.

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 4:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Caliente

I had a message from Michael. Virginia did not win the tribal chairman's race. But, Candace did win the at large race. He will be back in Wisconsin beginning Thursday.
Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000059267

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 5:25 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

office

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:22 PM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

I've been trying - no one can seem to find you. on Cell? .

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:21 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

Just met with Ney!!! We're f'ing gold!!!! He's going to do Tigua. Call me.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:11 PM
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 4:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Florida baby!!

[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) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 7:09 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Ring

Finders fee I guess. I had a chat with Candace last night. Give me a buzz at home.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 8:05 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Ring

I forgot to tie that amount in to the sandia figures - so our numbers are going to come down a little bit.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 7:38 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Ring

Damn I guess so. Shit, that sucks.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 7:34 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Ring

So we owe him 135k??

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:56 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Ring

No, 5% of gross. I told him that he would split the profit (which I told him was 10%) with you 50-50.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:51 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: Ring

He asked if we got the wire yet in an email. I have no problem telling him yes - what do we owe him again? 10% of profit?

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 7:21 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: mike

Agree. he'll want a one pager. Can you get it to me in advance of the call?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 8:14 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: mike

We need to talk about what you can do to help on Sandia to freeze the linebackers -- like calling Griles or others and letting them know we are on the case. The position is easy: they should support the settlement, which is binding on them (at least until it expires). What say you? Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kring [REDACTED]>
Sent: Thu Mar 21 08:11:28 2002
Subject: RE: mike

I'll check.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 12:43 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: mike

I emailed Scanlon, but have not heard back yet on whether or not Sandia wired him the first installment. Do you know?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 22, 2002 4:13 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: returning to DC

I will set up the Grover meeting. What a loser

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 22, 2002 4:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: returning to DC

How am I going to schedule six days if meetings. This is fucking ridiculous. There is no way I can basically take 2 weeks to shuttle him around. This has to be dealt with.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Chris <cpetrasc@ [REDACTED]>
To: boulanger@ [REDACTED] <boulanger7@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Fri Mar 22 16:17:37 2002
Subject: returning to DC

Todd, I am scheduled to arrive in D.C. on April 9 and returning on the 12th. Arrival time is 1:30 NW Flight #1743 (Reagan National) and returning the 12th at 9:00 AM NW flight # 227 (Reagan National). I have asked Members of the Council to join me and will await their response. However, please schedule meetings, including lunch and dinner meetings at Signature's. Jack had mentioned a possible lunch or dinner with Mr. Norquist on one of the days if he is available. If Signature's is serving breakfast maybe you can schedule a meeting then. Also, I will probably be returning April 15-18th. I will let you know next week.

Mike Williams mentioned last time that [REDACTED] would like to meet for lunch or dinner sometime. Lets keep the same type of scheduling (morning through evening). On the day of arrival please schedule after 3:00 PM to allow for delays on the way to Washington.

Have a great weekend and thanks for everything.

GTG-E000078656

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
#375
Washington, DC 20003
W: 202-547-3600
F: 202-547-0084

INVOICE

DATE: March 22, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
Governor Albert Aividez
The Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso
████████████████████
El Paso, TX ██████████

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
03/22	Professional Services	\$1,283,000.00
	TOTAL	\$1,283,000.00

Make all checks payable to: Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2002 9:20 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Cong. Ney

He is the chairman of the committee doing election reform. Please get us the following checks for him asap:

Bob Ney for Congress - \$2,000
American Liberty PAC - Federal - \$5,000
American Liberty PAC - non-Federal - \$25,000

Things are moving even faster than we thought when we last chatted. I was told yesterday that the Senate will take up the bill right after the Easter recess, so we could have this done by May 1 potentially. Please get this to me via federal express at my office.

Thanks Marc. Happy Passover.

GTG-E000076495

Date: Tuesday, March 26, 2002 9:45:09 AM
From: bozniaka [REDACTED]
To: Mjschwartz [REDACTED]

Hi Marc - here are the PAC addresses, please let me know if you have any questions or need any additional information.

American Liberty PAC
[REDACTED]
Washington, DC 20013
\$25,000 (Soft money account)


Bob Ney for Congress
[REDACTED]
St. Clairville, OH 43950
\$2000

American Liberty PAC
[REDACTED]
Washington, DC 20013
\$5000 (Hard Money Account)

Allison Bozniak
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

24936
BOB_NEY_FOR_CONGRESS BOB NEY FOR CONGRESS

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00		\$2,000.00
TOTALS:			\$2,000.00		\$2,000.00



**TIGUA INDIAN RESERVATION
YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO**

024936

PAY Two thousand dollars and no cents

DATE 03/27/2002 AMOUNT \$2,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF BOB NEY FOR CONGRESS
ST. CLAIRSVILLE, OH 43950

VOID AFTER 60 DAYS
David Dula
AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

#0 24936#

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

024936


24936
BOB_NEY_FOR_CONGRESS BOB NEY FOR CONGRESS

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00		\$2,000.00
TOTALS:			\$2,000.00		\$2,000.00

24935
AMERICAN PAC

AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$25,000.00	\$25,000.00		\$25,000.00
TOTALS:			\$25,000.00		\$25,000.00



**TIGUA INDIAN RESERVATION
YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO**

024935

PAY Twenty-five thousand dollars and no cents

DATE 03/27/2002 AMOUNT \$25,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF **AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC
SOFT MONEY ACCOUNT
WASHINGTON, DC 20013**

VOID AFTER 90 DAYS

Daniel Suelo

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

⑈ 0 2 4 9 3 5 ⑈

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

024935

24935
AMERICAN PAC

AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$25,000.00	\$25,000.00		\$25,000.00
TOTALS:			\$25,000.00		\$25,000.00

4934
 AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00		\$5,000.00
TOTALS:			\$5,000.00		\$5,000.00



TIGUA INDIAN RESERVATION
 YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

024934

Five thousand dollars and no cents

DATE AMOUNT

03/27/2002 \$5,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF
 AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC
 HARD MONEY ACCOUNT
 WASHINGTON, DC 20013

VOID AFTER 90 DAYS

David J. ...
 AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

⑈024934⑈

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

024934

24934
 AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC AMERICAN LIBERTY PAC


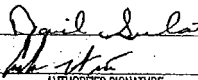
Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
DONATION	03/26/2002	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00		\$5,000.00
TOTALS:			\$5,000.00		\$5,000.00

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO [REDACTED]

024937

24937
SCANLON & GOULD Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
PHASE-IV	03/26/2002	\$1,283,000.00	\$1,283,000.00		\$1,283,000.00
TOTALS:			\$1,283,000.00		\$1,283,000.00

	TIGUA INDIAN RESERVATION		[REDACTED]	024937
	YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO			
PAY	One million two hundred eighty-three thousand dollars and no cents			
		DATE	AMOUNT	
		03/27/2002	\$1,283,000.00	
TO THE ORDER OF	Scanlon Gould Public Affairs			
		VOID AFTER 90 DAYS		
				
		AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE		

⑈024937⑈ [REDACTED]

YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO [REDACTED]

024937

24937
SCANLON & GOULD Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

Invoice	Inv Date	Original Invoice	Amount to Pay	DR/Disc	Net
PHASE-IV	03/26/2002	\$1,283,000.00	\$1,283,000.00		\$1,283,000.00

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 11:10 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Dodd and Tiguas

reply

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 11:36 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Dodd and Tiguas

Ickes has to move now. They might go to conference as soon as they get back. let me know when he is ready. Ney is ready to approach Dodd, but is waiting to hear back from us first.

GTG-E000089650

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 31, 2002 9:09 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Mike Stanton (E-mail)
Subject: Sandia one-pager for Griles - please review


Griles briefing
paper.doc (27 ...

Please take a look at the attached one-pager. I know my facts are good, but I am not sure if I convey strongly the reasons for Griles to be on our side on this one. I also don't know who he gives these things to, and some I am a little cautious in terms of talking politics. Jack, please review. I need you to get this to Griles ASAP since Domenici now has convinced Solicitor Myers to go to Sandia Mtg before the April 24 hearing.

Thanks.

GTG-E000002793

Support the Sandia Mountain Settlement Agreement

Objective: We respectfully urge you to continue the Department of Interior's support for the Sandia Pueblo settlement agreement reached in April 2000. We understand that [REDACTED] has invited Solicitor Myers to visit Sandia Mountain April 16-20, just days before the April 24 hearing in the [REDACTED]. We believe the Administration should put this matter to rest by supporting efforts to ratify the settlement by the November 15, 2002 deadline.

- As you know, the Pueblo of Sandia, the Sandia Peak Tram Company, and the United States on behalf of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior reached a settlement in April 2000 to settle all of the Pueblo's land and trespass claims. The Sandia's primary claim is to the western side Sandia Mountain on the eastern edge of the Reservation
- The Pueblo's claim to the land is based on a 1748 Spanish land grant that was confirmed by Congress in 1858. While a survey of the land following this confirmation inexplicably changed the border, no Act of Congress extinguished the 1858 grant.
- The Settlement Agreement is fair to both Pueblo and non-Pueblo public interests. The deal ensures the Pueblo have free and unrestricted access to the area for traditional and cultural uses in keeping with policies outlined by the Wilderness Act; the right to perpetual preservation of the natural character of the Area (ie, no further development); certain rights with respect to the management of the Area including the right to approve new uses of the Area; and exclusive authority to administer and regulate access by Pueblo members and other tribes for traditional and cultural uses.
- The agreement also improves private property protection in the affected area, as well as the public's ability to access the mountain. Specifically, the settlement extinguishes any claims of the Pueblo to private property interests within the area, thereby removing any clouds on titles. In addition, the Pueblo would grant rights-of-way over existing Pueblo lands for road and utility corridors to specified subdivisions, as well as for certain roads and trails utilized by the Forest Service and the public. (These rights-of-way can never be obtained through litigation).
- Public opinion polls confirm that area residents want this issue resolved once and for all. The settlement agreement reached in April 2000 is very specific as to the rights conferred and will eliminate the need for future litigation.
- Finally, it is worth noting that failure of Congress to pass the settlement agreement (a modified version of which was introduced by Senator Bingaman (S.2018) will expose the Administration and parties to further litigation that is likely to result in a winner-takes-all conclusion. The Pueblo's legal victories to date should give pause to those who think the settlement agreement is so favorable to the Pueblo. Moreover, failure to ratify the settlement agreement by November 15 will force the Bush Administration to wade into these contentious waters at a time when one House seat already is in jeopardy over the issue and the Pueblo is stepping up its public affairs effort.

Sandia Pueblo Boundary Dispute – Event Timeline

May 20, 1748	Bustamante's Act of Possession document describing the boundaries of the Pueblo of Sandia. Claim is that the document established the "main ridge" of the Sandia Mountains as the Eastern Boundary.
Feb 2, 1848	Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the war between the United States (US) and Mexico. Treaty stipulated protection of property and civil rights of Mexican nationals, including Indian Pueblos, within the new US borders.
July 22, 1854	President Franklin Pierce signs bill creating the office of Surveyor-General of New Mexico who was charged with investigating Spanish and Mexican land grants assumed by the US through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.
Nov 30, 1856	New Mexico Surveyor-General report with translation "on the east the main ridge called Sandia" submitted to Congress.
Dec 22, 1858	Act of Congress confirmed the Sandia Pueblo grant.
June 13, 1859	General Land Office Surveyor General, William Pelham awarded contract to John Garretson to survey Pueblo lands.
Sep, 1859	Garretson informed Pelham that four surveys, including Sandia Pueblo, could not be completed by winter.
Sep 21, 1859	Pelham contracted with Reuben Clements to complete the four surveys by Jan 1, 1860.
Nov 8-12, 1959	Clement's survey set eastern boundary in the foothills thereby excluding about 10,000 acres on the Eastern Boundary, which was to become the "contested area".
Jan 12, 1860	Clement's survey approved by the New Mexico Surveyor General.
Nov 1, 1864	President Lincoln issued patent to Sandia Pueblo based on the 1859 survey.
1875	Commissioner of General Land Office set aside one of the other three Clement surveys as defective. The other two Clement surveys were ruled to be in error and were the source of other litigation in later years.
1906	President Theodore Roosevelt established a National Forest in most of the contested area using the authority granted by Congress in the March 3, 1891 Act authorizing the President to reserve public lands.
1914	General Land Office attempted to retrace the Sandia survey using Clement's notes and was unable to duplicate the Clement survey.
1978	Endangered American Wilderness Act redesigned much of the contested area as the Sandia Mountain Wilderness.
1983	Sandia Pueblo made formal claim to the Secretary of the Interior for the contested area contending that the 1859 survey and 1864 patent are erroneous.
Dec 1988	DOI Solicitor's Opinion upheld the boundary established by the 1859 survey rejecting Sandia Pueblo claim that Eastern Boundary was on the main ridge.
Dec 7, 1994	Sandia Pueblo sued Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture to uphold eastern ridge as the eastern boundary. <i>Pueblo of Sandia v. Babbitt, No. 94-2624</i> on the docket of the Washington, DC US District Court.
July 18, 1998	Washington DC District Court ruled in favor of Sandia Pueblo. Held that upholding the 1859 survey breached the Government's trust responsibility by presuming that US Government surveys are always correct.
Aug 13, 1998	Sandia Mountain Coalition (SMC) filed an appeal to the July 18, 1998 ruling in Washington DC Federal District Court.

Sep 15, 1998	Federal government filed an appeal to the July 18, 1998 ruling. Court combined the two appeals.
Oct 29, 1998	Joint motion made by the appellants to hold appeals in abeyance pending settlement negotiations.
Aug 1999	SMC and City of Albuquerque withdrew from mediation. US Government, Sandia Peak Tram Company, and Sandia Pueblo continued mediation.
Apr 4, 2000	Sandia Pueblo, US Government, and Sandia Peak Tram Company signed a Settlement Agreement.
Sep 29, 2000	Appeal to the July 18, 1998 ruling argued.
Nov 17, 2000	Appeal to the July 18, 1998 ruling dismissed by the Court.
Nov 21, 2000	Bernalillo County and SMC letter to the Secretary of the Interior contended 1859 survey is erroneous and additional lands should be excluded from the Sandia Pueblo reservation.
Nov 30, 2000	Sandia Pueblo letter to the Secretary of the Interior renewed Pueblo's position to resurvey boundary along the crest of the mountain and repeated disclaimers of any right, title, or interest in any private inholdings.
Dec 5, 2000	DOI Solicitor overruled prior Solicitor's Dec 1988 opinion that Secretary of the Interior didn't have authority to resurvey Indian reservations. Solicitor sent letters to interested parties advising that DOI was again considering the question of the Sandia Pueblo's Eastern Boundary and additional information was to be submitted by Jan 5, 2001.
Dec 22, 2000	Bernalillo County and SMC filed petition for rehearing with the Court of Appeals.
Jan 11, 2001	Petition for rehearing denied by the Court of Appeals.
Jan 19, 2001	DOI Solicitor's Opinion on the Eastern Boundary of the Sandia Pueblo Grant concluded that the Clement's Survey of the Eastern Boundary was erroneous and should be set aside and if necessary, a resurvey should be conducted.
Nov 15, 2002	Settlement Agreement in effect until this date but must be ratified by Congress to become effective and permanent. If the agreement is not ratified, the issue is likely to return to the courts.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 8:26 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Dodd and Tiguas

Thanks.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 7:42 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Dodd and Tiguas

Will do onthis. Ill give udatelater.

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 11:36 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Dodd and Tiguas

Ickes has to move now. They might go to conference as soon as they get back. let me know when he is ready. Ney is ready to approach Dodd, but is waiting to hear back from us first.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster [redacted].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 8:25 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

No problem, no rush.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 7:43 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Sure - Ill approach her on this today - My bet is that we wont see any money until the end of the week though.

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 7:56 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Please don't forget this one. \$1M in there would be good if that's the amount you can get Nell to send.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:54 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon office
 Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw

(or one of the others) made to "Capital Athletic Foundation" up to \$500K? I need to get more money in there. thanks.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@redacted

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN
PUBLIC RELATIONS PLAN
April 5, 2002

The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council is charged with leading one of the most successful Indian tribes in the United States. This powerful position places the Tribal Council on the frontlines before Congress, the media and its members. The Tribal Council must passionately accept its role as leader, especially during times of controversy both internally and externally. In times of crisis everyone is a critic – locals gossip, the media spins and Congress watches. Looking at the larger picture and actively pursuing a positive image will help polish the Tribe's image, stave off potential crises and provide ammunition to quash future negative attacks.

#25

I. GOAL

Capitol Campaign Strategies' objective is to provide the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council with the tools and resources necessary to successfully and *proactively* promote their agenda and improve their image among tribal members, the media and legislators. The goal is to make this Tribal Council the most powerful and effective Administration in the history of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan and secure their reelection.

KEY MESSAGE POINTS

- The priority of this Tribal Council is to unite our Nation. We work for the interests of ALL tribal members.
- This Tribal Council has integrity. We act responsibly, thoughtfully and are true to our word. Tribal Members can trust us.
- We are going to take this tribe into the 21st Century with original ideas that will benefit future generations to come.
- Our success is your success; no one will be left behind.

II. STRATEGY

CCS' strategy is to arm the Tribal Council with an effective message and the resources needed to communicate that message in a clear, accurate and concise fashion. *Preparedness* and *forward thinking* are the keys to responding quickly, thoughtfully and effectively. Each action and activity is conceived to maximize the Tribal Council's visibility and bolster its political capital.

External Communications Strategy

CCS will identify opportunities to promote the Tribal Council's agenda through targeted media and Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and activities.

In addition, CCS will conduct a full-scale "public relations audit" of the tribe's communications capabilities. This audit will determine how well or poorly the tribe's external communications systems have worked in the past, and how they can be streamlined and updated if necessary.

Media Relations

CCS will focus media relations around the Tribal Council's agenda and actions. Using a combination of communications tools, techniques and relationships, we will work to generate ongoing print, broadcast and radio coverage of Tribal Council activities that have an impact on the local community. Initially, CCS plans to target local and regional media. Trade publications and national media will be a long-term goal.

- Identify opportunities for editorials and letters-to-the-editor. CCS will prepare responses to political news articles and editorials for the Chief and other specified individuals.
- Determine activities and announcements that warrant a press conference. *(For example, coordinate a press conference to announce Spring 2002 disbursements.)*
- Target key journalists who consistently cover the Tribal Council, inviting them to the reservation for a private tour and exclusive interviews. This can have a specific pitch in mind such as education or healthcare.

Community Relations

CCS will identify worthy charity and event sponsorships and ensure that the tribe participates. The objective is to earn a respected position in the community and earned media from the press.

- CCS will work with the Tribal Council to promote and raise the profile of Saginaw Chippewa participation in philanthropic activities and events.
- CCS will recommend new ideas for Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and/or charities to develop.

For Example:

- *Host a "casino night" inviting tribal and local community members to participate, designating proceeds to a charity, school, or hospital of the tribe's choice.*
- *Invite local school children to the Traditional Village for tours and to learn more about tribal culture. Organize press photo-op.*
- *Invite press to ribbon-cuttings and provide pre-opening private tours of new facilities and/or new programs.*
- CCS will develop a Public Service Announcement Strategy for the tribe. This will help the Tribal Council improve its public standing by utilizing a free form of communication.

Internal Communications Strategy

“Only through education can we hope to build strong individuals and nations which can meet the needs of our future generations,” -- from the official Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan website.

Taking a cue from the tribe’s own education mission statement, intra-tribe relations will focus on establishing dialogue between the Tribal Council and tribal members, ultimately building a trust that leads to voter capital. Tribal trust is an evolving process that requires careful cultivation and education. CCS recommends planning regularly scheduled tribal community meetings and annual events.

- CCS will propose, stage and help execute all intra-tribe communications as directed by the council. This will include communicating important tribal government issues to the tribal membership at large. *For example, CCS will continue sending letters of update from the Chief and Tribal Council to tribal members on a monthly basis.*
- CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all “community meetings.”
- CCS will handle all announcement communications for the Council, such as community meeting pre-publicity and invitations.
- Identify key group of influential tribal members from each district to form a “kitchen cabinet” that will informally meet with the Tribal Council for information/idea sharing breakfast or luncheons. This is a great way to form strong relationships with prominent figures of the tribe and may lead to positive “word of mouth” promotion.

III. CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS

CCS will collaborate with the Tribal Council to develop a response system for the notification of an incident/emergency, as it relates politically. This system will streamline reporting time and control information and messaging.

IV. RESOURCES

CCS will provide the following tools to help the Tribal Council effectively communicate their agenda.

Media Training

The CCS team will provide media training for identified spokespersons from the Tribal Council who will be speaking with the media or before the public.

Training topics include:

- Understanding the role of the media versus the role of the spokesperson
- Message development
- Communication techniques
- How to stay on message
- Facts and figures
- Anecdotes
- Transitional words
- Push-button responses
- Controlling the interview

Written Communication

CCS will draft written materials for the Tribal Council when needed to include:

- Media advisories
- Press releases
- Opinions/letters-to-the-editor
- Talking points and/or statements

Press Conferences, Community Meetings and other Events

CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all political press events.

- Prep spokespersons
- Coordinate media in attendance

V. CONCLUSION

The internal and external strategies outlined above will enable the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council to effectively communicate their agenda, resulting in a successful and highly regarded Administration.

Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan
Community Meeting
April 7, 2002

CHIEF MAYNARD KAHGEGAB, JR.
TALKING POINTS

2:00 PM – WELCOME

Boozhu! Welcome to our second
Community Meeting, I am thrilled to see so
many of you here today.

We have many topics to cover and a lot of
positive news to share with you as well.

Please note there will be a group photo op
for our Zibiwing Culture Society
immediately following the meeting today.

Before we begin, I would like to ask Beaver
to come forward and help set the tone for
our meeting with a traditional prayer.

(Beaver recites prayer)

2:05 PM – BLESSING

Connie Freiburger will now come forward to bless the wonderful food provided for us today, Connie?

(Connie gives blessing)

Thank you, Connie. The buffet is now open, please enjoy and we will begin our program shortly.

2:30 PM – CHIEF'S REPORT

Let me begin by saying how happy I am to be here and to be able to report the Tribal Council and our latest efforts. After only being in office for four short months, we are launching positive initiatives and we are also tackling tough issues and making real headway in finding solutions.

My primary focus as Chief is to bring strength, unity and prosperity to our tribe.

STRENGTH

- Our tribe will grow stronger when we care for our seniors, an example of that is the wonderful Elder's Complex.

- Secondly, our children are our future – and we must provide them with every resource and educational opportunity so that they may grow and excel in a way that secures our Tribe's position in this community.

Children

- On that note, I am excited to report we are in the development stages to build a new school. It will be a thrill to provide a state-of-the-art facility for our children.

UNITY

- My goal is to unify this tribe and in order to do that we need an open dialogue among all the tribe, which is why we are here today.

Community Meetings

- This is a terrific opportunity for the Tribal Council and myself to update you on what is happening and to hear from you, your thoughts, and your concerns. Your participation is critical to our success. We will continue having community meetings and are in the process of planning the next meeting in May. We will let you know the date as soon as possible.

PROSPERITY

- In order to continue the success of our tribe, we must protect our sovereignty. We need to look at the broader picture and proactively take measures to educate local, state and national politicians and leaders so that our needs are considered and our rights are secure.

Washington, DC

- I am excited to report that our Tribe has a new and stronger presence in Washington, DC. We have a top-notch firm safeguarding our interests. Our chief lobbyist was ranked #1 out of the 12,000 lobbyists in Washington, DC.
- We need experts monitoring the pulse of Washington politicians and seeking programs and benefits we deserve. These experts will work to not only prevent unfair taxation and but also block efforts to eliminate our per caps.

- It is also important to educate the outside community and spread the word that our tribe is an enterprise that benefits the local community and state by providing over 4,000 jobs. As a result, we deserve the respect of officials.

Enrollment

- But we are also, focused and diligently working on issues here at home. For example, solving the enrollment issue is a top priority of this Tribal Council.
- Action will be taken. You can count on that. However, I want to be confident that our solution is the right one. Currently we are in the fact-finding stages.

- We will continue to update you with any actions taken or decisions being considered. Rest assured we will not take any action without your input.
- However, as frustrating as this lengthy process can be, please understand that the enrollment issue has plagued this Tribe for decades and there is no quick and easy solution.
- We need time to sort through every facet of enrollment, which means we need your support and patience.

Strength, Unity and Prosperity... it is what we are all about. Thank you.

2:40 PM – INTRODUCE COUNCIL

I am pleased to introduce you to Tribal Council here today...

(Name each Tribal Council member)

2:43 PM – COUNCIL REMARKS

At this time I would like Sub-chief, Dave Otto, to come forward and speak.

(Sub-chief Dave Otto remarks for 5 minutes)

2:48 PM

Thank you Dave...

Continue to introduce and thank each Council member until all have spoken.

3:15 PM – DEPARTMENT REPORTS

I would now like to introduce Connie Sprague who will report on Tribal Benefits.

(Connie speaks)

3:18 PM

Thanks Connie, Mary Allison will now update us on Behavioral Health.

(Mary speaks)

3:21 PM

Thank you Mary. And now David Perez will report on the latest activities of the Veterans Society.

(David speaks)

3:24 PM

Thanks David. We will now hear from Joe Sowmick who will update us on the Tribal Election.

3:27 PM – QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Thank you all for your important remarks. Before we conclude our meeting for the day, I would like to open up the floor for a few questions. There are two microphones set up on the floor. If you have questions please step in front of the mic so everyone can hear. *(moderate Q&A for 20 minutes)*

3:47 PM – CONCLUSION

- Thank you all for coming to our Community Meeting this afternoon. A special thanks to Deb Showalter for her help in organizing this meeting.

- Again, thank you for coming. Your participation is so important in helping us with our efforts to continue strengthening and uniting our tribe for a prosperous future.
- Now if everyone will join me on the risers for a quick photo. Thank you.

*(you may want to end your conclusion with
by a comment in your Tribe's language)*

3:49 PM – BENEDICTION

(Robert Pego gives benediction)

3:51 PM – MEETING CONCLUDES

*(go to exit and thank tribal members for
coming as they leave)*

For Immediate Release

Contact: Joseph V. Sowmick

Phone: [REDACTED]

Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. and Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council Host Second Community Meeting

Mt. Pleasant, Mich. (APRIL 7, 2002) – The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council of Michigan hosted its second Community Meeting resonating the themes of strength, unity and prosperity to its members.

Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. spoke before a crowd of almost 400, touching on several important tribal issues including enrollment during a question-and-answer session.

“Action will be taken. You can count on that. However, I want to be confident that our solution is the right one,” Kahgegab said.

“As lengthy as this process can be, please understand that the enrollment issue has plagued this Tribe for decades and there is no quick and easy solution. We need time to sort through every facet of enrollment, which means we need your patience,” he added.

Tribal Council members Sub-chief Dave Otto, Ronald Jackson, Delmar Jackson, Sr., Linda Hunt, Connie Freiburger and Tim Davis were in attendance. Tribal members heard updates from the Tribal Benefits, Behavioral Health, Veterans Society and Tribal Election Departments. Plans for an Elder’s Complex and new school building that are in the development stages were also discussed.

During the meeting, Chief Kahgegab spoke of his vision for a larger, national profile for the tribe. He told tribal members that the Tribal Council would proactively take measures to educate local, state and national politicians and leaders about issues impacting the tribe.

- more -

Saginaw Chippewa Community Meeting Press Release (continued)

Page Two

“It is important to educate the outside community and spread the word that our tribe is an enterprise that benefits the local community and state by providing over 4,000 jobs. As a result, we deserve the respect of officials. This is a big step in having a larger role which will ultimately lead to protecting our sovereignty,” Kahgegab stated.

Sub-chief Dave Otto updated the membership on a recent Tribal Council meeting with the Constitution Reform Committee to work on the language of the proposed constitution. He also reiterated his focus on continued tribal growth.

“While building on the foundation of our traditional ways, I am working diligently to bring our tribe into the 21st Century,” Otto stated.

Chief Kahgegab closed the meeting on a note of tribal unity, stating that such community meetings would continue to be held to encourage open communication and tribal member participation.

“My goal is to unify this tribe and in order to do that we need an open dialogue among our members,” said Saginaw Chippewa Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

“Strength, Unity and Prosperity... it is what we are all about,” he added.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Sunday, April 07, 2002 5:20 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Candace call

Call to see re trip

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 5:14 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Candace call

Candace Patencio [REDACTED]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 2:15 PM
 To: 'Candace Patencio'
 Subject: RE: Hi there

Thanks. I just tried your call, but you must still be in the meeting. In a few hours, our religious holiday starts again, so I won't be able to call until Friday, but I will do so then. I think the way we should proceed is for you to tell the others that everyone has to work together to secure the tribe's political position and that the next few months are key, as there is an opportunity to work on the slots cap, which will almost certainly not be there after the new Governor is sworn in in January. Tell them that you have heard from the Choctaws and Coushattas that their political folks are the best and that you think it is a prudent thing for the tribe to invite us in to have a discussion as to what they can do for the tribe. Then, we'll come in and show them what we can do, and get a plan in place. Does this sound like a good approach? On the one hand, to just come in cold won't have much of an impact and probably will take too long. On the other hand, if the others on the tribal council perceive that we are your guys (which we are!) it might make it difficult. If you recommend that we are brought in for a chat, that is probably the most neutral way to do it, and then we can figure out timing and the rest of the details while there. sound possible?

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

From: Candace Patencio [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 11:51 AM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Hi there

Yes, that should work. I'm not sure if an introductory letter from you firm searching for work is the best way or if the Tribe seeks you out through Moraine and I. What are your thoughts??? If the opportunity occurs I will push to seek for a qualified firm (YOU). I will see if in today's meeting I can lay the foundation. To approve any contracts they must be in a meeting on Tuesday and placed on the agenda on Friday by 10am. What target date should we set to get you on board???? I know now, but I need a little time (HAAAAAAA). Call me and let me know your thoughts. Hopefully, today's meeting is not too long.

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

From: <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
 To: <cpate [REDACTED]>
 Cc: <mike [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 3:29 PM
 Subject: RE: Hi there

GTG-E000057263

> Hi there. I'll give you a call on your cell, but we should be able to
 > get out there on the 15th to spend some time with you and then with
 > whomever
 > you
 > think we should meet. We could then be there if needed on the 16th
 > and leave that night. I think what we have in mind is helping the
 > tribe set
 > up
 > the kind of political strength we have done for others, but doing it
 > very carefully so that you are the ultimate controller of the
 > political power. To do this, unfortunately, we'll have to get the
 > approval of the current regime, I guess. I leave it to you to guide
 > us on how to get in there. Again, Mike and I see the mission here as
 > getting in, getting you guys organized so we can get the slot cap off
 > and other things the tribe needs, and getting you into a position
 > where the next time an election comes, we will win all the offices
 > (and install you as Chairperson!!!). Let me know if meeting on the
 > 15th works for you guys. Regards.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Patencio, Candace [REDACTED]
 > Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 12:34 PM
 > To: abramoff [REDACTED]
 > Subject: RE: Hi there

> Today is my last day. You can e-mail me at home at [REDACTED] I
 > am seated tomorrow. How do you want to do this???? Call me and let
 > me know. Virginia and I are leaving for a 15 day cruise to Hawaii on
 > 4/17. I have a Tribal Council meeting on Tuesday 4/16 that goes until
 > about 5pm. Yes, I would like to talk to you and Mike to see how we
 > could do the introduction and what level of help you could provide us.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 > Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 6:45 AM
 > To: Patencio, Candace [REDACTED]
 > Subject: Hi there

> Hope you are doing well. Wanted to see if you think it a good idea
 > for Mike and me to come out there the week of the 15th, possibly on
 > the 16th or 17th
 > to see if we can do something for the tribe?

> -----
 > 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
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 > 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]

> -----
 > 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
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 > 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) [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2002 10:21 AM
To: 'Gail Halpern'
Subject: FW: GM Five Breakdowns

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2002 9:29 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: GM Five Breakdowns

Hey - here is the breakdowns from 01- we attributed 307 to you for SS and CAF

4/30/01 75k SS Check #1041
5-20-01 182k CAF Check # 1083
6-10-01 50k SS Check # 1094
Total 307k.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
mike [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2002 10:27 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Sandia one-pager for Griles - please review



Griles briefing
paper.doc (27 ... Call Griles

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 31, 2002 11:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Sandia one-pager for Griles - please review

Deal with this

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shid-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 31, 2002 10:09 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Mike Scanlon (E-mail)
Subject: Sandia one-pager for Griles - please review

Please take a look at the attached one-pager. I know my facts are good, but I am not sure if I convey strongly the reasons for Griles to be on our side on this one. I also don't know who he gives these things to, and some I am a little cautious in terms of talking politics. Jack, please review. I need you to get this to Griles ASAP since [REDACTED] now has convinced Solicitor Myers to go to Sandia Mtn before the April 24 hearing.

Thanks.

Support the Sandia Mountain Settlement Agreement

Objective: We respectfully urge you to continue the Department of Interior's support for the Sandia Pueblo settlement agreement reached in April 2000. We understand that [REDACTED] has invited Solicitor Myers to visit Sandia Mountain April 16-20, just days before the April 24 hearing in the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. We believe the Administration should put this matter to rest by supporting efforts to ratify the settlement by the November 15, 2002 deadline.

- As you know, the Pueblo of Sandia, the Sandia Peak Tram Company, and the United States on behalf of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior reached a settlement in April 2000 to settle all of the Pueblo's land and trespass claims. The Sandia's primary claim is to the western side Sandia Mountain on the eastern edge of the Reservation
- The Pueblo's claim to the land is based on a 1748 Spanish land grant that was confirmed by Congress in 1858. While a survey of the land following this confirmation inexplicably changed the border, no Act of Congress extinguished the 1858 grant.
- The Settlement Agreement is fair to both Pueblo and non-Pueblo public interests. The deal ensures the Pueblo have free and unrestricted access to the area for traditional and cultural uses in keeping with policies outlined by the Wilderness Act; the right to perpetual preservation of the natural character of the Area (ie, no further development); certain rights with respect to the management of the Area including the right to approve new uses of the Area; and exclusive authority to administer and regulate access by Pueblo members and other tribes for traditional and cultural uses.
- The agreement also improves private property protection in the affected area, as well as the public's ability to access the mountain. Specifically, the settlement extinguishes any claims of the Pueblo to private property interests within the area, thereby removing any clouds on titles. In addition, the Pueblo would grant rights-of-way over existing Pueblo lands for road and utility corridors to specified subdivisions, as well as for certain roads and trails utilized by the Forest Service and the public. (These rights-of-way can never be obtained through litigation).
- Public opinion polls confirm that area residents want this issue resolved once and for all. The settlement agreement reached in April 2000 is very specific as to the rights conferred and will eliminate the need for future litigation.
- Finally, it is worth noting that failure of Congress to pass the settlement agreement (a modified version of which was introduced by Senator Bingaman (S.2018) will expose the Administration and parties to further litigation that is likely to result in a winner-takes-all conclusion. The Pueblo's legal victories to date should give pause to those who think the settlement agreement is so favorable to the Pueblo. Moreover, failure to ratify the settlement agreement by November 15 will force the Bush Administration to wade into these contentious waters at a time when one House seat already is in jeopardy over the issue and the Pueblo is stepping up its public affairs effort.

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK SCHWARTZ - COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON - JA
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 4/8/2002

Mark:

This memo is intended to bring you up to speed on all of our activity to date, where we currently stand in our campaign, and the steps we are taking in the immediate future.

Infrastructure:

As you recall, we have developed a two-tiered organizational system for your grassroots efforts. The first step is to identify, classify and organize members of what will become your political army. All of this information is then stored in a tremendously powerful database. Our team has received a number of data lists including your customers, and tribal members. Coupled with the vendor list you sent earlier, and our newly identified supporters your database is now an impressive unit.

We have completed the infrastructure of the database and have applied the national computer program that will enable us to sort each individual by location and elected official (from U.S. Senator to county commissioner). We are still cleaning up some of the data, phone-matching, cross referencing, and editing and this should be finished within two days.

In short the database – your national organization -is built and operational. We need to make a few final modifications and it will be totally completed. However, as I said it is operational now, and in some areas we are already activating it.

Action items:

As we have reported we are attempting to tack on our language to the election reform bill.

We now have:

- A Commitment to place it into the bill.

- The language in the hands of the sponsor.
- We have Senate support – but they are looking for political cover.

What we are doing now is creating political cover for the sponsor and the Senate supporter. Here is a breakdown of activity:

- We are conducting polling in their districts/ states that show support for this move – or at the very least shows that they will not pay a considerable political price for it.
- We have our phone banks in place and are beginning “thank you” phone calls to targeted Senate and House offices to show that we have the network to provide support.
- We are reaching out to the third-party vendor districts and targeting additional congressional supporters. For example we are going to your vendors in New Mexico and having them contact [REDACTED] on your behalf.
- We are going to conducting “thank you mailings” to our targets solidifying our supporters.

With this political cover generated we feel pretty good about our prospects of tacking the legislation on and getting it through. But please be advised – we are taking the most high-risk approach to this by using the election reform bill as the vehicle.

Members are extremely sensitive to the fact that we are using a “reform bill” to achieve our objective. Both the House and the Senate sponsors are going to need considerable cover in the time period from when it is included in the bill and before it is signed into law.

We have organized over 208 districts at this point and have mail and phone scripts prepared to fly in a moments notice – I will send these down by COB Tuesday. We are also planning a major national telephone patch through campaign into the White House once the bill gets off the hill. This is intended to avoid a veto if the addition of the language comes to light.

As a fall back position the lobbyists have identified another legislative vehicle and sponsors to carry our language. It is the supplemental appropriations bill scheduled for early May. We have designed a campaign for this bill in case we need to shift our focus.

The bottom line is that we are in place legislatively and politically. We will be launching our political program on a massive scale starting late this week if the election reform bill is used or in a few weeks if we use the supplemental. Either way, we have the national

program built, all districts identified and in position, we are just waiting to pull the trigger.

It is all about timing right now, we need to be very careful not to launch too early or too late, while "showing enough leg" to the legislators to prove that we can protect them when it hits the fan.

From this point forward we will be talking nearly everyday, as things are moving very fast - we will be checking in with Mark every morning and before close of business from this point forward.

Mike

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 5:48 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Tigs

Good. Let me know asap, since we have to let Ney know we have the all clear asap. thanks.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 2:16 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: Tigs

Ok - Im back in the driver seat - We got Dodds Finacne comitte chairman on board and we have the vice Char of the DNC - the one who actually sponsored the resolution now on the team.

We are rolling. Illl keep you updated.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (fax)
[redacted] (cell)
mike [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 6:40 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Pueblo of Sandia Settlement

I have a call into him and am awaiting an appointment.

—Original Message—
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 7:35 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Pueblo of Sandia Settlement
Importance: High

Not sure if you ever touched base with Griles, but if you haven't, below is the message we would like to send. The note below is to a friend in White House Intergovernmental Affairs. Interior Solicitor Myers is heading to NM at the end of this week to visit the Mountain and the parties.

Thanks very much. Client specifically asked today if you had talked to Griles.

—Original Message—
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 7:32 PM
To: 'Jennifer Farley (E-mail)'
Subject: Pueblo of Sandia Settlement
Importance: High

You will remember that I sent you the attached briefing paper and you called Interior on the issue, which was greatly appreciated. I just wanted to let you know that, as next week's Senate hearing approaches, the agencies are acted strange.

I learned today that Interior is planning to testify that they are neutral on the Pueblo-Government settlement. Tomorrow, Dept of Ag (Forest Service) is going to be briefing Republicans on Senate Energy and Natural Resources on the problems with the settlement (and [REDACTED] legislation to implement it). All of this would be fine and dandy EXCEPT THAT THE INTERIOR AND AGRICULTURE ARE PARTIES TO THE SETTLEMENT AND ARE LEGALLY BOUND TO IT (at least until November 15 when it expires).

I know [REDACTED] is leaning on the agencies to oppose it, but they cannot unilaterally back out of the settlement. OMB is going to have to clear the testimony, and I am going to call over there, but I wanted to make you aware of this as soon as possible.

Please let me know if you have any recommendations. Thanks. << File: White House briefing paper.doc >>

GTG-E000003137

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 9:11 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Dodd is ready

Great. thanks Neil.

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 9:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Dodd is ready

Ney is in Florida this weekend, I talked with him yesterday and will talk with Paul on Sunday to get teed up to get ready to implement.

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

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[REDACTED]>
Sent: Thu Apr 18 21:47:11 2002
Subject: Dodd is ready

We need to get to Ney to give him the green light to raise it with Dodd whenever he wants. I have VanHorne getting the language altered per our discussion today, but we are not moving on that until I secure an agreement that we'll have that tribe as a client as well. I'll let you know.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 11:14 PM
 To: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Dodd is ready

That's so funny! Was it on? Incredible.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Friday, April 19, 2002 12:04 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC Gov)
 Subject: Re: Dodd is ready

FYI - Paul left a message on my home machine tonight to tell me he was just sitting at home enjoying Red Scorpion on the USA Network - and he hopes your getting royalties from the show!

Neil

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Apr 18 22:28:21 2002
 Subject: RE: Dodd is ready

Great. thanks Neil.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 9:50 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Dodd is ready

Ney is in Florida this weekend, I talked with him yesterday and will talk with Paul on Sunday to get teed up to get ready to implement.

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Apr 18 21:47:11 2002
 Subject: Dodd is ready

We need to get to Ney to give him the green light to raise it with Dodd whenever he wants. I have VanHorne getting the language altered per our discussion today, but we are not moving on that until I secure an agreement that we'll have that tribe as a client as well. I'll let you know.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 19, 2002 6:11 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Is vinovich on board the tiqas?

Thanks.

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (AsstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, April 19, 2002 7:07 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Is Vinovich on board the tiqas?

NeY told Vinovich last night and I will talk through with Paul on the golf course Sunday.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 19, 2002 5:50 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsstDir-DC-Gov/Adm); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: is vinovich on board the tiqas?

I think so. Ney told Neil he was going to tell him, right Neil?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 19, 2002 6:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Is vinovich on board the tiqas?

Tony Rudy

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHIEF MAYNARD KAHGEGAB, JR.
FROM: CHRIS CATHCART
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: APRIL 19, 2002
CC: SUB CHIEF DAVE OTTO, CHIRS PETRAS

Chief Kahgegab:

A quick update to keep you up to speed on the latest developments.

Community Relations

Our public relations team parachuted in to manage your community meeting April 1. As you know, we produced and delivered a "save the date" mailer that was mailed the week prior to the meeting. Additionally, we were able to produce a press release for your internal press person to distribute. While in Mt. Pleasant, the CCS team prepared Sub-Chief Otto's and your remarks to the membership and also developed a comprehensive timeline for the entire meeting. The timeline and accompanying remarks allowed you to run the meeting smoothly, efficiently and with the maximum effect possible. All in all, the meeting was a smashing success, and we believe that the future meetings will be similarly successful.

Marketing for the next community meeting on June 12th has already begun. We will continue to mention the meeting in all subsequent political communiqués with the membership, as well as sending out another save the date mailer two weeks prior to the meeting. In addition, CCS recommends that information about the meeting be placed on the tribal Web site as possible.

As you know, CCS developed, produced and mailed a third letter to the membership from the Chief and Tribal council. We believe that these letters are an excellent way to maintain positive contact with your constituency.

We are currently developing another letter to be delivered in Mid-May. Prompt approval of the letters is appreciated, and encouraged, as many of the topics and points of interest are time sensitive. Remember, this is your opportunity to shine in front of your constituents.

Grassroots Database

The database was "delivered" during our visit this month. As you saw, this tool is a very powerful device that will effectively organize your political army. Never before has anyone in Michigan seen this kind of organization. We will continue to update the database, as well as grow it into an even more powerful tool. We have already begun the process of uploading thousands of new, previously unidentified, supporters of the tribe. Using a telephone survey, we are able to identify strong supporters of the Tribe and of gaming (or anti-gamers as the case may be in the future). Once we have identified them, we are able to match them with an address and phone number, place them in your grassroots database, and then mobilize them at the drop of a hat. Quite literally, you now have thousands of supporters where you had none before.

Polling

As you know, we conducted a poll in Isabella County this month. The poll is the key component to our messaging phase. The results of the poll are used to determine the true feelings of the people who ultimately matter to your operations, your neighbors. The results of the poll were quite interesting.

Public Relations

As mentioned in a recent memo to you, we at CCS felt that your public relations needs were not being aptly met. As a result, we delivered to you our strategic public relations plan. This plan is meant to serve as a blue print from which to work. It still requires an internal press person to maintain regular contact with media outlets in the region. Furthermore, it is a plan that will assist the Tribe in moving from a local media presence to a state and national presence. Of course, the public relations effort ultimately serve to support your overall political goals in Michigan and beyond.

Additionally, the CCS team was able to meet with your internal PR person and provide some detailed expertise on the development of a press kit that is absolutely essential to maintaining a professional image with local (or state and national) media outlets. It is very difficult to launch and maintain a concerted public relations campaign without the essential, and very basic, components of a public relations department. We have, in the interest of moving this campaign forward, identified a number of positive, albeit softer, newsworthy items the tribe should promote. They are attached with an accompanying calendar.

Media Relations

CCS was able to provide you, the Sub-Chief and Joe Sowmick with our media relations seminar. The seminar is instrumental in preparing the spokespeople of for the Tribe for more frequent interactions with the local and regional media. The media relations seminar is an integral part of the overall PR strategy, as well as a valuable tool in preparing for your interactions with the membership.

On-Going Efforts

As you know, we have begun to move into the education and messaging phases of the program. Starting this week we are fielding a local poll to gauge the feelings of local residents of Isabella County. To our knowledge, there has never been a poll done in the local area, and we believe it will be critical in determining the values, awareness and opinions of your neighbors.

We are also beginning our education phase this week by using a survey technique that we have developed.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 9:47 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

You OK, physically?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 10:26 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

No Im in DE - got check ups later today and all day tomorrow. Probably stay till Thursday.
Ill stay on top of Sandia.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 10:21 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

Super. You around today?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 10:11 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

I totally agree - we hva ecompiled and continue to compile this record. In fact we will
send them another complete report today detailing exactly how much we have done, and how
far above the contract we have gone. We need to pre-empt them a bunch of times so they
realize they cant even push it to a conflict level.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 10:09 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

Good thinking. Keep good records. If we could show that we did all we said we would do,
in writing, this should be fine. I think you are right that we need to prepare for a
battle, but if we have our ducks in a row, we can present them with some mega memo which
shows they don't have a case.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 9:53 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

We have don everything in our proposal and more - but the bottom lin eis that they will
never be happy - and will always complain - we are going gto wind up in this dispute no
matter what. So I am just giving them extras all the time so it doesn't get ugly.

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

From: sbramoff; [REDACTED]
 Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 9:48 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

Do they at least perceive that we are doing the stuff we put in the proposal? That's where they could get us if this goes sour.

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 8:56 AM
 To: BCSandia
 Subject: From Saturday's Albq. Journal

Saturday, April 20, 2002
 Congress Must Make Sandia Pact Permanent
 By Michael Robinson Sandia Preservation Alliance
 Sandia Mountain is sacred to the people of Sandia

Pueblo, but it is also important to all New Mexicans. It is the majestic wilderness backdrop to Albuquerque - a landmark that inspires all of us with its beauty and serenity. It is also a place many of us enjoy for recreation and reflection - an escape from our urban environment.

Preserving and protecting Sandia Mountain is a responsibility of our community. The people of New Mexico now have an opportunity to ensure future generations will be able to enjoy the mountain's beauty and tranquility as much as we do today. Specifically, a settlement agreement resolving the pueblo's claim to the mountain has been painstakingly worked out, but requires congressional approval to become effective.

The pueblo's claim has been the topic of various legal proceedings since 1983, when Sandia requested that the U.S. Department of Interior investigate the proper location of its eastern boundary. The pueblo contended their boundary should extend to the crest of Sandia Mountain, citing their original 1748 Spanish land grant and an 1858 Act of Congress that recognized the boundary as the Mountain's "main ridge." The pueblo argued that an incompetent surveyor, in disregard of these documents, had incorrectly placed the pueblo's eastern boundary much lower, in the foothills, thereby excluding 10,000 acres of land.

In 2001, after careful consideration of the facts and law, Interior issued a lengthy opinion ruling in the Pueblo's favor. However, implementation of that opinion was delayed to allow Congress an opportunity to ratify a comprehensive settlement agreement that had been worked out among the federal government, the pueblo and the Sandia Peak Tram Company. This agreement will end the long, contentious litigation and result in a fair and just outcome for all interested parties. However, the settlement agreement only remains effective until November 15, 2002; to become permanent, it must be ratified by Congress.

Some members of the New Mexico Congressional delegation have yet to signal their support for the agreement, but anyone who takes the time to read and understand the compromise cannot help but recognize its inherent fairness and benefit to all parties. Under the agreement, the people of Sandia Pueblo will be able to practice their religious and cultural traditions without having to get permits from the federal government. In addition, the mountain will be protected from further commercial development and its wilderness status ensured. This guarantees that future generations will be able to enjoy the mountain's wilderness and natural beauty.

Other provisions in the settlement agreement ensure that the Tram will continue to operate, that homeowners living on the mountain will maintain their private property and land ownership rights, and that the public will retain full access to the mountain to hike, climb, picnic and hang-glide. Permanent rights-of-way will be granted by the pueblo for roads and trails across pueblo lands that are currently in trespass, as well as for utilities to certain subdivisions. In short, the settlement agreement is fair to all concerned parties.

Furthermore, the settlement agreement can pass this Congress if New Mexico's Congressional delegation works for it. The settlement agreement has already

*garnered significant support. State Sen. Steve Komadina, R-Corralles, who represents the affected jurisdiction, also supports it. The New Mexico Conference of Churches believes it is fair and urges its passage. The New Mexico Wilderness Alliance and other environmental groups believe it protects the mountain and is far preferable to continued litigation and uncertainty. Under the newly formed Sandia Preservation Alliance, many community, conservation and cultural groups recognize the settlement agreement's fairness and urge its passage by Congress. Momentum is clearly building as more people learn about the settlement.

Unfortunately, if Congress fails to pass a law enacting the settlement agreement by November 15, 2002, the courts will likely end up deciding the mountain's fate. Past decisions have been squarely in favor of the pueblo, and it seems likely it would continue to prevail. But prolonged and contentious legal wrangling is unnecessary. The settlement agreement is a fair and reasonable compromise that Congress should enact into law. It also resolves issues that litigation cannot resolve, promotes religious and cultural tolerance, and fosters good relationships among diverse communities and interest groups.

Michael Robinson is co-chair of the Sandia

Preservation Alliance, a group of environmental, cultural, religious and business organizations that is working to promote the Sandia settlement agreement, and staff attorney/wilderness protection coordinator for the New Mexico Wilderness Alliance. He will be one of the panel members in a forum on the Sandia Pueblo land claim at 2:30 today at the UNM School of Law.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

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and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

rc

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 08, 2002 9:44 PM
To: 'cpate@[REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: Lunch

We r landing now. Call u in a few minutes
Jack Abramoff

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

From: Candace Patencio <cpate@[REDACTED]>
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED] <abramoffj@[REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed May 08 22:50:31 2002
Subject: Lunch

How long are you in PS? We have a meeting with one of our attorneys tomorrow to discuss compact negotiations at 11am and at 1pm we have another meeting with our State lobbyist Sacramento Advocates and our attorney to see how to handle compact negotiations. We will have lunch after the first meeting with the attorney. Moraine asked one council member today if she would like to meet another lobbyist she said yes. He indicated to her that you would be here tomorrow and you wanted to go to lunch. She didn't say anything. Call me anytime tonight. Tried to call you but couldn't get through.

GTG-E000057279

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:25 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: scotland

I told him a few weeks ago that we'd try, but we can't. he keeps saying to me that he's sure we'll be coming, and I tell him no. he'll find out on Sunday I guess.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:44 PM
To: 'abramoffj[REDACTED]'
Subject: RE: scotland

He thinks you are. Or claimed to me you were.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:32 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Re: scotland

I'm not going either. He won't be offended.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph[REDACTED]>
To: 'abramoffj[REDACTED]' <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed May 15 20:47:34 2002
Subject: RE: scotland

Cannot but do not want to offend Jeff

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

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
To: Ralph Reed <ralph[REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed May 15 23:53:42 2002
Subject: RE: scotland

Can you call my cell to discuss? re the bar mitzvah, what's the question? Are you planning on going?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 6:51 PM
To: 'abramoffj[REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: scotland

Ok but we need to discuss. It is an election year.

What do I do about the ballabon bar mitzvah?

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

Market Share Infringement and Political Analysis

May 18, 2002

The following text is a scan of a document page, likely a report or article, discussing market share infringement and political analysis. The text is significantly faded and contains several lines of illegible characters and symbols, possibly due to low contrast or scanning artifacts. Some faint words like "market", "share", and "infringement" are visible but cannot be transcribed accurately. The text appears to be a continuation of the article's content, possibly detailing findings or conclusions related to the market share analysis.

Overview

Pursuant to our original professional services contract we are required to report to you periodically on the existence of and circumstances surrounding any gaming activity that would adversely impact the people of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan.

We regret to inform you that several gaming entities are in the planning and development process and these entities will have a grave financial impact on the Soaring Eagle and therefore on the people of the tribe.

In the following pages we summarize these potential facilities and identify their geographical location. Ordinarily we alert our clients when there is the chance of one "competing facility" in the process of establishing itself as one alone can cause an adverse financial impact. In your case – you we are dealing with 4 potential facilities, each in various stages of development.

Our base line analysis is that the tribe could lose over \$100 million annually if two of the four facilities become operational. If all 4 entities become operational the financial impact will be devastating, so much so that we can not even measure its impact.

Issue Summary

There are several serious threats to the market share of the Soaring Eagle Casino and Resort throughout the state of Michigan. These threats, at varying stages of preparedness and development, will undoubtedly lead to significant reductions in the revenue the Soaring Eagle generates from gamblers traveling from Detroit, Chicago and other markets in Southern and Central Michigan. To help illustrate the geographic significance of these threats, we have attached a map pinpointing some of the major competitors and potential competitors in the state.

Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians

The Pokagon's represent the most immediate threat to your market share. They have a compact with the state and have all but satisfied each of the Federal requirements to place land in trust for the casino. Strategically located in New Buffalo, Michigan, they are approximately 70 miles from Chicago (300 miles closer than Mt. Pleasant) and are currently fighting a lawsuit that is the only remaining obstacle preventing them from breaking ground on their new site. Once that roadblock is cleared, the tribe expects to complete construction and open its doors for business in less than a year.

The proposed Pokagon resort and casino will occupy 675 acres of land and cost approximately \$160 million to build. The tribe has partnered with Minnesota-based Lakes Gaming to build the 6,000-slot facility. The casino, as it is now planned, will become the fourth largest Indian casino in the nation and will likely draw over 4 million gamblers a year. It is clear that the facility will effectively place a clamp on the upstate flow of gamblers from Southwest Michigan and Chicago.

Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians

Like the Pokagon's, the Hurons have a compact with the state of Michigan, but they do not have land in trust. They hope to have the Federal regulatory labyrinth successfully navigated this year and will begin construction immediately following approval. Their plan is to build their 250-acre resort in Battle Creek, Michigan. The location in South Central Michigan is situated on prime real estate 100 miles from Detroit and 167 miles from

Chicago. It is considerably closer to each major metropolitan area than the Soaring Eagle in Mt. Pleasant.

The Tribe's partner in this endeavor is Michigan-based Gaming Entertainment, Inc. who will help manage the \$60 million/200,000 square foot facility. They anticipate the resort will employ 600 people and provide \$10 million to local and state governments annually.

Gun Lake Band of Potawatomi Indians

The Gun Lake Band, while ambitious, is the farthest from completion. They are not as fortunate to have a state compact, and the Governor has indicated that he will not negotiate another one unless directed by the legislature. Regardless of the political obstacles still facing the Gun Lake Band of Indians, their plans include an 180,000 square foot gaming facility, a 300-room hotel and a 300-seat restaurant. In addition, they plan to develop a number of non-gaming ventures including a 125 seat coffee shop/sports bar, a steak house and a golf course. Like the Pokagons, they are strategically located between the Soaring Eagle and Chicago, effectively providing another reason to stop in Southwest Michigan rather than traveling an additional 250-300 miles to Mt. Pleasant.

Non-Indian Gaming Expansion

As you know, a well-publicized effort to expand gaming to non-Indian resorts is underway in Michigan. The effort, led by resort executive Stephen Kircher of Boyne USA, is a well-funded political endeavor aimed at asking voters to approve licensing similar to that of the casinos in Detroit. The referendum would effectively dilute the market Indian casinos currently enjoy by allowing slots at a number of resorts throughout the state.

Boyne USA is the largest private resort and leisure corporation in North America and be counted on for a massive political battle. They are already heavily invested in Michigan, operating Boyne Mountain, Boyne Highlands and Crooked Tree Golf Club. They will not go quietly and will most certainly have a number of allies in their efforts to approve the licensing via referendum.

Conclusion

As you can see from what we outlined the facilities that are currently in various stages of development could have a tremendously negative financial impact on the tribe.

As we mentioned in our overview, placing a figure on such a scenario is extremely difficult to do, but we can say without a shadow of a doubt, that if all four of the facilities we presented to you become operational, at the very least the tribe will lose \$200 million dollars annually.

Again, this is not an exact figure, we are merely estimating based on our experience in this field, but we can say confidently that the \$200 million dollar figure is very conservative.

The overall objective is to identify any legitimate reasons why three gaming entities that would directly compete with the Soaring Eagle Casino should not be allowed to begin construction of or operation of a casino, and execute public affairs and lobbying campaigns to educate lawmakers and the on these topics. To that end, our scope of work entails three separate campaigns that will be running simultaneously. We will start all three campaigns immediately

The three entities we will research and analyze are:

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Gun Lake Band of Potawatomi Indians

The Gun Lake Band, while ambitious, is the farthest from completion. They are not as fortunate to have a state compact, and the Governor has indicated that he will not negotiate another one unless directed by the legislature. Regardless of the political

obstacles still facing the Gun Lake Band of Indians, their plans include an 180,000 square foot gaming facility, a 300-room hotel and a 300-seat restaurant. In addition, they plan to develop a number of non-gaming ventures including a 125 seat coffee shop/sports bar, a steak house and a golf course. Like the Pokagons, they are strategically located between the Soaring Eagle and Chicago, effectively providing another reason to stop in Southwest Michigan rather than traveling an additional 250-300 miles to Mt. Pleasant.

We will execute the following tactics in each campaign (CCS will keep the council informed on the exact nature of each of the tactics, and when they are going to be executed):

- Grassroots mobilization of environmental activists
- Mobilization of anti-gaming activists:
- Patch through phone calls to State EPA
- Patch through phone calls to Federal EPA
- Local advertising highlighting any project deficiencies
- Direct mail
- Opposition research on each facility
- Mobilization of environmental and "citizen groups"
- Federal Lobbying effort on competitions Land in Trust application deficiencies
- Advertising expenses for "citizen groups"
- Direct mail
- Michigan State House Lobbying effort
- Polling on each potential facility (at least 5 polls total)

We expect each campaign to be completed within 6 weeks of initiation.

Market Share Infringement Threats in Michigan

There are several serious threats to the market share of the Soaring Eagle Casino and Resort throughout the state of Michigan. These threats, at varying stages of preparedness and development, will undoubtedly lead to significant reductions in the revenue the Soaring Eagle generates from gamblers traveling from Detroit, Chicago and other markets in Southern and Central Michigan. To help illustrate the geographic significance of these threats, we have attached a map pinpointing some of the major competitors and potential competitors in the state.

Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians

The Pokagons represent the most immediate threat to your market share. They have a compact with the state and have all but satisfied each of the Federal requirements to place land in trust for the casino. Strategically located in New Buffalo, Michigan, they are approximately 70 miles from Chicago (300 miles closer than Mt. Pleasant) and are currently fighting a lawsuit that is the only remaining obstacle preventing them from breaking ground on their new site. Once that roadblock is cleared, the tribe expects to complete construction and open its doors for business in less than a year.

The proposed Pokagon resort and casino will occupy 675 acres of land and cost approximately \$160 million to build. The tribe has partnered with Minnesota-based Lakes Gaming to build the 6,000-slot facility. The casino, as it is now planned, will become the fourth largest Indian casino in the nation and will likely draw over 4 million gamblers a year. It is clear that the facility will effectively place a clamp on the upstate flow of gamblers from Southwest Michigan and Chicago.

Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians

Like the Pokagons, the Hurons have a compact with the state of Michigan but they do not have land in trust. They hope to have the Federal regulatory labyrinth successfully navigated this year and will begin construction immediately following approval. Their plan is to build their 250-acre resort in Battle Creek, Michigan. The location in South Central Michigan is situated on prime real estate 100 miles from Detroit and 167 miles from Chicago. It is considerably closer to each major metropolitan area than the Soaring Eagle in Mt. Pleasant.

The Tribe's partner in this endeavor is Michigan-based Gaming Entertainment, Inc. who will help manage the \$60 million/200,000 square foot facility. They anticipate the resort will employ 600 people and provide \$10 million to local and state governments annually.

Gun Lake Band of Potawatomi Indians

The Gun Lake Band, while ambitious, is the farthest from completion. They are not as fortunate to have a state compact, and the Governor has indicated that he will not negotiate another one unless directed by the legislature. Regardless of the political obstacles still facing the Gun Lake Band of Indians, their plans include an 180,000 square foot gaming facility, a 300-room hotel and a 300-seat restaurant. In addition, they plan to develop a number of non-gaming ventures including a 125 seat coffee shop/sports bar, a steak house and a golf course. Like the Pokagons, they are strategically located between the Soaring Eagle and Chicago, effectively providing another reason to stop in Southwest Michigan rather than traveling an additional 250-300 miles to Mt. Pleasant.

Non-Indian Gaming Expansion

As you know, a well-publicized effort to expand gaming to non-Indian resorts is underway in Michigan. The effort, led by resort executive Stephen Kircher of Boyne USA, is a well-funded political endeavor aimed at asking voters to approve licensing similar to that of the casinos in Detroit. The referendum would effectively dilute the market Indian casinos currently enjoy by allowing slots at a number of resorts throughout the state.

Boyne USA is the largest private resort and leisure corporation in North America and be counted on for a massive political battle. They are already heavily invested in Michigan, operating Boyne Mountain, Boyne Highlands and Crooked Tree Golf Club. They will not go quietly and will most certainly have a number of allies in their efforts to approve the licensing via referendum.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, May 24, 2002 5:50 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: choctaw check

done

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
 Sent: Friday, May 24, 2002 12:46 PM
 To: abramoffj@REDACTED
 Subject: RE: choctaw check

I'll run down the cash issues.

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

From: abramoffj@REDACTED [mailto:abramoffj@REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 3:39 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: choctaw check

We did not get the Choctaw money. Can you find out what's up? Also, can you send over the extra money from the \$1M (\$250K?) to Kaygold? Thanks.

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

From: [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 11:51 AM
 To: abramoffj@REDACTED
 Subject: RE: choctaw check

No

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

From: abramoffj@REDACTED [mailto:abramoffj@REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 11:24 AM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Subject: choctaw check

Did we get a Choctaw check for CAF in the last week or so?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 8:31 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Choctaw \$

Anything happen with this yet?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2002 9:27 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: Choctaw \$

I'll call Nell tonight and find out. Sorry for the delay. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2002 8:27 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: choctaw \$

Where are we on this? I did not get the CAF check.

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STG-E000110212

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 8:43 AM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Important: HUD visit tomorrow

I don't know enough of the details to know whether this has worked out or not. As long as you are in constant touch with Chris and he is pleased (ask him) then I am fine. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 9:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Important: HUD visit tomorrow
 Importance: High

I don't have tin ear at all. The issue Chris was ranting over (the conference call) was the result of David Otto telling us to call him...you can hardly fault us for that.

As for today, the DC HUD guys are doing the meeting at Saginaw as a favor to us, and it's a result of the Chief and Chris's meeting with the Secretary of HUD. I'm assuming DC called their Chicago field office and said something along the lines of "take care of these guys"...which is great because the Saginaw have been trying to buy back the old HUD housing for years. The unfortunate part of the scenario is that the field office called the Housing Coordinator at the tribe to set up the meeting, but I'm assuming this is standard procedure for them. As soon as we found out about the reservation visit (yesterday at around noon), I forward Chris the email we received from the tribe's housing specialist, Janet Hester.

Bottom line: Things worked out, so we don't have to cancel the meeting (which I doubt we could do anyway since the guy is already enroute) and lose the momentum of the visit. I've been working with Chris all morning and everything should be all set. Chris is going to take part in all the meetings. The HUD worker (Fitzgibbons) plans on lauding the chief the entire way through his series of meetings, and has been instructed by his boss (our guy in DC) to meet with the chief/sub chief to keep him informed of everything that's going on.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 9:04 AM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: HUD visit tomorrow

Todd, I do not understand why you have such a tin ear on the tribal politics stuff. Get Keller to get this meeting cancelled. We don't have the luxury of telling our client that it's just tough and they have to figure out how to handle this crap. Understanding tribal politics, and keeping our people in power, is the priority of client management. Get this meeting cancelled. We'll figure out how to deal with the consequences later.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 7:26 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: HUD visit tomorrow

We're trying. This meeting was setup because of of the chief's meeting with the secretary. HUD is only doing what we asked them to do in that meeting. Now while I understand what is going on with the tribal leadership, HUD does not and does not care.

GTG-E000026398

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] 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@scanlon.com] [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 <abramoffj@gtlaw.com> [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlon.com> [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: Crisier, Linsey C. (AsstDir-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

GTG-E000252622

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, June 04, 2002 4:56 PM
 To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: hold for a day or two

Please stay on this feverishly.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, June 04, 2002 3:09 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: hold for a day or two

Trying

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, June 04, 2002 12:19 PM
 To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: hold for a day or two

We need to lock. Try to nail 2 stars to go with us: hey for sure!
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jason Murdock <jase_murdock [REDACTED]>
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED] <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Tue Jun 04 12:10:32 2002
 Subject: RE: hold for a day or two

We need to pay the deposit before the End of the Week to hold all our [REDACTED] bookings, so give me the go-ahead A.S.A.P.

>From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 >To: jase_murdock [REDACTED]
 >Subject: RE: hold for a day or two
 >Date: Tue, 4 Jun 2002 07:20:42 -0400

>
 >Great. we DEFINITELY want to play the Old Course again if we make the
 >ballot.

>
 >-----Original Message-----
 >From: Jason Murdock [mailto:jase_murdock [REDACTED]]
 >Sent: Tuesday, June 04, 2002 3:04 AM
 >To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 >Subject: RE: hold for a day or two

>
 >Yes you are playing the Old Course Tuesday morning (Guaranteed), I
 >thought you might want to play the Old Course again on your trip if we
 >made the Ballot. If not we play the other Open Qualifying Courses in
 >each Afternoon.

>
 >
 >>>From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 >>>To: jase_murdock [REDACTED]
 >>>Subject: RE: hold for a day or two >>>

GTG-E000089736

> >Date: Tue, 4 Jun 2002 00:11:40 -0400
> >
> >Arc we not set to play the old course on Tuesday? I thought the
> >price we were paying guaranteed it. is that not the case? Muirfield
> >would be awesome.
> >
> >-----Original Message-----
> >From: Jason Murdock [mailto:jase.murdock@██████████]
> >Sent: Monday, June 03, 2002 12:52 PM
> >To: abramoff, ██████████
> >Subject: RE: hold for a day or two
> >
> >You bot you can, I will arrange to play a different British Open
> >Qualifying
> >Course Monday Tuesday & Wednesday. If you like we can Ballot for the
> >Old Course Mon, Tues and Wed.pm If we don't make the Ballot we will
> >play the other courses. I am pretty sure we should make the ballot
> >once out of the
> >3
> >times. I will arrange to play Ellie G.C.; Monefieth and Lundin Links.
> >I am not going to promise anything but I am trying to organise you a
> >Round
> >at MURFIELD. I know a member there and he is going to see what he can
> >do. Hold Thumbs. Jason
> >
> >
> >>From: abramoff, ██████████
> >>To: jase.murdock, ██████████
> >>Subject: RE: hold for a day or two
> >>Date: Sun, 2 Jun 2002 19:10:18 -0400
> >>
> >>Can we play other courses also on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday?
> >>
> >>-----Original Message-----
> >>From: Jason Murdock [mailto:jase.murdock@██████████]
> >>Sent: Sunday, June 02, 2002 5:02 PM
> >>To: abramoff, ██████████
> >>Subject: Re: hold for a day or two
> >>
> >>Hope you can still make it, here is the itinary.
> >>Sunday, I will pick you up at the Airport and book into the Old
> >>Course Hotel,
> >>
> >>and play Kingsbarns in the Afternoon; Monday play Carnoustie;
> >>Tuesday
> >>play
> >>Old Course; Wednesday Ballot in members times to play Old Course
> >>again
> >>and
> >>Dukes or the New Course. Depending on fligt time back to U.S.A. try
> >>Open
> >>Qualifying Course in morning.
> >>Hear from you soon. Jack you have to come!!!
> >>
> >>
> >>>From: abramoff, ██████████
> >>>To: jase.murdock, ██████████
> >>>Subject: hold for a day or two
> >>>Date: Sun, 2 Jun 2002 06:43:51 -0400
> >>>
> >>>I might have a scheduling problem for August, so don't lock us in
> >>>just
> >>>yet.
> >>>I'll know more in a few days.
> >>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 5:37 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

I think the iron is hot in Michigan, and the legislature going out of session (3 weeks) is impelling them to action. Waiting another week will cool their jets, and we won't be able to play this pressure point, which is what has made Otto and Maynard focus. I really think we need to go. You can't travel 2 weeks in a row?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

730 is good. See you then. Also, we need to figure something out on the trip to sag- I can travel two weekd in row and you know that petras is always dramatic. It would really be better for me - and us I believe to just do the whole swing. I really think a trip out to those fools solo is not worth it regardless, because we will not come back with cash or a firm commitment, but when you throw in the pain in the ass factor and the petras bullshit factor, its a really bad idea. O

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 5, 2002 5:32p
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

Would 7:30 work? I have a reception at Sigs for Duane Gibson at 6 PM.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 4:35 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

630 tomorrow night? Dinner?

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PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS

June 5, 2002

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: WASHINGTON UPDATE

Last week, as we suspected, the D.C. crowd took advantage of the Memorial Day break to travel to their districts so there were no meetings of the conference committee. Jack has reported (attached) that the conference committee staffs are meeting everyday to negotiate the issues in the bill that must be agreed to before the respective committees can approve it and send their report for consideration by both House and Senate.

Obviously no one other than the Congressman and Senators are in control of the timing on this so we will just have to ride it out. Our portion is still agreed to and as you can see from the e-mail, there is no problem with our part being kept on the bill. But remember this bill has nothing whatsoever to do with our issue. The issue is one of national importance and so the earlier schedule might have been optimistic but as they start moving toward the summer recess and election period, things should start to fall in place. As it stands today, we expect final passage to be sometime before the August recess. The committees are attempting to finish their negotiations before the July 4th break.

With respect to the Senate hearing later this month, Jack is extremely concerned that it not take place. Toward that goal he has suggested, and I passed this along to the Governor and Lt. Governor last week, that we use our representative in Washington to stop the hearing. Suggestions include making the committee understand that our case is pending before the Supreme Court and the Alabama-Coushatta case is pending at the trial court level. We could ask your representative to seek postponement until possibly August. The reason for Jack's concern is that once the subject is brought up, many members friends and enemies alike will be aware of your presence and it might kick up interest in the legislative process. To date, you are well below anyone's (Gramm) radar and the goal is to keep it that way.

MARKETING • MEDIA • PUBLIC RELATIONS • GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS • CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Insofar as to the upcoming State Democratic Convention, Jack cautions the Tribe to remain as far away from any of the potential fighting that generally occurs. Our public comments should continue to center on our expectation of a bi-partisan solution to the terrible tragedy that occurred when the casino was forced to close. We should use the terms, "Our issue is one of fundamental fairness and we believe the members of the Legislature will take the necessary corrective action that will allow our Tribe to resume our efforts toward economic self-sufficiency."

We need to avoid any attempt by members of the media to "trap" us into a story that will be critical of any elected official. Generally, members of the media make the trip to the convention solely for the purpose of being able to write exciting stories about conflict and argument. Our issue has been well reported and the facts of our case are well known in the public domain. We can be pleased that our community was chosen for this convention and we are delighted to have El Paso in the spotlight of the media, but if a fight breaks out (either figuratively or literally) my advice is for us to remain as far away as possible.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond
Jack
Karl Maahs

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] 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.

GTG-E000026455

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:12 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

cpetras [REDACTED]

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

From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 9:02 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

What is petras' email address



Educating Jewish Children with Learning Disabilities
4445 Old Court Road, Baltimore, MD 21208 • tel.: 410.486.5323 • fax: 410.653.9830
email: ptach@jewishspecialied.org • website: www.jewishspecialied.org

July 11, 2002

Capital Athletic Foundation
c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff

██████████
Washington, D.C. ██████████

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff:

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation and gratitude for your gift of \$47,500 from the Capital Athletic Foundation to be utilized as a deposit on the proposed campus on Marriottsville Road in Marriottsville, Md.*

Your participation in this exciting endeavor is greatly appreciated, and we look forward to being able to avail our services to an even greater number of children in need.

May you be blessed in the merit of your efforts and involvement on the behalf of so many Jewish children.

Sincerely,


Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

* No goods or services were rendered in connection with this donation.

GTG001762-JA-P

Rabbi Yeshia A. Benstein
Principal

Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

Jacob L. Szajowitz
Director of Development

Paulette A. Pollack
Administrator

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 5:26 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: great call with Candace.

We might have to go out there next week too!! If so, we'll do a Louisiana/CA trip.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 5:14 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: Re: great call with Candace.

Yeah baby!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 12, 2002 4:20p
Subject: great call with Candace.

Told her that Barona was courting us and she is now moving as fast as possible. moolah!!!

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 7:53 AM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: don't forget to get me regular updates about Election Reform

Give me something every three days no matter what. thanks

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 8:50 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: don't forget to get me regular updates about Election Reform

sorry Jack, I talked to Paul yesterday and keep hearing the same thing. This isn't moving for a bit and that there are serious differences that have to be worked out, but that the Speaker wants this done before the August recess. I can write something up like that everyday or every other day if you want for (potential) client management purposes so you can forward, or if you just want me to. Or I can write up something as news changes whichever you prefer - but I am keeping in daily contact with Paul and Chet in Ney's office on this.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 8:43 AM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: don't forget to get me regular updates about Election Reform

GTG-E000089758

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I'm here.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj@REDACTED
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I will call this evening!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@REDACTED [mailto:abramoffj@REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, June 14, 2002 8:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: can you smell money?

I just spoke with Candace. The tribe is calling us Monday to schedule our coming out for a pitch on the whole shooting match. They want Choctaw/Coushatta power. They think that if they don't hire us Barona is going to do so. They are scared about that one! call me Saturday night or Sunday so we can plan out our pitch. We need to go out there with a full blown plan.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 7:13 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Stoli and Sag Chip

Capital Athletic Foundation
[redacted]
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 8:11 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Stoli and Sag Chip

Please give me address
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]>
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudy@[redacted]>
Sent: Mon Jun 17 08:10:21 2002
Subject: Stoli and Sag Chip

Please hit them both to get checks for the Capital Athletic Foundation asap. we need to get this cash in hand. I am pushing Tigua and Choctaw. We are still short of full cost coverage (which is around \$115K.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@dir.dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 11:29 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

Try Sag, but don't push it. Better that we get the money smoothly.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 10:09 AM
 To: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

I'll take care of [redacted] - I don't think we can swing that from Sag - but I will at least try - their lawyer is kind of a pin headed type.

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

From: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, June 18, 2002 7:51 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Saginaw

Great. can you get to [redacted] and get that \$ for CAF? I really need it. also, might need you to direct one of the \$500K's coming to CAF. can you do that?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, June 18, 2002 4:06 PM
 To: abramoffj@dir.dc.gov
 Subject: Saginaw

Hey - I am working out the paperwork with Saginaw's lawyers right now. I'm going to give him a break and let them pay 1.9 up front then 500k and 500k. He is really feeling the heat and they have been pretty good about payment in the past. Just an FYI.

We should have the cash by the end of the week.

Michael Scanlon
 Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]

mike@dir.dc.gov

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REDACTED

GTG-E000011737

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 6:39 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: return from PS

That is hard for me to do and Candace said she thought we should wait into the next day in case they want to have an immediate follow up discussion. The whole thing here is being pitched as a rush since we are "about to take on the Barona tribe". What's up with the rush home? do you have plans?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 5:33 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: return from PS

Can we leave first light on Thursday? That would really help me.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 3:39 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: return from PS

9:30?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 3:24 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: return from PS

What time do you think?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 3:27 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: return from PS

Not sure we can get back before nightfall. Is that OK?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

The information contained in this message is confidential and intended only for the individual named. If you have received this message by mistake, please notify the sender immediately by e-mail. If you are not the named addressee you should not disseminate, distribute or copy this e-mail. Please notify the sender immediately by e-mail if you have received this e-mail by mistake and delete this e-mail from your system. If you are not the named addressee you should not disseminate, distribute or copy this e-mail.

1

GTG-E000059357

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 [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 Cough - 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 [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

GTG-E000057329

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 because 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

GTG-E000254778

it doesn't dilute 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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 5:00 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Agua Caliente

Report to Michael how AC went

—Original Message—

From: MCNATIVE@aol.com [mailto:MCNATIVE@redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 2:53 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: Agua Caliente

Jack:

Glad to learn you're going out to Agua Caliente - I hope it proves to be fruitful! I am sure Candace will coach you, but remember their Post Office land exchange ordeal and also they had an issue that Hilda worked on briefly while at Steptoe, you should touch base with her. In addition, they have a great land management agreement with BLM over joint management of their canyons - so some mention of DOI contacts, beyond BIA, may be useful!

Good luck,

Michael

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 5:00 PM
To: MCNATIVE [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Agua Caliente

Thanks Michael. Candace is being the usual wonderful help, and you are great to add this. I'll let you know how it goes when we get back. Regards.

—Original Message—

From: MCNATIVE [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 2:53 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Agua Caliente

Jack:

Glad to learn you're going out to Agua Caliente - I hope it proves to be fruitful! I am sure Candace will coach you, but remember their Post Office land exchange ordeal and also they had an issue that Hilda worked on briefly while at Steptoe, you should touch base with her. In addition, they have a great land management agreement with BLM over joint management of their canyons - so some mention of DOI contacts, beyond BIA, may be useful!

Good luck,

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000059351

[Redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 3:19 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sandia update

I love it!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [Redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 4:00 PM
To: abramoffj [Redacted]
Subject: RE: Sandia update

I'm gonna go for it - Im gonna schedule a conference cal and ask for 2 more mil!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [Redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 4:01 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Sandia update

Ha ha ha

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 1:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sandia update

I know. All kidding aside, if he even thinks of asking for more money, they are going to hunt him down and kill him. And then come after us.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 1:20 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sandia update

Tell him to recommend some for us to take!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 12:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Sandia update

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [Redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 10:43 AM
To: ring [Redacted]
Subject: RE: Sandia update

<mailto:ringk [Redacted]>

Really good ones!

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

From: ringk [redacted] [mailto:ringk [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 10:44 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sandia update

Are you on drugs?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 10:41 AM
To: ringk [redacted]; Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Sandia update

Hey - I have a few thoughts - 1) The land exchange concept was a huge tactical blunder that is going to haunt the tribe for years to come. 2) We need another 3 mil to win this thing now. 3) They should Take [redacted] and be happy.

Wow we are in a pickle now.

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

From: ringk [redacted] [mailto:ringk [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, June 25, 2002 10:37 AM
To: Mike Scanlon; Chris Cathcart
Subject: Sandia update

Looks like the land exchange idea is dead. Both [redacted] and [redacted] - in separate meetings yesterday - seemed to squash the idea right to the Governor's face. We are back, I think, to going for the settlement and nothing less. Chances are we won't get exactly that, but Sandia will have to decide if it is willing to accept the deal.

Seems to me that if this is position of tribal counsel - and I am flying out to meet with them tomorrow - we might be able to put you guys back in position of drumming up local support for settlement and, in particular, pushing hard to protect Sandia's position. The counties already are getting some of the things they wanted (that don't affect us). SO we need to make sure our needs are addressed to. I don't know if a campaign of "a deal is a deal" or "no deal without ALL the parties" makes sense, but we probably need to consider how to get that message out.

I would appreciate your thoughts.

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AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 7:17 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua Caliente

Not directly, but indirectly.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 6:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Agua Caliente

Is this the group mike smith introduced u to
 Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudytc@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 01:56:01 2002
Subject: RE: Agua Caliente

Nope. They do their own contributions. This is not clear cut. They have others lurking around. I stuck to my guns on the \$150K/month, but it is clear that some of them, including the chairman, think they are already studs politically.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:56 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua Caliente

Political squid?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:09 PM
To: DCCon
Subject: Agua Caliente

I pitched them this morning on a \$150K/month representation and they basically agreed (subject to formal approval of the same council - 5 members - who just approved - next week). This is going to be a biggie!

GTG-E000059329

Ac

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:10 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: retainer draft for the Agua Caliente

Allison, please do this up on our letterhead, add my electronic signature and then fax [REDACTED] to [this is a cover letter also on our letterhead]

Hon. Maraino Patencio
 Secretary/Treasurer
 Tribal Council
 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
 600 E. Tahquitz Canyon Way
 Palm Springs, CA 92262

Dear Maraino,

In accordance with our discussion, attached please find our standard retainer agreement. Please note that our firm never requests tribal governments to waive sovereign immunity, as such a request would fly in the face of everything we believe and fight for on behalf of our clients.

If this draft retainer agreement is acceptable, please feel free to present to the Chairman and Council for us. We await your comments and instructions.

Warmest regards,

Jack Abramoff
 Senior Director of Government Affairs
 Greenberg Traurig

-

ALLISON, THIS SHOULD GO ON OUR LETTERHEAD TOO WITH MY SIG:

June 27, 2002

Honorable Richard Milanovich
 Chairman
 Tribal Council
 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
 600 E. Tahquitz Canyon Way
 Palm Springs, CA 92262

Dear Mr. Chairman,

It was an honor to meet you and I greatly appreciate your decision to retain Greenberg Traurig, LLP and look forward to working with you and the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. This letter will confirm the terms of our representation.

Greenberg Traurig ("the Firm") will assist the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians ("the Tribe") with obtaining its public policy goals in Washington, D.C., including but not limited to matters concerning federal appropriations, specific needs of the tribe related to the US Postal Service and tax matters, general Washington, DC and selected national public relations activities, federal-Tribal relations and promotion of sovereignty. We shall also assist the Tribe with local and state matters as related to public relations and public affairs and policy, as directed and needed. We will look to you for our direction on all issues.

As part of our routine in opening new matters, we provide an engagement letter to our clients setting forth our understanding of the services we will be expected to perform, and the basis for our compensation. The firm will perform

the work described above at \$150,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.

An advance fee deposit of \$150,000.00 is requested. We will deposit the advance in a trust account, and bill the first portion of our work against it. In accordance with our understanding, please forward to us a payment of \$150,000.00 representing the first month's payment of our fees.

In the event that your account should become more than sixty (60) days past due, we reserve the right, in our sole discretion consistent with the rules of professional conduct, to cease doing any work on any matter we are working on for the Tribe until past due amounts have been paid.

I will personally be in charge of the firm's role, and will assure that all necessary tasks are undertaken and complete. We anticipate that several of our attorneys and government affairs professionals will be involved in this representation to ensure that the representation is carried out in the most effective but efficient manner.

The representation may entail some work that is considered lobbying under the federal lobbying disclosure law. Consequently, where appropriate we will register the tribe as our client and report our activities on your behalf under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

The firm has conducted a review in order to assure that no conflict of interest exists between our representation of you and any representations of any of our clients. Our firm in its entirety represents a number of clients, both private and governmental entities, with multifaceted interests in many issues. These clients include, as you know, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. We do not currently, and would not in the future, represent another client in connection with any of the specific matters in which we were representing you, if that other client's interest in those matters was adverse to yours. Furthermore, the firm undertakes to not represent any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California during the duration of our representation of the Tribe.

Existing or new clients may in the future seek our services in connection with matters which are not substantially related to our work for you. In some instances the interests of those clients may be adverse to yours. It must be clearly understood that our firm cannot undertake to represent the Tribe without assurance that the Tribe will not seek, on the basis of this representation, to disqualify us from representing other clients in any matter that is not substantially related to our work for you. We recognize that your prospective consent to conflicting representation contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply in any instance where as the result of our representation of you we have obtained sensitive proprietary or otherwise confidential information that, if known to any other client of ours, could be used in another such matter by that client to your material disadvantage, nor will said consent apply in the instance of any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California, as noted in the preceding paragraph.

Both we and you must be continually alert to the development of any conflicts. Please contact us immediately if you become aware of a conflict or potential conflict, or take actions that would make a fresh conflict check prudent.

We believe that the above provisions and the attachment hereto outline in reasonable detail our agreement as to this representation. If you find these arrangements satisfactory, please sign this letter and return it to me, keeping a copy for your files. Our representation will conform to the terms of this agreement. We sincerely appreciate the opportunity to represent you, and we look forward to a successful relationship.

Very truly yours,

GREENBERG TRAURIG

By:

Jack Abramoff
Senior Director of Government Affairs

Accepted and agreed to this ____th day of _____, 2002.

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:17 AM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: Agua Caliente

Looks like we got em! They vote next week, but after 4 trips here, tons of work and all sorts of political activities, I think we're there. I'll tell you about it when I see you. Thanks Mike.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 7:38 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

I'll just talk to him on the phone after this trip

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

Wed morning. I'm leaving early to pack...then get engaged.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:34:14 2002
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

When does he depart next week? I am out Sunday through Wed in CA with the AC.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

I don't know. In person is probably better.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:31:24 2002
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

Should I do it in person or on email?

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

U 100 percent need to tell him he can't come back until post august. Approps staff are getting mad at us.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>

Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:22:29 2002
Subject: FW: the Grover dinner with Rove

Host an official for dinner at Signatures? What the hell is this?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 1:31 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

Thanks Jack. Unfortunately, I am unable to attend the Wednesday meeting since I return to Michigan that morning. I was actually hoping you and I would attend the dinner together. Perhaps on the next visit, you and I can host an official for dinner at Signature's. I will call you later. ----- Original Message -----

From: <abramoffj@redacted>
To: <cpetras@redacted>
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 1:11 PM
Subject: the Grover dinner with Rove

> Grover asked that I not send anyone else from the office, since the
> seats are tight and he really needs mine if I am not using it. he
> said he would take good care of you, and has invited you to come to
> his Wednesday
meeting

> (Linsey attends) the next day. do you want to go ?

>
>
>

>-----
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> 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]
>

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 9:15 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: AC

No prob

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:11 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: AC

Need 30 mins.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:11a
 Subject: RE: AC

Can you call me at home?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:07 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: AC

Oh shit!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 2, 2002 8:22p
 Subject: AC

Call me asap. things are not as hunky dorey as we thought out there. I just got off the phone with Candace. I have to be out there to meet them on Sunday. Do you want to meet me there later in the day? we have to figure this out. give me a call at home.

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AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:00 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: AC

We're going to get paid. We have the votes. We can ram it through, but Moraino and Candace want to get the others on board. They have 3 votes, though. Anyway, I really think at least I need to be there on that Sunday to work with them. do you want to meet me out there?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:55 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

I hear ya on the chairman- I'm I'm purto rico and my cell battery is dead. Ill call whn I have the juice. I'd love to not run cross country again unless I have too-in fact I'm really dredding it- are we gonna get paid?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:29a
 Subject: RE: AC

No, we're going to be fine, but we have some work to do. The chairman and the woman are not with us so far. Call me when you can and we'll discuss.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:23 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

There is no way we are hauling our asses out there unless the are coffing it up. Are we screwed?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:15a
 Subject: RE: AC

No prob

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:11 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

Need 30 mins.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:11a
 Subject: RE: AC

GTG-E000057397

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 5:54 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: CAF

Please let's talk before the Sabbath or Saturday night. Try me on cell, as I have a - gag - 10 pm Sat night meeting. Regarding departure, I had worked out being wheels up here at 10 am. Can you do it? if not, should we just meet out there? Candace said I should be find in covering Monday morning, but Tuesday is essential. In any event, can you email me the proposal you have prepared for them so I can be aware of where we are going on this, and push it?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:51 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

Hey cell battery is dead - charging now. I can move things around with Little Jack on Sunday - what time do you want to leave - the later the better like 2 or 3?

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:06 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: CAF

You around on cell?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 12:08 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

Hey - Just got off the phone with William -we may not need to go there next week - I think they are in on the new work - and he mention a scheduling issue. Hes calling back shortly - CHA CHING!!!!!!

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 11:07 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: CAF

Do you think it would look weird my asking for this? doesn't she sort of view me as the "outside validator" of what you are doing?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 10:33 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

I will - do you want to try her also - Sorry for the dealy.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 8:44 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: CAF

We still don't have this. can you tell her that we are going to lose the ability to use this group as a front if we don't get this current?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike]
 Sent: Friday, June 28, 2002 11:22 AM
 To: abramoffj
 Subject: RE: CAF

Its coming net week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj]
 Sent: Friday, June 28, 2002 9:52 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: CAF

How do we get Nell to get us that \$500K?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 6:42 PM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Palm Springs Itinerary, July 7-10

All of this should have been put into calendar as well. from now on, please do that. I want it in there as soon as arrangements are made. I use calendar to see if there are other things I can schedule, and if things are not in there immediately, I create conflicts. OK?

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

From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 1:02 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Palm Springs Itinerary, July 7-10

Travel Itinerary for Palm Springs, July 7-10

Sunday, July 7

10:00 AM Depart Frederick (FDK)
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]
 Airport address: #2 Rudder Lane
 Charter Operator: East Coast Jets
 Phone: [REDACTED]
 Pilot: Tom Nielsen
 Co-Pilot: Joseph Bauer
 Tail Number: N139ST
 Travel time: 6 hrs, 30 min.

*Refuel in Safina, Kansas (SLN)
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]

1:30 PM Arrive Palm Springs (PSP), Million Air
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]
 Airport address: 145 S Gene Autry Trail
 DRIVER: Bennett Simon
 Driver cell phone: [REDACTED]

Best # to call anytime: [REDACTED] (these people are on constant radio contact with all of the drivers, and can ALWAYS be reached 24/7)

2:00 PM Check in: The Lodge at Rancho Mirage
 Hotel phone: [REDACTED]
 Hotel address: 68-900 Frank Sinatra Drive
 Jack Reservation # RR603183-1 (Sun-Mon)
 Mike Reservation # RR603207-1 (Monday)

Monday, July 8

8:30 AM Depart for Agua Caliente Tribal Office from hotel

9:00 AM Meeting with Richard Milanovich - Chairman,
 Barbara Gonzalez Lyons - Vice Chairman,

Jeanette Pierto-Dodd - Council

Member

Moranio Patencio - Tribal Secretary
 Candice Patencio - Council Member
 Agua Caliente Tribal Council Offices
 600 E Tahquitz Canyon Way

GTG-F000059380

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 6:39 PM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: CREA

Did you speak with Jared on this at all? How much was the first one, cost wise?

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:04 PM
 To: abramoffj@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Exactly how much of these lunches did you want to pick up? There's another one scheduled for July 16.

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

From: abramoffj@crea.gov [mailto:abramoffj@crea.gov]
 Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:56 AM
 To: laner@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Pick up tomorrow's entirely, but put him aside and tell him that we have to work out something for the future lunches.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:41 PM
 To: abramoffj@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Spoke with Jared. I get the sense that they were hoping we would "take care of things." It sounds to me like they are planning on doing these lunches about twice a month. There are only about 10 or less coming in for lunch tomorrow. To avoid any embarrassment on either side, maybe we should pick up at least half this tab (as it will be a fairly small party anyway) and then I'll work with Jared going forward to give them a discount for every subsequent event.

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

From: abramoffj@crea.gov [mailto:abramoffj@crea.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 3:56 PM
 To: laner@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Can you chat with Jared and find out what he has in mind? Then tell him you'll chat with me.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 1:04 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: CREA
 Importance: High

Are we paying for their get togethers? I only ask because Jared has a party set up for tomorrow but wanted Jennifer to touch base with me to see if everything was "worked out." Just curious if you had made an arrangement with Italia.



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GTC-0000105140

Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy

July 8, 2002

MICHAEL SCANLON
SCANLON, GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS



From our previous meetings we have concluded that there are currently two major reasons for implementing a global political strategy for the Agua Caliente tribe;

- 1) To support and secure all federal objectives of the council
- 2) To successfully negotiate an unlimited slot position compact for the tribe.

To achieve all the objectives we have identified in our previous meetings we will follow a simple strategic model to get you where you need to be. It is important to note, that to be successful on the federal level as well as in our compact negotiations you must execute all of phases of the program and we strongly recommend that they are executed in sequence. The strategic phases are as follows:

- Organization
- Identification
- Research
- Recruitment (Third Party Allies)
- Execution.

The pages that follow will walk you through each stage and explain the individual tactics to be executed therein.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For the compact negotiation campaign we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will compile, classify and organize the tribe's existing natural resources into a national political network.

The second component will identify, classify and organize allies of the tribe that currently exist, but have yet to be included in any public efforts waged by the tribe. Both will be imported into your new custom built political databases. As we execute our campaigns, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the individuals in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate (or redirect) them into a custom built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities that already benefit economically from the tribe, and that have support bases outside the state.

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from U.S. Senator down to State Representative.

Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments. At this point you will have a national political network.

Depending in the amount of vendors you have and their physical locations, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously. This is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Qualitative Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of our efforts. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the allies and opponents related to our campaign and we store this information into this database.

The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents.

Once the qualitative research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To put things in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

Identification / Research

Once we have both political databases in place we can begin the identification process. What we do in this phase of the program is identify a series of allies not contained in to data currently in the tribe's possession. For example, we will actively recruit not only the owners of the hotels in Palm springs, but their employees as well - - and taking it a step further those employees family members as well. Generally speaking, we are going to take what you have now -- and expand on it by a series of thousands.

Our political matrix also allows you to build a power base outside the state. For example, lets say that your long distance carrier is sprint communications. Sprint benefits by having you as a client, they make thousand of dollars a year on commutations services and hardware they provide to the tribe. Our system we will immediately tell us that Peoria, Illinois is the home of Sprint Communications. Given this fact we no know that we can call on The Speaker of The U.S. House and two powerful U.S. Senators from another state to support the tribe in a political push.

Instantly, we have identified a power base outside of your own community that you never knew existed, and if we educate them and properly, two powerful U.S Senators and the Speaker of the House are now on our team. This process is repeated with every vendor that does business with the tribe. From paper clips, to the manufacturer of your slot machines, our identification process will tell us where our NATIONAL power base truly is.

The identification process is important because it helps us strategically target supporters, but its most important aspect is the fact that it allows you to build a large network in a very, very short period of time. Without this process it would take you years to determine who may or may not help the tribe. Our system does it almost overnight. Perhaps the most time consuming part of this process is the anti-gaming cross-referencing portion. Once we have imported the data identified our potential political allies, we immediately run a legislative cross-reference on the politicians identified. This cross-reference immediately tells us if the elected official has a voting history that could clearly be construed as anti-Indian or anti-gaming. This helps identify potential enemies, and helps determine if we should "write off" certain Members of Congress as potential allies even though we have supporters in their districts.

Recruitment

As we complete our organizational phases and make public the tribes intention to achieve unlimited slot positions It's now time to go after our targets and lock down the support we need.

We will due this largely through the vendor portion of the database we built you. We will make contact with your key suppliers and vendors in the target districts and recruitment them for the cause.

Put plainly, the vendors who have benefited financially from the tribe over the years are about to thank the tribe in a very political way. Its time they pay a little back, and all we are going to ask these companies to do is lobby their assembly members, state senators, and the Governor on our behalf.

We will do this by utilizing a series of tactics. We will call them, write them a letter and in many cases place a personal visit. In our communications we will educate them as to what the issue is, and how they can help. We will inform them that we need them to contact THEIR representative and support the tribe.

When an elected official gets a call from a home district employer asking for their support for the granting a compact the tribe with unlimited slots positions because their companies future depends on it – they will listen. In addition we may not need them leading up to a such a deal, but after the fact, and when the local business owners are supporting them, they will be much more likely to stand behind a decision they made.

This out reach effort is the largest part of the program. We will be reaching out to not only your vendors and suppliers, but to their individual employees as well. We could find ourselves drafting tens of thousands of letters soliciting their support, and an equivalent number to their employees, and their family members. The multiplier effect of this program is enormous. If you have one supplier in Orange County, and a hundred employees at that supplier, you have a nice power base there. When you add the employees' family members to the count you have gone from nothing to 250 voters in someone's district fighting for you.

Now imagine that nationwide.

Execution

The execution phase of this program is very unclear at this point. Over the next two months we will need to work with the tribal Council and the negotiating teams to establish our formal positions, the detail of this position and all relevant pit-falls.

We know for certain, that there will be several times during this campaign that we unleash the full force of our political army. But who we hit, when we hit them, and with what are strategic decisions that will be made by the council and will only become clear after we have entered the political battlefield.

That said, below we have outlined the steps we follow up to the full blown mobilization phase:

Organization

- 1) We will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer program that houses your database. This database will be for your use only, available on-line for your use, and will be the permanent property of the tribe.
- 2) We will have a team come to Palm Springs to gather all relevant data so that we can import it into your database. Ordinarily we simply ask for data such as vendor lists, employee list etc. In some cases customer lists can be helpful, but they are not required. Furthermore, if we do believe this information will be helpful we will sign any confidentiality documents to ensure the lists safety.
- 3) In one month to six weeks we can have your data fully integrated and the system in place.

Identification

- 1) Before the system is even completed we can get the data sets necessary to being the identification process. At this point we will report to you our preliminary target lists.
- 2) We will dispatch a field research team to conduct research on the allies identified (such as how many employees, if the financial support the member of congress etc).
- 3) We will establish criterion or goals for member contact in each targeted district.

Research

- 1) When we establish the list of opponents we will conduct a comprehensive opposition research program on the individual. This research is intended to keep our opponents "in line".
- 2) In targeted "friendly" districts we will conduct polls to determine the strength and weakness of our position. Our objective here is to compile data that shows each member that the public favors our position. This data will be shared with the Members of Congress in certain districts.

Execution

At this point we are roughly two weeks in to the program. We have built a national network, identified our targets, gathered the appropriate research to win with "honey and vinegar" it is now time to mobilize in their districts. This portion of the program is a very gray area; our efforts will vary from district to district. However, the following is what we typically do in the targeted districts.

1) ***Business owner letter and follow up call campaign.***

We will make contact with the owner of the business who supply you with services and provide them a letter to sign and send to their members. We will then provide call script for that person to follow up. Field visits to the identified businesses.

2) ***Employee phone bank.*** For the companies with large employee bases we will conduct a phone-bank operation to their member.

3) ***Employee letter writing campaign.*** We will have each employee in each targeted districts write an individual letter to their member.

4) ***We recruit third parties*** to write and call in the targeted districts, these individuals include large donors, other large business owners former staffers etc.

5) ***Third party advocacy campaigns.*** In some districts we will encourage large employers to take out advertisements under their name advocating our position.

 Budget / Timeline

*Note:

Due to the time sensitivity, we will conduct the Organization, Identification and Research phases on a rolling basis.

Organization

Cost: \$1,875,000.00

Timeline: July 8, to September 8, 2002.

Identification

Cost: \$845,000.00

Timeline: August 1, 2002 – September 1, 2002

Research

Cost: \$935,000.00

Timeline: July 8, 2002- completion of program

Execution / Advocacy

Cost: \$1,745,000.00 – \$3,745,000.00*

October 1, through program completion

Total Base Line Cost: \$5,400,000.00

The spread in the advocacy component represents unknown factors in the compact fight, specifically advertising costs. We hope to avoid an advertising fight, however, it is likely that one may occur, therefore we suggest setting aside an additional \$2,000,000.00 for the Chairman and Council.

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 08, 2002 11:50 PM
To: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Catching up!

Thanks Michael. It was GREAT meeting you as well. I hope that all goes well tomorrow. hopefully it will. Let's chat on the phone afterwards (maybe later in the week) so we get you set up with a consultancy with us.
Regards.

—Original Message—

From: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 12:28 AM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: Catching up!

Jack -

It was great finally meeting you! You have lived up to my expectations and I am so glad that Aqua seems ready to retain you! My one cautionary note is that tribal politics is fickle, so be as ready as you can be for the meeting with the membership tomorrow. My impression is that Richard will not give up to easily, in that he has a long standing relationship with Pace and namely Scott Dacey, and he is nothing if not loyal to those who have been loyal to him. In that vein, I recommend you pull out all the bells and whistles!

I am glad I was able to broker this relationship, little did I realize it would evolve into such a major contract! If this works out, I am eager to move forward on your behalf and watch you work your magic on behalf of those friends I hold near and dear.

Anxious to talk with you soon.

Kind regards,

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000059404

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
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CAVEAT

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RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: I'd like to call the Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002 to order at 9:33 a.m. For the record those present are Richard Milanovich, Chairman, Barbara Gonzales-Lyons, Vice Chairman, she is here somewhere, Moraino J. Patencio, Secretary/Treasurer, Jeannette Prieto-Dodd, Council Member, Candace Cherie Patencio, Council Member, which constitute a quorum.

.....

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Item C is the 10:00 o'clock, proposed contract agreement from Greenberg Traurig attorney at law returned from the 7/2/02 Agenda. They're not here yet. There they are.

.....

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Gentlemen? Michael, would you introduce yourself, please?

JACK ABRAMOFF: Yes. I'm Jack Abramoff of Washington, D.C., with a firm called Greenberg Traurig, and this is Michael Scanlon who is Scanlon Gould, works very closely with our firm. Chairman, should I –

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Please, yes.

JACK ABRAMOFF: Would it be appropriate to stand?

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: I do want to apologize, gentlemen, for taking, I know we, you were scheduled to be here at ten and you were here at ten but we've just been having a –

JACK ABRAMOFF: No problem at all.

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: – discussion.

JACK ABRAMOFF: Where is an appropriate place for me to be?

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
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DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

they had had other threats, the Governor and other people had sort of been threatening and saying to them look it's just not fair that you all can have a casino and not pay state taxes, and the tribe of course responds with we don't have a tribe to state relationship, we have a Federal Government relationship, and we don't owe you taxes. And that went on. So we decided on that basis to implement a system that Mike developed which we successfully implemented a couple other times and it's actually what we're here in part to talk about you about today. To organize the tribe so that even though the Choctaws were politically powerful in the sense of their local area we decided to implement a program to make them most the powerful political machine in the State of Mississippi so that if a threat did come up such as we were hearing they would be in a position to respond to it. And in fact that threat did come up. And what we did was we organized their assets, their political assets. They had a bunch of vendors and a bunch of customers, they had eight thousand members of the tribe, but eight thousand voters or members of the tribe is not big in the context of the whole state, but all the vendors and all the customers and all the supporter groups, and we organized them all. We developed a, a, Mike did, a certain matrix, a certain way to do it so that we could have instant access to people who were directly impacted by the business of the tribe. And they had other businesses too but the primary business and employment was the casino. And so when this man got up and he was from a different part of the state, he was a typical Southern State Legislator who had been in forever, you know, he ran once and then he was re-elected unopposed forever and he was the Chairman of Appropriations Committee which is the most powerful member in lot of these, these State Legislatures. He got up and said I'm going to tax this tribe and I don't care what their, he didn't say it was about the Constitution and all this, so he got up and did that and Mike went to work and activated the network and all the folks that we had organized, and I probably mean employers, employees, county officials, mayors, and within I'd say forty eight hours the man's office was so inundated with phone calls that they couldn't, they shut off the phones. His home, because we contacted his contributors and his friends who were also owning companies that were supplying the tribe with stuff, were calling him at home so he couldn't get any calls at home, he couldn't get any calls at, at work. Everywhere he went he was greeted by a couple dozen people saying what are you doing, why are you, why are you destroying the opportunity, that the State of Mississippi doesn't have a lot of job opportunities especially where the tribe is near Philadelphia, Mississippi, that the (inaudible) point is that the tribe has been solely responsible for putting people to work. It's all these people were mobilized to contact him. He had never had an opponent. Within four days Mike had an opponent announced to run against him and we had a poll a couple days later that showed his opponent pulling even with him, and eight days later he went on public radio and publicly apologized to the tribe and said he was unaware of how

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MIKE SCANLON: certainly the four to eight million dollars is essentially

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Pardon me I think we should take a short recess
Hope has been going quite a while five minute

MIKE SCANLON: Sure

11:30 to 11:38 break

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Like reconvene meeting it is twenty what twenty
two minutes to twelve we have another presentation had asked would you
ask question again please

[TRIBAL MEMBER]: Hope would you repeat it

(Read back)

MIKE SCANLON: well the

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Would you identify your self

MIKE SCANLON: My name is Michael Scanlon from Scanlon and Gould. My
firm is in a strategic alliance with Jack and Greenberg meaning we only provide
services to the clients of Greenberg Traurig. No other law or lobbying firms in
Washington DC. We work exclusively for his clients and provide our services to
~~Jack exclusively. What we do we call public affairs it's a combination of political~~
strategy, grass roots public relations, and polling. Essentially what we are is sort
of the ground Army for what Jack does. Jack works in conjunction with the
Council to define objectives such as compacting negotiation and setting
parameters to work on language our job is to collect all your natural resources, all
the good will you've built up here in this area over several years and turn that into
a political force. A force a grass roots Army of people of employees, of business
owners, of people who live on your lands and anybody who's made a buck off of
you over the last ten to fifteen years and has a vested interest in seeing your
future be better. Our job is to go out and find those people, educate those
people on the issues that are important to the Tribe and objectives of Tribe as
identified. Most importantly it is to mobilize those people to ensure that the
politicians get the message that the people are behind the position of the Tribe.
That's the people being the Tribal Members, the employees, the vendors, the
vendors employees, and anybody who has a vested interest or anybody who
receives anything from the Tribe has a vested interest in seeing the Tribe
succeed in whatever endeavor they're doing those people are all voters. What

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
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DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

my job is to do, just as Jack's is the retail side of working directly with politicians, I do the wholesale side. I want to show these politicians you're more than just a Tribe more than just a casino you employ thousands of people thousands of people that have livelihoods that depend on you. Thousands of business owners rely on you to keep their business up and running all of these people make difference in elections when Jack mentioned earlier money is important the second thing important is voters. I don't mean to be crass but money and public opinion is what drives these people we can do what I do through very technical labor intensive expensive systems. We want to find them all. Everybody who likes you who has vested interest seeing you do well. It is my firm's job to go out and find those people corral them find out who will call or write or meet with their local elected officials, federal officials, state officials on your behalf. Say you wanted a compact that had five casinos in it, my job is to work with the Council, work with the Tribe and corral everybody who will support you in that endeavor. Then my job is to have their voices be heard how do we do that several different ways one start with custom built data base which I designed myself what this data base does it is a political data base and takes raw data such as employees - takes raw data and we insert that data into our system soon to become your system if we work together - when that data is inserted we know where employees live what their political affiliation is when they have last voted if they have their home phone number and to a couple other methods when they're going to be home. So say you have a thousand employees we now have thousand registered voters who can contact by Legislative District state Assemblyman or state Senator know when they're going to be home we call them up we say this is the education portion this is what the Tribe is looking for **do you support the Tribe in this endeavor do you think this is a good idea if they say yes we have an employee who is a supporter of your objective we ask them a second question would you call or write your elected officials on behalf of the Tribe's position if they say yes that is an active voter who will contact a decision maker on your behalf on an objective which you've identified yourself imagine hundred thousand people if you can take a hundred thousand people that you know are going to call write contact meet with a politician in favor of a position that you hold that politician nine times out of ten actually ten times out of ten is going to see things your way. Our job is to bring that to you - you can give all the political money in the world you can have best lobbyists in the country but some times most of the times what you need is you need the people. You need the bodies behind you to convince elected official this isn't about contributions is not just about retail relationships this is not about playing golf this is real people whose futures depend on what Tribe's objective is and my job is to get those people in contact with their elected officials. And that's what we do over course of campaign broad pretty broad generalization of what we do and how we do it fairly labor intensive data portion of it we have to custom design your data base take**

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:45 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Congratulations!

Wisconsin here we come baby! We should give this guy a small tip out of the gimme five money too. I want him to have mega incentive to scan the nation and hook us up with all his friends. I'll get a huge bouquet to Candace for us and figure out something for Moraino.

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

From: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 8:56 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: Congratulations!

Jack:

Congratulations! It did not sound pretty, but when the dust settled you had the votes - which is what counts when the day is done!

Anxious to move on to new frontiers, including looking at Prairie Island Indian Community! Meanwhile, you should know that Candace is very fond of flowers - and a big bouquet might be in order, in light of what she endured!

Take care, lets talk later in the week - maybe Friday morning - since I don't fly out until early afternoon!

Kind regards, as always,

Michael

* P.S. I will be back at Menominee on Thursday night!

5/6/2004

GTG-E000057372

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

Jack Abramoff
[REDACTED]

July 9, 2002

VIA FACSIMILE: 760-325-4954

Honorable Richard Milanovich
Chairman
Tribal Council
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Chairman,

It was an honor to meet you and I greatly appreciate your decision to retain Greenberg Traurig, LLP and look forward to working with you and the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. This letter will confirm the terms of our representation.

Greenberg Traurig ("the Firm") will primarily assist the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians ("the Tribe") with all political and lobbying activities related to obtaining a satisfactory outcome to gaming compact renegotiations, environmental matters and other policy and political goals in California. In addition, at the Tribe's discretion, the Firm shall assist the Tribe with federal issues, including but not limited to matters concerning federal appropriations, specific needs of the tribe related to the US Postal Service and tax matters, general Washington, DC and selected national public relations activities, federal-Tribal relations and promotion of sovereignty. We will look to you for our direction on all issues.

As part of our routine in opening new matters, we provide an engagement letter to our clients setting forth our understanding of the services we will be expected to perform, and the basis for our compensation. The firm will perform the work described above at \$150,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.

The Tribe may terminate the agreement at any time. If the Tribe terminates the agreement, the Tribe shall pay to the firm a pro rata amount plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses for the month during which the contract is terminated.

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP
[REDACTED]

AC-0276

Honorable Richard Milanovich
July 9, 2002
Page 2

An advance fee deposit of \$150,000.00 is requested. We will deposit the advance in a trust account, and bill the first portion of our work against it. In accordance with our understanding, please forward to us a payment of \$150,000.00 representing the first month's payment of our fees.

In the event that your account should become more than sixty (60) days past due, we reserve the right, in our sole discretion consistent with the rules of professional conduct, to cease doing any work on any matter we are working on for the Tribe until past due amounts have been paid.

I will personally be in charge of the firm's role, and will assure that all necessary tasks are undertaken and complete. We anticipate that several of our attorneys and government affairs professionals will be involved in this representation to ensure that the representation is carried out in the most effective but efficient manner.

The representation may entail some work that is considered lobbying under the federal lobbying disclosure law. Consequently, where appropriate we will register the tribe as our client and report our activities on your behalf under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

The firm has conducted a review in order to assure that no conflict of interest exists between our representation of you and any representations of any of our clients. Our firm in its entirety represents a number of clients, both private and governmental entities, with multifaceted interests in many issues. These clients include, as you know, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. We do not currently, and would not in the future, represent another client in connection with any of the specific matters in which we were representing you, if that other client's interest in those matters was adverse to yours. Furthermore, the firm undertakes to not represent any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California during the duration of our representation of the Tribe.

Existing or new clients may in the future seek our services in connection with matters which are not substantially related to our work for you. In some instances the interests of those clients may be adverse to yours. It must be clearly understood that our firm cannot undertake to represent the Tribe without assurance that the Tribe will not seek, on the basis of this representation, to disqualify us from representing other clients in any matter that is not substantially related to our work for you. We recognize that your prospective consent to conflicting representation contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply in any instance where as the result of our representation of you we have obtained sensitive proprietary or otherwise confidential information that, if known to any other client of ours, could be used in another such matter by that client to your material disadvantage, nor will said consent apply in the instance of any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California, as noted in the preceding paragraph.

Both we and you must be continually alert to the development of any conflicts. Please contact us immediately if you become aware of a conflict or potential conflict, or take actions that would make a fresh conflict check prudent.

GREENBERG TRAUBIC, LLP

100 CANNON STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10027

NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO HOUSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
SAO PAULO FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

Honorable Richard Milanovich
July 9, 2002
Page 3

We believe that the above provisions and the attachment hereto outline in reasonable detail our agreement as to this representation. If you find these arrangements satisfactory, please sign this letter and return it to me, keeping a copy for your files. Our representation will conform to the terms of this agreement. We sincerely appreciate the opportunity to represent you, and we look forward to a successful relationship.

Very truly yours,

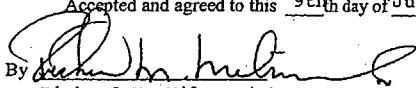
GREENBERG TRAURIG

By:



Jack Abramoff
Senior Director of Government Affairs

Accepted and agreed to this 9th day of July, 2002.



Richard M. Milanovich
Chairman, Tribal Council

Date 7/11/02

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP

AC 0278

NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO BOSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
SAO PAULO FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

July 9, 2002

Honorable Richard Milanovich
 Chairman
 Tribal Council
 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
 600 E. Tahquitz Canyon Way
 Palm Springs, CA 92262

Dear Mr. Chairman,

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal July 8, 2002. Both parties agree that the primary goal of Scanlon Gould is to execute public affairs and political strategies to ensure successful re-negotiation of the Tribe's gaming compact.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Data Base/Organization: \$1,875,000.00

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Identification: \$845,000.00

Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Research and Messaging: \$935,000.00

Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary. Scanlon Gould will also conduct all opposition research and issues research (qualitative research).

Execution/Advocacy: \$1,745,000.00 - \$3,745,000.00

Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in our presentation including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Chairman and Council.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a base line total \$5,400,000.00. In addition, the Tribe agrees to budget an additional \$2,000,000.00 for advocacy efforts.

should the compact renewal campaign become intensive. Scanlon Gould agrees to provide the tribal council with a recommendation on this budget authority no later than January 30, 2003. Scanlon Gould understands that the additional budget authority is subject to approval by the council.

Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the nature of this campaign, payments for the first two phases (Organization and identification \$2,720,000.00 total) are due in advance and are non-refundable. The remaining balance will be due based upon the progress of the campaign. Scanlon Gould will provide at least 20 days notice for final payment

All materials generated by Scanlon Gould in the compact campaign are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential. The tribe agrees that Scanlon Gould is hereby indemnified and held harmless when acting on behalf of the tribe.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Chairman Richard Milanovich

Date

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:02 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Are you fucking kidding me?! I hate those fucking boy scouts. What a bunch of assholes.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:32 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Hey guess what- the plane won't start! Oh yeah - waiting for a jump right now.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:18a
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

You IZ da man.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:09 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

I can think something up- let's chat.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:06a
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Sounds good to me. as for the \$64K, I want to use it to buy a car I decided. Can we do it so neither of us pays taxes on it?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:00 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

We did 800 for you 800 for me 250 for the effort the other 50 went to the plane and misc expenses. We both have an additional 500 coming when they pay the next phasesm

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:00a
 Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

\$800k? I thought we got \$1.9M?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:54 AM

GTG-E000011746

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 2:54 PM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: CREA

I might have to cover this if it is not more than once every couple of months.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 3:35 PM
 To: abramoff@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

I looks like the bill was slightly over \$300 plus \$50 tip. What do you want me to do in the future?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 7:39 PM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Did you speak with Jared on this at all? How much was the first one, cost wise?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:04 PM
 To: abramoff@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Exactly how much of these lunches did you want to pick up? There's another one scheduled for July 16.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]
 Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:56 AM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Pick up tomorrow's entirely, but pull him aside and tell him that we have to work out something for the future lunches.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:41 PM
 To: abramoff@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Spoke with Jared. I get the sense that they were hoping we would "take care of things." It sounds to me like they are planning on doing these luncheons about twice a month. There are only about 10 or less coming in for lunch tomorrow. To avoid any embarrassment on either side, maybe we should pick up at least half this tab (as it will be a fairly small party anyway) and then I'll work with Jared going forward to give them a discount for every subsequent event.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 3:56 PM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Can you chat with Jared and find out what he has in mind? Then tell him you'll chat with me.

GTG-E000105146

From: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 7:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Election Reform Update

Election Reform negotiations have slowed. Ney, Paul and Chet all think it is possible to finish negotiations before August, but now not likely until later. There are several reasons for this including senate democrats insistence on unacceptable provisions, house republicans not feeling the pressure on the issue yet because of other more prominent issues, a lack of funding now has the state and local officials ready to pull their support. With that being said, Ney and Paul have said things are moving and would like to get all our specifics in line, so I am working to get a meeting with Tony and Paul and Bob this week to exchange specifics - since Paul was not in original meeting. Clearly, this remains must pass legislation, unfortunately it is not progressing quickly enough. I will let you know what I hear.

NV

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

GTG-E000089523

**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 10, 2002

**CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM
TIME SENSITIVE MATERIAL**

To: Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
From: Marc Schwartz
RE: SCOTLAND GOLF TRIP SPONSORSHIP

The Chairman of the committee handling our issue, and several of his Congressional colleagues have had an opportunity presented to travel to Scotland for a fact-finding mission during the August recess. You will recall that he and his colleagues have committed themselves to a solution to the dilemma faced by the Tigua Tribe and Alabama-Coushatta Tribe.

Toward this end, I have determined that the cost for the delegation, their wives, and senior staff will be \$100,000. Neither the Tiguas nor the Alabama-Coushattas has been solicited to underwrite this educational trip abroad, but I would strongly recommend that both Tribes consider a donation towards this effort.

The chairman is the one person who has taken on our issue and has single-handedly carried the effort to this point. I believe it would be a very powerful vote of confidence if this contribution were made. There is an educational foundation that will actually be sending the delegation abroad and if you and the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe were to divide this cost, it would send a very strong message to a very powerful member of the Congressional leadership team.

As the date of the trip is rapidly approaching, I would recommend your immediate consideration as well as to counsel with Chairman Battise to determine if they can assist as well. I will provide you with the information on the entity you will make your checks payable to at the appropriate time.

Please let me know as soon as practical so that I will be able to have the Washington team put this in motion.

MJS:wbm



Educating Jewish Children with Learning Disabilities

4445 Old Court Road, Baltimore, MD 21208 • tel.: 410.486.5323 • fax: 410.653.9830

email: [REDACTED] • website: www.jewishspecialied.org

July 11, 2002

Capital Athletic Foundation
c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff

[REDACTED]
Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff:

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation and gratitude for your gift of \$47,500 from the Capital Athletic Foundation to be utilized as a deposit on the proposed campus on Marriottsville Road in Marriottsville, Md.*

Your participation in this exciting endeavor is greatly appreciated, and we look forward to being able to avail our services to an even greater number of children in need.

May you be blessed in the merit of your efforts and involvement on the behalf of so many Jewish children.

Sincerely,


Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

* No goods or services were rendered in connection with this donation.

GTG001762-JA-P

Rabbi Yeshia A. Benstein
Principal

Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

Jacob L. Szajowitz
Director of Development

Paulette A. Pollack
Administrator

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@mcnative.com] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, July 12, 2002 10:53 AM
To: MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com]
Subject: RE: Follow-up

I think we can organize \$10K/month on a Agua Caliente sized representation (the firm's profit on that kind of representation is around 20%, which is \$30K/month, and I can probably get them to give up 1/3 of that). On the grassroots budget, it is a little trickier, because the margin is very tight (Mike gets his fee from the Greenberg side) and most of that is spend as direct costs. Once the total numbers are in and Mike does his budget, I should be able to pull some bucks out of that one too. Does this sound OK?

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

From: MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com] (mailto:MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com])
Sent: Friday, July 12, 2002 11:39 AM
To: abramoff [mailto:jack@mcnative.com]
Subject: Re: Follow-up

Jack:

Thanks for the call - though, after we hung up - I thought I know no more now than before! What are you thinking the terms of a consultancy might be? Curious, and want to know what the incentives might be in assisting you in landing new clients - especially, since I may be able to pitch your services later tonight!

Let me know, meanwhile, I will try and line up a meeting with Audrey at Prairie Island.

Take care,

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000057342

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 7:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, July 13, 2002 10:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 11, 2002 10:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Choctaw CAFI

Can you call her again today? Thanks buddy.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 01, 2002 9:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Choctaw CAFI

Mike, what do we have to do to get this money in?

GTG-E000110378

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: AC

Spoke with Candace. Give me a buzz and I'll fill you in. not much you don't know, though.

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

From: Mike Scanlon (mailto:mike [REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 10:13 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: AC

Not yet - they are supposed to sign off on it today. The chairman is trying to sink it - he has a whole bunch of Suncruz articles he is handing out at the meeting.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 8:37 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: AC

We got a signed retainer back and a check. Did they sign your retainer yet? as soon as they do we have to get moving to prove to them that we were right and that stinker Chairman is wrong. Let me know.

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]

GTG-E000059386



**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 18, 2002

**CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM
TIME SENSITIVE MATERIAL**

To: Chairman Kevin Battise
Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: TRIP SPONSORSHIP

Thanks to you and your Council for agreeing to assist in the effort. Your \$50,000 check should be made payable to the Capital Athletic Foundation, [REDACTED]

It would be easier if you would FedEx the check to me at the address on this sheet and I will include the Tigua Tribe, and forward to them. As time is critical, please process as quickly as possible.

For your information, the language is set and now we are waiting for a floor date which we believe will come in the next 7 days or so. Keep your fingers crossed. So far everything is moving well without any hiccups. Call me if you have any questions.

MJS:wbm

c: Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 23, 2002 5:16 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>>

GTG-E000020112

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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 Subcom. 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.██████████]
 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

GTG-E000020107

SCANLON GOULD
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

July 24, 2002

Honorable Richard Milanovich
Chairman
Tribal Council
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Chairman,

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal July 8, 2002. Both parties agree that the primary goal of Scanlon Gould is to execute public affairs and political strategies to ensure successful re-negotiation of the Tribe's gaming compact.

Scanlon Gould will execute its duties by employing its internal political team (full time employees) and reserves the right to sub-contract with external firms when necessary. As they are sub-contractors they will not represent an additional cost to the Tribe. Scanlon Gould will provide the names, and any contractual language, of the third party vendor at the time of its employment. Scanlon Gould will contact the Agua Caliente Gaming Commission to determine what if any licensing may be required as it pertains to California gaming law.

Scanlon Gould further agrees to provide monthly reports to the Tribal Council (via a designee of their choosing) describing the progress and expenditures associated with the campaign. In addition, Scanlon Gould agrees to seek and receive Tribal approval for any communication to be made public that contains the Tribe's name or can be attributed to the Tribe.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Data Base/Organization: \$1,875,000.00

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software on behalf of the Tribe, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Timing: Effective Date - September 15. Scanlon Gould will provide to the client the entire political database complete with all electronic functions and general data lists, including state and federal elected officials and their contact information. This database will be delivered by September 15.

AC 0287

[REDACTED]

Identification: \$845,000.00

Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Timing: Effective Date - September 15. Scanlon Gould will deliver, as part of your political database, all political assets including your identified supporters, and any anti-gaming opposition. All data will be loaded into your electronic database and will be searchable by elected official, committee and political opinion. The database and phone scripts will be delivered by September 15 complete with any training that may be necessary. The database will include the data generated from your resource lists as well as data generated from Scanlon Gould survey instruments.

Research and Messaging: \$935,000.00

Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary. Scanlon Gould will also conduct all opposition research and issues research (qualitative research).

Timing: September 16 - October 15. Scanlon Gould will deliver, by October 15, its comprehensive research package as well all of its polling results to provide the Tribe with an overview of the campaign message(s).

Execution/Advocacy: \$1,745,000.00 - \$3,745,000.00

Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in our presentation including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Chairman and Council.

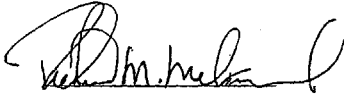
Timing: October 16 - March 1. The tribe will receive monthly reports outlining the results of our phone and letter-writing campaigns. In addition, Scanlon Gould will provide, in its monthly reports, copies of any and all correspondence generated to elected officials as part of the final phase.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a base line total \$5,400,000.00. In addition, the Tribe agrees to budget an additional \$2,000,000.00 for advocacy efforts should the compact renewal campaign become intensive. Scanlon Gould agrees to provide the tribal council with a recommendation on this budget authority no later than January 30, 2003. Scanlon Gould understands that the additional budget authority is subject to approval by the council and will be paid to Scanlon Gould directly.

Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the nature of this campaign, payments for the first two phases (Organization and Identification \$2,720,000.00 total) are due in advance and are non-refundable. Scanlon Gould will provide monthly reports to the Tribal Council (via a designee of their choosing) describing the progress and expenditures associated with this phase. The remaining balance will be due based upon the progress of the campaign. Scanlon Gould will provide at least 20 days notice for final payment.


All materials generated by Scanlon Gould in the compact campaign are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential. The Tribe will indemnify and hold harmless Scanlon Gould from all losses, liabilities and other costs actually incurred by Scanlon Gould regarding third parties in the performance of its authorized duties under this contract, to the extent that such losses, liabilities and costs are not the result of negligence or non-compliance with applicable law or other fault of Scanlon Gould. Furthermore, each party will be responsible for its own compliance with applicable law.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

 7/29/02

Chairman Richard Milanovich

Date

 7/24/02

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:32 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Agua and [redacted]

Great.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:27 PM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: RE: Agua and [redacted]

I am totally fine with 100k - lets keep him working!

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

From: abramoff@redacted [mailto:abramoff@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:29 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Agua and [redacted]

This guy delivered for us. he wants to know what he can get from the pot. I will give him \$10K/month from GT, but we should give him a tip from the grass roots. I think we should do \$100K, but not from the first tranche. I told him that you budget this stuff very, very tightly, but might be able to eek out something. I don't want to waste money, but he clearly has a lot of contacts and could get us a ton of biz. I want him to feel like he has all the incentive in the world. Agree?

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

From: MCNATIVE@redacted [mailto:MCNATIVE@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 11:58 AM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: Agua and [redacted]

Jack:

Congratulations to you and Mike on landing the political organizing contract with Agua! Candace called yesterday to share the good news!

I am eager to learn what the final dynamics of a consultancy might be with Greenberg, while also hearing what might be a practical consideration for the political organizing contract. Both have bearing on how many not-for-profit clients I choose to retain - clearly, those that are smaller are more demanding, so the fewer I need on that front the better! Sorry for being so forth coming - I am having hell with one client and would love to extract myself from that situation pronto!

By chance did you get to share the [redacted] election information with Mike? I plan on going down to [redacted] in two weeks - in part to take in the Friday session relating to strategy around the delegate to Congress concept and then on Saturday to participate in another of [redacted] campaign strategy sessions. I assume you received the research regarding the delegate concept by FedEx? If you're so inclined to come to [redacted] it would be great to see you again and if you do I will orchestrate a dinner at [redacted] and [redacted] - [redacted] is one of the shrewdest Indian leaders I know. You would enjoy [redacted].

5/6/2004

GTG-E000059446

A C

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 5:16 PM
To: MCNATIVE@
Subject: RE: Agua and Cherokee!

All sounds great. Yes, of course, on the additional funds on the effort at Agua. I don't know how he will cash flow it, but I'll get him to do it as fast as possible. On the Greenberg thing, it will run the life of the representation of Agua, which I hope will be a long time. We have represented Choctaw for seven years, and the others years as well. Can I put Jon in touch with you regarding the conference? Mike is checking his schedule. Look forward to seeing you soon and doing Prairie Island. Hey, if we can line up 7 more of these, you'll be making more than \$1M a year! Then I can come work for you!!! :-)* *****

*
-----Original *****

***** :-)*

Jack:

***** :-)*
***** :-)*
***** :-)*

**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 26, 2002

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: OPERATION OPEN DOORS

Late last night, I received a report from Jack regarding the movement of our issue. Senate Democrats and House Republicans are at odds over one issue that cropped up. The issue is whether the Justice Department (Democrats favor) or individual state's Election Departments (Republicans favor) will have jurisdiction over precinct approval, ballot design, etc.

There is a plan for a conference call today between the parties, but it doesn't appear that the conference report will make it to the floor before recess. As developments unfold, I'll update you further and regardless, I will have a complete report for Tuesday's council meeting.

Jack is arranging a meeting between us and Chairman Ney for, possibly, next week. Chairman Battise will also join in the meeting. As soon as that is scheduled, I will let you know. Also, Jack is planning to be in El Paso shortly after that meeting to discuss what will occur when Congress reconvenes.

I have sent a copy of the information I received from Michael Scanlon to each of you for your review. We can discuss any of those issues on Tuesday as well.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond
Karl Maahs

Broder, Hillel (Intern-DC-Gov/Adm)

From: octagon1 [octagon1 [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, July 29, 2002 10:08 AM
 To: broderh [REDACTED]
 Subject: camo suit.

BH

Hillel, I want to order a GHILLI SUIT.
 from this company so that we have
 the basic structure to copy from.

These are made well and will help us to
 no end.

I want to get the FULL MILITARY GHILLI SUIT
 in (light) BROWN DICIDOUS colors just like the
 one displayed in the photo on their site.

The sizes go by BDU (battle dress uniform)
 So the bottom should be XXX long and
 the top should be XXXX long.

Now the order form on their site gives a
 buba misa about these suits needing a
 special state department licence and
 blah, blah, blah.

These suits are used by goyim who do
 alot of hunting. PLEASE don't get freaked
 out about this warning, suits of similar design
 can be bought from any of the hunting
 suppy catalogs.

Anyway when you box it up and send it to
 me, send it as THE GRANDMOTHER TREE
 COSTUME for the play POCAHONTAS.

Here is the Custom Concealment web site.

If you have to call them and they ask you what
 you need it for just tell them that it is a present
 for a relative who goes DEER HUNTING.

http://[REDACTED]

Order

[Handwritten signature]

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 31, 2002 7:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); 'Mike Scanlon (E-mail)'
Subject: Sandia update

We expect the bill to be marked-up today without our changes, but with an understanding that we will negotiate between now and the floor. The press coverage has been very good for us - articles yesterday and today and an editorial today.

Client is proposing 3 changes to the compromise [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reached. Details of those changes aren't important, but truth is the bill has moved our direction significantly. Client is fixated on things the other parties got, even though those things don't affect us. We keep saying that we do what they want - push for changes, kill it, whatever. Frank Chaves, who is here with the Governor and one other leader, is most pessimistic person on planet. The truth is that if they don't like this bill, it's because they have buyer's remorse over the settlement agreement.

My recommendation for today is simply to listen. We should keep telling them that we will do everything possible to achieve their objections. If they want some additional firepower in state, Mike, you should just tell them to talk to you.

One important note: besides a general feeling that they didn't get \$2.5+ million worth of ground war effort,

REDACTED

Anyway, Frank can be infuriating. But he is a leader in the group. So we have to listen and nod a lot. Thanks. Let me know if you have any questions.

GTG-E000002779

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, August 02, 2002 12:12 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: when you get the check for Capital Athletic

Please get it to my office fed ex. Thanks.

**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

August 2, 2002

**CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM
TIME SENSITIVE MATERIAL**

To: Chairman Kevin Battise
Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: OPERATION OPEN DOORS

I have arranged a meeting with Chairman Robert Ney (R-OH), who is the chairman of the House Administration Committee and who is the controlling member for the election reform bill. The meeting will take place in Washington on Wednesday, August 14th at 11:00 am.

Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa will be attending representing the Tigua Tribe. Will you be able to join us? We will be flying in on Tuesday evening and spending the night so as not to miss the meeting. We will fly out immediately after the meeting.

If you are able to attend, please let me know as soon as possible along with your itinerary. If you would like to bring a single council member with you, please let me know. It is my sincere hope that you will not have to share this information with your representatives until after the meeting has occurred. Obviously, we still need to keep knowledge of the operation to a bare minimum.

Please call me at your earliest convenience so we may discuss. Thank you for your support and trust, and I am confident you will find the meeting rewarding.

MJS:wbm

c: Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa

PACKING LIST

Blackhawk Industries, Inc.

ORDER NO.
00145114

DATE
ORDERED
08/06/02

PG NO
1

USA
Phone
Fax

CUSTOMER PO

Bill To:
HILLEL BRODER

Ship To:
HILLEL BRODER

USA

USA

Backorders will be charged as shipped

ORD	SHIP	B/O	ITEM NO./DESCRIPTION	UNIT	EXTENDED
1		1	6301 HydraStorm Cyclone 100 oz OD Green	149.95	0.00
2	2	0	6801 HydraStorm Force 5 OD Green	169.95	339.90
5	5	0	603DSSOD Sternum Strap Modular OD Green	7.95	39.75
10	10	0	62TC00OD Hydration Tactical Tube C OD Green	2.95	29.50
5		5	2462 HydraStorm TubeKeeper 1"x	2.50	0.00
3	3	0	90MS10SL Hydration 100 oz. Reservo Mylar Sheath	29.95	89.85
2	2	0	35WG00OD Blackhawk Web Gear OD Green	49.95	99.90
2	2	0	41WB03OD Enhanced Military Web Belt OD Green (44-49)	20.95	41.90
4		4	90DK00BK Duty Keepers W/ Grom-Set Black	7.50	0.00
1		1	80CM00OD Pro Shooters Mat	129.95	0.00
1		1	80CM00DE Pro Shooters Mat Desert Tan	129.95	0.00
2	2	0	90SCK1BK Sniper Cleaning Kit (30 Black All Hardware Included	49.95	99.90

OF BOXES
(1)

TRACKING #'S: 1ZX645100161030682

Sales Amt 740.70
- Misc Disc 0.00
+ Freight 32.70
+ Sales Tax 0.00

Total 773.40

GTG008438-JA-P

We Appreciate Your Business. Thank You for Your Order!
Visit Our Website!!

Please notify us of any disputes, claims or returns within 30 days.
All returns are subject to a 20% restocking fee. Please call for an RMA #.

PACKING LIST

Blackhawk Industries, Inc.

ORDER NO.
00145114

DATE
ORDERED
08/06/02

PG NO
2

[REDACTED]
USA
Phone [REDACTED]
Fax [REDACTED]

CUSTOMER PO

Bill To:
HILLEL BRODER
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
USA

Ship To:
HILLEL BRODER
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
USA

ORD	SHIP	B/O	ITEM NO./DESCRIPTION	UNIT	EXTENDED
3		3	20PM02BK Hathcock Sniper Pack Mat Black	249.95	0.00

# OF BOXES	TRACKING #'S: 1ZX645100161030682	Sales Amt	740.70
(1)		- Misc Disc	0.00
		+ Freight	32.70
		+ Sales Tax	0.00
		Total	773.40

We Appreciate Your Business. Thank You for Your Order!
Visit Our Website!! [REDACTED]

Please notify us of any disputes, claims or returns within 30 days.
All returns are subject to a 20% restocking fee. Please call for an RMA #.

PACKING LIST

GTG008439-JA-P

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:45 AM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: ATR

Thanks.

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:37 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: Re: ATR

The Council has not voted on the Capital Athletic Foundation item. They have not had a quorum to do so (vacations, etc.). Hopefully this week. With regard to ATR just let me know the amount and I will bring it to Council. Our department budget may have the funds for the event. Are you available to talk now?

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

From: <abramoffj [redacted]>
To: <cpetras [redacted]>
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 8:33 AM
Subject: ATR

> Last year Grover set a meeting for certain select tribal leaders
> (Coushatta
> and Chitimacha were the only ones) and the speakers of the House of
> several
> legislatures to meet with the President in a small meeting for photos,
> etc.
> the tribes paid for the event (total cost was \$100K for the entire
> thing, and each tribe put in \$50K). Grover has asked me to line up a
> few tribes
> to
> do so again. I am sure Choctaw would be willing to do so, and I know
> that Coushatta will do it. Agua Caliente might also want in, but I am
> not sure yet. let me know if you guys want in. it would be either a
> \$25K or \$50K contribution to ATR for this. let me know as soon as
> possible. thanks Chris.
>
> Also, please get me that \$25K to Capital Athletic Foundation for the
> 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: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 7:27 AM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Wrap Up Sheet

I meant it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 11:15 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Wrap Up Sheet

Thanks Jack. I needed that!

Holly Bowers

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@dc.gov> [REDACTED]
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) <bowersh@dc.gov>
Sent: Mon Aug 12 23:07:44 2002
Subject: RE: Wrap Up Sheet

You are doing a spectacular job!

-----Original Message-----
From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 8:35 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Wrap Up Sheet

Holly Bowers Wrap-Up Sheet August 12, 2002

1. Checked your voicemail; no messages
2. Faxed Eshkol letter to your house
3. Scheduled lunch meeting with Ron Halber
4. Had Hillel call Amtrak and get train tickets for you and Daniel
5. Called 5 star hotels in NYC to find best rates for suites
6. Booked rooms at the Palace for you, Daniel and Alex
7. Called concierge at hotel to find out about limo rates
8. Called Raj to compare his rates; emailed you about it.
9. Called Prime Grille to make dinner reservations, and ordered a birthday cake for Daniel.
10. Found more hotel rate quotes; cancelled reservation at Palace and booked Trump towers suite
11. Bought movie tix on-line for Spy Kids 2
12. Looked through your bookshelves to find Idiots guide to English Kings; had Hillel look as well; couldn't find it, emailed you
13. Sent roundtrip courier to/from Livsar
14. Gave Hillel my credit card to order things for Shmuel.
15. Got Shmuel on the line for you.
16. Left message on Yossi Greene's wife's cell phone to have him call office.
17. Sent you email re Alan Slomowitz needing to speak with you; gave him message about the LDA you needed to sign.
18. Sent you email about checks that came in
19. Compiled and emailed your NYC itinerary
20. Got William Worfel on the line for you.
21. Put Chris Petras through to you

- 22. Scheduled meeting with Fred Malek; sent you email
- 23. Scheduled meeting with Julie Doolittle
- 24. Scheduled meeting with Art Ziedman
- 25. Forwarded you Kevin's Redskins request
- 26. Blocked off upper Redskins suite for Terry Martin on 10/13
- 27. Called Woodmore to schedule tee times for you Wednesday and Sunday
- 28. Sent Ron Platt email asking about next Wednesday's meeting in NY; waiting to get confirmation from him.
- 29. Called Marc Schwartz to get two other names of people attending the Ney meeting on Wed, and to schedule 9 am breakfast at Sigs. Sent you email that he needs you to call him tomorrow morning before 1 PM our time.

Holly Bowers
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
ph: [REDACTED]



Educating Jewish Children with Learning Disabilities

4445 Old Court Road, Baltimore, MD 21208 • tel.: 410.486.5323 • fax: 410.653.9830
 email: ptach@jewishspecialied.org • website: www.jewishspecialied.org

August 14, 2002

Capital Athletic Foundation
 c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff

Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff:

On behalf of the Board, staff and especially the students of P'TACH and GIFT, I would like to express my overwhelming appreciation for your magnanimous and expedient donation of \$257,500 from the Capital Athletic Foundation to enable the purchase of a new facility to house our GIFT High School, Gutmann Institute for Child Development and our administrative offices. Our programming will be taken to an all new level of excellence in high quality education. This acquisition is largely credited to your pledge and your willingness to fulfill it in such a timely manner.*

P'TACH is extremely fortunate to have friends and supporters such as yourselves who come forward to ensure the success of our program and the students we serve.

May you and your family be forever blessed in the merit of your kindness, generosity and genuine concern for the welfare of these children.

Sincerely,

Brian A. Caplan
 Brian A. Caplan
 Executive Director

* No goods or services were rendered in connection with this donation.

GTG001761-JA-P

Rabbi Yeshia A. Benstein
 Principal

Brian A. Caplan
 Executive Director

Jacob L. Szajowitz
 Director of Development

Paulette A. Pollack
 Administrator



The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe Of Michigan

Minutes of the Tribal Council
Special Session
August 22, 2002

At the request of a majority of Council, a special session of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council held at the Tribal Operations Building on Thursday, August 22, 2002, it was called to order at 1:50 p.m. by Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

Members Present:

Maynard Kahgegab, Jr., Chief
Ronald Jackson, Treasurer
Robert Pego, Sr., Secretary
Tim Davis
Gerald Slater
Sue Durfee
Lindy Hunt
Delmar Jackson, Sr.

Staff Present:

Michelle R. Colwell, Transcriptionist

Members Absent:

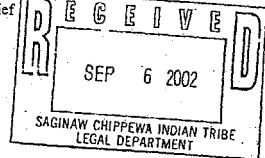
Diana Quigno
Bernie Sprague
Connie Freiburger, Saginaw
David Otto, Subchief

Called to Order at: 1:50 p.m.

Invocation Given By: Robert Pego, Sr.

Agenda:

- I RESOLUTION 02-250:** (Deane Kent)
Funding through Indian Health Services for FY'03. Projecting to receive \$1.9 million. On a motion duly made by Tim Davis, supported by Sue Durfee, it was moved to approve Resolution 02-250. 7 for, motion carried.
- II RESOLUTION 02-252:** (Deane Kent)
BIA Annual Funding Agreement. On a motion duly made by Sue Durfee, supported by Tim Davis, it was moved to approve Resolution 02-252. 7 for, motion carried.
- III GAMING COMMISSION REQUEST:** (Bill Matson)
Request to increase the limit of the department's credit card under the name of Greg Falsetta. Request a limit increase to \$10,000.00. Credit card is used for background checks. On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Tim Davis, it was moved to approve increasing the limit of the Gaming Commission credit card to \$10,000.00. 7 for, motion carried.
- IV MINUTES:** (Robert Pego, Sr.)
- A August 14, 2002...On a motion duly made by Tim Davis, supported by Sue Durfee, it was moved to approve the special session minutes of August 14, 2002. 7 for, motion carried.
- B August 21, 2002...On a motion duly made by Tim Davis, supported by Robert Pego, Sr., it was moved to approve the special session minutes of August 21, 2002 with correction. 7 for, motion carried.
- V CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION SUPPORT REQUEST:** (Robert Pego, Sr.)
The foundation creates programs that teach leadership skills to disadvantaged youth in the DC area in an effort to keep them off the streets and enhance their educational opportunities. The Foundation requests is for \$25,000.00. *Tabled.*



Special Council
August 22, 2002
page 2 of 2

VI TRIBAL MEMBER REQUEST: (Robert Pego, Sr.)

Arlene Molina requests one of the electrical poles on the property of the Saganing old housing property. On a motion duly made by Sue Durfee, supported by Tim Davis, it was approved to let her have one of the three electrical poles. 7 for, motion carried.

Recess at 2:15 p.m.
Reconvened at 2:28 p.m.

VII COMPENSATION: (Ronald Jackson)

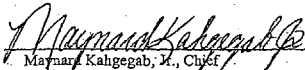
On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Gerald Slater, it was moved to approve wage adjustments Roberts 0428-02; Sawmick 0429-02; and Henry 0430-02. 7 for, motion carried.

VIII FINANCE: (Ronald Jackson)

- A Behavioral Health...On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Tim Davis, it was moved to authorize Behavioral Health to purchase psychological testing tools at a cost of \$4,025.00. 7 for, motion carried. (Monies from Behavioral Health budget supply line item.)
- B Tribal College...Request to move to Petro Plaza. Cost of \$6,014.00 for computer lines etc. On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Linda Hunt, it was moved to appropriate \$6,014.00 for computer hook ups in the tribal college and authorize the college to move to their new building in Petro Plaza. 4 for, 2 against (Tim & Sue, I abstain (Delmar), motion carried. (Monies out of unobligated.)
- C Nimkee Clinic...Camera Security system at a cost of \$9,500.00 with IT doing the installation. On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Sue Durfee, it was moved to approve the Nimkee Camera Security System at a cost of \$9,500.00. 7 for, motion carried. (Monies from unobligated.)
- D Fringe Pool...Current rate is at 26%. Request to increase to 29% effective October 1, 2002. On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Tim Davis, it was moved to approve increasing the fringe rate from 26% to 29% effective October 1, 2002. 7 for, motion carried.
- E Dental Department...On a motion duly made by Ronald Jackson, supported by Tim Davis, it was moved to approve modifying budget #10680 (Dental) by transferring \$907.55 from line #8102 Computer and Equipment to line #6128 Lab Fees/Members. 7 for, motion carried.

On a motion duly made by Tim Davis, supported by Sue Durfee, it was moved to adjourn. 7 for, motion carried.
Adjourned at 2:44 p.m.

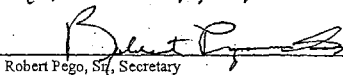
Submitted by:


Maynard Kahgegab, Sr., Chief

Date:

9-3-02

Approved by:


Robert Pego, Sr., Secretary

Date:

9-3-02

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, August 23, 2002 12:31 PM
To: 'Chris Petras -- Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: any progress on the Capital Athletic Foundation?

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

COMMUNITY MEETING
AUGUST 26, 2002

AGENDA

Welcome
Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

Traditional Opening
Milton "Beaver" Pelcher

Blessing of the Food
Connie Freiburger

Dinner

Chief's Report
Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

Sub-Chief's Report
Sub-Chief Dave Otto

Introduction of Council
Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

Council Remarks
Tribal Council

Departmental Presenters

<i>Medical Clinic</i>	<i>Margaret Steslicki</i>
<i>Construction</i>	<i>Tom Kequom</i>
<i>Housing</i>	<i>Ron Jackson</i>
<i>Hospitality</i>	<i>Mike Vautrin</i>
<i>Gaming Operations</i>	<i>Ray Davis</i>
<i>Project Ranking Survey</i>	<i>Joseph Sowmick</i>

Closing Remarks
Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 04, 2002 4:39 PM
To: 'Chris Petras - Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Any progress?

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@gtc.net]
Sent: Tuesday, September 03, 2002 9:18 AM
To: abramoffj@dc.gov
Subject: Re: Capital Athletic Foundation

I reminded the Chief and hopefully the Council will have a quorum today for a vote. We should chat sometime today about things such as visits to DC, etc. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@dc.gov

To: cpetras@gtc.net
Sent: Tuesday, September 03, 2002 9:10 AM
Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Hi Chris. Sorry to be a nag on this, but I need to get this in. please let me know. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@gtc.net]
Sent: Friday, August 16, 2002 8:56 AM
To: abramoffj@dc.gov
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Jack, I spoke with the Chief and Councilman Pego about the Foundation. I am anticipating a vote today if not early next week. This of course is all contingent upon a quorum being present. Take care.

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5/8/2004

GTG-E000026766

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2002 7:09 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Marc, where are we on this one?

No. 001596

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

53543
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE WITHIN 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE: 09/13/02 CHECK NO.: 1596 AMOUNT: \$ 10,489.81***

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Michael Chapman

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 1596 Check Date: Sep 13/02

Inv. Date Inv. Number Description Payment Amt

9/03/02 [REDACTED] Consultation services regarding Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians retained for August 2002 / J. Abramoff 10,000.00 ✓

DETACH

REDACTED

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005394-ACCT-AC

September 12, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1 99997.000140		Expenses	\$489.81	16	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
			TOTAL	\$489.81	

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Michael Chapman

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/AB

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Jack O'Grady
Signature

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(16) Legal expert & professional	(23) Subpoena fees	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(17) Special Clerical Services	(24) Govt. Agency reports	(31) Accrual/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(18) Other Disbursements	(25) Business Meals	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(19) Certified Copies	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(33) Exhibits
(6) Print & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(20) Service Company charges	(27) Abstract, title & survey pkg	(34) Lit-Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(21) Court reporter/Depo	(28) Facsimile	

ACCOUNTING ONLY

Payee Code _____
CN# _____
Date _____

REDACTED

GTG005396-ACCT-AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 11:26 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

There is no set time yet. it is October 11, probably in the morning. The attendees will be 6 speakers of the House for state legislatures and the chiefs of 4 tribal governments. The organizing group is Americans for Tax Reform. The contribution is \$25K to pay for the cost of bringing the speakers of the House to Washington for this meeting. this should be enough for your letter.

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 9:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua meeting with Bush

For the letter for the agua meeting with Bush, I need some basic info from grover's group- time, date, number of attendees, name of the organizing group, contribution, etc.

Who in grover's group is organizing this?

Can you ask them to e mail me specifics asap tomorrow. The letter needs to be done by 1 pm and I will need to draft it pronto tomorrow morning.

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

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 1:28 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Yes, we need to move on Agua contributions asap.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 1:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: [REDACTED]

Will do.

I was planning on organizing some discussions with our team beginning soon to see where we need to put contributions. Do you want me to do this?

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

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Duane Gibson (E-mail) <gibsonde@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed Sep 18 13:21:59 2002
Subject: [REDACTED]

Please put this on the list for Agua for \$25K for [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED] delegation.
Thanks.

GTG-E000057541



September 19, 2002

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: WASHINGTON UPDATE

Since my report on Tuesday a couple of things have occurred that might be of interest. First, all members of the conference committee including several in the Senate leadership have been negotiating this week. That is significant as up to this point the only two with any interest were Senator Dodd and Chairman Ney.

The funding that was stripped from the bill has been restored and the amount agreed to by both sides. There is tentative agreement on all issues and our language is in the report. We were asked by Chairman Ney to step up the support for the measure and, as I reported on Tuesday, Scanlon/Gould has achieved that. To date over 7,000 phone calls and e-mails have been received by the principals. Letter will follow before the end of the week.

Several states have passed election reform measures contingent on receiving federal funds from this bill. We have taken each member from those states and targeted them as well. In order to prevent Texas from rearing in this battle, we have suggested story text to our friends at the Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston, Austin, and San Antonio papers. Stories should begin to filter out this weekend. This was a preemptive measure to keep Perry out of the issue.

I will update you as we receive any information.

MJS:wbm

C: Tom Diamond

MARKETING • MEDIA • PUBLIC RELATIONS • GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS • CRISIS MANAGEMENT

[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] (AdmAsst-DC-Gov/Adm); 'GRHalpem@ [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. (AdmAsst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 6:41 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); 'GRHalpem@ [REDACTED]
Subject: Shmuel (Jack's friend in Israel) 'charity' status

Jack, Gall -

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.

GTC-E0000885

GREENBERG TRAURIG
RESURFACEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 002286

63543
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE IF TEST 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE: 09/20/02 CHECK NO.: 2286 AMOUNT: \$ 6,612.90

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
RESURFACEMENT ACCOUNT

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 2286 Check Date: Sep 20/02

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
9/01/02		August retainer pro-rated from 8/22-8/31; September retainer/ J. Abramoff.	6,612.90

DETACH

copy.

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005498-ACCT-AC

September 12, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	[REDACTED]	Consulting services	\$5,612.90	16	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
TOTAL			\$5,612.90		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/AB

Attorney's/Secretary's initials

Jack Belmont
Signature

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees	Payee Code: _____
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	Ck#: _____
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	Date: _____
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publication charges	
	(16) Legal expert & professional	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Certified Copies	
	(20) Service Company charges	
	(21) Court reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transcript charges	
	(23) Subpoena Fees	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business Meals	
	(26) Copies from Courthouse	
	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	
	(28) Facsimile	
	(29) Federal Express	
	(30) Local Counsel	
	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators	
	(32) Private Investigators	
	(33) Exhibits	
	(34) Lit Sup Vendors	

RECEIVED
 SEP 12 2002
 GREENBERG & TRAUIG
 ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT

GTG005500-ACCT-AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, September 23, 2002 4:27 PM
 To: 'Chris Petras - Saginaw Chippewa'
 Subject: FW: where are we on the Capital Athletic Foundation?

Any progress?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 9:05 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: Re: where are we on the Capital Athletic Foundation?

There is no quorum here this week. Council members are at various conferences. However, I raised the issue with Councilman Pego two days ago and I have a meeting with Council Monday before leaving to DC. Also, I am raising the NRCC issue on Monday. We should talk this morning. ----- Original Message -----

From: <abramoffj@redacted>
 To: <cpetras@redacted>
 Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 8:50 AM
 Subject: where are we on the Capital Athletic Foundation?

> I saw the CAF guys this morning and we are getting into a bit of an
 > embarrassing situation.

>
 >
 >

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 >>> postmaster@redacted

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@wcd.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 7:49 PM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Super. Thanks.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@wcd.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:45 PM
To: abramoffj
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

I will remind him about that and I'm sure he'd love to mention your help. I will let you know when we talk. When I called him earlier he was on his way to the Secretary's office and said he'd call me later on.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@wcd.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:22 PM
To: italia@wcd.com
Subject: [REDACTED]

The Chief of the [REDACTED] is meeting with Steve Griles tomorrow afternoon. This is the one I have talked to about representation and giving to CREA. If Steve could mention both your name and mine to him it would be a big help. He can just say "we have mutual friends" or something if that is possible." if would really help. Thanks so much!!

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GTG-E000105153

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:29 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Agua Caliente payment

Total asshole, but source of \$\$ for us.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:35 PM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: RE: Agua Caliente payment

this guy is an asshole. I love the way he refers to me. Ill get his money to him.

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

From: abramoff@redacted [mailto:abramoff@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 12:49 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Agua Caliente payment
 Can you get to him right away and pay him?

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

From: MCNATIVE@redacted [mailto:MCNATIVE@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 10:31 PM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: Re: Agua Caliente payment

Jack -

I never received any inquiry at all from Scanlan - which I thought was a little strange, since he was "sitting pretty" because my intervention! I thought he might tend to it after I raised Candace's concerns about his background check, but nothing to date. In fact, I was going to ask you to ask him for a campaign contribution, over and beyond the payment, since his firm seems to have benefited the most from my Agua intervention!

Moving the payment and securing a campaign contribution from him would be greatly appreciated! Especially, since I realized I can't do all of this alone and I hired an Assistant today who reports tomorrow! In part she will micro manage my campaign, while assisting me with client billings and reporting.

If she works out, I may persuade her to leave her part-time job and join me full time. When the dust settles, I may consider creating a not-for-profit to do local advocacy work, while partnering with regional and national initiatives and she would be a great asset if these plans come to fruition.

Jack, thank you for all your support and guidance - living in Wisconsin you lose a sense of what is calculated and shrewd! I rely on your instincts and sense of necessity to guide my motivations!

Kind regards,

Michael

5/7/2004

GTG-E000059566

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 4:49 PM
To: Boznik, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Retainer payment for Julie Doolittle

Thanks.

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

From: Boznik, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 5:15 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Retainer payment for Julie Doolittle

We submit for payment out of the Agua Caliente retainer. \$5,000 a month.

From: "David Pearce" <pearced@██████████>
 To: "Baker, Susan" <sbaker@██████████>, "Gail Halpern"
 <GHALPERN@██████████>
 Date: 9/30/02 6:28PM
 Subject: RE: CAF QB's-David can you pls fix this today

Ok, here it is as you've requested. I have also created a classified Program Fees category and put into it funds that were clearly identified as tuition. The problem is that probably a lot more of the checks that carried no description are in fact tuition. Please let me know what further changes you need.

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

From: Gail Halpern [mailto:GHALPERN@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 2:29 PM
 To: pearced@██████████
 Cc: lauralippy@██████████
 Subject: CAF QB's-David can you pls fix this today

David, please make the following adjustments in the QB's that you have and email the corrected version over to Susan and me by tonight. Susan will be back tomorrow and would like to continue working on it then.

she cannot make these entries in the accountant's copy and only you can make it in the original.

1. 5/23/01 \$182K. this should be a contribution from JA. not from CCS. pls change. (the check came from CCS but JA was taxed on it and it came on his 1099). JA made the char. contribution.
2. General Journal #3 9/25/01 30K. a Foundation cannot have an investment by JA. this amount was to correct the bookkeeping error on the Lapin loan.

pls. make an entry showing the 30K as an offset to the Lapin loan so this is wiped off the CAF books. and on the other side of the entry it should reduce the JA char. cont by 30K, so the net amount in JA cont. is \$152K.

thanks.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
 May & Barnhard, PC

ghalpern@██████████
 Website: www.may-barnhard.com

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MB-002118

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 9:26 PM
To: 'Chris Petras -- Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: tying up loose ends

I am getting serious pressure on the Capital Athletic Foundation grant. Please let me know if this is going to happen, and if not, I need to try to find a replacement. I am really out of time on this and am getting called daily. Thanks Chris.

I also need to know about the ATR thing for sure asap. I have you guys down for two slots, but if there is going to be a delay much longer, I have to find another tribe. Grover is really pressing me for the names of the tribes who are coming. Thanks.

GTG-E000026791

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 1:16 PM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Tigua water issue

Did you ever hear anything about this one?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 5:21 PM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Tigua water issue

I am calling right now

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 4:02 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: Tigua water issue

Hi Italia. I know Steve is totally under the gun, but is there any way you could find out about the Tigua water issue? He said he'd have someone look into that and they are getting desperate. Thanks so much. /

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 9:29 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: choctaw pass through

Amy Ridenour has asked if we can run any funds through them to pump up their non email donations (they will give us back 100%). Let's run some of the non-cat Choctaw money through them to the camans.

1636313

Subj: RE: WAITING TO HEAR FROM YOU
Date: Monday, October 7, 2002 10:51:43 AM
From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mjschwartz [REDACTED]

We did not get back on. We are strategizing on the Hill with Ney's guys and other friends (recipients of contributions from the tribe included) at 1 PM today. call is on for tomorrow, but I don't have the precise time yet. I'll get it to you shortly.

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

From: Mjschwartz [REDACTED] (mailto:Mjschwartz [REDACTED])
Sent: Monday, October 07, 2002 12:38 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: WAITING TO HEAR FROM YOU

Jack:
Ney's phone call tomorrow?
Did we have a miracle and get back on?
What's next?
Marc
[REDACTED]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

Headers

[REDACTED]

Subj: Conference call
 Date: Monday, October 7, 2002 11:24:52 AM
 From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 To: Mjschwartz [REDACTED]

Bob Ney will be available at 11 am East Coast time tomorrow, Tuesday. We will use our conference call facility. You guys should call in using the following:

[REDACTED]

Participant Passcode: 7148004

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster [REDACTED]

----- Headers

Return-Path: <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
 Received: from [REDACTED] (rly-xf05.mail.aol.com [172.20.105.229]) by [REDACTED] (v89.10) with ESMTTP id MAILINXF31-1007132452; Mon, 07 Oct 2002 13:24:52 -0400
 Received: from [REDACTED] (ns2.gtlaw.com [209.187.139.11]) by [REDACTED] (v89.10) with ESMTTP id MAILRELAYINXF55-1007132445; Mon, 07 Oct 2002 13:24:45 -0400
 Received: by [REDACTED] with Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19) id <431BQWGD>; Mon, 7 Oct 2002 13:24:46 -0400
 Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC4705CA1B10 [REDACTED]>
 From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 To: Mjschwartz [REDACTED]
 Subject: Conference call
 Date: Mon, 7 Oct 2002 13:24:39 -0400
 MIME-Version: 1.0
 X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)
 Content-Type: text/plain;
 charset="iso-8859-1"

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 their 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 be 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

BB/LC 007288

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 10:31 AM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Agua recommendations

I thought you added in stuff from the Choctaw list, including battleground for [REDACTED] Arkansas for Hutchinson?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 8:53 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Agua recommendations

<< File: Agua Political Contribution 02.DOC >> here it is...

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 10:34 PM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Agua recommendations

Can you email me the list we sent them again?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 10:30 PM
 To: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Wilson, Padgett (AstDir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Agua recommendations

Thanks to the work of Jack, the trust he has created for the Agua Caliente Tribe, and the generosity of the Tribe, the Tribal Council approved the entire slate of recommendations that the team submitted for their consideration.

The checks should arrive on Monday!

There were some duplicate requests, so we will need to ensure that the requesting team members share the credit for delivering checks to certain members.

Have a good evening.

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

GTG-E00005761

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 005121

DATE: 10/10/02

CHECK NO. 5121

AMOUNT \$ 5,000.00

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG, TRAUERIG,
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

TO THE ORDER OF: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: [REDACTED]

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 5121 Check Date: Oct 10/02

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
9/26/02	[REDACTED]	October 2002 consultant retainer/ J. Abramoff.	5,000.00

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

GTG005503-ACCTAC

October 07, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente			
2		Consulting services	\$5,000	18	(1)
3					(2)
4					(3)
5					(4)
TOTAL			\$5,000.00		(5)

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/AB

Jack Abrahamoff

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(23) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(23) Subpoena Fees	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(24) Govt. Agency reports	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(25) Business Meals	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(28) Facsimile	
			Payee Code: _____
			Chk#: _____
			Date: _____

GTG005504-ACCT-AC

POSTED

DIS.F.A 12329124

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 005120

53-643
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE 10/10/02 CHECK NO. 5120 AMOUNT \$ ***10,000.00**

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00
GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 5120

Check Date: Oct 10/02

<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
10/02/02	[REDACTED]	September 2002 consultation retainer/ J. Abramoff.	10,000.00 ✓

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

GTG005404-ACCT-AC

8-16-02
October 07, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente Consulting Fee	\$10,000.00		(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL	\$10,000.00	

Payee: Michael Chapman
 Mail to Payee: Yes No
 Special Instructions and/or Remarks:
 Return to: JAA/AB
 Attorney's/Secretary's Initials
 Signature: *John Abraham*

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees	Payee Code: _____
(2) Long distance charges	(9) Postage	Ck#: _____
(3) Reciprocity charges	(10) Meals, hotels, tips & stock cert	Date: _____
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publication charges	
	(16) Legal fees & disbursements	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Certified Copies	
	(20) Service Company charges	
	(21) Court reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transcriber charges	
	(23) Stenographic Fee	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business Mails	
	(26) Copies from Courthouse	
	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	
	(28) Facsimile	
	(29) Federal Express	
	(30) Local Courier	
	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators	
	(32) Private Investigators	
	(33) Exhibits	
	(34) Lit. Sup. Vendors	

GTG005405-ACCT-AC

POSTED

175B # 12,379,121

Chocaw \$1,000,000 → NCPER

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED], on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:06 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: bank wiring information/invoice


Chocaw101002
(33 KB)

Here you go for National Center for Public Policy Research.

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

From: Amy Ridenour (mailto:aridenour@[REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:37 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: bank wiring information/invoice

Here is all the bank wiring information (and the invoice is attached as a Word file):

Bank:
The National Capital Bank of Washington
ABA Number [REDACTED]
Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]
Telephone (202) [REDACTED]

Our account:
Checking account number [REDACTED]
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]
(202) [REDACTED]

A contact name, although one should not be needed, is Amy Ridenour. Thanks!!!!!!

INVOICE

FM: The National Center for Public Policy Research

[REDACTED]
(202) [REDACTED]

Fax (202) [REDACTED]

E-mail: accounting@[REDACTED]

TO: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Office Building

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Date: 10/10/02
Amount: \$1,000,000
Purpose: Contribution to The National Center for educational and research programs and activities

For any questions regarding this invoice, please contact Amy Ridenour at (301) [REDACTED] or aridenour@[REDACTED]

The National Center for Public Policy Research is a tax-exempt (501)(c)(3) foundation. Contributions to it are tax-deductible. Our tax-I.D. number is [REDACTED]

1640096

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:44 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Chris thinks this is not going anywhere. Can you call him and scare him?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:46 AM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: FW: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Here we go! This could kill Saginaw!

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

From: Brian J. Mann [mailto:brianjmann@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:43 AM
To: Chris Cathcart; Mike Scanlon; Patrick Gould; Amy Biederman; Erin Yeatman; David Flaherty; Aaron Stetter
Subject: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

LANSING STATE JOURNAL

THURSDAY OCTOBER 10, 2002

Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Racetracks seek new options to better compete with casinos

By Tim Martin and Sally Trout

Lansing State Journal

Michigan's struggling horse racing industry could get a boost from the Legislature this fall.

Money matters

The amount of money waged at Michigan horse tracks climbed soon after the state allowed simulcasting in 1996, but it has dropped steadily since.

Lawmakers may consider a package of bills that would allow horse tracks to better compete with the casinos that have cut into their business the past several years. Tracks could be allowed to have video lottery terminals, card rooms, satellite betting sites and possibly other gambling to renew interest in attending horse races. But the proposal likely will stop short of allowing slot machines at the state's seven horse tracks. Already, two companies have expressed interest in opening new horse tracks in Michigan - including a thoroughbred racing group that has pitched plans for the Williamston or Mason areas. Developers for the proposed Ingham County track, however, say the legislation is not a factor in their attempt to locate in Michigan. The state's incentive: more than \$300 million in estimated tax revenues from the expanded gambling operations, which would help Michigan government cope with its budget woes. "It could be a lifeline to the industry," Annette Bacola, Michigan's racing commissioner, said of the bills that could be debated after the Nov. 5 election. The horse racing business has been battered for years. Attendance at Michigan horse tracks - about 1.4 million in 2001 - has fallen more than 40 percent in the past decade, continuing a slide that began in the 1970s. Each time a wave of casinos has opened in Michigan, horse tracks have lost business - particularly since three Detroit casinos debuted in the late 1990s. Betting at Michigan's seven horse tracks - \$375 million in 2001 - is down more than 10 percent in the past decade. Wagering increased after the state allowed simulcast betting in 1996, but it dropped again in recent years. Ladbroke DRC, which opened in Livonia in 1990, closed in 1998 and is now home to a shopping center. A new track hasn't opened in Michigan since 1989. Horse owners often bypass Michigan tracks and opt to race out of state, hurting the quality of animals racing at state tracks. But Michigan racing officials say there are signs the industry is

GTG-E000001244

beginning a turnaround. Waging at state tracks rose 5 percent in September compared with a year ago, although last year's take might have been hurt by the Sept. 11 terrorist strikes. Simulcast betting on the Belmont Stakes and the Kentucky Derby were higher this year than last, state officials say. There is more interest in renovating old tracks and improving marketing to draw more customers, Bacola said. And for the first time in 13 years, new tracks could open in Michigan. EQTAH Group, a Toronto-based company, has contacted Wheatfield Township and Mason officials about opening a thoroughbred and mixed breed track as early as next year. Magna Entertainment Corp. of Ontario - which already owns Great Lakes Downs in Muskegon - has plans for a track near Romulus for 2004. The proposed legislation has "no impact whatsoever" on EQTAH's plans for a track in Michigan, spokesman Ken Schneider said Wednesday. Magna officials could not be reached for comment on the legislation. But race officials say the package of bills - which have undergone major revisions since being introduced last year - could revive the industry. At least six U.S. racing jurisdictions allow some form of "racinos" - race tracks with casino gambling. And several others offer off-site betting or card rooms. In Delaware, video lottery machines alone bring in more than \$175 million in additional revenue for the state each year. The developing Michigan legislation would allow tracks to host card rooms, run keno games and establish video lottery terminals. Other bills would allow tracks to set up satellite locations to accept bets, and establish telephone wagering so patrons could wager over the Internet. "They are critical - absolutely critical - to the industry," Rep. Judith Scranton, R-Brighton, said of the bills she sponsors in the House. Sen. George McManus, R-Traverse City, has a similar package pending in the Senate. Scranton said the package will not include slot machines - although many in the racing industry are lobbying for them and say they are vital to recovery. The bills have gained momentum as the state seeks new revenue sources. Michigan's state government has a projected \$500 million shortfall for this fiscal year. Scranton said the various groups with interests in Michigan horse racing are close to agreement on what the package should contain, and it could be taken up in the lame-duck Legislature after the Nov. 5 election. Gov. John Engler opposes slots at Michigan horse tracks, but will take a wait-and-see approach on the other components, spokeswoman Susan Shafer said. Engler's main concern is how the proposal might affect state income already received from Indian casinos, used to promote economic development. Michigan received about \$12 million last year from taxes on simulcast betting at state racetracks. Slot machine revenue would likely far exceed that, industry observers say. "If they get slots at these racetracks, it would turn everything around," said Larry Mallar, general manager of the Michigan Harness Horsemen's Association. But the potential casino aspect of the tracks could make it harder for them to find a home. Walter Sorg of Wheatfield Township said he originally thought a racetrack there might be a good idea. But after track officials pulled out of a township meeting where they had planned to outline their proposal, Sorg says he isn't sure. "The developers aren't talking to us and it makes me suspicious," Sorg said. "Maybe this, as some claim, is just a front for a casino." Mason's Terry Fobbs said he is ready to launch a grass-roots campaign against locating a track. "A race track doesn't fit here," he said. Mason Mayor Russell Whipple maintains Mason should at least listen to track developers' plans, which call for a \$10 million investment and 100 new jobs wherever they locate. And Wheatfield officials have not taken a formal position on the track. Michigan cities and townships with horse tracks reaped simulcast revenue ranging from \$804,000 in Hazel Park to about \$16,000 in Isabella Township near Mount Pleasant last year. Contact Tim Martin at [REDACTED] or tmartine [REDACTED] Contact Sally Trout at [REDACTED] or strout@ [REDACTED] Published

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 11, 2002 9:41 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: FW: Michael Chapman payment

I think you should tell him yes enthusiastically, since I have him working on eight states right now. It's definitely worth kicking him another \$100K, especially after you get back the \$150K from the Dodd person, but wait until we have the second payment of course (when do we get that?). Also, have you found this Dodd person? What's her name again?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 11, 2002 10:32 AM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: FW: FW: Michael Chapman payment

How should I respond?

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

From: MCNATIVE@redacted [mailto:MCNATIVE@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 11:34 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Re: FW: Michael Chapman payment
Mike:

This is great! I have been in Palm Springs, Chicago, and back to Palm Springs this whole week! I return to Wisconsin on Friday - not a moment too soon, since I need to campaign this weekend - since the next two weekends have me away on travel again!

When Jack first broached the terms of a finder's fee - we discussed this initial payment as the fee for the first \$4 million and then if was necessary for you to go into the second phase and expend another \$4 million that another comparable fee would be forthcoming. Is this how you understand it? I know the tribe has approved \$8 million in their budget in anticipation of a Phase II - let me know if we're on the same page!

I had lunch with Candace today and she said you all were doing a great job - and then said "they better - I have my future in politics riding on this!"

Take care and thanks again,

Michael

5/7/2004

5/7/2004

GTG-E000057596

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:43 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Urgent

Great idea.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Urgent

Redaction:

We'll work it behind the scenes. We should sit down and discuss as a group.

I'm pretty confident we can get this done.

on a lesser note, we use to place stories praising the chief for sport, grover and ferrara use to do it almost weekly, it seems. We should have Grover do one on Kahgegab.... what do you think?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:42 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Urgent
OK, maybe we could make this a project of one of the outside groups, like Amy Ridenour?

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:37 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Urgent

We'll get it done. IT will be good for his election. We put together a nice packet.

We can't be caught lobbying for something like this, however, that would make for a bad story. This stuff is suppose to be free from outside influences....so I wouldn't talk to too many people.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:35 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Urgent

Redaction:

5/7/2004

GTG-E000001231

Redaction:

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:34 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Urgent

Redaction:

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:31 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Urgent
 #S0* & #1* & ^#(* & ^* & ^@(* & #6

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:30 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Urgent

\$150K per month = Love in my world.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 3:27 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: Urgent

I am really starting to hate this guy. This was a total nonsense call. I hate him.

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 2:22 PM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: Urgent

I have left messages for you and Mike. Can you call me? Thanks.

5/7/2004

GTG-E000001232

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@██████████>
Subject: **Re: funds**
Date: October 17, 2002 12:52:49 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoff@██████████>

First order of business: the 1 million was wired into our account; our bank has confirmed it.

Business done, David and I obviously do not belong in any sort of career where powers of observation are important! However, left-wing crap notwithstanding (my idea of entertainment is not pretending that the U.S. Is in a crisis situation with Martin Sheen as president), it is darn good publicity for the restaurant.

Actually it was there, about 40 minutes into the show. Fortunately, I saw it at the bar at the restaurant so I didn't have to listen to that left wing crap. Wish we had kicked them out!

From: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: FW: funds
 Date: October 19, 2002 9:26:50 PM EDT
 To: ARidenour@██████████
 1 Attachment, 2.6 KB

Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet, but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me at the office.

Capital Athletic Foundation: \$450,000
 Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: \$50,000
 Thanks so much Amy!

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:53 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: Re: funds

First order of business: the 1 million was wired into our account; our bank has confirmed it.

Business done, David and I obviously do not belong in any sort of career where powers of observation are important! However, left-wing crap notwithstanding (my idea of entertainment is not pretending that the U.S. Is in a crisis situation with Martin Sheen as president), it is darn good publicity for the restaurant.

Actually it was there, about 40 minutes into the show. Fortunately, I saw it at the bar at the restaurant so I didn't have to listen to that left wing crap. Wish we had kicked them out!

C A F

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:21 PM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: funds

Thanks. please fed ex the check to Ralph Nurnberger, and have the CAF check deposited by Laura.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: funds

These two checks came in today via courier. I have faxed copies of the invoices to the house for you to review as Joseph left with the packet before I finished them. Let me know how you would like me to proceed.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: funds

Can you make up two invoices for transmission to her? I would like to see them before they go out, so they probably can't go out today to her. The invoices should be generic as follows:

1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for "Sports and Politics" project for \$450K 2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for "research grant" for \$50K. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Hi Jack,

I cut the checks myself this evening and they will be couriered to your office on Monday. It would be extremely useful to have written invoices from these folks for our records. Basic info is enough: their name and address, amount and a basic statement of what the invoice is for. I regret the hassles involved in careful recordkeeping, but at the end of the day it is worthwhile to have perfect books. Emailed or faxed invoices are fine if that is more convenient, or mail, of course. I put my contact info below to make it easier for you to pass it along. Thanks as always, & let me know if this poses any problems, Amy

Amy Ridenour
 National Center for Public Policy Research

[REDACTED]
 Direct line [REDACTED]
 Direct fax [REDACTED]
 E-mail aridenour@REDACTED

> I have no doubt it is safer over there. At least you guys are doing
 > something about this stuff. On the thermal imager, I think we should
 > try both routes at the same time. Can you get me a letter to Raytheon
 > from the army? If so, we can work directly with them on this. We'll
 > still pursue Marina. Believe it or not, I have not seen the Zohar and
 > Navi passages you mention. Perhaps I'm on the wrong email lists! If
 > you have them, please forward.

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@...]
 > Sent: Thursday, October 16, 2001 11:18 PM
 > To: abramoffj@...
 > Subject: weekend forecast: 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 (battalion) 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 truziel right now,
 > and I can't see him!" Bragging how well they learned to use the
 > camouflage suits (ghill 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
 > Bevron. All of this is happening in a square radius
 > smaller than Beverly Hills, which is around five
 > square miles.

> The paratroop officer in charge of the area, that you see
 > in the photo with me that I sent you is very happy that we'll have the
 > thermal imager.

> When I told him about all the possibilities that we looked into, He
 > told me that if it looks like it will take a long time to get the
 > Russian model, then we can actually use our army address to buy the
 > U.S. made thermal imager and have a colonel or higher sign for it, but
 > I told him that it is taking so long for us to arrange this, and I
 > need it so badly that instead of rocking the boat we'll just go with
 > Marina.

> Everything will be B'sader. B'esrat Hashem.

> Have a good and peacefull Shabbos.

> Jack, I don't want to sound like a nut, but with all that is happening
 > here, it still might be safer than over there. I'm sure that you, too,
 > are getting all the predictions over there that are being taken out of

GTG-E000089142

> 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@...]
>> Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2001 3:24 PM
>> To: abramoffj@...
>> 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 problem 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: [mailto:...]
>> Sent: Monday, October 15, 2001 3:36 AM
>> To: abramoffj@...
>> 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@██████████

>>>

>>>

>>>

>>> -----
>>> 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
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>>>

>>> To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to
>>> postmaster@██████████

>>>

>>>

>>>

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>>> 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@██████████

>>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:28 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: NCPFR \$

Super. I already had her send to CAF so just get me the info for the other \$500K. how much is on the way for Kaygold? Gotta buy momma a new coat!

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

From: Mike Scanlon (mailto:mike@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:22 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: NCPFR \$

Chris should have sent this over to you. Do you want any of that money to go to your foundation? Otherwise we will have her send the whole thing to us - but if you want a non-taxable event - You may want Amy to send that money to Cap athletic foundation directly

We have the balance of the money in our accounts now - so we are going to cut a check to Kaygold for that.

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: NCPFR \$

Don't forget to get me the wire info or payee on a check for the money sitting there. how are we doing on the rest of the funds due to us?

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: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:26 PM
To: 'Chris Cathcart'
Subject: RE: Wiring instructions

Thanks. we might need an invoice for them. can you put together something and email it to me as an attachment, "for polling services" or something like that?

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

From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris [redacted]]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:23 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Wiring Instructions

Mike asked that I pass along our wiring instructions for Amy. Please find them below.

[redacted]
[redacted]
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies
Acct [redacted]

GTG-E000011851

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 10:46 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Invoice



Invoice.doc (35 KB)

Please change this to \$500K and find out from Amy if this suffices.

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

From: Chris Cathcart (mailto:chris [redacted])
Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 10:17 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: Invoice

I hope this will suffice.

> > <<Invoice.doc>>
>
>

Capitol Campaign Strategies

██████████
██████████
Phone: ██████████
Fax: ██████████

INVOICE

DATE: October 22, 2002

To:
National Center for Public Policy Research
██████████
Washington, DC ██████████

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-22-02	Professional Services	\$1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	\$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to:

██████████
Washington, DC

Acct. # ██████████
Routing number: ██████████
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

GTG-E000011849

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 4:56 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sandia - warning: longer email than usual

Sure, I can meet them at 4 PM Thursday if that works. let's get together on message.

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 12:31 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sandia - warning: longer email than usual

They are going to get an agreement on Wednesday to extend our contract until the end of the year. We only are signed until the end of the month right now.

They are coming to town at the end of this week to discuss next year. In addition to talking to us about their needs going forward, etc, they said they wanted to talk to Scanlon. Then they said they want to address their concerns about Scanlon with you. (I am not sure if this means that they want to talk to you instead of Scanlon or in addition to him).

I have asked Mike if he is going to be around and he said he would be "light" for time. He apparently has finished his wrap-up for them and has their database. He said he would ship it to them, but said that might be expensive, so he might prefer to give it to them. Who knows?

Although they understand that Mike is his own company, I think it would be helpful for us to re-sign them if you talked to them when they are here. I think they are intimidated by you and will be more inclined to stay on board. I know they will want to pay less, but I think it is best to keep them at \$50K/month next year, and then ramp up after we get them an appropriation or two. (Like you did with Choctaw).

They will be here Thursday late afternoon/early evening and all day Friday. Will you have time to meet with them?

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 7:50 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Aqua C

That's great news.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 6:58 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: Aqua C

Hey - Just wanted updated you on AC - on the phone with Candice now - we have all of our materials and work up to speed and the council and Cahirman are very happy.

I am working on setting them up right now for their elections next year. We are looking at Candice for Vice Chairman - which we are looking good on. We are also looking good at getting Virginia Elected under one scenario and Moreno is a lock.

The most Likely scenario right now is Barbara become chairman, with Candice as Vice Chair, Moreno, Janette and Virginia on the council - which would give us 4 out of 5 all the time - and possibly 5 out of 5 if we play it the right way.

This will be very very good for us.

Michael Scanlon
 Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 [redacted]
 mike@redacted

For Immediate Release

Contact: Dr. Chris Petras
Phone: [REDACTED]

*Zogby Poll says Michigan Voters Trust Tribes, Oppose More Gaming
Saginaw Chippewa Tribe reaches out to Michigan's next Governor*

Mt. Pleasant, Mich. (OCTOBER 30, 2002) – Extending a hand to strengthen its relationship between Tribe and State, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan commissioned its first ever statewide poll designed to measure the pulse of Michigan voters and their opinions on Native American issues.

“Serious study and discussion of these incredible findings needs to occur between our Tribe and State so that the decisions and agreements we make are well-thought and fair to both parties,” said Saginaw Chippewa Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. “This poll will be a useful tool as we work hand-in-hand with the new State Administration.”

The Saginaw Indian Tribe of Michigan commissioned Zogby International to conduct a poll of 1,202 registered and likely Michigan voters chosen at random in October 2002. The margin of error is +/- 3.0%.

“This is all part of the Tribe’s efforts to develop a true sense of public opinion statewide to assist elected officials in understanding what Michigan voters want,” stated Dr. Chris Petras, Policy Research Analyst for the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe.

The new poll finds that 78% of Michigan voters AGREE that the next governor should take steps to build stronger relations with Native American communities. Voters clearly seem to understand the major role tribes play in the State and recognize the importance in developing a strong dialogue with the new Administration. Especially since 49% of respondents TRUST tribes more than the State to distribute tribal profits to local governments for local government projects, while only 27% support the State and 23% are not sure. Obviously, Tribal-State relations are an immediate focus of the Saginaw Chippewa and hopefully these findings will raise awareness within the new Administration as well.

-more-

Zogby Poll (continued)**Page Two**

Michigan voters were highly opinionated on the issue of tribes contributing a portion of their gaming revenues versus taxation by the State. An overwhelming 64% SUPPORT Native American tribes contributing a portion of their gaming revenues to local and school districts in lieu of taxes. The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe has poured over \$30 million into local governments and school districts alone, not including the funding they provide for special community projects.

Going a step further on the subject of taxation and tribal enterprises. Questions posed regarding lower prices on reservations found that over half of Michigan voters AGREE that it is fair for convenience stores on reservations to sell items (i.e. cigarettes and motor fuel) at a lower price. Thus, demonstrating that Michigan voters support the separate sovereign status of tribes and their economies.

Another striking find of note is that nearly two-thirds of Michigan voters are OPPOSED to extending state-sanctioned gambling, such as card games, to ski resorts (63%) and horse tracks in Michigan (64%). Michigan voters have spoken, and they say enough is enough when it comes to the expansion of gaming. However, Michigan voters overwhelmingly (67%) feel that the state governments should offer tribal governments incentives to diversify their economies, while still permitting casinos.

In summary, Michigan voters agree the next governor should build stronger relations with Native American communities. Michigan voters believe that additional economic development on reservations is welcome and that the State should offer initiatives to enhance these efforts. Michigan voters are aware of the major financial contributions tribes make each year and trust the tribes themselves to distribute these funds. And lastly, while Michigan voters oppose the expansion of gaming, they overwhelmingly believe opportunities for economic development on reservation should be initiated by the State.

"The importance of this poll is that it expresses the voice of Michigan voters and is a signal to the new Administration that the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe is ready to establish positive government-to-government relations with State officials," Petras stated.

"This is a great lead-off to future discussions with Michigan's new Governor and State Legislature," said Chief Kahgegab adding, "We are excited to begin a positive relationship with the new Administration."

(Beaver-Cellis project)

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: November 4, 2002

RE: Request for October 2002 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

October 2002 Retainer	\$10,000.00
-----------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED] / Phone
[REDACTED] / Fax
[REDACTED] / e-mail

From: <GailHalpern1 [REDACTED]>
To: <mstansbury [REDACTED]>
Date: 11/7/02 11:10PM
Subject: Re: CAF

they are not independent. they are the same (for now.). Jack Abramoff and Pam Abramoff. why do they need to be independent?

In a message dated 11/7/2002 12:23:15 PM Eastern Standard Time, mstansbury [REDACTED] writes:

> Hi Gail,
>
> I need the list of Eshkol board of directors to make sure they are
> independent of CAF. Do you have access to that?
>
> Mimi
>

Mr. Colin Stevens, CEO
Eshkol, Inc.
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

MB-002043

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 Tehtye.

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 6:00 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 their 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 their 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

5/17/2004

3/17/2004

GTC-E00008859

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. Shufmit Aloni, the labor blabber mouth, has always expressed fears that the Mizrahi movement will one day make a call to arms and announce "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 wofis. Hashem obviously has a much better plan! But first I'm off to the Kofel until Minchal! 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: ghalpern@[REDACTED]

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5/7/2004

GTC-E000088600

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 10:31 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua bill

Whew!

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 11:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua bill

Actually--it showed up on the draft. Julie said it does not print on the final.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 11:13 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua bill

This is a disaster!!!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 10:56 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua bill

for the last bill, the one for Chapman was listed. I will fix this with accounting for this month.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 10:47 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua bill

One is the finders fee for Chapman and the other is one I will tell you about. they come out of our retainer, and should not be listed to the client ever. Please make sure they are never on the bill which goes to them.


-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 10:24 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua bill

Jack--

on the Agua bill, there are two items--\$10K for consulting from Michael Chapman and \$5K for consulting for Sierra Dominlon Financial Resources. These were part of the itemized expenses on the draft bill that I am reviewing. I do not know what the arrangements are for work by these people, and want to make sure that they are authorized. These items constitute \$15K of the \$25 K in expenses. Is this ok?

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
████████████████████
████████████████████
████████████████████

GTG-E000057623

 **SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE**
OPERATING ACCOUNT

164854

Date 13.Nov.2002 Pay Amount \$25,000.00***

Pay *****TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND AND XX / 100 US DOLLAR*****

To The Order Of **CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION**

Maynard Kekopua
David d. Ostro
 SIGNATURE

VOID AFTER 120 DAYS

Check Date:	13.Nov.2002	Invoice Date	Voucher ID	Gross Amount	Discount Available	Paid Amount
DONATION	07.Nov.2002	00144049		25,000.00	0.00	25,000.00

Check No. 164854

DATE 11-18-02
 LIST CHECKS SEPARATELY OR ATTACH LIST
 DOLLARS 2500000
 CENTS

SUNTRUST
 SunTrust Bank

TOTAL ITEMS 1 \$ 25000.00

PLEASE ENTER TOTAL HERE 2500000

85-270950
 CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE AND ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT.

Vendor Number	Vendor Name	Total Discounts		
164854	CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION	\$0.00		
Check Number	Date	Total Amount	Discounts Taken	Tot
164854	13.Nov.2002	\$25,000.00	\$0.00	

SEN-CAF 000681

CAF

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, November 14, 2002 3:36 PM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: FEDEX

Please bring them to me now

-----Original Message-----
From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, November 14, 2002 4:23 PM
To: Boice, Jennifer (AdmAst-DC-AdGov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: FEDEX

yes, I sent you an email about it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boice, Jennifer (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent: Thursday, November 14, 2002 4:22 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: FEDEX

no I didn't receive them

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, November 14, 2002 4:19 PM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Boice, Jennifer (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: FEDEX
 Did we, from chris Petras?

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 14, 2002 2:08 PM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: FEDEX

Greetings, just checking to see if you received the CAF and ATR checks.

5/8/2004

GTG-E000027002

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 20, 2002 5:00 PM
To: Litwack, Maury (LegAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Cap athletic foundation

edited

-----Original Message-----
From: Litwack, Maury (LegAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 20, 2002 4:02 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Cap athletic foundation

Dear Chief Kahgegab:

On behalf of the Capital Athletic Foundation, I want to express how very grateful we are for your generous contribution of \$25,000 to our foundation and our cause. The Capital Athletic Foundation works with organizations that promote programs that teach sportsmanship within the framework of youth activities, and, thanks to your kindness, we will be able to continue in our work. Saginaw's commitment to sportsmanship reflects the type of caring and dedicated organization that the Capital Athletic Foundation is proud to call a friend.

Once again, I thank you for your donation. Please consider this letter your official tax receipt. No goods or services were provided in exchange for your donation which is tax-deductible to the full extent allowed by law. The Capital Athletic Foundation is a 501-c-3 organization.

Sincerely yours,

Maury Litwack
Program Director

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 20, 2002 3:59 PM
To: Litwack, Maury (LegAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Cap athletic foundation

Yes to kahgegab. Email it to me as message text not attachment Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Litwack, Maury (LegAst-DC-Gov) <litwackm[REDACTED]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed Nov 20 15:41:36 2002
Subject: RE: Cap athletic foundation

you want this in your packet or via attachment, who is this going to, the chief?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 19, 2002 9:36 PM
To: Litwack, Maury (LegAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Cap athletic foundation

Can you do up a draft to be signed by you, thanking the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan for their \$25K contribution, to be used for sports education programs for young people.... Make it look good. Please get it to me asap. Thanks.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 19, 2002 4:53 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Cap athletic foundation

Chris needs a letter thanking the tribe for the donation...what its used for, etc....he just asked me for it.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

GTG-E000001281

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 011161

63-643
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

DATE: 11/25/02 CHECK NO.: 11161 AMOUNT: \$ 5,000.00**

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 11161 Check Date: Nov 25/02

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
11/21/02	[REDACTED]	November 2002 retainer for consultation services regarding Agua Caliente/ J. Abramoff	5,000.00

DETACH

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005509-ACCT-AC

November 21, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	[REDACTED]	Consulting services	\$5,000.00	16	(1) _____
2					(2) _____
3					(3) _____
4					(4) _____
5					(5) _____
TOTAL			\$5,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/AB

Jack Abramo

Signature

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger charges
- (3) Postage charges
- (4) Word processing
- (5) Wharf fees
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Title policies
- (8) Court Facilitating fees
- (9) Routine charges
- (10) Minute books, cert. & stock cert
- (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
- (12) Printing charges
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage
- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal expert & professional
- (17) Special Clerical Services
- (18) Other Disbursements
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo
- (22) Transcript charges
- (23) Subpoena Fees
- (24) Gov. Agency reports
- (25) Business Meals
- (26) Copies from Courthouse
- (27) Abstract, title & survey chg
- (28) Facsimile
- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Counsel
- (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
- (32) Private Investigators
- (33) Exhibits
- (34) Lit. Sup Vendors

ACCOUNTING ONLY

Payee Code: 868B
 Ck#: _____
 Date: _____

GTG005512-ACCT-AC

DISB 12-18-02

No. 011160

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

63643
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Michael Chapman

DATE: 11/25/02

CHECK NO: 11160

AMOUNT: \$ 10,000.00**

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 11160	Check Date: Nov 25/02		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
11/21/02	[REDACTED]	October 2002 retainer for consultation services regarding Agua Caliente Band of Cahilla Indians/J. Abramoff	10,000.00

DETACH

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005410-ACCT-AC

November 21, 2002

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	[REDACTED]	Consulting Fee	\$10,000.00		(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL		
			\$10,000.00		

Payee: Michael Chapman

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks: [REDACTED]

Return to: JAA/AB

Attorney/Secretary's Initials

Signature: *Jack Abramoff*

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(6) Court fees/hearing fees	Payee Code: <i>216274</i>
(2) Messenger	(8) Recording charges	Chk#: _____
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, sea & stock cert	Date: _____
(4) Road Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	
(5) Printing fees	(12) Printing charges	
(6) Title & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publication charges	
	(16) Legal expert & professional	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Certified Copies	
	(20) Service Company charges	
	(21) Court reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transcript charges	
	(23) Subpoena Fees	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business Meals	
	(26) Copies from Courthouse	
	(27) Abstract, title & survey Org	
	(28) Facsimile	
	(29) Federal Express	
	(30) Local Counsel	
	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators	
	(32) Private Investigators	
	(33) Experts	
	(34) Lit. Sup. vendors	

GTG005412-ACCT-AC

TRISA # 126889165

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 11:54 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Racinos

I'll follow up with him in a day.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:08 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Racinos

I love you.

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 9:59 AM
 To: cpetras@redacted
 Subject: Racinos

Chris, I am getting worried about this. Last night we opened Stacks and there were some WH guys there (who are Michigan guys - worked for Spence). They told me that there is a hearing coming up on this immediately, and that they have heard that this is going to happen!!! The enemy is moving fast and we are not on the field. Where is Scanlon on this? What is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. Every day we lose now is going to hurt.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@redacted

GTG-E000010716

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, December 03, 2002 1:55 AM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino - Shreveport Times

Thanks.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 3:46 PM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino - Shreveport Times

Thanks for the update. I'll bring it up asap!

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 11:53 AM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino - Shreveport Times
 Importance: High

It seems that the Jena are on the march again... if you can, can you make sure Steve squelches this again? thanks!!

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

From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:25 AM
 To: DCCoushatta
 Subject: Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino - Shreveport Times
 Importance: High

We need to get a sense from BIA if possible on timing. While they don't have a compact (yet) taking the land into trust will be a huge step for them in getting the state to move on a compact. Can anyone get any intel from BIA? [REDACTED] office is looking into it as well.

Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposed casino
 Vickie Welborn < [mailto:news [REDACTED]] > / The Times Mansfield Bureau

Posted on November 27, 2002
 MANSFIELD - The DeSoto Parish Police Jury and the town of Logansport have been given 30 days to comment on the proposed land acquisition request submitted by the Jena Band of Choctaws. If taken into trust, the land just outside of Logansport would be home to a Class III casino.

The U.S. Department of Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs Eastern Regional Office in Nashville, Tenn., sent letters to both government bodies via certified mail that were received Friday. In addition to asking for comments on the proposed acquisition, the letter also requests additional information on the possible impact of removing the property from the tax base.

The Police Jury in August approved a resolution of support for the land-based casino. It would serve as the tribal reservation for the Jena Band of Choctaws, which now is based in Rapides, Iberville and Grant parishes.

Police Jury President Dwayne Mitchell plans to draft the parish's response to the letter next week. "I'm not sure how we will respond, but

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, December 04, 2002 10:16 AM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Subject: RE: Gun Lake Indian tribe casino

My pleasure. The important part is that Steve clearly understands what a great friend he has in you. He is a great guy and we need to make sure he is always protected. As for the acting AS, let me think on it today.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia.██████████@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 04, 2002 10:23 AM
 To: abramoffj; ██████████
 Subject: RE: Gun Lake Indian tribe casino

I will call him asap. Also, Aurene (spelling?) is not going to be selected for the job being vacated by McCaleb. They will appoint an acting temporarily. He asked for names and I told him about Tim Martin but that you thought they needed someone with real stature. He agreed. If you have any other names let me know. The other issue about the tribe in California has been headed off. He looked into it and it is being handled. All lines of communication are being shut off. A BIG thankyou to you!

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

From: abramoffj; ██████████ [mailto:abramoffj.██████████@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 04, 2002 10:15 AM
 To: italia.██████████@██████████
 Subject: FW: Gun Lake Indian tribe casino

Hi. This is a disaster in the making. This is the casino we discussed with Steve and he said that it would not happen. It seems to be happening! The way to stop it is for Interior to say they are not satisfied with the Environmental Impact Report. Can you get to him to stop this one asap? They are moving fast. Thanks Italia. This is a direct assault on our guys, Saginaw Chippewa.

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

From: Chris [mailto:petras.██████████@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 04, 2002 7:28 AM
 To: abramoffj; ██████████
 Subject: Gun Lake Indian tribe casino

Just a quick heads-up that the Detroit News has an article on Gun Lake's proposed casino project and how the public comment period on their environmental study is the last step before approval.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster.██████████@██████████

GTG-E000024441

4

From: Gibson, Duane R. (SHID-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, December 05, 2002 1:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT

Importance: High



Agua Calliente
Master Plan.doc ...

This is the DRAFT master plan for Agua. I will discuss it with them tomorrow informally. Want to finalize and present to them a week from next Tuesday. They have no board meetings the week of Christmas and New Years.

Forgive any errors--this is only DRAFT. Team will review the next draft. They put some of this together.

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig

Washington, D.C.

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Friday, December 06, 2002 9:24 AM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Gun Lake: New Hope For Gun Lake Casino - Fox News

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia [REDACTED])
 Sent: Friday, December 06, 2002 9:09 AM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Gun Lake: New Hope For Gun Lake Casino - Fox News

seeing him at 4pm today

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED])
 Sent: Friday, December 06, 2002 9:02 AM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Gun Lake: New Hope For Gun Lake Casino - Fox News

This is what we have to stop.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pierce, Brigham (AsstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Friday, December 06, 2002 8:45 AM
 To: DCSaginaw
 Subject: Gun Lake: New Hope For Gun Lake Casino - Fox News

New Hope For Gun Lake Casino

December 5, 2002

WAYLAND -- There's another push to get the state to sign on to a controversial casino. A resolution will be introduced on Thursday in the House urging Governor Engler to reach a deal with the Gun Lake Band of Pottawatomi Indians, clearing the way for a casino in Wayland.

The same kind of resolution was debated in July 2001, but it lost by one vote. Lawmakers are expecting a similar battle this time around.

Some state lawmakers says time is running out to get a casino compact because so many are getting ready to leave office.

Representative Larry DeVuyst (R) is behind this resolution for a casino in Wayland and the one last year. But he thinks it's different this time around-the Gun Lake tribe is closer to getting the land declared an Indian Reservation.

DeVuyst thinks that will encourage more "yes" votes, but West Michigan Republicans point out it's still far from a done deal.

They defeated the resolution last time and intend to do so again.

We're going through and targeting each member of the house to find out whether their position has changed." Rep. Wayne Kuipers (R) told FOX 17 News.

Casino opponents believe they still have enough "no" votes. But there is concern about the timing and there's also a question of who is behind this late push.

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: December 10, 2002

RE: Request for November 2002 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians' account.

November 2002 Retainer	\$10,000.00
------------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]



From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 9:40 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Nell

Absolutely!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 10:37 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Nell

Well we got paid 5 - and had in our contract that we may need an additional 2 - but that we would have to come before the council to get it.

So I did up a presentation - and we are asking for 1.785 on Thursday - The reason we are doing git Thursday is that Richard and Barbara are out of town. I could ask for the whole 2 - but I thought that would look strange - I could bump it up to 1.875?

Whatta think?

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:52 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Nell

Is the \$1.7M what we were expecting from them, or less?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 4:29 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: Nell

Hey there - I spoke with Candice today - we have 1.7 coming our way and I also spoke with William - looks like we in Biz there too. Ill call in a little while. I've gotta go out to CA to present to the council this week - you want to come? I was thinking of stopping in Louisiana to see William and Lovelin.

I only want to make this an overnight trip though. Can you do Thursday CA - Louisiana on the way back Friday - home before sundown Friday eve?

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:58 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: Nell

Just had a great chat with her about next year's election. I told her that Ehrlich is going to be in touch with the Delawares and will give them a compact. That, with a Haley governorship, could mean a Jena casino in Mississippi. I told her we need to find the resources to get you going in a huge way. I reminded her that if you had not done what you did in Alabama, she would have to spend millions over the next four years (damn!!:-)) and that if we don't get Mississippi squared away, as in beating Haley, we can expect to spend triple that. call me for the rest of the discussion, but she definitely wants Riley

GTG-E000056773

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 10:28 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Just talked to petras

That's why he has a mullet.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 11:24 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: Just talked to petras

No worries - Im sorry I felw off the handle - that guy drives me nuts sometimes - especially the way he back stabs and talks about everybody behind thier backs.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 11, 2002 6:59 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Just talked to petras

Sorry I was a bitch.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 11, 2002 3:55 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: Just talked to petras

I just talked to him - He did not express to me that the council or Petris will not work with us in the future.

He obviously is upset with the heat he may or may not be getting from the council - but we have done everything in the contract - and then some.

It looks like we will loose in the senate - by petris's number almost by a unanimous vote - like 28 for 8 against.

He seems to be more pissed at Cathcart than anything else.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 11, 2002 3:38 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Just talked to petras

Mike, this can't happen! we have to fix this.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, December 11, 2002 12:06 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@██████████'
 Subject: Re: Just talked to petras

It wouldn't surprise me if they don't use scanlon again, not ultimately the resources are up to me.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

GTG-E000024691

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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.██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2002 10:47 AM
 To: abramoffj.██████████
 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.██████████ [mailto:abramoffj.██████████]
 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.██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 8:02 PM
 To: abramoffj.██████████
 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.██████████ [mailto:abramoffj.██████████]
 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.

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GTG-E00056775

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 10:57 AM
To: 'Shmuel Ben Zvi'
Subject: FW: financial difficulties

The other thing is that, if possible, it would be easier for me to get you funds through a kollel over there or something like that. my accountant is very unhappy with the way we have done this, through our foundation which was not set up for these kinds of activities. Do you have a kollel (with a bank account) which would be willing to do this?

As for the resources, I am working on a few things and hope that all will right itself, so please daven hard. It's in Hashem's hands. Hopefully we'll be Ok and can continue what we have started.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 8:53 AM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: financial difficulties

My brother it breaks my heart that my fortunes are taking a bit of a bump. Let's continue with the jeep for sure and we'll do our best on the salary.

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

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 12:46 AM
To: abramoffj@REDACTED
Subject: Re: financial difficulties

BH

This is very bad news. I don't have anybody. You have been such a blessing for us. We are living like decent human beings and I am learning and working. Until now, I have been a nobody who could never make a living. Since you have supported my program, everything has changed for the good. if you cut me out now, we'll really be ruined.

Esther is out of it and I am the only one supporting us. I don't have anyone else. I don't mean to lay this on you because you have given me everything just as a real brother would. You have been so good to me that I really wondered after all these years why Hashem turned things around for me.

Since the jeep payments will take three years I thought the program would keep running.

Could we just cut back on the monthly supplies. I won't ask for any more supplies.

> My brother I am afraid to tell you that I have been having some financial stresses which might require me to cut back on my help this coming year. Can you let me know whether you might be able to find some other sources to supplement what I can do next year? Sorry about this my brother, but ultimately the resources are up to Hashem.

1

GTG-E000088186

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 11:43 AM
 To: 'GRHalpern [REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE: FW: financial difficulties

I emailed him on this.

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

From: GRHalpern@aol.com [mailto:GRHalpern [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 9:16 AM
 To: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: FW: financial difficulties

we have Shmuel in there for a monthly payment. I gather that's to cover the jeep payments.

if you want to help him out, let's try to do it in one of 2 ways:

1. preferably a 501c3 here, (like a shul, they usually don't file tax returns); and if that doesn't work
2. you would cut the check out to his kollel. CAF would be supporting an educational institution. they would give him the money.

how much more do you want to give him a month?

do you know anyone whose shul you can run it thru? (does r. lapin still have connections to his shul or do one of his brothers?) otherwise shmuel could inquire w/his kollel.

In a message dated 12/23/2002 9:04:18 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff [REDACTED] writes:

For your CAF budget.

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

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1 [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 12:48 AM
 To: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: financial difficulties

BH

This is very bad news. I don't have anybody.

You have been such a blessing for us. We are living like decent human beings and I am learning and working. Until now, I have been a nobody who could never make a living. Since you have supported my program, everything has changed for the good. if you cut me out now, we'll really be ruined.

Esther is out of it and I am the only one supporting us. I don't have anyone else. I don't mean to lay this on you because you have given me everything just as a real brother would. You have been so good to me that I really

5/8/2004

5/8/2004

GTC-E000088184

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 2:44 PM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: financial difficulties

He has His plan. We just have to do our best and be mispalel. The dawn will come, and soon I hope!

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@netvision.net.il]
Sent: Monday, December 23, 2002 8:37 AM
To: abramoffj
Subject: Re: financial difficulties

BH

Anyone can have a Kollel here. If I set up the account name in the name of a Kollel and send you papers with a Kollel stationary would that work? Can I speak with your accountant?

I do daven for you my brother.
 There isn't a day that I don't daven for you and the mishpacha, I have so much hakaras hatov to you. So much gratitude. The only thing that I have to give you in return for all you have done for me is MYSELF.

I'm sick that I'm a burden on you, and that I'm so weak and dependant. You have always been powerfull and smart. Since we were kids. Why is Hashem making all this so hard for me. I live in Eretz Yisroel. I never leave. I have no luxuries and all I want is to raise Chaim to be a ben Torah. I spend al my energy on helping him and fighting our cruel enemy, who wants to murder us. You know, now that I have the jeep I spend all my time working. Going to and from the soldiers, the settlements ERT's. I don't know how to relax. I don't feel I have the right to. Do you know that I have never been on a vacation. I have never been to a hotel for a week or holiday. Never. Truth be told, I love kollel and learning and thats fun for me. But i just don't know what Hashem is seeing wrong in me to give me such heartache. I just don't know brother. I'm sickhearted over all of this.

> The other thing is that, if possible, it would be easier for me to get
 > you funds through a kollel over there or something like that. my
 > accountant is very unhappy with the way we have done this, through our
 > foundation which was not set up for these kinds of activities. Do you
 > have a kollel (with a bank account) which would be willing to do this?
 >
 > As for the resources, I am working on a few things and hope that all
 > will right itself, so please daven hard. It's in Hashem's hands.
 > Hopefully we'll be Ok and can continue what we have started.

GTG-E000088183

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 kollet 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 Kollet 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] writes:

He said he can do the kollet.

-----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 kollet so the money goes from the kollet to him?

if he can't, then I need to sit down w/Mac Canter 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 kollet, and if it won't work, then I'll add this to the Mac list.

In a message dated 12/24/2002 4:28:01 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[REDACTED] writes:

5/7/2004

5/7/2004

GTG-E000088619

I cannot cut him off from the stipend and the jeep payment. I just cannot do it.

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

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@...] :
 Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 7:24 AM
 To: abramoff@...
 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 painful and debilitating. That's 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 from 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 Hashem's 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

5/7/2004

1/1/2004

GTG-E000088620

>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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Business:

Fax: [REDACTED]

Email: gshalpern@ [REDACTED]

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5/7/2004

GTG-E000088621

wondered after all these years why Hashem turned things around for me. Since the jeep payments will take three years I thought the program would keep running.

Could we just cut back on the monthly supplies.
I won't ask for any more supplies.

- >My brother I am afraid to tell you that I have been having some financial
- >stresses which might require me to cut back on my help this coming year.
- >Can you let me know whether you might be able to find some other sources to
- >supplement what I can do next year? Sorry about this my brother, but
- >ultimately the resources are up to Hashem.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[REDACTED]
Silver Spring, MD [REDACTED]
Business: [REDACTED]
Fax: [REDACTED]
Email: gshalpern@[REDACTED]

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5/8/2004

GTG-E000088185

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dk-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 stationery 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 [mailto: [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 with 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 stumel 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]

5/17/2004

GTG-E000088619

I cannot cut him off from the stipend and the jeep payment. I just cannot do it.

—Original Message—

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 7:24 AM
 To: abramoff@...
 Subject: Re: financial difficulties

BH

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You are also right brother. I need emuna. We're E'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 painful and debilitating. That's the reason for the anxiety.

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My real mother begged my father to bring me up kum before the complications took her. Which is why my uncle sent me to Hikei 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.

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I know that I sound selfish. I have one child, you have so many more people to take care of and deserve Hashem's 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

5/17/2004

GTG-E000080620

- >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: ghalpern@[REDACTED]

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5/11/2004

5/11/2004

GTG-E00000662

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 26, 2002 4:26 PM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: Lila tov!

They are being ridiculous. tell them that all the money will come into the Kolliel account, which can be in their bank. Same amount of money, but the CAF cannot make the payments directly to you. must be to the kolliel.

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

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, December 26, 2002 11:19 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Lila tov!

BH

Brother I am trying to arrange the kolliel account. They were a little apprehensive when I told them at the bank. They started telling me that they based the loan for the jeep on the past years stipend and foundation letter. I insisted that I have to arrange it somehow, so they said they want the money for the jeep to continue to go through my account and then I can arrange the kolliel account for the stipend. Would this be ok.

We got our new winter uniforms from the police PX. I just need the winter jacket really. But now that ramadan is over things at the kottel are a little back to normal.

I haven't sat down all day. But I have to go back out for a couple of hours just to make shure that the patrol doesn't sit around complaining about how cold it is.

GTG-E00008611

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, December 27, 2002 7:16 AM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: CAF/Shmuel payments

Thanks my brother!

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, December 27, 2002 2:02 AM
To: abramoffj@REDACTED
Subject: Re: CAF/Shmuel payments

BH

Baruch Hashem, Hakadosh Baruch Hu made everything go smoothly this morning. The bank manager helped alot. Here is the new account number:

KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET
(For: Shmuel Ben Zvi)
Account number: [REDACTED]
Main Branch Jerusalem 060

My name must show in parenthesis under or
with KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET.

GTC-E000000511

>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.

Galt R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Business: (301) [REDACTED]
Fax: (301) [REDACTED]
Email: gthalpern@[REDACTED]

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5/1/2004

GTG-E00008862

11:34 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
Profit & Loss
January through December 2002

Jan - Dec 02

Ordinary Income/Expense	
Income	
Contributions Income	
Chevy Chase Bank	10,000.00
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe	25,000.00
Natl Ctr Public Policy Research	450,000.00
Alabama-Coushatta Ent Ctr	50,000.00
Jack Abramoff	991,748.88
[REDACTED]	9,000.00
[REDACTED]	5,000.00
Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians	1,000,000.00
[REDACTED]	3,960.00
M&M Ford-Lincoln-Mercury	225.00
S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus)	25,000.00
Total Contributions Income	2,569,933.88
Tuition-Home School	20,180.00
Total Income	2,590,113.88
Expense	
Amortization Expense	100.00
Bank Service Charges	1,079.87
Charitable Activities	
Eshkol Academy	
Contributions	1,580,000.00
Expenses	19,530.70
Ice Rink Donation	50,000.00
Independent Contractors	48,880.75
Parsonage	
Parsonage/Lapin	32,356.00
Parsonage/Other	6,734.00
Total Parsonage	39,090.00
Rabbi D. Lapin	60,529.00
Real Estate Deposit	40,000.00
Travel	19,873.46
Total Eshkol Academy	1,857,703.91
Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance	96,999.97
Scotland Fundraiser	
Travel	151,030.90
Expenses	15,603.36
Total Scotland Fundraiser	166,634.26
Spy Museum Fundraiser	
Expenses	9,825.00
Independent Contractors	57,860.00
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser	67,685.00
Tuition Assistance	5,452.34
Total Charitable Activities	2,194,475.48
Contributions	371,584.00
Office Supplies	126.39
Professional Fees	
Accounting	11,190.09
Consulting	600.00
Legal Fees	10,416.10
Total Professional Fees	22,106.19
Registered Agent Expense	150.00
Taxes Expense	64.48
Telecom	687.38
Total Expense	2,690,573.70

MB-001940

Page 1

11:34 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis


Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
Profit & Loss
 January through December 2002

	Jan - Dec 02
Net Ordinary Income	-259.91
Other Income/Expense	
Other Income	
Interest Income	
HCNB	8,028.44
ML	52.26
SunTrust	655.88
Total Interest Income	8,736.58
Total Other Income	8,736.58
Net Other Income	8,736.58
Net Income	8,476.67

MB-001941

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
SunTrust Bank							0.00
Transfer	7/31/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	850,000.00	850,000.00
Check	7/8/2002			Acct # 3713 892917 14002	Travel	-42,276.51	807,723.99
Check	7/11/2002	1001	PTACH	Per J. Abramoff	Contributions	-42,500.00	765,223.99
Check	7/15/2002	1002	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 1-15	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	762,383.49
Check	7/15/2002	1003	Colin J. Stevens	July 1-15	Independent ...	-1,259.23	761,124.26
Check	7/15/2002	1004	Rabbi D. Lapin	July 1-15	Travel	-468.50	760,655.76
Check	7/15/2002	1005	Rayna Dubose Assist...	Contribution	Contributions	-1,000.00	759,655.76
Check	7/17/2002	1006	Evan Litwack	CAF Photos	Independent ...	-360.00	759,295.76
Check	7/18/2002	1007	Coplevitz & Carter, L.L.C.	Inv #s 10710, 10725	Legal Fees	-2,777.15	756,498.61
Transfer	7/18/2002		SunTrust Bank	Imprinted checks	Office Supplies	-97.85	756,310.76
Check	7/24/2002	1008	J.P. Mattingly	Funds Transfer	Contributions	-50,000.00	706,310.76
Deposit	7/24/2002			Ice Rink, Inst. #2	Ice Rink	-15,000.00	691,310.76
Check	7/25/2002		Air Travel Network, LLC	Deposit	-SPLIT-	54,860.00	746,170.76
Check	7/25/2002		Jason D. Murdoch	Travel	Expenses	-91,465.00	654,705.76
Check	7/28/2002	1012	Hillel Erdner	Expense reimbursement, sundry items	Contributions	-2,333.95	651,871.81
Check	7/28/2002	1013	Holy Bowers	Reimburse Shmuel orders	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-135.51	651,736.30
Check	7/30/2002	1014	Allison Bozimak	Reimburse CD's	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,501.00	650,235.30
Check	7/31/2002	1019	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 15-31	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-269.80	649,965.50
Check	7/31/2002	1010	Colin J. Stevens	July 15-31	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	647,025.00
Deposit	7/31/2002			Interest	Independent ...	-1,259.23	645,765.77
Check	8/1/2002	1011	The Shores	VOID; Aug rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	Bank Service ...	176.12	645,931.89
Check	8/1/2002	1015	Jack Abramoff	Reimb for Computers for Eshkol	Parsonage/La...	0.00	644,311.19
Deposit	8/1/2002			Deposit	Expenses	-1,620.70	644,311.19
Check	8/2/2002	1016	Holy Bowers	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	-SPLIT-	22,653.58	665,964.77
Check	8/2/2002	1017	Regus Business Centr...	Books, Videos, Supplies	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-2,000.00	664,964.77
Deposit	8/6/2002			Telecomm, August	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,820.70	663,044.07
Transfer	8/6/2002			Deposit	Telecomm	-105.75	662,938.32
Check	8/6/2002	1018	Rabbi D. Lapin	Funds Transfer	-SPLIT-	525,000.00	1,187,938.32
Check	8/6/2002	1019	Connections Consulting	August Rent-reimb to Rabbi Lapin	Contributions	-25,000.00	1,162,938.32
Check	8/12/2002	1020	PTACH	Fundraiser services	Parsonage/La...	-4,039.00	1,158,899.32
Check	8/12/2002	1021	Holy Bowers	Contribution	Independent ...	-10,000.00	1,148,899.32
Check	8/12/2002	1022	Hillel Erdner	Reimburse for Books, videos	Contributions	-257,500.00	891,399.32
Check	8/13/2002	1023	Holy Bowers	Reimburse YCR equity /books	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,400.27	889,999.05
Check	8/13/2002	1024	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-816.67	889,182.38
Transfer	8/15/2002			Funds Transfer	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-14,600.00	874,582.38
Check	8/15/2002	1025	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Contributions	-50,000.00	824,582.38
Check	8/15/2002	1026	Jason D. Murdoch	Aug 1-15	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-3,120.00	821,462.38
Check	8/15/2002	1023	Colin J. Stevens	Aug 1-15	Expenses	-1,065.21	820,397.17
Check	8/15/2002	1024	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 1-15	Independent ...	-1,269.23	819,128.54
Check	8/16/2002	1025	Allison Bozimak	VOID; Reimburse CD's	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	816,188.04
Check	8/20/2002	1026	American Express	Reimburse Air Tr	Kollel Ohel Tl...	0.00	816,188.04
Check	8/20/2002	1027	Holy Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	Travel	-742.50	815,445.54
Check	8/20/2002	1028	Nell Volt	Account analysis fee	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,553.40	813,892.14
Check	8/22/2002	1028	Nell Volt	VOID; Scotland Expenses	Bank Service ...	-86.00	813,793.84
Check	8/23/2002	1030	Laura Lippy	Reimburse for Camera	Expenses	0.00	813,793.84
Check	8/23/2002	1029	Nell Volt	Scotland Expenses	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-3,146.27	811,647.57
Check	8/29/2002	1034	Laura Lippy	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Expenses	-4,229.79	807,420.78
Check	8/29/2002	1035	Mike Williams	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-9,916.00	802,504.78
Check	8/30/2002	1031	Colin J. Stevens	Reimburse for Camera, addl amt	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-3,560.00	798,944.78
Check	8/30/2002	1032	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Scotland Reimbursement Expenses	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-800.00	798,344.78
Check	8/30/2002	1036	Regus Business Centr...	Aug 16-31	Expenses	-5,485.23	792,859.55
Deposit	8/31/2002			Interest	Independent ...	-1,269.23	791,590.32
Transfer	8/2/2002	1033	The Shores	Sept rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,920.50	788,669.82
Check	9/4/2002	1037	Evan Litwack	Telecomm, September	Telecomm	-105.75	788,564.07
Check	9/4/2002	1038	J.P. Mattingly	Interest	SunTrust	-105.75	788,564.07
Check	9/5/2002	1039	Shir Cholim of Great...	Sept rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	Parsonage/La...	-4,050.00	784,729.46
Check	9/6/2002	1040	American Express	Funds Transfer	Contributions	-50,000.00	734,729.46
Transfer	9/13/2002			CAF Brochure	Independent ...	-500.00	734,229.46
Check	9/15/2002	1042	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	CAF Photos	Ice Rink	-10,000.00	724,229.46
Check	9/15/2002	1041	Rabbi D. Lapin	Convert contribution	Contributions	-1,000.00	723,229.46
Check	9/18/2002	1044	Rabbi D. Lapin	Various Business Expenses	Travel	-14,353.54	708,845.82
Check	9/23/2002	1045	Chabad Lubavitch	Funds Transfer	Contributions	-100,000.00	608,845.82
Deposit	9/24/2002			Rev Cont to Yoram Eltinger	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,829.50	606,016.42
Check	9/24/2002	1047	May & Barnard, P.C.	Invoice #15186-06-19-02	Independent ...	-1,269.23	604,747.19
Check	9/26/2002	1048	Allison Bozimak	Light / Photon supplies	Travel	0.00	604,747.19
Check	9/26/2002	1048	Allison Bozimak	Fashlights/Alarms/Schmuel	Travel	-323.50	604,323.69
Check	9/26/2002	1048	Allison Bozimak	Books, 1 believe	Contributions	-20,000.00	584,323.69
Check	9/27/2002	1052	K'hal Adath Jeshurun	Services Sept 16-30	Contributions	-10,000.00	574,323.69
Check	9/30/2002	1048	Colin J. Stevens	Services Sept 16-30	Accounting	-775.00	573,548.69
Check	9/30/2002	1050	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Service Charge	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,216.38	572,332.31
Check	9/30/2002			Interest	Kollel Ohel Tl...	-1,216.38	571,115.93
Deposit	9/30/2002			Interest	Bank Service ...	163.35	468,811.03

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Accrual Basis

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

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	10/1/2002	1053	Connections Consulting	Soy Museum Fundraiser	Independent ...	-10,000.00	476,811.03
Check	10/1/2002	1054	Monky Warner	Spy Museum Fundraiser	Independent ...	-15,000.00	461,811.03
Check	10/1/2002	1051	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Kofei Ohel Tr...	-3,560.00	458,251.03
Check	10/3/2002	1055	Rabbi D Lapin	Oct rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	Parsonage/LA...	-4,050.00	454,201.03
Check	10/4/2002	1058	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-4/16-30	Travel	-1,162.80	452,808.13
Check	10/15/2002	1058	American Express		Travel	-1,500.00	451,308.13
Check	10/15/2002	1059	Colin J. Stevens	Oct 1-15/02	Independent ...	-1,334.80	449,973.33
Check	10/15/2002	1060	Dov Lipman-1099	Services 10/1-15/02	Independent ...	-1,269.23	448,704.10
Check	10/15/2002	1091	Rabbi D Lapin	Bonus-10/1-15/02	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,929.50	445,774.60
Check	10/16/2002	1063	Eshkol Academy		Independent ...	-1,500.00	444,274.60
Check	10/16/2002	1062	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, August	Contributions	-3,347.50	440,927.10
Check	10/17/2002	1064	Laurs Lippy	Custom suit expense	Expenses	-793.00	440,134.10
Deposit	10/17/2002	1063	Rabbi Berl Perlon	Deposit	Telecomm	-105.75	340,028.35
Check	10/21/2002	1065	Copelvit & Camar, L...	New Torah	Kofei Ohel Tr...	-1,349.95	338,678.40
Deposit	10/23/2002			Deposit	Furniture, Fod...	1,620.00	340,298.40
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Service Charge	Legal Fees	-17,000.00	323,298.40
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Deposit	Bank Service ...	-376.65	322,921.75
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Deposit		-98.23	322,823.52
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Deposit		450,675.00	773,498.52
Check	10/31/2002	1067	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/16-10/31/02	Contributions	-100,000.00	673,498.52
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-10/16-10/31/02	Independent ...	-1,269.23	672,229.29
Check	11/1/2002	1058	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,829.50	669,399.79
Check	11/1/2002	1070	Rabbi Eric Paul	Nov rent #621, Rabbi D. Lapin	Independent ...	-1,500.00	667,899.79
Check	11/8/2002	1071	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust	117.85	668,017.64
Check	11/8/2002	1072	American Express		Kofei Ohel Tr...	-3,560.00	664,357.64
Check	11/8/2002	1073	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, November	Parsonage/LA...	-4,050.00	660,307.64
Check	11/8/2002	1074	Eshkol Academy	Consulting fees	Travel	-463.86	659,843.78
Check	11/8/2002	1075	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/1-11/5/02	Independent ...	-1,000.00	658,843.78
Check	11/8/2002	1076	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Contributions	-1,571.85	657,271.93
Check	11/8/2002	1077	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-11/1-11/5/02	Telecomm	-100,000.00	557,271.93
Check	11/8/2002	1078	Internal Revenue Serv...	Tax deposit coupon-900PF	Independent ...	-106.75	557,165.18
Check	11/8/2002	1080	Laurs Lippy	Custom suit expense	Independent ...	-1,000.00	556,165.18
Check	11/8/2002	1081	Eshkol Academy	Consulting fees	Contributions	-50,000.00	506,165.18
Check	11/8/2002	1081	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Inv thru 11/15/02	Services 11/1-11/5/02	-2,929.50	503,235.68
Check	11/22/2002	1093	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Rabbi D. Lapin	-1,269.23	501,966.45
Check	11/27/2002	1094	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Independent ...	-1,500.00	500,466.45
Check	11/27/2002	1094	Copelvit & Camar, L...	Inv #20138	Independent ...	-1,000.00	499,466.45
Check	11/27/2002	1084	Copelvit & Camar, L...	Consulting fees	Travel	-65.00	498,811.45
Check	11/29/2002	1090	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Expenses	25,000.00	523,811.45
Check	11/30/2002	1086	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/16-11/30	Kofei Ohel Tr...	-1,373.80	522,437.65
Check	11/30/2002	1087	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-11/16-30	Contributions	-50,000.00	472,437.65
Check	11/30/2002	1087	Dov Lipman-1099	Service Charge	Accounting	-3,443.42	468,994.23
Check	11/30/2002	1088	The Shores	Dec rent #621, Rabbi D. Lapin	Travel	-1,000.00	467,994.23
Check	12/3/2002	1089	Rabbi D Lapin	Dec rent #621, Rabbi D. Lapin	Independent ...	-1,000.00	466,994.23
Check	12/3/2002	1091	Metropolitan Agents		Bank Service ...	107.01	467,066.24
Check	12/4/2002	1092	WWR Consulting, Inc.	Deposit	Registered A...	-150.00	466,916.24
Check	12/5/2002	1093	Ilan Kowalsky	Consulting fees	Expenses	-1,197.38	465,718.86
Check	12/6/2002	1094	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Chevy Chase	10,000.00	475,718.86
Check	12/6/2002	1095	Allison Boztrak	Lights & alarms eqps	Independent ...	-6,000.00	469,718.86
Check	12/6/2002	1096	Rabbi D Lapin	Lighting & alarm eqps	Travel	-272.00	469,446.86
Check	12/13/2002	1097	Susan Baker	Travel	Independent ...	-1,000.00	468,446.86
Check	12/15/2002	1098	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Kofei Ohel Tr...	-828.00	467,618.86
Check	12/15/2002	1099	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/1-12/15/02	Travel	-2,207.59	465,411.27
Check	12/15/2002	1100	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-12/1-12/15/02	Accounting	-360.00	465,051.27
Check	12/16/2002	1102	Eshkol Academy	Consulting fees	Independent ...	-1,000.00	464,051.27
Check	12/16/2002	1103	Advocacy Inc	Invitations to CAF Fundraiser	Independent ...	-1,269.23	462,782.04
Check	12/20/2002	1104	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,929.50	459,852.54
Check	12/20/2002	1104	Account Analysis Fee	CAF fundraiser programs	Independent ...	-1,000.00	458,852.54
Check	12/23/2002	1105	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Inv thru 12/22/02	Bank Service ...	161.07	459,013.61
Check	12/28/2002	WR	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Expenses	-10,000.00	349,013.61
					Kofei Ohel Tr...	-3,560.00	345,453.61

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Accrual Basis

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General Ledger
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance	
Check	12/25/2002	WIR...	Eshkol Academy		Contributions	-175,000.00	27,350.82	
Check	12/27/2002	1108	Ice Dreams Hockey, L.L.C.	Consulting fees	Independent ...	-1,000.00	26,350.82	
Deposit	12/27/2002				Jack Abramoff	800,000.00	826,350.82	
Check	12/31/2002	1108	Colin J. Stevens	Services 12/16-31	Independent ...	-1,299.23	825,051.59	
Check	12/31/2002	1107	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/16-31	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,826.50	822,225.09	
Deposit	12/31/2002				Jack Abramoff	200,000.00	1,022,225.09	
Deposit	12/31/2002				SunTrust	49.28	1,022,274.37	
Total SunTrust Bank							1,022,274.37	1,022,274.37
Harbor Capital Acct								
Check	1/3/2002	Trans	Livsar Enterprises, LLC	Transfer (bookkeeping error)	Livsar Enterp...	-200,000.00	802,274.37	
Deposit	1/3/2002		Mississippi Band of C...	Deposit	Mississipi Ba...	500,000.00	1,302,274.37	
Check	1/9/2002	Trans	Eshkol, Inc.	Contribution	Contributions	-100,000.00	1,202,274.37	
Check	1/9/2002		Mark D. Zachares		Independent ...	-5,000.00	1,197,274.37	
Check	1/10/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	Transfer Fee	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,197,246.37	
Deposit	1/15/2002			Deposit	Livsar Enterp...	200,000.00	1,397,246.37	
Check	1/23/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Kollel Ohel TL...	-5,000.00	1,392,246.37	
Deposit	1/31/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	International Wire Fee	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,387,218.37	
Check	2/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer	HONB	2,257.82	1,389,476.19	
Check	2/1/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Kollel Ohel TFI...	-2,000.00	1,387,476.19	
Check	2/7/2002		Mark D. Zachares	Transfer Fee	Independent ...	-28.00	1,387,448.19	
Check	2/8/2002		May & Barnhart, P.C.	Prep 960PF, 1099s, FR164	Bank Service ...	-5,000.00	1,382,448.19	
Check	2/25/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	-SPLIT-	-1,270.00	1,381,178.19	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	2/12/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Lev...	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,380,898.19	
Check	2/25/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Lev...	Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Accounts Pay...	0.00	1,380,898.19	
Deposit	2/28/2002			Interest	Real Estate O...	-40,000.00	1,340,898.19	
Check	3/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	HONB	1,587.12	1,342,485.31	
Check	3/4/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	International Wire Fee	Kollel Ohel TFI...	-2,000.00	1,340,485.31	
Check	3/7/2002	1001	David Litwack		Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,340,457.31	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/8/2002	1002	Yoram Ellinger's Publ...		Independent ...	-8,000.00	1,332,457.31	
Check	3/8/2002	1003	GIFT School		Accounts Pay...	-10,000.00	1,322,457.31	
Check	3/8/2002	1004	PPF		Contributions	-14,000.00	1,308,457.31	
Check	3/11/2002	1016	Bethesda Chevy Ches...	Sevmitl Memorial Dinner	Contributions	-600.00	1,307,857.31	
Check	3/11/2002	1017	DC Washington Scores		Contributions	-500.00	1,312,797.82	
Check	3/11/2002	1018	Boys & Girls Club	VOID:	Contributions	-500.00	1,312,297.82	
Check	3/11/2002	1019	Howard Co. Youth Pro...		Contributions	-500.00	1,311,797.82	
Check	3/11/2002	1020	Washington Tennis E...		Contributions	-500.00	1,311,297.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1024	Alexandria Police You...		Contributions	-500.00	1,310,797.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1022	American Youth Soco...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,310,297.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1023	Beltze Youth Soccer		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,309,797.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1023	Boy Scouts of America		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,311,297.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1025	Columbia Heights You...		Accounts Pay...	-600.00	1,310,697.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1027	Girl Scout Council-Na...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,310,197.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1029	JCC Greater Washing...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,309,697.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1026	Joy of Sports Founda...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,309,197.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1021	Metropolitan Police Bo...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,308,697.82	
Bill Pmt - Ch...	3/11/2002	1030	YMCA of Metropolitan ...		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,308,197.82	
Check	3/13/2002	1005	Montgomery County		Accounts Pay...	-500.00	1,307,697.82	
Check	3/14/2002	1026	Capitol Hill Club		Expenses	-495.00	1,307,202.82	
Check	3/25/2002	1007	Colin J. Stevens	Bookkeeping error-reimb In April by JA	Contributions	-5,000.00	1,302,202.82	
Check	3/28/2002			Consulting	Independent ...	-7,000.00	1,295,202.82	
Deposit	3/29/2002			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-45.00	1,295,157.82	
Check	3/29/2002	1009	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Interest	HONB	1,685.17	1,296,842.99	
Check	4/1/2002	1008	The Shores		HONB	-3,500.00	1,293,342.99	
Check	4/2/2002	1010	Bradley Investigative ...	Background Check, C. Stevens	Parsonage/La...	-3,000.00	1,290,342.99	
Check	4/2/2002		Lehngton Group, LLC		Expenses	-1,000.00	1,289,342.99	
Check	4/2/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Lehngton Gro...	-5,000.00	1,284,342.99	
Check	4/2/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	Wire Fee	Kollel Ohel TFI...	-2,000.00	1,282,342.99	
Transfer	4/11/2002			Funds Transfer	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,282,314.99	
Check	4/12/2002	1011	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Rev Cont in Emer to Cap Hill Club	Contributions	-20,000.00	1,262,314.99	
Check	4/15/2002	1012	Bradley Investigative ...	Consulting Apr 1-15, 2002	Rabbi D. Lapin	-3,500.00	1,258,814.99	
Check	4/15/2002	1013	Colin J. Stevens	Background Check, C. Stevens	Expenses	-250.00	1,259,314.99	
Transfer	4/18/2002		Jack Abramoff	Mar 25-Apr 14 Consulting	Independent ...	-250.00	1,259,064.99	
Deposit	4/28/2002			Funds Transfer	Contributions	-60,000.00	1,199,064.99	
Check	4/30/2002	1031	Colin J. Stevens	Rev Cont in Emer to Cap Hill Club	Contributions	-5,000.00	1,237,161.15	
Check	4/30/2002	1033	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Apr 16-30, 2002	Independent ...	-1,903.84	1,235,257.31	
Check	4/30/2002			Consulting Apr 16-30	Rabbi D. Lapin	-1,269.23	1,233,988.08	
Deposit	4/30/2002			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-45.00	1,233,943.08	
Check	5/1/2002	1014	Coplevitz & Canter, L.L.C.	Invoice #18552	HONB	1,638.84	1,235,581.92	
Check	5/1/2002	1015	Washington Redskins ...	Golf Tournament	Legal Fees	-2,581.25	1,233,000.67	
Check	5/1/2002	1032	The Shores	May Rent, Apt. B21	Contributions	-4,000.00	1,228,999.67	
Check	5/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Parsonage/La...	-1,030.00	1,197,969.67	
Check	5/1/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	International Wire Fee	Kollel Ohel TFI...	-2,000.00	1,195,969.67	
Check	5/7/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,195,941.67	
Check	5/7/2002		Harbor Capital Natio...	International Wire Fee	Kollel Ohel TFI...	-2,000.00	1,193,941.67	
Check	5/8/2002	1034	Rabbi Moshe Bleich	Miscellaneous Debt	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,193,913.67	
Check	5/8/2002	1035	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Parsonage/La...	-2,734.00	1,191,179.67	
					Rabbi D. Lapin	-3,080.00	1,188,099.67	

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
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Accrual Basis

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Deposit	5/1/2002			Deposit	-SPLIT-	11,540.00	1,186,046.51
Transfer	5/14/2002			Funds Transfer	Contributions	-50,000.00	1,146,046.51
Check	6/15/2002	1036	Colin J. Stevens	May 1-15, 2002	Independent ...	-1,259.23	1,144,777.28
Check	6/15/2002	1037	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	1,141,936.78
Check	5/18/2002	1038	Toward Tradition		Contributions	-10,000.00	1,133,836.78
Check	5/20/2002	1039	Coplevitz & Canter, L.L.	Invoice #19619	Legal Fees	-2,105.05	1,131,731.73
Check	5/20/2002	1040	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Services thru May 15	Accounting	-1,295.00	1,130,436.73
Transfer	5/23/2002			Funds Transfer	Contributions	-100,000.00	1,030,436.73
Check	5/23/2002	1055	Lexington Group, LLC	Bank acct? Mr to Eshkol?	Lexington Gro...	-5,000.00	1,025,436.73
Check	5/23/2002	1041	Shaui's Market	Teachers Meeting	Expenses	-600.00	1,024,836.73
Check	5/28/2002	1041	Regus Business Centr...	June phone & install	Telecomm	-158.63	1,024,778.10
Check	5/31/2002	1042	Colin J. Stevens	May 16-31, 2002	Independent ...	-1,269.23	1,023,508.87
Check	5/31/2002	1043	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	May 16-31, 2002	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	1,020,668.37
Check	5/31/2002	1044	The Shores	June Rent, Apt. 621	Parsonage/LLC	-4,039.00	1,016,629.37
Check	5/31/2002	1045	Rabbi D Lapin		Travel	-703.81	1,015,925.56
Check	5/31/2002			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-50.00	1,015,775.56
Deposit	5/31/2002			Interest	HONB	432.91	1,016,208.47
Check	6/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-2,000.00	1,014,208.47
Check	6/4/2002			Wire Fee	Bank Service ...	-28.00	1,014,230.47
Check	6/8/2002	1046	The Voice Behind		Contributions	-1,000.00	1,013,230.47
Check	6/7/2002	1047	The Voice Behind		Contributions	-1,500.00	1,011,730.47
Check	6/11/2002	1048	Evan Linback	Brochure Services	Consulting	-50.00	1,011,230.47
Check	6/12/2002	1049	Alison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-844.44	1,010,386.03
Check	6/15/2002	1050	Colin J. Stevens	June 1-15, 2002	Independent ...	-1,269.23	1,009,116.80
Check	6/15/2002	1051	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	June 1-15	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,840.50	1,006,276.30
Check	6/18/2002	1052	Alison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-54.44	1,006,121.86
Transfer	6/20/2002			Funds Transfer	Contributions	-100,000.00	906,121.86
Check	6/24/2002	1053	J. P. Mattingly	Ice Risk Insurment #1	Ice Risk	-15,000.00	891,121.86
Check	6/28/2002	1059	Hillel Broder	Supplies	Office Supplies	-28.54	891,093.32
Check	6/28/2002	1060	American Express-De...	ReimbA Bozniak-Tapes for IBP	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-198.45	890,894.87
Check	6/28/2002			Service Charge	HONB	-60.00	890,834.87
Deposit	6/28/2002			Interest	HONB	378.21	891,213.08
Check	6/30/2002	1057	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	June 16-30	Rabbi D. Lapin	-2,940.50	888,272.58
Check	6/30/2002	1058	Colin J. Stevens	June 16-30	Independent ...	-1,269.23	887,003.35
Check	7/1/2002	1056	The Shores	July Rent, Apt. #621	Parsonage/LLC	-4,039.00	882,964.35
Check	7/1/2002	1061	Regus Business Centr...	Telecomm-Main #, July	Telecomm	-105.75	882,858.60
Check	7/2/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-2,000.00	880,858.60
Transfer	7/8/2002			Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	-850,000.00	30,858.60
Check	7/8/2002	1062	The Waldorf School of ...	Contribution	Contributions	-6,000.00	24,858.60
Check	7/8/2002	1063	American Express-De...	ReimbABozniak-books & tapes for S...	Koliel Ohel TIL...	-513.75	24,344.85
Deposit	7/19/2002	Trans...	Eshkol Academy		Contributions	-10,000.00	14,344.85
Deposit	7/28/2002			Interest	HONB	83.77	14,428.62
Check	7/31/2002			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-15.00	14,413.62
Check	8/30/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Wire Fee (part of 6/2028.00 ?)	Bank Service ...	-28.00	14,385.62
Check	8/30/2002			Interest	HONB	8.70	14,394.32
Check	8/30/2002			Service Charge	Bank Service ...	-25.00	14,369.32
Deposit	8/30/2002			Interest	HONB	3.05	14,372.37
Deposit	10/31/2002			Interest	HONB	3.05	14,375.42
Deposit	11/30/2002			Interest	HONB	2.85	14,378.27
Deposit	12/31/2002			Interest	HONB	3.15	14,381.42
Total Harbor Capital Acct						-886,488.56	14,374.42
Merrill Lynch CMA							
Check	1/3/2002	811	Jewish Federation of ...		Contributions	-5,000.00	17,443.14
Check	1/3/2002	812	Committee for Wester...	VOID:	Contributions	0.00	12,443.14
Check	1/23/2002	813	Anton Design	Layout, Lexington Grp Bus, Cards	AVR-Lexington	-150.00	12,293.14
Deposit	1/31/2002	Deposit		Deposit	-SPLIT-	8,805.00	21,098.14
Deposit	1/31/2002			Interest	ML	11.83	21,109.97
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/15/2002	814	Ben Mackler	Web Site work/hosting	Accounts Pay...	-3,875.00	17,234.97
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/15/2002	815	Taylor: Simonson-1099	Consulting	Accounts Pay...	-200.00	17,034.97
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/19/2002	816	Taylor University	Student Rugerua, Ivan outstanding ...	Accounts Pay...	-5,452.34	11,582.63
Deposit	2/28/2002			Interest	ML	7.70	11,590.33
Bill Pmt-Ch...	3/6/2002	817	Adelberg, Rudow, Dor...		Accounts Pay...	-530.00	11,060.33
Deposit	3/28/2002			Interest	ML	4.54	11,064.87
Deposit	4/4/2002			Deposit	-SPLIT-	5,750.52	16,815.39
Deposit	4/30/2002			Interest	ML	6.88	16,822.27
Deposit	5/31/2002			Interest	ML	6.98	16,829.25
Deposit	6/5/2002			Deposit	-SPLIT-	2,860.00	19,689.25
Deposit	6/28/2002			Interest	ML	8.89	19,698.12
Deposit	7/1/2002			Deposit	-SPLIT-	4,800.00	24,498.12
General Jou...	7/10/2002	4		Returned Check		-2,000.00	22,498.12
Check	7/11/2002		Merrill Lynch	Returned Deposit Fee	Bank Service ...	-10.00	22,488.12
Deposit	7/31/2002			Interest	ML	7.48	22,495.60
Deposit	8/1/2002	2253...	Merrill Lynch	To close acct 819-04348	SunTrust Bank	-22,645.12	7.48
Deposit	8/1/2002	2271...	Merrill Lynch	To close acct 819-04348	SunTrust Bank	-7.48	0.00
Total Merrill Lynch CMA						-47,443.14	0.00
Suspense Bank							0.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Total Suspense Bank							0.00
A/R-Archives Restaurant Group							0.00
Bill	2/21/2002	45857	Adelberg, Rudow, Dor...		Accounts Pay...	44.00	44.00
Total A/R-Archives Restaurant Group						44.00	44.00
A/R-Abramoff Family Fund							0.00
Check	2/7/2002		May & Barnhard, P.C.	Prepare MD personal property return	Harbor Capita...	60.00	60.00
Total A/R-Abramoff Family Fund						60.00	60.00
A/R-Lexington							675.00
Check	1/23/2002	813	Anton Design	Layout, Lexington Grp Bus. Cards	Merril Lynch ...	150.00	825.00
Deposit	10/23/2002	1137	Jack Abramoff	Reimb for bookkeeping error	SunTrust Bank	-875.00	150.00
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DOR...		Reduce JA Cont by transfers to Lexin...	Jack Abramoff	-150.00	0.00
Total A/R-Lexington						-675.00	0.00
Lexington Group, LLC							0.00
Check	4/9/2002		Lexington Group, LLC		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	5/23/2002		Lexington Group, LLC	Bank error? Xir to Eshkol?	Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	10,000.00
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DON...		Reduce JA Cont by transfers to Lexin...	Jack Abramoff	-10,000.00	0.00
Total Lexington Group, LLC						0.00	0.00
Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road							0.00
Total Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road							0.00
Livisar Enterprises, LLC							0.00
Check	1/3/2002	Trans	Livisar Enterprises, LLC	Transfer (bookkeeping error)	Harbor Capita...	200,000.00	200,000.00
Deposit	1/16/2002		Livisar Enterprises, LLC	Correct bookkeeping error	Harbor Capita...	-200,000.00	0.00
Total Livisar Enterprises, LLC						0.00	0.00
Religious Fixtures							0.00
Total Religious Fixtures							0.00
Web Site							0.00
Bill	2/13/2002	Web ...	Ben Mackler	Web site work / hosting	Accounts Pay...	3,875.00	3,875.00
Total Web Site						3,875.00	3,875.00
Furniture, Fixtures & Equipment							44,117.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DON...		Donation of Thermal Imager	Kollel Chai Trf...	-18,057.00	26,060.00
Check	10/21/2002	1064	Rabbi Ben Perlon	New trash	SunTrust Bank	17,000.00	43,060.00
Total Furniture, Fixtures & Equipment						-1,057.00	42,003.00
Accum Dep-FF&E							-159.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DON...		Donation of Thermal Imager	Kollel Chai Trf...	50.00	-109.00
Total Accum Dep-FF&E						50.00	-109.00
Organization Costs							500.00
Total Organization Costs							500.00
Accum Amort-Org Costs							-250.00
General Jou...	12/31/2002	AMO...		2002 Amortization	Amortization ...	-100.00	-350.00
Total Accum Amort-Org Costs						-100.00	-350.00
Deposits							10,000.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DEP...		To transfer deposit to ice rink	Ice Rink	-10,000.00	0.00
Total Deposits						-10,000.00	0.00
Ice Rink							0.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DEP...		To transfer deposit to ice rink	Deposits	10,000.00	10,000.00
Check	6/24/2002	1053	J.P. Mattingly	Ice Rink Instalment #1	Harbor Capita...	15,000.00	25,000.00
Check	7/24/2002	1008	J.P. Mattingly	Ice Rink, Inst. #2	SunTrust Bank	15,000.00	40,000.00
Check	8/4/2002	1038	J.P. Mattingly	Ice Rink, Inst. #3	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	50,000.00
General Jou...	12/31/2002	ICE ...		Donation of ice rink to Eshkol	Ice Rink Donat...	-60,000.00	0.00
Total Ice Rink						0.00	0.00
Loan Rec, Rabbi D. Lapin							0.00
Total Loan Rec, Rabbi D. Lapin							0.00
Accounts Payable							0.00
Bill	1/21/2002	Rupe...	Taylor University	Student Rugemil, Ivan outstanding b...	Tuition Assist...	-5,452.34	-5,452.34
Bill	2/12/2002	6325	Rifkin, Livingston, Lev...	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Real Estate D...	0.00	-5,452.34
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/12/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Lev...	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Harbor Capita...	0.00	-5,452.34
Bill	2/12/2002	Web ...	Ben Mackler	Web Site work / hosting	Web Site	-3,875.00	-9,327.34
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/12/2002	814	Ben Mackler	Web Site work / hosting	Merril Lynch ...	3,875.00	-5,452.34
Bill	2/12/2002	02-15...	Itamar Simhon-1099	Consulting	Independent ...	-200.00	-5,652.34
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/12/2002	815	Itamar Simhon-1099	Consulting	Merril Lynch ...	200.00	-5,452.34
Bill Pmt-Ch...	2/12/2002	816	Taylor University	Student Rugemil, Ivan outstanding b...	Merril Lynch ...	5,452.34	0.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	SpRt	Amount	Balance
Bill	2/21/2002	45857	Adelberg, Rudow, Dor...		-SPLIT-	-530.00	-530.00
Bill	3/5/2002	03-05...	Yoram Ettinger's Publ...		Contributions	-10,000.00	-10,530.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/6/2002	817	Adelberg, Rudow, Dor...		Merris Lynch ...	530.00	-10,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/6/2002	1002	Yoram Ettinger's Publ...		Harbor Capita...	10,000.00	0.00
Bill	3/11/2002	03-11...	Metropolitan Police Bo...		Contributions	-500.00	-500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		American Youth Soco...		Contributors	-500.00	-1,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Boy Scouts of America		Contributions	-500.00	-1,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Alexandria Police You...		Contributions	-500.00	-2,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Columbia Heights You...		Contributions	-500.00	-2,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Joy of Sports Foundati...		Contributions	-500.00	-3,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Girl Scout Council-Na...		Contributions	-500.00	-3,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Beltze Youth Soccer		Contributions	-500.00	-4,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		JCC Greater Washing...		Contributions	-500.00	-4,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		YMCA of Metropolitan ...		Contributions	-500.00	-5,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1024	Alexandria Police You...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-4,500.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1022	American Youth Soco...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-4,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1026	Beltze Youth Soccer		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-3,500.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1023	Boy Scouts of America		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-3,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1025	Columbia Heights You...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-2,500.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1027	Girl Scout Council-Na...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-2,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1029	JCC Greater Washing...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-1,500.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1028	Joy of Sports Foundati...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-1,000.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1021	Metropolitan Police Bo...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	-500.00
Bill Pmt -Ch...	3/11/2002	1030	YMCA of Metropolitan ...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	0.00
Total Accounts Payable						0.00	0.00
Jack Abramoff Payable							0.00
Total Jack Abramoff Payable							0.00
Payroll Liabilities							0.00
Total Payroll Liabilities							0.00
Sports Suites Payable							0.00
Total Sports Suites Payable							0.00
Investment, Jack Abramoff							0.00
Total Investment, Jack Abramoff							0.00
Opening Bal Equity							-350.24
Total Opening Bal Equity							-350.24
Retained Earnings							-1,074,838.88
Total Retained Earnings							-1,074,838.88
Suspense							0.00
Total Suspense							0.00
Contributions Income							0.00
National Center for Public Pol							0.00
Total National Center for Public Pol							0.00
Atlantic Research & Analysis							0.00
Total Atlantic Research & Analysis							0.00
Sony Electronics Inc.							0.00
Total Sony Electronics Inc.							0.00
[REDACTED]							0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00
Maor Inc.							0.00
Total Maor Inc.							0.00
[REDACTED]							0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00
[REDACTED]							0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00
[REDACTED]							0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00
Chevy Chase Bank							0.00
Deposit 12/4/2002							0.00
Chevy Chase Bank							-10,000.00
Total Chevy Chase Bank							-10,000.00
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe							0.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance	
Deposit	11/16/2002	164654	Saginaw Chippewa Int...	Donation	SunTrust Bank	-25,000.00	-25,000.00	
Total Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe							-25,000.00	-25,000.00
Natl Ctr Public Policy Research						0.00	0.00	
Deposit	10/23/2002	7004	National Center for Pu...	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	-450,000.00	-450,000.00	
Total Natl Ctr Public Policy Research							-450,000.00	-450,000.00
Alabama-Coushatta Ent Ctr						0.00	0.00	
Deposit	7/24/2002	11670	Alabama-Coushatta E...	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	-50,000.00	-50,000.00	
Total Alabama-Coushatta Ent Ctr							-50,000.00	-50,000.00
Jack Abramoff						0.00	0.00	
Deposit	12/27/2002		Jack Abramoff	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	-800,000.00	-800,000.00	
Deposit	12/31/2002		Jack Abramoff	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	-200,000.00	-1,000,000.00	
General Jot...	12/31/2002	DON...		Cabela's purchases for Schmutz-Kay...	Kohl's Dept Tit...	-481.88	-1,000,481.88	
General Jot...	12/31/2002	DON...		Keygold paid Lapin's airfare to LA	Travel	-1,407.00	-1,001,888.88	
General Jot...	12/31/2002	DON...		Reduce JA Cont by transfers to Lexin...	-SPLIT-	10,150.00	-991,748.88	
Total Jack Abramoff							-991,748.88	-991,748.88
GBK Associates						0.00	0.00	
Total GBK Associates							0.00	0.00
[REDACTED]						0.00	0.00	
Deposit	12/1/2002	4175	[REDACTED]	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-2,000.00	
Deposit	4/4/2002	4177	[REDACTED]	Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-4,000.00	
Deposit	5/9/2002	4182	[REDACTED]	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-1,000.00	-5,000.00	
Deposit	6/5/2002	4179	[REDACTED]	Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-7,000.00	
Deposit	7/1/2002	4178	[REDACTED]	Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-9,000.00	
Deposit	7/1/2002	4180	[REDACTED]	Charitable Contribution	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-11,000.00	
General Jot...	7/10/2002	4	[REDACTED]	Returned Check	Merrill Lynch ...	2,000.00	-9,000.00	
Total [REDACTED]							-9,000.00	-9,000.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Coushatta Tribe-Louisiana							0.00	0.00
Total Coushatta Tribe-Louisiana							0.00	0.00
Foxcom Wireless							0.00	0.00
Total Foxcom Wireless							0.00	0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002	1502	[REDACTED]	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-5,000.00	-5,000.00	
Total [REDACTED]							-5,000.00	-5,000.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Capitol Campaign Strategies							0.00	0.00
Total Capitol Campaign Strategies							0.00	0.00
Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians							0.00	0.00
Deposit	1/2/2002	Wire	Mississippi Band of C...	Wire in	Harbor Capita...	-500,000.00	-500,000.00	
Deposit	6/5/2002	231012	Mississippi Band of C...	Services, April 2002	SunTrust Bank	-500,000.00	-1,000,000.00	
Total Mississippi Band Choctaw Indians							-1,000,000.00	-1,000,000.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Total [REDACTED]							0.00	0.00
Deposit	1/1/2002	4552	[REDACTED]	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-660.00	
Deposit	4/4/2002	4553	[REDACTED]	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-1,320.00	
Deposit	4/4/2002	4554	[REDACTED]	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-1,980.00	
Deposit	5/9/2002	4555	[REDACTED]	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-660.00	-2,640.00	
Deposit	6/5/2002	4556	[REDACTED]	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-3,300.00	
Deposit	7/1/2002	4557	[REDACTED]	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-660.00	-3,960.00	
Total [REDACTED]							-3,960.00	-3,960.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Total							0.00
M&M Ford-Lincoln-Mercury							0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002	26448	M&M Ford-Lincoln-Me...	Deposit			0.00
Total M&M Ford-Lincoln-Mercury					Merrill Lynch ...	-225.00	-225.00
Total						-225.00	-225.00
Total							0.00
Total							0.00
S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus)							0.00
Deposit	8/6/2002	2655...	S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus) ...	Deposit			0.00
Total S.P.I. Spirits (Cyprus)					SunTrust Bank	-25,000.00	-25,000.00
Total						-25,000.00	-25,000.00
Total							0.00
Contributions Income - Other							0.00
Total Contributions Income - Other							0.00
Total Contributions Income							0.00
Grants						-2,569,933.88	-2,569,933.88
Total Grants							0.00
Legacies & Bequests							0.00
Total Legacies & Bequests							0.00
Membership Dues							0.00
Total Membership Dues							0.00
Miscellaneous Income							0.00
Total Miscellaneous Income							0.00
Reimbursed Expenses							0.00
Total Reimbursed Expenses							0.00
Tuition							0.00
Debra & Jacob Frankel							0.00
Total Debra & Jacob Frankel							0.00
R.H. Greenberg, K. Trimble							0.00
Total R.H. Greenberg, K Trimble							0.00
Tuition - Other							0.00
Total Tuition - Other							0.00
Total Tuition							0.00
Tuition-Home School							0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002	1005	Jerry C. Saunders	Tuition			0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002	4542	Richard H Greenberg	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-720.00	-720.00
Deposit	4/4/2002	4543	Richard H. Greenberg	Tuition	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-920.00
Deposit	4/4/2002	4178	Debra S. & Jacob S. F...	Tuition	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-1,120.00
Deposit	4/4/2002	4544	Richard H. Greenberg	Tuition	Merrill Lynch ...	-2,000.00	-3,120.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	4545	Richard H. Greenberg	Deposit	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-3,320.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	1041	Merion & Bernard Muller	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-200.00	-3,520.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	2098	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-3,200.00	-6,720.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	2097	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-1,820.00	-8,540.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	2100	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-1,820.00	-10,360.00
Deposit	5/9/2002	2100	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Deposit	Harbor Capita...	-1,820.00	-12,180.00
Deposit	6/5/2002	4546	Richard H. Greenberg	Tuition	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-12,380.00
Deposit	7/1/2002	4547	Richard H. Greenberg	Donation	Merrill Lynch ...	-200.00	-12,580.00
Deposit	7/1/2002	4539	Richard H. Greenberg	Invoice date 03-01-02	Merrill Lynch ...	-100.00	-12,680.00
Deposit	7/24/2002	2102	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Invoice date 04-01-02	SunTrust Bank	-1,820.00	-14,500.00
Deposit	7/24/2002	2103	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Invoice date 05-01-02	SunTrust Bank	-1,820.00	-16,320.00
Deposit	10/18/2002	2104	Judah Allen Nathan Fr...	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	-1,820.00	-18,140.00
Total Tuition-Home School						-20,180.00	-20,180.00
Advertising							0.00
Total Advertising							0.00
Amortization Expense							0.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
General Jou...	12/31/2002	AMO...		2002 Amortization	Accum Amort...	100.00	100.00
Total Amortization Expense							
Automobile Expense						100.00	100.00
Total Automobile Expense							0.00
Bank Service Charges							0.00
Check	1/10/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Transfer Fee	Harbor Capita...	28.00	0.00
Check	1/23/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	International Wire Fee	Harbor Capita...	28.00	28.00
Check	2/1/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Transfer Fee	Harbor Capita...	28.00	56.00
Check	2/9/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Transfer Fee	Harbor Capita...	28.00	84.00
Check	3/4/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	International Wire Fee	Harbor Capita...	28.00	112.00
Check	3/29/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	28.00	140.00
Check	4/9/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Wire Fee	Harbor Capita...	45.00	185.00
Check	4/30/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	28.00	213.00
Check	5/1/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Miscellaneous Debit	Harbor Capita...	55.00	268.00
Check	5/7/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Miscellaneous Debit	Harbor Capita...	28.00	296.00
Check	5/31/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	28.00	324.00
Check	6/4/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Wire Fee	Harbor Capita...	50.00	374.00
Check	6/28/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	28.00	402.00
Check	7/1/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	60.00	462.00
Check	7/31/2002		Merrill Lynch	Returned Deposit Fee	Merrill Lynch ...	10.00	472.00
Deposit	7/31/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	15.00	487.00
Check	8/20/2002		SunTrust Bank	Account analysis fee	Sun Trust Bank	-176.12	310.88
Check	8/30/2002		Harbor Capital Nation...	Wire Fee (part of \$2028.00 ?)	SunTrust Bank	96.00	406.88
Check	9/30/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	28.00	434.88
Check	9/30/2002			Service Charge	SunTrust Bank	251.24	686.12
Check	10/21/2002			Service Charge	Harbor Capita...	23.00	711.12
Check	11/30/2002			Service Charge	SunTrust Bank	98.23	809.35
Check	12/20/2002			Service Charge	SunTrust Bank	119.45	928.80
			Account Analysis Fee		SunTrust Bank	151.07	1,079.87
Total Bank Service Charges						1,079.87	1,079.87
Benefits Expense							0.00
Medical							0.00
Total Medical							0.00
Moving Expenses							0.00
Total Moving Expenses							0.00
Benefits Expense - Other							0.00
Total Benefits Expense - Other							0.00
Total Benefits Expense							0.00
Cash Discounts							0.00
Total Cash Discounts							0.00
Charitable Activities							0.00
Eshkol Academy							0.00
Contributions							0.00
Check	1/8/2002	Trans	Eshkol, Inc.	Contribution	Harbor Capita...	100,000.00	100,000.00
Transfer	4/11/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	20,000.00	120,000.00
Transfer	4/18/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	60,000.00	180,000.00
Transfer	5/14/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	50,000.00	230,000.00
Transfer	5/23/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	100,000.00	330,000.00
Check	6/20/2002			Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	100,000.00	430,000.00
Check	7/19/2002	Trans...	Eshkol Academy	Funds Transfer	Harbor Capita...	10,000.00	440,000.00
Transfer	7/23/2002			Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	60,000.00	500,000.00
Transfer	8/9/2002			Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	25,000.00	525,000.00
Transfer	9/2/2002			Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	60,000.00	585,000.00
Transfer	9/13/2002			Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	50,000.00	635,000.00
Check	9/23/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy	Funds Transfer	SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	735,000.00
Check	10/16/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	835,000.00
Check	10/30/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	935,000.00
Check	11/6/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	1,035,000.00
Check	11/15/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	1,135,000.00
Check	11/19/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	60,000.00	1,195,000.00
Check	11/27/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	60,000.00	1,255,000.00
Check	12/16/2002	Wire	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	100,000.00	1,355,000.00
Check	12/28/2002	WIR...	Eshkol Academy		SunTrust Bank	175,000.00	1,530,000.00
Total Contributions						1,530,000.00	1,530,000.00
Expenses							0.00
Check	2/7/2002		May & Barnhard, P.C.	Accounting services	Harbor Capita...	985.00	985.00
Check	3/12/2002	1005	Montgomery County		Harbor Capita...	985.00	1,970.00
Check	4/2/2002	1010	Bradley Investigative	Background Check, C. Stevens	Harbor Capita...	985.00	2,955.00
Check	3/16/2002	1012	Bradley Investigative	Background Check, C. Stevens	Harbor Capita...	985.00	3,940.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	5/25/2002	1055	Shaul's Market	Teachers' Meeting	Harbor Capita...	500.00	2,910.00
Check	8/1/2002	1015	Jack Abramoff	Reim for Computers for Eshkol	SunTrust Bank	1,820.70	4,530.70
Check	12/20/2002	Wire	Michael Raehes		SunTrust Bank	15,000.00	19,530.70
Total Expenses						19,530.70	19,530.70
Ice Rink Donation							
General J...	12/31/2002	ICE ...		Donation of ice rink to Eshkol	Ice Rink	50,000.00	50,000.00
Total Ice Rink Donation						50,000.00	50,000.00
Independent Contractors							
Bill	2/15/2002	02-15...	Itamar Simhon-1099	Itamar Simhon	Accounts Pay...	200.00	0.00
Check	3/25/2002	1007	Colin J. Stevens	Consulting	Harbor Capita...	7,000.00	7,200.00
Check	4/15/2002	1013	Colin J. Stevens	Mar 25-Apr 14 Consulting	Harbor Capita...	1,903.84	9,103.84
Check	4/30/2002	1031	Colin J. Stevens	Apr 16-30, 2002	Harbor Capita...	1,269.23	10,373.07
Check	5/15/2002	1036	Colin J. Stevens	May 1-15, 2002	Harbor Capita...	1,269.23	11,642.30
Check	5/31/2002	1042	Colin J. Stevens	May 16-31, 2002	Harbor Capita...	1,269.23	12,911.53
Check	6/15/2002	1050	Colin J. Stevens	June 1-15, 2002	Harbor Capita...	1,269.23	14,180.76
Check	6/30/2002	1058	Colin J. Stevens	June 16-30	Harbor Capita...	1,269.23	15,449.99
Check	7/15/2002	1003	Colin J. Stevens	July 1-15	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	16,719.22
Check	7/31/2002	1010	Colin J. Stevens	July 16-31	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	17,988.45
Check	8/15/2002	1023	Colin J. Stevens	Aug 1-15	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	19,257.68
Check	8/30/2002	1031	Colin J. Stevens	Aug 16-31	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	20,526.91
Check	9/15/2002	1043	Colin J. Stevens	Sept 1-15	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	21,796.14
Check	9/30/2002	1049	Colin J. Stevens	Sept 16-30	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	23,065.37
Check	10/4/2002	1056	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-9/16-30	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	24,565.37
Check	10/15/2002	1058	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-10/1-15/02	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	25,834.60
Check	10/15/2002	1060	Dov Lipman-1099	Services 10/16-10/31/02	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	27,103.83
Check	10/31/2002	1068	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-10/16-10/31/02	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	28,373.06
Check	11/1/2002	1071	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	30,103.83
Check	11/8/2002	1074	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	31,103.83
Check	11/15/2002	1076	Colin J. Stevens	Services 11/1-11/15/02	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	32,103.83
Check	11/8/2002	1077	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-11/1-11/15/02	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	33,373.06
Check	11/15/2002	1078	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	34,873.06
Check	11/22/2002	1083	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	35,873.06
Check	11/28/2002	1090	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	36,873.06
Check	11/30/2002	1085	Colin J. Stevens	Services 11/16-11/30	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	37,873.06
Check	11/30/2002	1087	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-11/16-30	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	39,142.29
Check	12/5/2002	1084	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	40,642.29
Check	12/13/2002	1101	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Services 12/1-12/15/02	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	41,642.29
Check	12/15/2002	1096	Colin J. Stevens	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	42,642.29
Check	12/15/2002	1100	Dov Lipman-1099	Bonus-12/1-12/15/02	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	43,911.52
Check	12/20/2002	1104	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	45,411.52
Check	12/27/2002	1108	Ice Dreams Hockey, L...	Consulting fees	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	46,411.52
Check	12/31/2002	1106	Colin J. Stevens	Services 12/16-31	SunTrust Bank	1,269.23	47,680.75
Total Independent Contractors						48,680.75	48,680.75
Parsonage							
Parsonage/Lapin							0.00
Check	4/1/2002	1008	The Shores		Harbor Capita...	3,000.00	3,000.00
Check	5/1/2002	1032	The Shores	May Rent, Apt. 621	Harbor Capita...	1,039.00	4,039.00
Check	5/31/2002	1044	The Shores	June Rent, Apt. 621	Harbor Capita...	4,039.00	8,078.00
Check	7/1/2002	1056	The Shores	July Rent, Apt. 621	Harbor Capita...	4,039.00	12,117.00
Check	8/1/2002	1011	The Shores	VOID: Aug rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	SunTrust Bank	0.00	12,117.00
Check	8/8/2002	1018	Rabbi D Lapin	August Rent- reimb to Rabbi Lapin	SunTrust Bank	4,039.00	16,156.00
Check	9/1/2002	1033	The Shores	Sept rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	SunTrust Bank	4,050.00	20,206.00
Check	10/1/2002	1051	The Shores	Oct rent #621, Rav D. Lapin	SunTrust Bank	4,050.00	24,256.00
Check	11/1/2002	1099	The Shores	Nov rent #621, Rabbi D. Lapin	SunTrust Bank	4,050.00	28,306.00
Check	12/1/2002	1088	The Shores	Dec rent #621, Rabbi D. Lapin	SunTrust Bank	4,050.00	32,356.00
Total Parsonage/Lapin						32,356.00	32,356.00
Parsonage/Other							0.00
Check	5/8/2002	1034	Rabbi Moshe Bleich		Harbor Capita...	6,734.00	6,734.00
Total Parsonage/Other						6,734.00	6,734.00
Parsonage - Other							0.00
Total Parsonage							6,734.00
Rabbi D. Lapin						39,090.00	39,090.00
Check	3/1/2002	1009	Rabbi David Lapin-1099		Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	3,500.00
Check	4/12/2002	1011	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Consulting Apr 1-15, 2002	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	7,000.00
Check	4/30/2002	1033	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Consulting Apr 16-30	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	10,500.00
Check	5/8/2002	1035	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	14,000.00
Check	5/15/2002	1037	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	17,500.00
Check	5/31/2002	1043	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	21,000.00
Check	6/15/2002	1051	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Balance, May Parsonage	Harbor Capita...	3,500.00	24,500.00

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	8/30/2002	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	8/15/2002	1024	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	31,223.00
Check	8/30/2002	1032	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	34,163.50
Check	8/15/2002	1042	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	37,093.00
Check	9/30/2002	1050	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Sept 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	40,022.50
Check	10/15/2002	1059	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services Sept 15-30	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	42,952.00
Check	10/31/2002	1067	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/1-15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	45,881.50
Check	11/15/2002	1075	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/16-10/31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	48,811.00
Check	11/30/2002	1086	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/1-11/30/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	51,740.50
Check	12/15/2002	1099	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/1-12/15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,928.50	54,670.00
Check	12/31/2002	1107	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,928.50	57,599.50
Total Rabbi D. Lapin						60,528.00	60,528.00
Real Estate Deposit							
Bill	2/12/2002	8325	Eshkol Academy	VOID: Deposit, 8325 Griffith Road	Accounts Pay...	0.00	0.00
Check	2/25/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Lev...	Deposit on site for school-later forfeit...	Harbor Capita...	0.00	0.00
Total Real Estate Deposit						40,000.00	40,000.00
Travel						40,000.00	40,000.00
Check	5/31/2002	1045	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimbursement		0.00	0.00
Check	7/15/2002	1004	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimbursement	Harbor Capita...	703.81	703.81
Check	8/20/2002	1026	American Express	Reimburse Air Tr	SunTrust Bank	486.50	1,172.31
Check	8/15/2002	1041	Rabbi D Lapin		SunTrust Bank	742.80	1,915.11
Check	8/18/2002	1044	Rabbi D Lapin		SunTrust Bank	0.00	1,915.11
Check	10/3/2002	1055	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Travel	SunTrust Bank	323.50	2,238.61
Check	10/15/2002	1061	Rabbi D Lapin	Tips to DC from LA	SunTrust Bank	1,162.90	3,401.51
Check	11/1/2002	1070	Rabbi Eric Paul	Tips to DC from LA-Oct 2002	SunTrust Bank	3,347.50	6,749.01
Check	11/19/2002	1082	American Express	Travel exp-Seattle/DC	SunTrust Bank	463.85	7,212.87
Check	12/5/2002	1089	Rabbi D Lapin	VOID: Various Business Expenses	SunTrust Bank	0.00	7,212.87
Check	12/5/2002	1093	Ilan Kowalsky	Travel reimb	SunTrust Bank	416.00	7,628.87
Check	12/6/2002	Wire	Ilan Kowalsky	Travel & fees	SunTrust Bank	272.00	7,900.87
Check	12/9/2002	1096	Rabbi D Lapin	Tickets to/from Israel	SunTrust Bank	6,528.00	14,428.87
General Jot...	12/9/2002	DOH...	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Lapin's AmEx	SunTrust Bank	2,207.59	16,636.46
				Keygold paid Lapin's airfare to LA	Jack Abramoff	1,407.00	18,043.46
Total Travel						18,873.46	18,873.46
Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy						1,857,703.91	1,857,703.91
Koflet Ohel Tiharet, Sec Enhance							0.00
General Jot...	1/1/2002	DOH...					
Check	1/23/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Donation of Thermal Imager	-SPLIT-	18,007.00	18,007.00
Check	2/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	23,007.00
Check	3/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	25,007.00
Check	4/5/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	27,007.00
Check	5/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	29,007.00
Check	5/7/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	31,007.00
Check	6/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	1,000.00	32,007.00
Check	8/12/2002	1049	Allison Boznik	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,900.00	34,907.00
Check	8/18/2002	1052	Allison Boznik	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	844.44	34,062.56
Check	8/28/2002	1050	Allison Boznik	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	54.44	34,008.12
Check	7/8/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Reimb'A Boznik-Tapes for IBP	Harbor Capita...	198.45	35,106.57
Check	7/8/2002	1053	American Express-De...	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	37,106.57
Check	7/23/2002	1012	Hillel Broder	Reimb'A Boznik-books & tapes for G...	Harbor Capita...	613.75	37,720.32
Check	7/28/2002	1013	Holly Bowers	Expense reimbursement, sundry items	SunTrust Bank	135.51	37,855.83
Check	7/30/2002	1014	Holly Bowers	Reimburse Shmuel orders	SunTrust Bank	1,501.00	39,356.83
Check	8/2/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	268.80	39,625.63
Check	8/2/2002	1016	Holly Bowers	Books, Videos, Supplies	SunTrust Bank	2,000.00	41,625.63
Check	8/12/2002	1021	Hillel Broder	Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	1,620.70	43,446.09
Check	8/12/2002	1022	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	1,400.87	44,846.96
Check	8/13/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Reimburse, VCR equip / books	SunTrust Bank	816.67	45,663.63
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	For new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	14,800.00	60,463.63
Check	8/19/2002	1025	Allison Boznik	VOID: Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	3,120.00	63,383.63
Check	8/20/2002	1027	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	0.00	63,383.63
Check	8/23/2002	1030	Laura Lippy	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	1,653.40	64,937.03
Check	8/26/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	VOID: Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	2,148.27	67,085.30
Check	8/26/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Reimburse for Cameras, addl amt	SunTrust Bank	4,919.00	72,004.30
Check	8/29/2002	1034	Laura Lippy	For new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,600.00	75,604.30
Check	9/24/2002	1048	Allison Boznik	Reimburse for Cameras, addl amt	SunTrust Bank	600.00	76,204.30
Check	9/28/2002	1048	Allison Boznik	Light / Photon supplies	SunTrust Bank	1,241.86	77,446.16
Check	10/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Reimburse for Cameras, addl amt	SunTrust Bank	1,315.38	78,761.54
Check	10/17/2002	1063	Laura Lippy	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,590.00	82,271.54
Check	11/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Custom suit expense	SunTrust Bank	13,641.85	95,913.39
Check	11/18/2002	1080	Laura Lippy	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	1,500.00	97,413.39
Check	11/27/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,373.50	100,786.89
					SunTrust Bank	3,390.00	104,176.89

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Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	12/8/2002	1095	Alison Boznjak	Lights & alarms exps	SunTrust Bank	826.00	92,948.09
Check	12/28/2002	WR...	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	461.88	96,999.87
Total Kofei Ohei Tiferet Sec Enhance						96,999.87	96,999.87
Scotland Fundraiser							0.00
Travel							0.00
Check	7/8/2002		American Express	Acct # 3713 892817 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	14,363.54	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	7/28/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdoch 1	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	2,833.95	2,833.95
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdoch 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	13,613.00
Check	10/19/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdoch	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	793.00	14,406.00
Check	12/3/2002	Trans...	Jason D. Murdoch	Scottish Trip Expenses-\$750 US\$	SunTrust Bank	1,197.38	15,603.38
Total Expenses						15,603.38	15,603.38
Independent Contractors							0.00
Total Independent Contractors							0.00
Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser						166,634.28	166,634.28
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 Libwack		Harbor Capita...	6,000.00	16,000.00
Check	7/17/2002	1009	Evan Libwack	CAF Photos	SunTrust Bank	360.00	16,360.00
Check	8/6/2002	1019	Connections Consulting	Fundraiser services	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	26,360.00
Check	8/4/2002	1037	Evan Libwack	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	1062	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	12/1/2002	Ruge...	Taylor University	Student Rugema 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	1/5/2002	811	Jewish Federation of		Merill Lynch ...	6,000.00	6,000.00
Check	1/3/2002	812	Committee for West...	VOID	Merill Lynch...	0.00	6,000.00
Bill	3/5/2002	03-05	Yoram Ettinger 1		Accounts Pay...	10,000.00	16,000.00
Check	3/8/2002	1003	GIFT School		Harbor Capita...	14,800.00	30,800.00
Check	3/8/2002	1004	PPF	Savimbi Memorial Dinner	Harbor Capita...	900.00	30,000.00

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Accrual Basis

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

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	3/11/2002	1016	Bethesda Chevy Chas...				
Check	3/11/2002	1017	DC Washington Scores		Harbor Capita...	500.00	30,600.00
Check	3/11/2002	1018	Boys & Girls Club	VOID:	Harbor Capita...	500.00	31,000.00
Check	3/11/2002	1019	Howard Co. Youth Pro...		Harbor Capita...	0.00	31,000.00
Check	3/11/2002	1020	Washington Tennis E...		Harbor Capita...	500.00	32,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002	03-11...	Metro Police BGC 1		Harbor Capita...	500.00	32,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		American Youth Soco...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	33,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Boy Scouts of America		Accounts Pay...	500.00	33,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Alexandria Police You...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	33,600.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Columbia Heights You...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	34,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Joy of Sports Foundat...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	34,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Girl Scout Council-Na...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	35,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		Beize Youth Soccer		Accounts Pay...	500.00	35,500.00
Bill	3/11/2002		JCC Greater Washing...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	36,000.00
Bill	3/11/2002		YMCA of Metropolitan ...		Accounts Pay...	500.00	36,500.00
Check	3/14/2002	1006	Capitol Hill Club	Bookkeeping error-remb in April by JA	Accounts Pay...	500.00	37,000.00
Deposit	4/29/2002	1016	Jack Abramoff	Corrects disallowed cont. to Cap Hill	Harbor Capita...	500.00	42,000.00
Check	5/1/2002	1015	Washington Redskins ...	Golf Tournament	Harbor Capita...	4,000.00	37,000.00
Check	5/16/2002	1039	Toward Tradition		Harbor Capita...	4,000.00	41,000.00
Check	8/8/2002	1046	The Voice Behind		Harbor Capita...	10,000.00	51,000.00
Check	8/7/2002	1047	The Voice Behind		Harbor Capita...	1,000.00	52,000.00
Check	7/8/2002	1062	The Waldorf School of...	Contribution	Harbor Capita...	1,500.00	53,500.00
Check	7/11/2002	1001	PTACH	Per J. Abramoff	Harbor Capita...	6,000.00	59,500.00
Check	7/15/2002	1005	Royal Dubose Assist...	Contribution	SunTrust Bank	42,500.00	102,000.00
Check	8/12/2002	1020	PTach	Contribution	SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	103,000.00
Check	9/5/2002	1039	Blair Cholin of Great...	Concert contribution	SunTrust Bank	257,500.00	360,500.00
Check	9/25/2002	1046	Chatbad Lubavitch		SunTrust Bank	1,000.00	361,500.00
Deposit	9/24/2002	1418	KeyGold, LLC	Corrects incorrect donation to Yoram...	SunTrust Bank	20,000.00	381,500.00
Check	9/27/2002	1052	Khal Adath Jeshurun...	Books, I believe	SunTrust Bank	-10,000.00	371,500.00
						84.00	371,584.00
Total Contributions - Other						371,584.00	371,584.00
Total Contributions							
Depreciation Expense						371,584.00	371,584.00
Total Depreciation Expense							0.00
Dues and Subscriptions							0.00
Total Dues and Subscriptions							0.00
Equipment Rental							0.00
Total Equipment Rental							0.00
Home School Program Expenses							0.00
Total Home School Program Expenses							0.00
Insurance							0.00
Disability Insurance							0.00
Total Disability Insurance							0.00
Liability Insurance							0.00
Total Liability Insurance							0.00
Insurance - Other							0.00
Total Insurance - Other							0.00
Total Insurance							0.00
Interest Expense							0.00
Finance Charge							0.00
Total Finance Charge							0.00
Loan Interest							0.00
Total Loan Interest							0.00
Mortgage							0.00
Total Mortgage							0.00
Interest Expense - Other							0.00
Total Interest Expense - Other							0.00
Total Interest Expense							0.00
Licenses and Permits							0.00
Total Licenses and Permits							0.00
Miscellaneous							0.00

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

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Accrual Basis

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Sp/Tr	Amount	Balance
Total Miscellaneous							0.00
Office Supplies							0.00
Check	8/28/2002	1059	Hillel Broder	Supplies	Harbor Capita...	28.54	28.54
Check	7/18/2002		SunTrust Bank	Imprinted checks	SunTrust Bank	97.85	126.39
Total Office Supplies						126.39	126.39
Payroll Expenses							0.00
Total Payroll Expenses							0.00
Postage and Delivery							0.00
Total Postage and Delivery							0.00
Printing and Reproduction							0.00
Total Printing and Reproduction							0.00
Professional Fees							0.00
Bookkeeping							0.00
Total Bookkeeping							0.00
Accounting							0.00
Check	2/7/2002		May & Barnhard, P.C.	Prep 900PF,1099s,FR164	Harbor Capita...	545.00	545.00
Check	5/20/2002	1040	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Services thru May 15	Harbor Capita...	1,295.00	1,840.00
Check	9/24/2002	1047	May & Barnhard, P.C.	Invoice #15186, 09-19-02	SunTrust Bank	775.00	2,615.00
Check	11/19/2002	1081	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Inv thru 11/15/02	SunTrust Bank	3,443.42	6,058.42
Check	12/13/2002	1097	Susan Baker		SunTrust Bank	350.00	6,418.42
Check	12/23/2002	1105	Gail R. Halpern & Co.	Inv thru 12/22/02	SunTrust Bank	4,771.87	11,190.29
Total Accounting						11,190.29	11,190.29
Consulting							0.00
Israel Blackberry Project							0.00
Total Israel Blackberry Project							0.00
Consulting - Other							0.00
Check	6/11/2002	1048	Evan Lhwack	Brochure Services	Harbor Capita...	500.00	500.00
Total Consulting - Other						500.00	500.00
Total Consulting						500.00	500.00
Esthof Services							0.00
Total Esthof Services							0.00
Legal Fees							0.00
BR	2/21/2002	45857	Adelberg, Rudow, Dor...		Accounts Pay...	486.00	486.00
Check	8/1/2002	1014	Coplevitz & Carter, L...	Invoice #19552	Harbor Capita...	4,851.25	5,337.25
Check	5/20/2002	1039	Coplevitz & Carter, L...	Invoice #19619	Harbor Capita...	2,105.05	7,442.30
Check	7/18/2002	1007	Coplevitz & Carter, L...	Inv # 19710, 19725	SunTrust Bank	2,777.15	10,219.45
Check	10/21/2002	1065	Coplevitz & Carter, L...		SunTrust Bank	378.85	10,598.30
Check	11/27/2002	1084	Coplevitz & Carter, L...	Inv #20138	SunTrust Bank	110.00	10,708.30
Total Legal Fees						10,416.10	10,416.10
Professional Fees - Other							0.00
Total Professional Fees - Other							0.00
Total Professional Fees						22,106.19	22,106.19
Registered Agent Expense							0.00
Check	12/3/2002	1091	Metropolitan Agents	Registered agent services-2003	SunTrust Bank	150.00	150.00
Total Registered Agent Expense						150.00	150.00
Rent							0.00
Total Rent							0.00
Repairs							0.00
Total Repairs							0.00
Taxes Expense							0.00
Deposit	4/4/2002	2918...	State of Maryland-Tre...	Refund for something	Merrill Lynch ...	-30.52	-30.52
Check	11/15/2002	1079	Internal Revenue Serv...	Tax deposit coupon-900PF	SunTrust Bank	95.00	64.48
Total Taxes Expense						64.48	64.48
Telecom							0.00
Check	5/28/2002	1041	Regus Business Centr...	June, phone & local	Harbor Capita...	158.53	158.53
Check	7/1/2002	1061	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom-July, July	Harbor Capita...	105.76	264.29
Check	8/2/2002	1017	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, August	SunTrust Bank	105.75	370.03
Check	8/30/2002	1036	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, September	SunTrust Bank	105.75	475.78
Check	10/16/2002	1062	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, August	SunTrust Bank	105.75	581.53

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Accrual Basis

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

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	11/6/2002	1073	Regus Business Centr...	Telecom, November	SunTrust Bank	105.75	687.38
Total Telecom							687.38
Travel & Ent						687.38	687.38
Entertainment							0.00
Total Entertainment							0.00
Meals							0.00
Total Meals							0.00
Travel							0.00
Total Travel							0.00
Travel & Ent - Other							0.00
Total Travel & Ent - Other							0.00
Total Travel & Ent							0.00
Utilities							0.00
Gas and Electric							0.00
Total Gas and Electric							0.00
Water							0.00
Total Water							0.00
Utilities - Other							0.00
Total Utilities - Other							0.00
Total Utilities							0.00
Interest Income							0.00
HCNB							0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002						0.00
Deposit	2/28/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-2,257.62	-2,257.62
Deposit	3/29/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-1,587.12	-3,844.74
Deposit	4/30/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-1,685.17	-5,429.91
Deposit	5/31/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-1,539.64	-7,069.55
Deposit	6/28/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-492.91	-7,562.46
Deposit	7/28/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-376.21	-7,938.67
Deposit	8/30/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-83.77	-8,022.44
Deposit	9/30/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-3.70	-8,018.34
Deposit	10/31/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-3.05	-8,019.39
Deposit	11/30/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-2.85	-8,022.44
Deposit	12/31/2002		Interest		Harbor Capita...	-3.15	-8,025.29
Total HCNB						-8,025.44	-8,025.44
ML							0.00
Deposit	1/31/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-11.83	-11.83
Deposit	2/28/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-7.70	-19.53
Deposit	3/29/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-4.54	-24.07
Deposit	4/30/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-6.83	-30.95
Deposit	5/31/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-6.96	-37.91
Deposit	6/28/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-5.89	-44.80
Deposit	7/31/2002		Interest		Merrill Lynch ...	-7.46	-52.26
Total ML						-52.26	-52.26
SunTrust							0.00
Deposit	8/31/2002		Interest		SunTrust Bank	-228.39	-228.39
Deposit	9/30/2002		Interest		SunTrust Bank	-133.35	-361.74
Deposit	10/31/2002		Interest		SunTrust Bank	-117.85	-479.59
Deposit	11/30/2002		Interest		SunTrust Bank	-107.01	-586.60
Deposit	12/31/2002		Interest		SunTrust Bank	-49.28	-635.88
Total SunTrust						-655.88	-655.88
Interest Income - Other							0.00
Total Interest Income - Other							0.00
Total Interest Income							0.00
Other Income						-8,736.53	-8,736.53
Total Other Income							0.00
Other Expenses							0.00
Total Other Expenses							0.00
No accts							0.00

Form **990-PF**

**Return of Private Foundation
or Section 4947(a)(1) Nonexempt Charitable Trust
Treated as a Private Foundation**

OMB No. 1545-0052

2002

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may be able to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

For calendar year 2002, or tax year beginning _____ and ending _____
 Check all that apply: Initial return Final return Amended return Address change Name change

Use the IRS label: **CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.**
 Otherwise, print or type: **C/O JACK ABRAMOFF**
 See Specific Instructions: _____
 H Check type of organization: Section 501(c)(3) exempt private foundation
 Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust Other: taxable private foundation
 I Fair market value of all assets at end of year: **\$ 1,074,507.**
 J Accounting method: Cash Accrual
 Other (specify): _____
 K If the foundation is in a 60-month termination under section 507(b)(1)(B), check here:

Part I	Analysis of Revenue and Expenses (The total of amounts in columns (a) and (b) may not necessarily equal the amounts in column (c).)	(a) Revenue and expenses per books	(b) Net investment income	(c) Adjusted net income	(d) Disbursements for charitable purposes (cash basis only)
1	Contributions, gifts, grants, etc., received Check <input type="checkbox"/> if the foundation is not required to attach Form 990-B	2,569,934.			
2	Distributions from split-interest trusts				
3	Interest on savings and temporary cash investments	8,912.	8,912.		STATEMENT 1
4	Dividends and interest from securities				
5a	Gross rents				
5b	Net rental income or (loss)				
6a	Net gain or (loss) from sale of assets not on line 10				
6b	Gross sales price for all assets on line 6a				
7	Capital gain net income (from Part IV, line 2)		0.		
8	Net short-term capital gain				
9	Income modifications				
10a	Gross sales less returns and allowances				
10b	Less: Cost of goods sold				
11	Gross profit or (loss)	20,180.	0.	20,180.	STATEMENT 2
12	Total (Add lines 1 through 11)	2,599,026.	8,912.	20,180.	
13	Compensation of officers, directors, trustees, etc. NGA dues, health insurance and wages	0.	0.	0.	0.
14	Pension plan employee benefits				
15	Other professional fees	10,416.	0.	0.	0.
16	Accounting fees	11,190.	0.	0.	0.
17	Other professional fees	500.	0.	0.	0.
17	Interest				
18	Taxes				
19	Depreciation and depletion	5,283.	0.	71.	
20	Occupancy				
21	Travel, conferences, and meetings	234,319.	0.	0.	0.
22	Printing and publications				
23	Other expenses	6,344.	1,256.	0.	0.
24	Total operating and administrative expenses. Add lines 13 through 23	268,052.	1,256.	71.	0.
25	Contributions, gifts, grants paid	2,331,656.			2,331,656.
26	Total expenses and disbursements. Add lines 24 and 25	2,599,708.	1,256.	71.	2,331,656.
27	Subtract line 26 from line 12				
28	Excess of revenue over expenses and disbursements	682.			
29	Net investment income of reported investments, enter (0)		7,656.		
30	Adjusted net income (if negative, enter -0)			20,109.	

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Operating and Administrative Expenses

Part II Balance Sheets	Attached schedules and amounts in the description column should be for end-of-year amounts only	Beginning of year		End of year
		(a) Book Value	(b) Book Value	(c) Fair Market Value
Assets	1 Cash - non-interest-bearing			
	2 Savings and temporary cash investments	1,020,306.	1,036,585.	1,036,585.
	3 Accounts receivable ▶	104.		
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶		104.	104.
	4 Pledges receivable ▶			
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶			
	5 Grants receivable			
	6 Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons			
	7 Other notes and loans receivable			
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶			
	8 Inventories for sale or use			
	9 Prepaid expenses and deferred charges			
	10a Investments - U.S. and state government obligations			
	b Investments - corporate stock			
	c Investments - corporate bonds			
Liabilities	11 Investments - land, buildings, and equipment base			
	Less: accumulated depreciation			
	12 Investments - mortgage loans			
	13 Investments - other			
	14 Land, buildings, and equipment base ▶	43,060.		
	Less: accumulated depreciation STMT 7 ▶	5,392.	43,958.	37,668.
	15 Other assets (describe ▶ STATEMENT 8)	10,925.	150.	150.
	16 Total assets (to be completed by all filers)	1,075,189.	1,074,507.	1,074,507.
	17 Accounts payable and accrued expenses			
	18 Grants payable			
19 Deferred revenue				
20 Loans from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons				
21 Mortgages and other notes payable				
22 Other liabilities (describe ▶)				
23 Total liabilities (add lines 17 through 22)	0.	0.	0.	
Net Assets or Fund Balances	24 Organizations that follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 24 through 26 and lines 30 and 31	<input type="checkbox"/>		
	24 Unrestricted			
	25 Temporarily restricted			
	26 Permanently restricted			
	27 Organizations that do not follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 27 through 31	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
	27 Capital stock, trust principal or current funds	0.	0.	0.
	28 Paid-in or capital surplus, or land, bldg., and equipment fund	0.	0.	0.
	29 Retained earnings, accumulated income, endowment, or other funds	1,075,189.	1,074,507.	
	30 Total net assets or fund balances	1,075,189.	1,074,507.	
	31 Total liabilities and net assets/fund balances	1,075,189.	1,074,507.	

Part III Analysis of Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

1 Total net assets or fund balances at beginning of year - Part II, column (a), line 30 (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	1	1,075,189.
2 Enter amount from Part I, line 27a	2	<682.>
3 Other increases not included in line 2 (describe ▶)	3	0.
4 Add lines 1, 2, and 3	4	1,074,507.
5 Decreases not included in line 2 (describe ▶)	5	0.
6 Total net assets or fund balances at end of year (line 4 minus line 5) - Part II, column (b), line 30	6	1,074,507.

Part IV Capital Gains and Losses for Tax on Investment Income

(a) List and describe the kind(s) of property sold (e.g., real estate, 2-story brick warehouse, or common stock, 200 shs. MLC Co)	(b) How acquired P - Purchase D - Donation	(c) Date acquired (mo., day, yr)	(d) Date sold (mo., day, yr)
1a			
b			
c			
d			
e			

(e) Gross sales price	(f) Depreciation allowed (or allowable)	(g) Cost or other basis plus expense of sale	(h) Gain or (loss) (e) plus (f) minus (g)
a			
b			
c			
d			
e			

(i) FMV as of 12/31/69	(j) Adjusted basis as of 12/31/69	(k) Excess of col (i) over col (j), if any	(l) Gain (col (h) gain minus col (k), but not less than -0-) or Losses (from col (h))
a			
b			
c			
d			
e			

2 Capital gain net income or (net capital loss) (If gain, also enter in Part I, line 7)
 3 Net short-term capital gain or (loss) as defined in sections 1222(5) and (6)
 (If gain, also enter in Part I, line 8, column (c)
 If (loss), enter -0- in Part I, line 8)

Part V Qualification Under Section 4940(e) for Reduced Tax on Net Investment Income

(For optional use by domestic private foundations subject to the section 4940(a) tax on net investment income)

If section 4940(d)(2) applies, leave this part blank

Was the organization liable for the section 4942 tax on the distributable amount of any year in the base period? Yes No

If "Yes," the organization does not qualify under section 4940(e). Do not complete this part.

1 Enter the appropriate amount in each column for each year; see instructions before making any entries

(a) Base period years Calendar year (or tax year beginning in)	(b) Adjusted qualifying distributions	(c) Net value of noncharitable-use assets	(d) Distribution ratio (col (b) divided by col (c))
2001	153,020.	304,308.	.5028456
2000	11,824.	3,069.	3.8527208
1999	206.	11,820.	.0174281
1998			
1997			

2 Total of line 1, column (d) 4.3729947
 3 Average distribution ratio for the 5-year base period - divide the total on line 2 by 5, or by the number of years the foundation has been in existence if less than 5 years 1.4576649
 4 Enter the net value of noncharitable-use assets for 2002 from Part X, line 5 1,058,355.
 5 Multiply line 4 by line 3 1,542,727.
 6 Enter 1% of net investment income (1% of Part I, line 27b) 77.
 7 Add lines 5 and 6 1,542,804.
 8 Enter qualifying distributions from Part XII, line 4 2,331,656.

If line 8 is equal to or greater than line 7, check the box in Part VI, line 1b, and complete that part using a 1% tax rate. See the Part VI instructions.

Part VI Excise Tax Based on Investment Income (Section 4940(a), 4940(b), 4940(e), or 4948 - see instructions)

1a	Exempt operating foundations described in section 4940(d)(2), check here <input type="checkbox"/> and enter "N/A" on line 1 Date of ruling letter _____ (attach copy of ruling letter if necessary-see instructions)		
b	Domestic organizations that meet the section 4940(e) requirements in Part V, check here <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> and enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	1	77.
c	All other domestic organizations enter 2% of line 27b. Exempt foreign organizations enter 4% of Part I, line 12, col. (b)		
2	Tax under section 511 (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	2	0.
3	Add lines 1 and 2	3	77.
4	Subtitle A (income) tax (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	4	0.
5	Tax based on investment income. Subtract line 4 from line 3. If zero or less, enter -0-	5	77.
6	Credits/Payments		
a	2002 estimated tax payments and 2001 overpayment credited to 2002	6a	5.
b	Exempt foreign organizations - tax withheld at source	6b	
c	Tax paid with application for extension of time to file (Form 8868)	6c	100.
d	Backup withholding erroneously withheld	6d	
7	Total credits and payments. Add lines 6a through 6d	7	105.
8	Enter any penalty for underpayment of estimated tax. Check here <input type="checkbox"/> if Form 2220 is attached	8	
9	Tax due. If the total of lines 5 and 8 is more than line 7, enter amount owed	9	
10	Overpayment. If line 7 is more than the total of lines 5 and 8, enter the amount overpaid	10	28.
11	Enter the amount of line 10 to be credited to 2003 estimated tax	11	0.
			28. Refunded

Part VII-A Statements Regarding Activities

	Yes	No
1a	During the tax year, did the organization attempt to influence any national, state, or local legislation or did it participate or intervene in any political campaign?	
1b		X
b	Did it spend more than \$100 during the year (either directly or indirectly) for political purposes (see instructions for definition)? If the answer is "Yes" to 1a or 1b, attach a detailed description of the activities and copies of any materials published or distributed by the organization in connection with the activities	
1c		X
c	Did the organization file Form 1120-POL for this year?	
d	Enter the amount (if any) of tax on political expenditures (section 4955) imposed during the year: (1) On the organization $\$$ 0. (2) On organization managers $\$$ 0.	
e	Enter the reimbursement (if any) paid by the organization during the year for political expenditure tax imposed on organization managers $\$$ 0.	
2	Has the organization engaged in any activities that have not previously been reported to the IRS? If "Yes," attach a detailed description of the activities	
2		X
3	Has the organization made any changes, not previously reported to the IRS, in its governing instrument, articles of incorporation, or bylaws, or other similar instruments? If "Yes," attach a conformed copy of the changes	
3	X	
4a	Did the organization have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during the year?	
4a		X
b	If "Yes," has it filed a tax return on Form 990-T for this year?	
4b		X
5	Was there a liquidation, termination, dissolution, or substantial contraction during the year? If "Yes," attach the statement required by General Instruction T	
5		X
6	Are the requirements of section 508(e) (relating to sections 4941 through 4945) satisfied either: • By language in the governing instrument or • By state legislation that effectively amends the governing instrument so that no mandatory directions that conflict with the state law remain in the governing instrument?	
6		X
7	Did the organization have at least \$5,000 in assets at any time during the year? If "Yes," complete Part II, col. (c), and Part XIV	
7	X	
8a	Enter the states to which the foundation reports or with which it is registered (see instructions) <u>DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA</u>	
b	If the answer is "Yes" to line 7, has the organization furnished a copy of Form 990-PF to the Attorney General (or designate) of each state as required by General Instruction G? If "No," attach explanation	
8b	X	
9	Is the organization claiming status as a private operating foundation within the meaning of section 4942(j)(3) or 4942(j)(5) for calendar year 2002 or the taxable year beginning in 2002 (see instructions for Part XIV)? If "Yes," complete Part XIV	
9		X
10	Did any persons become substantial contributors during the tax year? If "Yes," attach a schedule listing their names and addresses <u>STMT-9</u>	
10	X	
11	Did the organization comply with the public inspection requirements for its annual returns and exemption application? Web site address <u>WWW.CAPATHLETIC.ORG</u>	
11	X	
12	The books are in care of <u>JACK ABRAMOFF</u> Telephone no. <u>70</u> ZIP+4 <u>70</u> Located at <u>70</u>	
13	Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trusts filing Form 990-PF in lieu of Form 1041 - Check here and enter the amount of tax-exempt interest received or accrued during the year <u>N/A</u>	

Part VII-B Statements Regarding Activities for Which Form 4720 May Be Required

		Yes	No
File Form 4720 if any item is checked in the "Yes" column, unless an exception applies			
1a During the year did the organization (either directly or indirectly)			
(1) Engage in the sale or exchange, or leasing of property with a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(2) Borrow money from, lend money to, or otherwise extend credit to (or accept it from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(3) Furnish goods, services, or facilities to (or accept them from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(4) Pay compensation to, or pay or reimburse the expenses of, a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(5) Transfer any income or assets to a disqualified person (or make any of either available for the benefit or use of a disqualified person)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(6) Agree to pay money or property to a government official? (Exception: Check "No" if the organization agreed to make a grant to or to employ the official for a period after termination of government service, if terminating within 90 days)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
b If any answer is "Yes" to 1a(1)-(6), did any of the acts fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4941(d)-3 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see page 19 of the instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	1b	
c Did the organization engage in a prior year in any of the acts described in 1a, other than excepted acts, that were not corrected before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2002?	<input type="checkbox"/>	1c	X
2 Taxes on failure to distribute income (section 4942) (does not apply for years the organization was a private operating foundation defined in section 4942(j)(3) or 4942(j)(5))			
a At the end of tax year 2002, did the organization have any undistributed income (lines 6d and 6e, Part XIII) for tax year(s) beginning before 2002?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
If "Yes," list the years			
b Are there any years listed in 2a for which the organization is not applying the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) (relating to incorrect valuation of assets) to the year's undistributed income? (If applying section 4942(a)(2) to all years listed, answer "No" and attach statement - see instructions)	N/A	2b	
c If the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) are being applied to any of the years listed in 2a, list the years here			
3a Did the organization hold more than a 2% direct or indirect interest in any business enterprise at any time during the year?			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
b If "Yes," did it have excess business holdings in 2002 as a result of (1) any purchase by the organization or disqualified persons after May 26, 1969, (2) the lapse of the 5-year period (or longer period approved by the Commissioner) under section 4942(c)(7) to dispose of holdings acquired by gift or bequest, or (3) the lapse of the 10-, 15-, or 20-year first phase holding period? (Use Schedule C, Form 4720, to determine if the organization had excess business holdings in 2002.)	N/A	3b	
4a Did the organization invest during the year any amount in a manner that would jeopardize its charitable purposes?			
b Did the organization make any investment in a prior year (but after December 31, 1969) that could jeopardize its charitable purpose that had not been removed from jeopardy before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2002?		4a	X
		4b	X
5a During the year did the organization pay or incur any amount to			
(1) Carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation (section 4945(e))?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(2) Influence the outcome of any specific public election (see section 4955), or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(3) Provide a grant to an individual for travel, study, or other similar purposes?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(4) Provide a grant to an organization other than a charitable, etc., organization described in section 509(a)(1), (2), or (3), or section 4940(f)(2)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
(5) Provide for any purpose other than religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
b If any answer is "Yes" to 5a(1)-(5), did any of the transactions fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4945 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	5b	X
c If the answer is "Yes" to question 5a(4), does the organization claim exemption from the tax because it maintained expenditure responsibility for the grant?	N/A		
If "Yes," attach the statement required by Regulations section 53.4945-5(d)			
6a Did the organization, during the year, receive any funds, directly or indirectly, to pay premiums on a personal benefit contract?			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No		
b Did the organization, during the year, pay premiums, directly or indirectly, on a personal benefit contract?			
	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	6b	X

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Part VIII Information About Officers, Directors, Trustees, Foundation Managers, Highly Paid Employees, and Contractors Page 6

1 List all officers, directors, trustees, foundation managers and their compensation

(a) Name and address	(b) Title, and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation (if not paid, enter -0-)	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and deferred compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION LLC	TRUSTEE			
[REDACTED]		0.	0.	0.
JACK ABRAMOFF	CO-MANAGING MEMBER			
[REDACTED]		0.	0.	0.
PAMELA ABRAMOFF, EFFECTIVE 09/23/02	CO-MANAGING MEMBER			
[REDACTED]	MINIMAL	0.	0.	0.
[REDACTED]	MINIMAL	0.	0.	0.

2 Compensation of five highest-paid employees (other than those included on line 1) if none, enter "NONE"

(a) Name and address of each employee paid more than \$50,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and deferred compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
NONE				

Total number of other employees paid over \$50,000 ▶ 0

3 Five highest-paid independent contractors for professional services if none, enter "NONE"

(a) Name and address of each person paid more than \$50,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
RABBI DAVID LAPIN	CONSULTING	60,529.
[REDACTED]		

Total number of others receiving over \$50,000 for professional services ▶ 0

Part IX-A Summary of Direct Charitable Activities

List the foundation's four largest direct charitable activities during the tax year. Include relevant statistical information such as the number of organizations and other beneficiaries served, conferences convened, research papers produced, etc.

Activities	Expenses
1 ESKOL ACADEMY - ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND ATHLETIC FACILITIES AND OPERATIONS OF PRIVATE BOYS SCHOOL. INCULDES TEACHING FACILITIES, INSTRUCTORS AND ICE RINK DONATION	1,857,704.
2 P'TACH - AN ORGANIZATION ESTABLISHED TO MATCH CHILDREN WITH UNIQUE LEARNING NEEDS TO THE PROPER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.	300,000.
3 KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET - AN EDUCATION INSTITUTION IN ISRAEL. SUPPORT USED FOR EDUCATIONS, ATHLETIC AND SECURITYTY.	97,000.
4 CONTRIBUTIONS TO VARIOUS PUBLIC & PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS THAT INTEGRATE SPORTSMANSHIP WITHIN ACADEMIC CURRICULUM AND THE FRAMEWORK OF ORGANIZED GROUP ACTIVITIES.	76,952.

Part IX-B Summary of Program-Related Investments

Describe the two largest program-related investments made by the foundation during the tax year on lines 1 and 2	Amount
1 N/A	
2	
All other program-related investments See instructions	
3	
Total Add lines 1 through 3	0.

Part X Minimum Investment Return (All domestic foundations must complete this part. Foreign foundations, see instructions.)

1 Fair market value of assets not used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes		
a Average monthly fair market value of securities	1a	
b Average of monthly cash balances	1b	1,028,446.
c Fair market value of all other assets	1c	46,026.
d Total (add lines 1a, b, and c)	1d	1,074,472.
e Reduction claimed for blockage or other factors reported on lines 1a and 1c (attach detailed explanation)	1e	0.
2 Acquisition indebtedness applicable to line 1 assets	2	0.
3 Subtract line 2 from line 1d	3	1,074,472.
4 Cash deemed held for charitable activities. Enter 1/2% of line 3 (for greater amount, see instructions)	4	16,117.
5 Net value of noncharitable-use assets. Subtract line 4 from line 3. Enter here and on Part V, line 4	5	1,058,355.
6 Minimum investment return. Enter 5% of line 5	6	52,918.

Part XI Distributable Amount (see instructions) (Section 4942(j)(3) and (j)(5) private operating foundations and certain foreign organizations check here and do not complete this part.)

1 Minimum investment return from Part X, line 6	1	52,918.
2a Tax on investment income for 2002 from Part VI, line 5	2a	77.
b Income tax for 2002 (This does not include the tax from Part VI)	2b	
c Add lines 2a and 2b	2c	77.
3 Distributable amount before adjustments. Subtract line 2c from line 1	3	52,841.
4a Recoveries of amounts treated as qualifying distributions	4a	0.
b Income distributions from section 4947(a)(2) trusts	4b	0.
c Add lines 4a and 4b	4c	0.
5 Add lines 3 and 4c	5	52,841.
6 Deduction from distributable amount (see instructions)	6	0.
7 Distributable amount as adjusted. Subtract line 6 from line 5. Enter here and on Part XIII, line 1	7	52,841.

Part XII Qualifying Distributions (see instructions)

1 Amounts paid (including administrative expenses) to accomplish charitable, etc., purposes		
a Expenses, contributions, gifts, etc. - total from Part I, column (d), line 26	1a	2,331,656.
b Program-related investments - Total from Part IX-B	1b	0.
2 Amounts paid to acquire assets used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes	2	
3 Amounts set aside for specific charitable projects that satisfy the		
a Suitability test (prior IRS approval required)	3a	
b Cash distribution test (attach the required schedule)	3b	
4 Qualifying distributions. Add lines 1a through 3b. Enter here and on Part V, line 8, and Part XIII, line 4	4	2,331,656.
5 Organizations that qualify under section 4940(e) for the reduced rate of tax on net investment income. Enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	5	77.
6 Adjusted qualifying distributions. Subtract line 5 from line 4	6	2,331,579.

Note: The amount on line 6 will be used in Part V, column (b), in subsequent years when calculating whether the foundation qualifies for the section 4940(e) reduction of tax in those years.

Part XIII Undistributed Income (see instructions)

	(a) Corpus	(b) Years prior to 2001	(c) 2001	(d) 2002
1 Distributable amount for 2002 from Part XI, line 7				52,841.
2 Undistributed income, if any, as of the end of 2001				
a Enter amount for 2001 only			0.	
b Total for prior years		0.		
3 Excess distributions carryover, if any, to 2002				
a From 1997				
b From 1998				
c From 1999				
d From 2000	11,592.			
e From 2001	137,905.			
f Total of lines 3a through e	149,497.			
4 Qualifying distributions for 2002 from Part XII, line 4	2,331,656.			
a Applied to 2001, but not more than line 2a			0.	
b Applied to undistributed income of prior years (Election required - see instructions)		0.		
c Treated as distributions out of corpus (Election required - see instructions)	0.			
d Applied to 2002 distributable amount				52,841.
e Remaining amount distributed out of corpus	2,278,815.			
5 Excess distributions carryover applied to 2002 (If an amount appears in column (d) the same amount must be shown in column (a))	0.			0.
6 Enter the net total of each column as indicated below	2,428,312.			
a Corpus: Add lines 3f, 4c, and 4e. Subtract line 5				
b Prior years' undistributed income: Subtract line 4b from line 2b		0.		
c Enter the amount of prior years' undistributed income for which a notice of deficiency has been issued, or on which the section 4942(a) tax has been previously assessed		0.		
d Subtract line 6c from line 6b. Taxable amount - see instructions		0.		
e Undistributed income for 2001: Subtract line 4a from line 2a. Taxable amount - see instr			0.	
f Undistributed income for 2002: Subtract lines 4d and 5 from line 1. This amount must be distributed in 2003				0.
7 Amounts treated as distributions out of corpus to satisfy requirements imposed by section 170(b)(1)(E) or 4942(g)(3)	0.			
8 Excess distributions carryover from 1997 not applied on line 5 or line 7	0.			
9 Excess distributions carryover to 2003: Subtract lines 7 and 8 from line 6a	2,428,312.			
10 Analysis of line 9				
a Excess from 1996				
b Excess from 1999				
c Excess from 2000	11,592.			
d Excess from 2001	137,905.			
e Excess from 2002	2,278,815.			

Part XIV Private Operating Foundations (see instructions and Part VII A, question 9) N/A

1 a If the foundation has received a ruling or determination letter that it is a private operating foundation, and the ruling is effective for 2002, enter the date of the ruling
b Check box to indicate whether the organization is a private operating foundation described in section 4942(j)(3) or 4942(j)(5)

Table with 5 columns: (a) 2002, (b) 2001, (c) 2000, (d) 1999, (e) Total. Rows include: 2a Enter the lesser of the adjusted net income from Part I or the minimum investment return from Part X for each year listed; 2b 85% of line 2a; 2c Qualifying distributions from Part XII, line 4 for each year listed; 2d Amounts included in line 2c not used directly for active conduct of exempt activities; 2e Qualifying distributions made directly for active conduct of exempt activities; 3 Complete 3a, b, or c for the alternative test relied upon; 3a 'Assets' alternative test - enter (1) Value of all assets, (2) Value of assets qualifying under section 4942(j)(3)(B)(i); 3b 'Endowment' alternative test - Enter 2/3 of minimum investment return shown in Part X, line 5 for each year listed; 3c 'Support' alternative test - enter (1) Total support other than gross investment income (interest, dividends, rents, payments on securities loans (section 512(a)(5)), or royalties), (2) Support from general public and 5 or more exempt organizations as provided in section 4942(j)(3)(B)(ii), (3) Largest amount of support from an exempt organization, (4) Gross investment income.

Part XV Supplementary Information (Complete this part only if the organization had \$5,000 or more in assets at any time during the year-see page 25 of the instructions.)

1 Information Regarding Foundation Managers
a List any managers of the foundation who have contributed more than 2% of the total contributions received by the foundation before the close of any tax year (but only if they have contributed more than \$5,000). (See section 507(d)(2))

JACK ABRAMOFF
b List any managers of the foundation who own 10% or more of the stock of a corporation (or an equally large portion of the ownership of a partnership or other entity) of which the foundation has a 10% or greater interest

NONE

2 Information Regarding Contribution, Grant, Gift, Loan, Scholarship, etc., Programs
Check here [X] if the organization only makes contributions to preselected charitable organizations and does not accept unsolicited requests for funds. If the organization makes gifts, grants, etc. (see instructions) to individuals or organizations under other conditions, complete items 2a, b, c, and d

a The name, address, and telephone number of the person to whom applications should be addressed

b The form in which applications should be submitted and information and materials they should include

c Any submission deadlines

d Any restrictions or limitations on awards, such as by geographical areas, charitable fields, kinds of institutions, or other factors

Total

Part XV Supplementary Information (continued)

3 Grants and Contributions Paid During the Year or Approved for Future Payment

Recipient Name and address (home or business)	If recipient is an individual, show any relationship to any foundation manager or substantial contributor	Foundation status of recipient	Purpose of grant or contribution	Amount
<i>a Paid during the year</i>				
SEE STATEMENT 10				2,331,656.
Total				▶ 3a 2,331,656.
<i>b Approved for future payment</i>				
NONE				
Total				▶ 3b 0.

Part XVII Information Regarding Transfers To and Transactions and Relationships With Noncharitable Exempt Organizations

	Yes	No
1 Did the organization directly or indirectly engage in any of the following with any other organization described in section 501(c) of the Code (other than section 501(c)(3) organizations) or in section 527, relating to political organizations?		
a Transfers from the reporting organization to a noncharitable exempt organization of:		
(1) Cash	X	
(2) Other assets	X	
b Other Transactions:		
(1) Sales of assets to a noncharitable exempt organization	X	
(2) Purchases of assets from a noncharitable exempt organization	X	
(3) Rental of facilities, equipment, or other assets	X	
(4) Reimbursement arrangements	X	
(5) Loans or loan guarantees	X	
(6) Performance of services or membership or fundraising solicitations	X	
c Sharing of facilities, equipment, mailing lists, other assets, or paid employees		
d If the answer to any of the above is "Yes," complete the following schedule. Column (b) should always show the fair market value of the goods, other assets, or services given by the reporting organization. If the organization received less than fair market value in any transaction or sharing arrangement, show in column (d) the value of the goods, other assets, or services received.		

(a) Line no.	(b) Amount involved	(c) Name of noncharitable exempt organization	(d) Description of transfers, transactions, and sharing arrangements
		N/A	

2a Is the organization directly or indirectly affiliated with, or related to, one or more tax-exempt organizations described in section 501(c) of the Code (other than section 501(c)(3)) or in section 527? Yes No

b If "Yes," complete the following schedule:

(a) Name of organization	(b) Type of organization	(c) Description of relationship
	N/A	

Under penalties of perjury, I declare that I have examined this return, including accompanying schedules and statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, this return is true and complete. Declaration of preparer (other than taxpayer or fiduciary) is based on all information provided.

Sign Here
 Signature of officer or trustee *[Signature]*
 Preparer's signature *[Signature]*
 Form name for years if self-employment address, and ZIP code **MAW BARNHARD, PC, CPA**

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA
INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

Communications Program

2003

Capitol Campaign Strategies' (CCS) primary public relations objective in 2002 was to provide the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council with the tools and resources necessary to successfully and proactively promote the Tribe's agenda. The secondary objective was to improve the Tribe's image and recognition both internally among Tribal members and externally among the media and local community.

CCS tailored a strategic plan for the Tribe to accomplish these goals by arming the Tribal Council with an effective messaging campaign of *strength, unity and prosperity* and providing the appropriate vehicles in which to accurately and successfully deliver it.

We believe that 2002 was a banner year for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe. This council has achieved more of its objectives than ever before. Moreover, your membership has never before been so in tune with what the council has accomplished in just one year. However, this is no time to rest on our laurels. The Council has set a very aggressive agenda for 2003 and will certainly succeed in accomplishing even more for its constituents. In addition, many controversial issues remain unresolved, and many more will undoubtedly emerge. That is why it is critical that the membership, as well as your neighbors, hear about the positive and proactive way this council tackles its responsibilities.

By way of background, we would like to briefly recap what CCS, in its public relations role, accomplished in 2002.

Internal Communications

Messaging

CCS determined that the following themes would aid the Tribal Council with a strong agenda which in turn would build trust and cultivate a more active, united and educated Tribal membership.

- The priority of this Tribal Council is to unite our Nation.
- This Tribal Council has integrity. Responsible and thoughtful leadership will garner the trust of Tribal Members.
- We will take this tribe into the 21st Century with original ideas that benefit future generations to come.
- Our success is your success; no one will be left behind.

Community Meetings

CCS planned, staged and produced Community Meetings held by the Tribal Council:

- Mailed "Save-the-Date" postcards to invite Tribal Members to Meeting
- Wrote speeches for the Chief and other Tribal Council members as needed
- Crafted an agenda
- Developed a minute-by-minute timeline
- Created power point presentations to accompany Chief's remarks
- Prepped the Chief and other Tribal Council members and fine-tuned speeches
- Prepared Press Releases regarding the major themes of each Community Meeting and delivered to a targeted group of media outlets and reporters

Community Letter Campaign

CCS created and produced monthly community letters updating members of Tribal Council activities to effectively establish a positive dialogue between the Council and its members.

External Communications

The public relations team collaborated with lobbying and grassroots efforts to craft messaging not only to elevate the Tribe's image among the media but benefit their political agenda as well.

Media Training

CCS held intense one-on-one and group media training sessions with the Chief, Sub-chief and other Council Members. The purpose of the training was to help these individuals understand their role as "spokesperson" and learn how to stay on message and control the interview.

Day to Day Operations

CCS used the following methods to aid the Tribal Council in responding to reporters' inquiries and pitching efforts to garner media coverage:

- Monitored local, state and national media coverage of the Tribe specifically as well as other relevant Indian Gaming stories
- Developed a targeted media list of reporters locally, state-wide and nationally that cover the Tribe and Gaming
- Advised Chief and Tribal Council regarding proactive and reactive responses to media
- Provided crisis communications counsel
- Identified opportunities for editorial comment and letters-to-the-editor and produced the written material
- Coordinated media interviews
- Wrote talking points and/or statements to be used during media interviews and press conference and also prepped spokesperson
- Produced and pitched Public Service Announcements (PSAs) for events open to the general public

2003 Forecast

Looking forward, Capitol Campaign Strategies is prepared to continue the Public Relations activities as outlined above in 2003.

As you know, 2003 will be a very important year for the Tribe and the outlined public relations tactics below will be necessary to address your political issues effectively. The Council will face some of the most critical issues it has ever encountered in its long history. First and foremost, the Tribal Council must be prepared to laud its accomplishments for 2003. That includes an aggressive campaign to promote the legislative successes it has in Washington, DC, such as the groundbreaking of the Saginaw Chippewa Academy.

In addition, it will be extremely important to have a clear and concise public relations plan in place to deal with the inevitable challenges the Council is bound to face in 2003. One example that is already on the horizon is of course, enrollment. Without a clear strategy to deal with negative media and political fallout from issues as important as this, the Council will leave itself dangerously vulnerable to attack both internally and externally.

Messaging

Consistent rhetoric is critical to managing and molding the image of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe. It is important for the Tribe to maintain control of its media coverage while being confident and well versed on the topics being addressed. More importantly, the message must be clear and engaging. CCS will provide the following with regard to messaging:

- Evaluate key messaging and fine-tune its relevance to the Tribe and its objectives for 2003
- Create a Media Kit to be used in educating the press as well as political leaders on the Tribe's history, culture, business acumen, and contributions to the local community and state. The Kit will serve as "background" for reporters

Strategy

With key messaging fine tuned, CC will implement any number of strategies to deliver the message effectively. As you know, each issue will represent its own set of unique challenges, but the below can address any issue with grace and efficacy.

Media Relations

CCS will work with its media contacts to garner positive coverage from national media outlets. Now that the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe has heightened its profile locally and politically in Washington, DC, CCS will use a combination of communications tools, techniques and established relationships, we will generate print, broadcast and radio coverage of the Tribe while working in tandem with the public affairs team to protect and promote through the media the Tribe's image.

Public Relations

CCS will identify key decision makers locally, statewide and nationally and pitch the positive actions, contributions and activities of the Tribe to establish a "neighborly" relationship with anyone of power that can help or harm the future success of the Tribe. Our initial focus will be influential members of local communities and then extend to national political leaders and activists.

Tactics

CCS will provide a myriad of public relations tactics to attract the attention and interest of these special groups, some examples are outlined below:

Raising Awareness

- ***Bricks and Mortar:*** Formulate an aggressive "Pitch Plan" to publicize the accomplishments and success of the Tribe to garner greater press coverage. Any time there is a groundbreaking, grand opening or unveiling of a physical structure or Tribal program significant to the Tribe and/or local community, the press and identified VIPs need to be in attendance. This is a win-win situation for the Tribe; for example the Tribe opens a new school and the Council image increases.
- ***Education:*** CCS will create an action plan to educate the community and national interests on Saginaw Chippewa activities, heritage and successes.
- ***Spin Control:*** By proactively approaching the media with relevant stories and establishing a good report, the Tribe will be better able to wield control of content printed, aired or broadcasted. We also expect to expand the focus of Tribe-driven stories to include major national media outlets.

Resources

CCS will provide the following resources to execute the strategies we identified above.

Crisis Communications

CCS will collaborate with the Tribal Council to develop a response system in the case of an incident, malfunction or emergency as it relates to potential scrutiny, both political and media. This system will streamline internal communications and allow the Council to rapidly formulate a well-thought statement, while controlling the flow of information.

Media Training

As we heighten the attention and focus by the media and political interests, the Tribal Council must boost their education of how these players work and how to best represent the Council's agenda. CCS strongly advises brush-up media training be conducted for all identified spokespersons. We believe that as the stakes increase, so does the pressure of media coverage making it worthwhile, even critical, for these individuals to brush-up on public speaking.

Written Communication

The CCS team will continue to draft written materials for the Tribal Council as needed, some of which may include:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Media Advisories ▪ Press Releases ▪ Opinions/Letters-to-the-Editor ▪ Talking Points 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Press Conference Statements ▪ Fact Sheets ▪ Industry Backgrounders ▪ White Papers
--	--

Reputation Management

CCS will monitor all coverage and political movements daily that may impact the reputation or success of the Tribe. If necessary, the public relations team will develop a strategy to set-the-record straight and discredit false or damaging reporting.

Event Planning

CCS will continue planning, staging and staffing Community Meetings and if appropriate, Saginaw Chippewa press conferences or other special engagements. Additionally CCS will prep the spokesperson(s) and coordinate media and VIP's in attendance.

Conclusion

We have been proud to serve the Tribe throughout the last year both politically and by providing critical public relations support. We believe that the council has achieved more

than anyone thought possible. We are confident that the communications foundation established in 2002 and the additional efforts outlined above for 2003 will bring the Tribe to the next level of exposure, showcasing a more sophisticated and savvy Tribal enterprise.

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Oakton, VA 22124-1760

Julia H. Doolittle, President

January 2, 2003

Ms. Allison R. Bozniak
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT

\$ 77.52 Reimbursed Expenses (See Attached)
\$ 5,000.00 February Retainer
\$ 5,000.00 January Retainer Past Due
\$10,077.52 TOTAL

703 938-3889 Phone ♦ 208 441-0904 Fax
Email: jhdoolittle@att.net

GTG005518-ACCT-AC

FINAL REPORT MEMO

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARC SCHWARTZ
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 1/9/2003

Marc:

I would like to provide you with this review of the political campaign waged in 2002. As you know, Scanlon Gould waged the grassroots portion of your battle in conjunction with a face-to-face lobby effort headed by Jack Abramoff's federal affairs team. As you know, the election reform bill was targeted as the vehicle for the necessary legislative language needed to reopen the Speaking Rock Casino. Fortunately, Congressman Bob Ney (R-OH), with whom we have good relations and a solid working arrangement, was managing the House process; while, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) managed the Senate. However, our grassroots advocacy efforts reached far beyond those two leaders and included the entire election reform conference committee, other influential members of the United State Congress and the President of the United States. All of our efforts were designed to support the would-be vehicle that would carry language to reopen the casino.

Organization

First and foremost, we are pleased to provide you with the completed database. This political matrix is the cornerstone of this or any other political campaign. The system is designed to hold and make usable, all of the data associated with your political army. It is designed to make it possible to match an average voter who might also be a customer or vendor of yours, and tie him to a targeted elected official. We can do it for the U.S. Congress and we can do it for every state representative or senator in the Union. It is a most powerful tool.

BB/TI 000821

Your army now includes 251,876 records. The army spans from Connecticut to California and can be mobilized at the drop of a hat. Your natural resources comprise the vast majority of your records. That is, the individuals and organizations that make money from the Pueblo's business operations. Your natural resources are critical to political campaigns as they are highly motivated to act on your behalf. However, without the ability to map them and accurately direct them to target an elected official, they have very little political value. This database changes that.

In addition, we have used our phone surveying technique to identify almost 10,000 more supporters of your position. In this case, the individuals were supporters of election reform. They are located all over the country, but most concentrated in targeted congressional districts. Our surveying technique uses a method that screens and pre-qualifies potential supporters of a position. Once we are able to determine that they support our position, we go one step further - we determine if they are willing to act on our behalf. The recruited individuals are active supporters of our position and we know we can count on them to be mobilized when the time is right.

Messaging

As you know, knowing what to say and how to say it is a key part of American politics. That is why we spent an extensive amount of time studying the political landscape in Washington and in the key battleground states for this campaign. As a result of our studies and research, we were able to identify the key message that would motivate your supporters. In addition, we were able to identify exactly which words, phrases and arguments best spur your supporters to action.

The results were clear. Americans were adamantly in favor of changing the electoral process in the United States. The election of 2000 solidified support for reform legislation that would ensure that all Americans get a fair chance to vote on Election Day. As a result, all of our messaging in our mobilization efforts was clearly positioned to push those buttons.

In addition to developing a broad message that would work in all of our battleground locations, we conducted an extensive survey in one of our pivotal states, New York. Our qualitative research indicated that either of the two Senators from the Empire state, but particularly Senator Clinton, could play a critical role in the election reform debate. The results proved what our qualitative research indicated, New Yorkers, like all Americans, wanted election reform. But more importantly, the quantitative surveys were very effectively used to assist in the direct lobbying campaign in Washington. Specifically, our survey became an invaluable tool in expressing to Senators Clinton and Schumer that they should in fact, be champions of the election reform legislation.

Mobilization

Once your political army was assembled, recruited and organized, the message correctly identified and honed, it was time to selectively mobilize the political army for action. The mobilization campaign was designed to first target Senator Dodd and persuade him to support not only election reform, but also our specific legislative remedy. The second waves of attack would focus more broadly on key opposition and supporters of the legislative vehicle itself.

We began to target Senator Dodd using a system of repeated contact from influential members of his political family. At the cornerstone of the project was the vice chairperson of the DNC and a member of his finance committee, Lottie Shackelford. Her support and access was critical for our ongoing efforts to influence the Senator. We directed her to make personal contact with the Senator throughout the campaign starting in April and lasting through the passage of the legislation in October.

While Ms. Shackelford was critical to personally influencing Senator Dodd and other key Democratic officials, it was important to mobilize additional members of the Senator's political family. Opinion-makers are important to elected officials as these influential members of the community often deliver their own constituencies. We orchestrated several contacts - via written correspondence, e-mail and telephone - between these opinion-makers and Senator Dodd. We duplicated the effort with the Senator again in the waning days of the debate, and added several of the most influential members of the conference committee to our target list.

BB/TI 000823

The next step of the campaign involved mobilizing everyday ordinary citizens. We employed a massive phone campaign targeting the members of the conference committee for election reform. At key points in June, July and September, we directed thousands of patch through phone calls to Representatives Ney (R-OH), Hoyer (D-MD), Ehlers (R-MI), Doolittle (R-CA), Reynolds (R-NY), Fattah (D-PA), and Davis (D-FL). In addition, we targeted the key players in the Senate debate, Dodd (D-CT), Bond (R-MO), McConnell (R-KY), Schumer (D-NY), and Durbin (D-IL) with equal numbers of constituent phone calls. Elected officials who receive on average 1 phone call every ten minutes (average call volume was 50 patch throughs per call day) for weeks on end, take notice to an effort like that. In fact, it is safe to say that the elected officials' staffs were doing little else but fielding phone calls on that issue.

Throughout our mobilization campaign we also effectively used direct mail to further demonstrate to our legislative targets that their constituents were firmly behind the election reform effort. Our creative team designed a very effective mail piece that was delivered directly to your supporters in our targeted districts that reminded them to call and write their elected officials. The direct mail added legitimacy and credibility to our efforts and further mobilized valuable voters.

In addition to our efforts to influence the legislative process, we diligently pursued an effective campaign to influence the President's staff. While influencing the President is far more complicated and delicate, we were able to employ an effective phone campaign launched after the Congress reconvened in September. We wanted the President, who was facing a very serious test in the mid-term elections, to recognize that voters were very much aware of the election reform issue, and they would settle for nothing less than a signed bill before Congress recessed for the year.

BB/TI 000824

Summary

While we were disappointed that the final legislation did not contain the language for which we had all worked, the program was successful in organizing your political assets into an effective machine, the likes of which Texas and the country has rarely, if ever, seen. The army was effectively mobilized and its sights trained on key targets from all over the country. We garnered key support from both sides of the political aisle, including the Democratic National Committee. We trained thousands of constituent contacts on targeted officials and made sure that the voice of your supporters was heard. Furthermore, we effectively used influential members of the targets' political family to further spur them to action. In the end, political forces beyond all control kept Senator Dodd from inserting our needed language.

We have greatly enjoyed working with you and the council over the past 9 months and look forward to working to solve future political dilemmas in Texas and nationwide.

BB/TI 000825

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 10:13 AM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: What

a monkey coloney in africa
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Jan 02 11:10:23 2003
 Subject: RE: What

What is "Gabon"?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 11:09 AM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: What

Unfortunately I have one already with the Gabon guys.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 9:50 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: What

Lunch today?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 01, 2003 3:46 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: What

:). U guys going out to eat?
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Wed Jan 01 15:36:02 2003
 Subject: Re: What

Walking around Stown. Tell Daniel Jessica bought me play station 2 for my birthday...so
 next time he brings his into the office "it's on."

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[REDACTED]>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Wed Jan 01 15:34:33 2003
 Subject: Re: What

GTG-E000055572

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto: [REDACTED]] 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 Coyshattas 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: [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

GPO 3100105702

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia C ██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 5:40 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: help??!!

I will tell him where they are now - and with whom. Thanks Jack!

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 5:29 PM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: RE: help??!!

Absolutely. We'll get that moving asap. ██████████ are coming to DC 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@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 3:15 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: help??!!

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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

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 018193

63643
870

DATE: 01/13/03 CHECK NO.: 18193 AMOUNT: \$ 10,077.52

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

"018193"

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 18193

Check Date: Jan 13/03

Inv. Date Inv. Number Description

1/02/03 010203

Expenses; January retainer; February retainer/ J. Abramoff.

Payment Amt

10,077.52

DETACH

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

DETACH

GTG005516-ACCT-AC

January 09, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente			
2		Consulting services plus expenses -Jan/Feb	\$10,077.52	18	(1)
3					(2)
4					(3)
5					(4)
					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL		
			\$10,077.52		

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/AS

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Jack Arzuff
[Signature]
 Signature

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(29) Federal Express	Payee Code: [REDACTED]
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(30) Local Counsel	Chk#:
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(31) Admiralty/Mediators	Date:
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(32) Private Investigators	
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(33) Exhibits	
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(34) Lit Sup Vendors	
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage		
	(15) Publication charges		
	(16) Legal expert & professional		
	(17) Special Clerical Services		
	(18) Other Disbursements		
	(19) Certified Copies		
	(20) Service Company charges		
	(21) Court reporter/Depo		
	(22) Transcrip charges		
	(23) Subpoena Fees		
	(24) Gov. Agency reports		
	(25) Business Meals		
	(26) Copies from Courthouse		
	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg		
	(28) Facsimile		

RECEIVED
 JAN - 9 2003
 GREENBERG & TRAVIS
 ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT

GTG005517-ACCT-AC

K

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Sunday, January 12, 2003 10:45 PM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: HAPPY NEW YEAR

We need to get something from them to hang on the wall (such as what we have at the MCI). Can you arrange?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Sunday, January 12, 2003 1:02 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: HAPPY NEW YEAR

See below and . . . I asked Alison last thing on Friday to fax the invoice to Max Ross. Should be in process now.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Candace Patencio (mailto:cpatec@REDACTED)
 Sent: Friday, January 10, 2003 11:18 PM
 To: gibson@REDACTED
 Subject: Re: HAPPY NEW YEAR

Approved the sport suite awhile ago in December just after you left. Max was trying to get in touch with you to find out when you needed the money. Yes, I did get to see Jack and had a great lunch with him. I didn't get the chance to meet his family hopefully the next time we are out in DC. By the way thank you for the flowers we (the girls & I) enjoyed them. Glad to hear everyone is psyched I know it will be a successful year.

----- Original Message -----
 From: <gibson@REDACTED>
 To: <cpatec@REDACTED>
 Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 6:31 AM
 Subject: HAPPY NEW YEAR

> Hope all is going well in the new year. We are getting engaged on
 > your agenda now. The team is psyched!! Bono's office and the
 > Senator's office is also psyched. We are going to try to get the tax
 > issue out front
 > first.
 > My read is that you guys should go with a bill, but we will send a
 > memo to the council about it first. Jack did see you guys out there.
 > right? I
 > was
 > bouncing all over the west and just got back Monday night. . .
 > exhausted
 > but
 > ready to go. What ever happened with the sport suite issue? Was that
 > ever
 > covered in the council meeting agenda last year? I will give you a
 > call soon. Say hello to Moraino.
 >
 > Duane
 >
 > Duane R. Gibson
 > Greenberg Traurig
 >
 > [REDACTED]

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: January 13, 2003

RE: Request for December 2002 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

December 2002 Retainer	\$10,000.00
------------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 10:54 PM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: election

Afternoon?

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio [mailto:cpate@dc.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 8:54 PM
To: abramoffj@dc.gov
Subject: Re: election

Was really busy today. What time tomorrow???

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@dc.gov
To: cpate@dc.gov
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 5:35 AM
Subject: RE: election

Any time that's good for you. after 2 PM your time is good for me.

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio [mailto:cpate@dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, January 14, 2003 9:17 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: election

When you have time let me know and we talk strategy for the up and coming election.

Candace

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@dc.gov

5/9/2004

GTG-E000057834

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 10:03 AM
To: 'mike@ [REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: Coughatta

Call call. 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: Coughatta

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: Coughatta

Give me a call asap. I have some thoughts on this which I need to share. It means more \$\$\$ for us!

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@ [REDACTED]

GTG-E000252878

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 1:43 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Intel from Dept of Int/BIA

Thanks.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 11:05 AM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Intel from Dept of Int/BIA

Thanks Jack! I will ask about the timing and content and call you...

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 9:20 AM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Intel from Dept of Int/BIA

FYI - any way to find out? [REDACTED] contribution by the way. I'll have it in a week or so. I'm still working on the rest. Should be fine.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 9:00 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: Intel from Dept of Int/BIA

Can we get any intel? From our LA champion from the last compact fight.

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

From:
 Sent: Friday, January 17, 2003 5:31 PM
 To:
 Subject: Intel from Dept of Int/BIA
 Foster's letter of support for the new casino was sent last Wednesday (1/9.) How long do you think that it will take for the feds to respond, how can we get warning before they respond, and how can we get that response the instant after they transmit it to Foster? Very important for our calculations as we begin to figure out a press strategy to tackle this one.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

The information contained in this transmission may contain

SENCREA 10/04 00006

Parker, Bryan (Indian Affairs)

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 4:35 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: you

Hey Can you get A DBA on the Scanlon CM account that is Atlantic Research and Analysis.

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

From: Chris Cathcart
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 12:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: you

sounds like a very good short term strategy. might be something i need to consider . . . cuz my money market sure ain't producing!

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

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 12:51 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: you

Yeah man - Im just freaked - our economic numbers suck, we are going to war, the dollar is in the shitter, we are hitting some deflation, and employment is at a 5 year high and growing.

I just don't know what could possibly move the markets up any time soon. My theory is to go to treasuries and other short term bonds.

Ill like the 3% and run for the hills this year. If we have a great year - the markets will return 6-7% - ill pass of the 4% upside possibility given the info out there

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

From: Chris Cathcart
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 12:38 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: you

oh shit!

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

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 12:23 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: you

Check out this article I read in Barrons - It scared the shit out of me:

The Debt Bomb

Only housing is keeping the fuse on America's borrowing habit from burning down by JONATHAN R. LAING
 BUBBLES HAVE LONG BEEN part of the financial firmament. The tulipmania in 17th-century Holland and the notorious South Sea Company stock bubble a century later in England are lowlights of economic lore.

History is replete with numerous other examples of financial manias followed almost ineluctably by huge price busts, down to our own era. Japan is still paying the price of deflation and economic narcolepsy a decade after bubbles in its stock and real-estate markets popped. Debt collapses in Asia and South America punctuated much of the Nineties. The bursting of the U.S. tech-stock bubble in early 2000 led to the vanishing of more than \$5 trillion in wealth, at least on paper. Now, many worry that a U.S. housing bubble, lofted by four-decade lows in mortgage rates, could explode, eviscerating consumer spending and economic growth.

3/29/2006

Parker, Bryan (Indian Affairs)

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Wednesday, January 22, 2003 5:04 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Atlantic Research

Ok - Pleas Have JD file it immediately. Thanks!

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

From: Chris Cathcart
Sent: Wednesday, January 22, 2003 3:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Atlantic Resaerch

hey . . . i am going to have JD set us up a new llc for ara . . . reason is that ScM has its own unique tax status as a commercial real estate lessor. so, added liability protection and smarter for tax reasons to keep separate. will not impact our ability to collect the dough from couch. unless you have other oibjection, that's the course i'll take.

§
Chris Cathcart
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[Redacted]
Washington, DC [Redacted]
[Redacted]

From:
To:
Subject:

cc:
cc:
cc:
cc:
cc:

CONFIDENTIAL

January 29, 2003

The Honorable Richard Milanovich
 Chairman
 Tribal Council
 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
 600 East Tahquitz Canyon Way
 Palm Springs, CA 92262

via facsimile and Federal Express

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing today to explain in detail the progress we have made on your campaign. More specifically, I am writing in an attempt to further answer several of the questions you raised in our conference call late last month and provide you with additional copies of the work product we were contracted to deliver in the event that previous materials that were sent were overlooked or misplaced.

I hope this letter and the accompanying package will help answer your questions in more detail, and reinforce the fact that we have been very successful thus far in reaching the objectives and deadlines set forward in our original agreement. Of course we still have some time to go and several hurdles to cross before reaching our overall objective of a new and expanded compact, but please rest assured that we will continue to provide ongoing updates throughout the process.

To briefly re-cap the entire effort we would like to remind you that the process we were contracted to complete is a stepwise procedure that started by building your grassroots support network by developing a usable infrastructure and database. The next step was to identify and develop the most effective messages or arguments for your campaign for a new and expanded compact, and then finally mobilizing your supporters to help persuade the governor and gather support from the public at large.

As for the first step in the process, your political database which was constructed to include not only your natural resources, employees, members and vendors, but also previously unidentified supporters of your position was to be completed by September 15, 2002. We successfully met that deadline and reported to you on this part of the project on September 12, 2002. We have included in this package several data pages for your files. In addition, your database is always available to you on line.

BB/AC04990

The second step in the process was to use our system to go outside the natural resources of the tribe and identify average citizens who support the tribe's position on expanded gaming. This was classified as the "Identification" stage of the program and was to be concluded on September 15, 2002, as well. In other words, it was our responsibility to independently identify supporters of your position from among the electorate at large and make them active records in your database. Per our proposal, these supporters were to be identified using a survey technique that pre-qualifies eligible and likely voters and further filters people who will actively work on your behalf. That is, we identify everyday citizens who will call and write when they are asked to do so when we need a grassroots push to help us in our negotiations. As we reported last year, this phase was completed successfully and delivered on September 12, 2002. All of these records are easily accessible in your database and available for your review at anytime, or if you prefer, please feel free to contact us and we will give you a hard copy of each "Identified Supporter" record.

The next phase of the program was the "Messaging and Research" phase. Under our agreement we were given a deadline of October 15, 2002 to deliver this work product. As you know, we sent the comprehensive messaging and research package to you and the other members of the council prior to October 15, 2002. We have included an additional copy of this report in this package for your review. If you have any questions about any part of this report, please feel free to call anytime.

In addition to the polling work, another important component of the research and messaging phase was opposition research. You will recall that our research team put together an expansive opposition research package that can be used by our lobby team in Sacramento. That data has been sorted by subject matter so that this information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or our lobby team in Sacramento.

The final phase of the campaign is the "Execution /Advocacy" phase of our plan that is currently underway. As you know this phase is scheduled to run through March of 2003, and at this point we feel that we are on schedule to complete this part of the program on time, as well.

To briefly review this part of the program, we are currently running additional polling, we have hired a full time lobby team (under our cost umbrella which was approved by the council) to conduct the full time face-to-face lobbying effort, we are waging several letter writing campaigns, conducting phone campaigns, as well as executing other tactics.

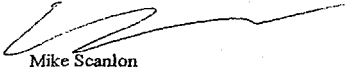
BB/AC04991

One example of a successful effort within this phase that is already completed is the employee letter writing campaign. This part of the campaign was completed on January 16, 2003 and as projected we were able to generate over 750 letters to Governor Gray Davis regarding the expansion of slots at your facilities. A copy of each letter has been included for your records (this is the first time we have provided you with a copy of this report). If you were not aware of how we completed this effort, we had a full time staff on the ground in Palm Springs on Monday, January 13th to make preparations for the campaign. After securing locations at both casinos, our team was set up to begin taking letters during three 12-hour shifts over three days. As a result, the Governor and his staff will be receiving nearly 800 letters, all personally signed by employees. In the coming days and weeks we will be waging similar efforts among your vendors, business leaders, and the general public, and we will report those results on an ongoing basis.

An additional effort that is on-going is a database-wide postcard campaign. Upon receipt of the Council's approval, we will send the enclosed mailer to your entire political database asking them to respond by sending in the attached postcard. The postcard campaign will generate thousands of responses sent to the Governor asking him to renegotiate the compact and increase the number of slots at your facilities. It will also further demonstrate the kind of reach and influence the Tribe has in the state of California. Please find enclosed a copy of the mailer.

Mr. Chairman, I hope this letter and the accompanying package helps answer some of the questions you raised in the last conference call, and helps to explain the process in greater detail. I look forward to providing you with regular updates in the coming weeks, but feel free to contact me with any additional questions.

Very sincerely yours,



Mike Scanlon

Cc: Agua Caliente Tribal Council

BB/AC04992

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.dhs.gov] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 7:17 AM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: Thanks

Wow, let me know what we can do. you are so right. now, put this totally out of your mind and get ready to enjoy your wonderful weekend! Chat with you when you are back. as we say: Mazel Tov!

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

From: Candace Patencio [mailto:cpate@dc.dhs.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 2:31 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Thanks

It was great seeing you I only wish we had more time to laugh. Oh, well maybe next time we will set one day or with your busy schedule at least a meal we can laugh at. By the way I received an update at today's Tribal Council meeting. Barbara is on the attack of your firm. If you can believe this she is try to say the Paca was doing the something you are doing now. Anyway, she & Richard have made the mistake of on record claiming not knowing what the firm is doing. Virginia pointed out that it is the responsibility of the Tribal Council to know what is going on. Virg also pointed out that the Chairman has been back to DC and doesn't he know what you are doing??? Richard said he had questions. But it will be held off until the full Council can report and answer questions. Simply answer is of course Barbara doesn't know what is going on because she hasn't been at any meetings. We don't know where she has been. Moraino & I are to set her up. And of course they don't know what Scanlon is up to even though we get updates. I just can't stand Barbara she really needs to go. She is also trying to stir up trouble with the museum. Looks like as usual I will have a battle. She will also probably try and use my marriage against me as well when they find out. All is totally unfair in politics. But she needs to leave forever.

Candace

5/11/2004

5/11/2004

GTG-E000057848

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 7:18 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Thanks

We need to make sure Candace wins and bye bye Barbara and Richard.

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

From: Candace Patencio [mailto:cpate@[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 2:31 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Thanks

It was great seeing you I only wish we had more time to laugh. Oh, well maybe next time we will set one day or with your busy schedule at least a meal we can laugh at. By the way I received an update at today's Tribal Council meeting. Barbara is on the attack of your firm. If you can believe this she is try to say the Pace was doing the something you are doing now. Anyway, she & Richard have made the mistake of on record claiming not knowing what the firm is doing. Virginia pointed out that it is the responsibility of the Tribal Council to know what is going on. Virg also pointed out that the Chairman has been back to DC and doesn't he know what you are doing??? Richard said he had questions. But it will be held off until the full Council can report and answer questions. Simply answer is of course Barbara doesn't know what is going on because she hasn't been at any meetings. We don't know where she has been. Moraino & I are to set her up. And of course they don't know what Scanlon is up to even though we get updates. I just can't stand Barbara she really needs to go. She is also trying to stir up trouble with the museum. Looks like as usual I will have a battle. She will also probably try and use my marriage against me as well when they find out. All is totally unfair in politics. But she needs to leave forever.

Candace

5/9/2004

GTG-E000057849

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 7:18 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Sld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Thanks

We need to have our ducks in a row.

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

From: Candace Patencio [mailto:cpate@redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 2:31 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Thanks

It was great seeing you I only wish we had more time to laugh. Oh, well maybe next time we will set one day or with your busy schedule at least a meal we can laugh at. By the way I received an update at today's Tribal Council meeting. Barbara is on the attack of your firm. If you can believe this she is try to say the Pace was doing the something you are doing now. Anyway, she & Richard have made the mistake of on record claiming not knowing what the firm is doing. Virginia pointed out that it is the responsibility of the Tribal Council to know what is going on. Virg also pointed out that the Chairman has been back to DC and doesn't he know what you are doing??? Richard said he had questions. But it will be held off until the full Council can report and answer questions. Simply answer is of course Barbara doesn't know what is going on because she hasn't been at any meetings. We don't know where she has been. Moraino & I are to set her up. And of course they don't know what Scanlon is up to even though we get updates. I just can't stand Barbara she really needs to go. She is also trying to stir up trouble with the museum. Looks like as usual I will have a battle. She will also probably try and use my marriage against me as well when they find out. All is totally unfair in politics. But she needs to leave forever.

Candace

5/9/2004

5/11/2004

GTG-E000057847

GREENBERG TRAUBIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No: 020425

53-943
470

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Michael Chapman

DATE: 02/04/03

CHECK NO.: 20425

AMOUNT: \$ ***10,000.00***

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG, TRAUBIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

WACHOVIA BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

⑈ 0 204 25 ⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 20425	Check Date: Feb 04/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
1/13/03	[REDACTED]	December 2002 retainer consultation fee/ J. Abramoff.	10,000.00

DETACH

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

DETACH

GTG005416-ACCT-AC

24411

January 26, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente Consulting Fee	\$10,000.00		(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL	\$10,000.00	

Jack Abraham

Payee: Michael Chapman
 [Redacted]
 [Redacted]
 [Redacted]

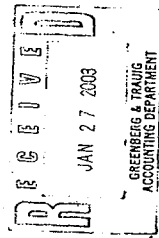
Mail to Payee: Yes No
 Special Instructions and/or Remarks:
 Return to: JAA/AB

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials: _____
 Signature: _____

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(22) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(23) Subpoena Fees	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Reproduction charges	(24) Govt. Agency reports	(31) Arbitrators/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(25) Business Meals	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info. & Research	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(28) Facsimile	
(8) Court Filing fees		Payee Code: _____
(9) Recording charges		Ck#: _____
(10) Minute books, seal & stock cont		Date: _____
(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town		
(12) Printing charges		
(13) Transportation-Local Travel		
(14) Postage		
(15) Publication charges		
(16) Legal expert & professional		
(17) Special Chemical Services		
(18) Other Disbursements		
(19) Certified Copies		
(20) Service Company charges		
(21) Court reporter/Depo		

GTG005417-ACCT-AC



POSTED

DISB. # 13154399

February 6, 2003

Honorable Richard Milanovich
Chairman
Tribal Council
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
600 E. Tahquitz Canyon Way
Palm Springs, CA 92262

Via facsimile and FedEx

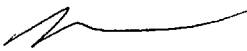
Dear Mr. Chairman and Council Members:

As you know, the post card mailer, the content of which you reviewed last week, is being readied for distribution. However, prior to its release we want to bring to your attention a potentially important issue. Specifically, mailings such as this may be covered by California campaign finance and lobby disclosure law. Generally, entities spending more than \$5,000 to influence legislative or administrative action, may have to comply with certain registration and disclosure requirements. As you know, this mailer will cost far in excess of \$5,000.

While we are not experts in California law, we are very aware of the ongoing legal battle that the Tribe is currently waging regarding California's campaign finance law. Therefore, before this mailer is shipped, we thought you might wish to review this matter with your legal counsel to determine 1) whether you would be required to comply with these registration and disclosure requirements, and 2) whether any actions taken with regard to this mailer will in some way affect or influence your litigation strategy.

We will pause our production efforts on this mailer until you are able to review the law and determine what, if any, registration requirements you might have and what effect this might have on the campaign finance litigation. Please note that this issue should not affect any other effort we have employed to successfully renegotiate your compact, and will in no way impact our timetable we have outlined for you in recent days. As always, please do not hesitate to contact me or Chris Cathcart directly with any questions at 202-547-3600.

Sincerely,



Mike Scanlon

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
SERIALS ACQUISITION
300 N ZEEB RD
ANN ARBOR MI 48106
313 761 4700

BB/AC04993

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:07 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

No, and I'm dying. Dying.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:54 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

Hey have you heard anything?

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 12:40 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

We need to find other clients. I don't think they are going to spring for another program unless they start to encounter trouble.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 10:00 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

We have been all over this for weeks - we have a pretty good plan in place - but its still coming together. Lets chat around noon today.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 10:46 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Agua Elections!
 Let's discuss

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

From: MCNATIVE@██████████ [mailto:MCNATIVE@██████████]
 Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 6:32 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: mike@██████████
 Subject: Agua Elections!

Jack and Mike:

5/9/2004

5/9/2004

GTG-E000057B42

I just talked to Candace - great news for the most part at Agua. She said Moraino, Virginia and Jeanette are all running un-opposed! And, she and Barbara are running against one another for Vice-Chair. The elections are on March 18th.

Barbara is doing a party for all tribal members - stressing family and encouraging members to bring their spouses and children.

We definitely need to devise a strategy to help Candace - it is now or never! Since there are so few tribal members we should be able to do a breakdown of each potential vote to be cast.

Let me know what I can do to help.

Michael

PS I am officially a Tribal Council member! I was sworn in earlier today - 24 years to the day when my mother was sworn in on the first Menominee Tribal Legislature (post-tribal restoration).

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[REDACTED]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[REDACTED]

5/9/2004

GTG-E000057843

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Allison Bozniak

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: February 13, 2003

RE: Request for January 2003 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

January 2003 Retainer	\$10,000.00
-----------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

Phone

Phone

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 17, 2003 11:14 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: when are we getting Coughatta \$?

Let me know as soon as it get in, you fucking beach bum! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 17, 2003 9:40 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: when are we getting Coughatta \$?

Was supposed to be in Friday - but did not come through. Should be tomorrow - cause banks are closed today. Ill let you know when it hits.

Farwell my snowed in little buddy!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 17, 2003 7:12 AM
To: Mpsscannon@redacted, Mike Scanlon
Subject: when are we getting Coughatta \$?

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) ([mailto:jack@dir.dc.gov]) 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@scanlon.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:20 AM
To: abramoff@dir.dc.gov
Subject: RE: latest news...

Coush Cash is in. Ill process ASAP.

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

From: abramoff@dir.dc.gov [mailto:abramoff@dir.dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 8:24 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: latest news...

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@cpetras.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 7:41 AM
To: abramoff@dir.dc.gov
Cc: boulangert@dir.dc.gov
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

5/9/2004

5/9/2004

GTG-E000027864

email to postmaster@[REDACTED]

5/9/2004

GTG-E000027865

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

:)

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Haahhhhaah. 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@██████████>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@██████████>
 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@██████████>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@██████████>
 Sent: Tue Feb 18 12:48:39 2003
 Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Neither rain, nor snow, 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 <cpetra@██████████>
 To: abramoffj@██████████ <abramoffj@██████████>
 CC: boulangerT@██████████ <boulangerT@██████████>
 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@████████████████████]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 3:25 PM
To: abramoffj@████████████████████
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@████████████████████ [mailto:abramoffj@████████████████████]
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@████████████████████>
To: abramoffj@████████████████████ <abramoffj@████████████████████>
CC: Rodneylane@████████████████████ <Rodneylane@████████████████████>
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@████████████████████ [mailto:abramoffj@████████████████████]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 12:30 PM
To: lauralippy@████████████████████
CC: Rodneylane@████████████████████
Subject: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

And track when we are supposed to get our check today from CCS for Kaygold.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@████████████████████.

GTG-E000012123

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 8:43 AM
 To: 'GRHalpern@' [mailto:GRHalpern@]
 Subject: RE: FW: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

It's just not going to happen.

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

From: GRHalpern@ [mailto:GRHalpern@]
 Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 9:36 AM
 To: abramoff@
 Subject: Re: FW: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

my guess is that he has been doing this all along, but maybe didn't mention it. do you have the spreadsheets on this stuff from 2002? if you can send them to me I can see what he did.

If you agree that you operate your LLC from MD, I would take the approach that the DC taxes should be his problem, at least going forward. do you have that kind of leverage with these business deals and Mike, where you can tell him that you basically are getting more than 50% b/c of these DC expenses? getting your own check from the client would resolve that and over the long run would save big bucks. If you actually "conduct" that business in DC, however, that would put a wrinkle in this plan.

In a message dated 2/20/2003 8:17:07 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff@ writes:

I think I understand what he did. We received \$5M into CCS, from which (I guess - am I right?) DC requires a gross receipts tax/franchise tax. He divided the \$5M into three piles: \$1M for actual expense, and \$2M for each of us. then he deducted from each of these the taxes due to DC. under that approach, did he err? I don't recall our having paid this amount in the past, though he may have in the past deducted it from the actual expenses side. As for having the client pay CCS and Kaygold separately, that is very hard to do, but I'll try.

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

From: GRHalpern@ [mailto:GRHalpern@]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 10:34 PM
 To: abramoff@
 Subject: Re: FW: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

I would be interested in seeing his excel spreadsheet when he sends it over.

you need to tell me what the arrangement is with him. you are not a member of CCS, LLC. (if you were a 50% member, then you would get 1/2 of the net, after expenses). you are paid like a contractor. if your deal with him is you get 1/2 the take, before expense, then he shouldn't deduct this.

5/9/2004

5/9/2004

GTG-E000012115

 STRATEGIC MEMORANDUM

TO: JEFF HOUSER, CHAIRMAN
 FROM: MIKE SCANLON
 SUBJECT: NEW MEXICO STRATEGY
 DATE: 2/28/2003
 CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

Jeff,

Please excuse the informal nature of this strategic proposal, given the time constraints we are working under, I thought it best to outline the effort in this format. If need be, I will gladly put together a more formal version in the very near future.

Before moving forward I want to make one very large strategic point on which this entire memo/proposal is based. Based on your budget constraints, I strongly suggest that you do not simply run your New Mexico effort as a two tiered campaign. Rather, I suggest running two all together separate campaigns to achieve your overall objective of having a class III facility in your desired location. What I am suggesting (primarily for budgetary reasons) is to focus our time and resources on securing a facility in New Mexico using a legislative relief mechanism on the federal level and waging the political effort to support that effort. Then - and only then - we will concern ourselves with waging the effort to go class III at that facility.

I can tell you today that by doing this you will only need to dedicate \$2,275,000.00 for the effort. This will cover all of the technical, research, grassroots and advocacy costs for the federal effort. Once achieved (or at any point if your budget changes), you can then make the decision to launch the full effort, which I still maintain will cost in the \$6 million range given the opposition you will face.

On the tactical front, I believe this also makes sense as we will need to launch a costly effort for a class II facility without even having crossed the initial land into trust hurdle. While I believe it would be possible to do all at once, it would be extremely more difficult (and, of course, costly). Therefore, I am recommending launching a full fledged effort to support your federal relief mechanism, then revisiting the class III issue at a later date, perhaps the end of 2003. Of course, I would be glad to present to you a full fledged program and timeline for the entire effort, but I believe strategically, politically and budgetarily that the piecemeal approach may be a wiser course of action.

BB-SP 005421

Strategic Timetable

One point I want to make before continuing is that if we agree that our focus will be primarily on the federal level for the time being, that in no way provides relief from our time constraints. If we are to launch this program, we must do so immediately and aggressively to ensure the best results.

Looking at this situation from a macro perspective we have only a 120 day window to have our legislative mechanism accomplished. We have roughly 30 days before we can even generate the support needed to introduce our measure - that puts us at April 1, 2003. We then have from April 1 to June 1 (60 days) to work the legislative mechanism before we hit the summer legislative slow down and recesses. Following the summer, we have from only mid-September to mid-November to complete the legislative end of the program. So logistically speaking we are talking about 120 days to accomplish our objective. On top of that, the number of legislative days (when congress is actually in-session during our window) is actually far less. I would estimate we have around 80 to 90 days to affect the outcome of our program.

To that end, I strongly recommend that we start this process no later than one week from today if we agree to move forward. If we drip further into March, Congress will have already left for the Easter Recess, and this will delay us significantly. As for the completion date, I believe that even if we start by the suggested date, we will not complete the program until Congress adjourns or very close to it. So we are looking at an early November completion date. In calendar terms, we are looking at a seven month (April to November) timetable.

Program Implementation

Due to the fact that we are targeting Members of Congress and U.S. Senators, the construction of your political database is of vital importance. As I described in our meeting, this matrix is the backbone of your effort. Based on this device you will be able to reach Congressman and Senators that you never thought possible. By tapping into your natural resources, vendors primarily, we will be able to build a national network of those who will contact federal lawmakers on your behalf, and those contacts will give them the political cover to support our legislative relief mechanism. Without this, I believe you stand little or no chance of success. As I mentioned, the timetable for construction of this database depends on how quickly we receive data from you and in what form that data is currently in. Our standard rapid turn around is roughly 10 days to two weeks if things move seamlessly. The data housed in the database is, and will always be, the property of the tribe. The database is made available to you on site and on line at your convenience; we simply build it, house it, and maintain it for your political objectives. The cost for your database is \$1,678,000.00. Unfortunately this price is a set price, it is not flexible, non-refundable and is due in advance. Completion date: March 31, 2003.

As I stated, this database is the cornerstone of your effort. Without the financial clout to reach elected officials from all over the country it is even more important. In addition, we often find that this database serves several other purposes for our clients, either internally or in political situations in their own states.

Execution/ Advocacy

Once your database has been built, your support base identified, and our legislative relief mechanism designed, we then are in position to launch the execution/advocacy part of the campaign. Simply put, by this point we will have organized your political army. Now it is time to mobilize them behind the legislation that contains your relief (Greenberg Traurig [GT] is responsible for the legislative language and vehicle). We will then execute the following process to persuade the targeted members:

1) Polling

We will identify the key Members of Congress who we need to support our mechanism and poll their districts extensively on the topic. This poll data will then be used by GT team members to show to lawmakers - quantitatively - that there is political support for the position or at the very least that they will not find themselves in political hot water if they do support it.

Cost: \$125,000.00

Completion Date: Rolling

2) Advocacy

Based on our power base (the individuals we log as supporters via survey, or businesses located in targeted districts), we now wage comprehensive grassroots support campaigns in selected or in all targeted districts. The campaigns include: Patch through calls, individual letters of support, letters of support from key business leaders, and letters from key donors to targeted Members, as well as broad based legislative advocacy (mailers, calls, phone banks etc. to support the legislative vehicle/ bill - not the mechanism itself. We don't want to get our provision into a bill and then lose the vote on the broader legislation). We will be executing these tactics in SEVERAL districts.

Cost: \$472,000.00

Completion date: Congressional Adjournment / Passage of legislation.

APACHE NEWS

FORT SILL

A PUBLICATION OF THE FORT SILL APACHE TRIBE

VOLUME 1, ISSUE 4

As it was heard...

JULY 2003

WHAT'S INSIDE

CASINO UPDATE

Repeat customers vital to casino success



MEMBER PROFILE

Data analyst takes his passion to next level



TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

New Areas HQ



Making your voice heard

■ Now that you have the vote, what issues will be before you

By CAROL HARTZOG
Fort Sill Apache News Editor

In a historic moment, the Fort Sill Apache Tribe is now able to vote absentee, according to June election results. This marks only the fourth time the tribe's constitution has been changed since its ratification in 1976.

The vote tally was 63 to 7 in support of changing the constitution to allow absentee balloting. The election allows the majority of the tribal membership to have a voice in tribal affairs. Approximately 75 percent of the tribe lives too far away from Apache to participate.

In the June election, only 20 percent of the 325 adult members cast a ballot. The low participation could have been due to the complicated process and notification procedures dictated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, said Tribal chairman Jeff Houser. Houser expects the voting numbers to be higher in tribally administered elections.

An absentee ballot on the election ordinances will be sent to tribal members this month. The details of this ordinance include the process of all elections. (See related box on this page)

Issues for election by the General Council are of two types: referendums and officer elections. Referendum voting will occur only by absentee ballot, pending passage of the election ordinance. Absentee ballots on referendums could be as frequent as monthly if not more often, said Houser. Officer elections in October will be conducted both in person and via absentee ballot.

Resort vote, officer elections the first to be tackled

One of the first issues to come before the General Council via absentee ballot will involve a contract with a consultant concerning the New Mexico Resort & Casino, said Houser. (See related story, back page) Also on that ballot might be several new ordinances.

In September, voters will receive a ballot for

How absentee voting will work for election of officers: Oct. 4*

• Appointment of election committees
• Aug. 4/Sept. 2: Certified voters' list will be posted the first business day of every month
• Aug. 4-6: Candidates will file for office
• Slate of candidates posted

• By Sept. 7, request absentee ballot by mail, by listing name, mailing address, roll number and signature

• By Oct. 4, deadline for ballots to be received in mail must include name, roll number and signature
• Tribal General Council meeting for in-person voting
• 50 days inwards from held to certify election
• Oct. 4: Installation of officers, if applicable

How absentee voting will work for referendums on agenda

• Tribal Council Business Committee, Tribal chairman to petition signed by 10 percent of the tribal membership to establish a state ballot on a particular issue

• Approval of referendum by written consent of majority of tribal members
• Tribal Council meeting will be presided over by Business Committee
• Within 30 days, notice of referendum election held

• Request approval of the general election ordinance via absentee ballot ordinance. This is the very first issue to be voted on by absentee ballot

• Tribal Council meeting will be presided over by Business Committee

the October business committee and officer elections. This year up for election are the positions of tribal chairman, held by Houser; and two business committee positions, held by Benedict Kawaykla and Robin Isom. Houser and Kawaykla are serving unexpired terms.

The election of officers is to occur the first Saturday of October, according to the proposed election ordinance. This year, the election is Oct. 4, the date of a General Council meeting, and ballots - absentee or in-person - must be received by that date.

A three-member election board will be appointed by the Business Committee to implement the process. They serve two years.

HOW TO REACH US

Mail No. [redacted]
 Telephone [redacted]
 Fax No. [redacted]
 Hours of operation [redacted]
 Mailing address [redacted]
 Our office is located [redacted]

Jeff Houser, tribal chairman and publisher
 Carol Hartzog, editor
 Marie Doezema, staff writer

APACHE NEWS

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Columns by the personal opinion of the writers whose name appears. The News publishes columns submitted by readers. Please limit them to 500 words.

Letters may be submitted by readers of The News. They are short expressions of opinion, less developed and often more personal than columns. Limit them to 250 words please. We will only print signed letters and they must include a telephone number for verification purposes.

Editorials are the opinion of The News editorial board. They are written and signed because they are the express position of The News.

Correction policy: As a matter of policy, The Fort Sill Apache News will publish corrections or clarifications of errors in fact that have been printed in this publication. The corrections will be made as soon as possible after the error has been brought to the attention of the publisher or editor.

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FROM THE TRIBAL CHAIRMAN

June 4 was a turning point for the tribe

Prior to June 4, all General Council decisions were made by in-person voting. With the constitutional changes enacted on that date, we have given a voice and a vote to the majority of members who weren't able to travel to General Council meetings. The formerly silent majority can now participate as voting members of the tribe.

This is a new beginning for us, the beginning of a new way to relate to one another and to make tribal decisions. With this change in our method of voting, we also have the opportunity to change the way we think about our decisions, to consider what has and has not worked in the past and to contemplate what might work better in the future.



JEFF HOUSER
tribal chairman

nothing wrong with that. But in the long run, this emphasis on the individual and the individual family unit will weaken the tribe.

It is my hope that this change in our voting process will foster a change in the way that we make our decisions. As we have physically broadened our voting process, perhaps we can also broaden our vision.

Ideally our vision should involve the tribe as a whole, not just for now but for generations to come. I've been told that some tribes traditionally think in terms of seven generations, that they take responsibility for generations past and for generations to come.

Wouldn't it be something to consider each vote in terms of how it will affect our tribe a century from now? Perhaps it would influence your decision, perhaps not. Either way, we will all have the opportunity to do so in the coming months as our absentee voting process begins.

Jeff Houser, tribal chairman, can be reached via e-mail at jeff@ [redacted] by telephone at [redacted] toll-free.

In my opinion, two of the greatest challenges we've faced in the past are low participation and family-based voting. It appears that these two issues are related: Many of us most often participate when tribal decisions directly affect our families or ourselves.

It is human nature to take care of our family members and ourselves. There is

ABOUT US

Jerrad Gooday

Jerrad Gooday is a familiar face to many, especially those who make visits to the Fort Sill Apache Casino in the wee hours of the night.

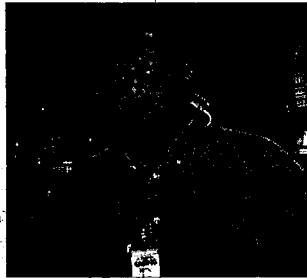
His job as shift manager keeps him on his toes, with two day shifts per week in addition to his three night shifts.

"I'm used to working the graveyard," Gooday said. "On Friday and Saturday, it can get pretty busy from 11 to 4."

He has worked at the casino for about three-and-a-half

years. He began working in surveillance, and has since worked as shift manager and floor manager.

He says his goal is to continue advancing in his work and, ultimately, he hopes



Gooday

there will be more tribal members in higher management. "I'm hoping to accelerate," he said. "I'm ready for the next step."

A big part of Gooday's job is focusing on customers.

"Customers always come back if you treat them with respect," he

said. "I hope that the customers will be satisfied."

—MARIE DOEZEMA

CASINO UPDATE

'I often just go in to have a little fun'

Repeat customers crucial to revenue numbers:

By MARIE DOEZEMA
Fort Sill Apache Staff Writer

The beginning of summer – traditionally Memorial Day – brought a big turnout at the Fort Sill Apache Casino, and it looks like the coming months are going to maintain the trend. Various promotions this summer will keep regulars coming in addition to attracting newcomers.

A Chevy Tahoe is parked in front of the casino luring customers as well as the merely curious. "How do I win that car?" is the first question most people ask when they walk through the doors of the casino, said Chuck Blain, director of special projects at the casino.

Some lucky winner will take home the car after the drawing July 29. Casino goers can "up" their chances by amassing their tickets at the casino through various games. Additionally, five free tickets will be included in an upcoming casino mailer.

"Most of our business is locals coming back. We want to give good customer service and show that we really value our customers," Blain said of the Lawton establishment.

Sharon King is a good example of that. King is a regular who has been coming to the casino for about two-and-a-half years. She finds the proximity of the casino to her son's baseball practice convenient, and hard to resist. "I often just go in to have a little fun," King said.

Repeat customers are usually willing to help the newcomers, she said.

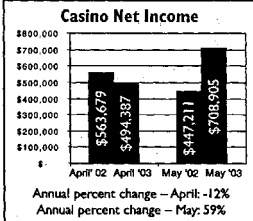
"They often don't know what to do with the machines or with their money. In addition, they don't want to look like newbies. The regulars are good at giving a helping hand to the newcomers, especially someone who's never been to a casino before."

In her casino play, King said she has some good days and some bad. "I wish I could tell when my luck is on and when it's off, but it varies."

However, Sharon King has some of the best luck of all the customers, said Paul Goulet, director of operations. "She entered



Sharon King, pictured in a truck she won last year, plays often at the casino. Repeat customers are critical to the viability of the casino.



a blackjack tournament without ever having played and won third place."

Additionally, the casino is making efforts to focus not just on customers but also on employee satisfaction. "We try to do things that other big businesses do to show employee appreciation," Goulet said. "We try to accommodate them in some manner, and we have a pretty high retention rate."

The casino is always evaluating its games, he said, and the process is more intricate than one might think. First, he evaluates the legality of the potential game in Oklahoma.

The casino can't put in a new game based merely on projected income, he said. Instead, the staff looks at the play, the appearance, the marketing and variety of other factors that make it a good business

Promotions in store for summer and fall months

JULY Cash Prizes and Entry Cash drawings

TUESDAY EVENINGS - slot machine games continue through the summer

FALL - The Dynamic Derby, starting in October 2003 by Jimmie Wilkey

choice, for both customers and employees.

Customer service is a top priority at the casino, he said, and keeping regular customers is of utmost importance. "It's not necessarily a matter of trying to generate new customers all the time. Twenty or 30 dollars, two or three times a week from a regular customer adds up to a lot of money over 12 months," he said.

Though the casino is, of course, always happy to receive new customers, most business comes from regulars. "Newcomers usually number in the low twenties," he said. "Now, there's a new military transition and there are a number of customers in the military who have a desire for a different type of entertainment."

Though there's often a difference of experience and knowledge between newcomers and regulars, the atmosphere is more friendly than competitive. "At our place, I hope it's very friendly," said Goulet.

MEMBER SPOTLIGHT

College student a techie at heart

■ *Data analyst finds outlet for his creative side*

By MARIE DOEZEMA
Fort Sill Apache Staff Writer

Bryan Jones is a 29-year-old college student who was transplanted from Maryland to Kansas and has found his niche in computer information systems.

This summer, in Lawrence, Kan., Jones is working for a large company as a data analyst, but will be returning to Haskell Indian Nations University this fall, with the help of tribal higher education funds.

"It's a great program," he said of the tribal grant program. "Anyone going to college should apply." He said he is grateful to his aunt, Carol Bundick, for encouraging him to seek help with his college expenses.

Jones has lived in Lawrence five years. He describes it as a "typical college town, with a lot of mom-and-pop shops." It's quite a bit quieter, though, than College Park, Md., which is near his hometown of Hyattsville where he was born and raised.

He came to Kansas, he said, because it was a new place but still somewhere with family close by. His cousin, Doug Perico, lives in Lawrence and his uncle, John

Humphries, resides in Bonner Springs. Jones' mother is Patricia Jones; his grandmother is Phyllis Humphries; his great grandfather is Harry Perico.

Jones studied at Haskell for two years before transferring to University of Kansas for a year. After taking some time off, Jones returned to Haskell, but still has about a year-and-a-half left until he finishes his degree in business administration with an emphasis in computer information systems.



Jones

In the meantime, he is enjoying his job as a data analyst at NCS Pearson Government Solutions. "It's a good salary with great benefits," he said. Jones said employment at NCS is competitive, and there are numerous college students working there. "They did

a seven-year background check on me when I applied," he said.

He is not yet certain what he wants to pursue after he finishes his degree, but is increasingly interested in web design. Jones, along with Jared Fire, who is a member of the Cheyenne Arapaho Tribe, designed an unofficial web site for the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, located at [REDACTED]

Web design allows Jones to work creatively. "I'm an artistic person," he said. "I play guitar, too, and I like to be creative instead of sitting in a cubicle."



SUMMER YOUTH WORKERS at the tribal headquarters are Lisa Palmer, left, and Garnett Keahbone. They are tribal members assigned to the tribe by Four-Tribes Consortium in Anadarko.

Dance committee seeks designs

The Tribe's Dance Committee is seeking T-shirt designs for this year's annual dance.

The deadline for submissions is Aug. 1. This year's dance is scheduled for Sept. 19-20 at the Tribal Complex.

Committee members attend Sovereignty Symposium

By MARIE DOEZEMA
Fort Sill Apache Staff Writer

Several members of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe Business Committee attended the 16th annual Sovereignty Symposium in late May.

Fort Sill Apache Tribal Chairman Jeff Houser, Secretary Treasurer Michael Darrow, Business Committee members Benedict Kawaykla, Robin Isom and Dolly Loretta Buckner attended the symposium, held at the Renaissance Hotel/Cox Business Service Convention Center in Oklahoma City. The two-day event covered a variety of topics.

Isom attended lectures covering lan-

guage issues, health care, youth and economic growth, but she said last year's symposium had more applicable lectures.



Isom

Another issue Isom said she considers crucial to the tribe's future is the role of language and culture classes. Classes have been offered weekly for approximately three years, but turnout has been less than overwhelming.

She said she is interested in making this, along with other issues, relevant in tribe members' daily lives. Isom herself has diverse and varied experience with the tribe, being involved in foster care, the youth shelter, and has also worked in the smoke shop. Currently, she works at the tribal headquarters.

In Loving Memory of
FLORA "GUSSIE" WERYACKWE
October 17, 1928 –
June 28, 2000

We thought of you with love today,
But that is nothing new.
We thought about you yesterday
And days before that too.
We think of you in silence,
We often speak your name.
Now all we have is memories
And your picture in a frame.
Your memory is our keepsake,
With which we will never part.
God has you in his keeping,
We have you in our hearts.

*Missing you, Grandma Gussie from
Grandkids Mitchell Todd Harjo, Shannan
Mehring and April Turner, Great
Grandkids Natacha and Daniel and Rocky
Mehring, Blake and Christian Harjo,
Daughter Michelle and Amos Harjo*

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

JOB POSTINGS

Position: Director of Communications, News Editor

Job description: Must have a bachelor's degree in journalism and at least five years of experience in news writing...

Position: Janitor
Job description: Must have experience in janitorial duties and lawn care. Qualifications include a high school diploma...

Applications will be accepted at the Fort Sill Apache Tribal Office. Tribal member and other Indian preference will apply.

Finance, transportation focus of two new positions

By MARIE DOEZEMA
Fort Sill Apache Staff Writer

Two new jobs were recently created and filled for the Fort Sill Apache Tribe, and Don Wauahdoah, Tribal Administrator, considers these to bode well for the future.

One of the new positions was created by the Business Committee for a full-time procurement clerk. In the past, the demands of this job were filled by various program directors and finance personnel.

Wauahdoah explained that the job entails a large amount of paperwork, and the tribe is currently trying to simplify procedures through coordination.

The other new position created was for a full-time transportation director. R.C. Ahtone was selected from a pool of applicants for the position.



Cybil Boiny, left, and R.C. Ahtone have been hired as procurement clerk and transportation director, respectively.

One of the aims of this job is to bring federal money to local governments and private tribal members for road repairs and improvements.

"The tribe is in expansion mode," he said. "I've been doing this for a long time, and the potential is great."

Wauahdoah said that in the coming months, the tribe hopes to add another two or three departments, including an environmental program and a position to explore energy and wind resources.

Program Briefs

Higher Education

The Fort Sill Apache Tribal Health Education Program has five students enrolled for the 2003 summer semester. Three are at Cameron University, one is at Western Oklahoma State, and another is at Redlands Community College.

Nineteen students were funded through the program for the spring semester. Four were placed on academic probation and two were placed on academic suspension. The majority - 47 percent are attending four-year universities, while 32 percent are attending community colleges.

Emergency Youth Shelter

To date, the program has six children enrolled in May. The program will be open to May 15 through September 15 for the shelter's first full-time session.

and support services, and over 500 grants were made to the children's fund, according to director Craig M. Ansell.

For the full-time Child Welfare Program, monthly home visits by technicians were completed. One guardianship in CFR court was completed and two court appearances were made.

The coordinator of the Family Violence and Prevention Program is working on a workshop on Shaken Baby Syndrome.

Property/Procurement Program

An organizational plan has been developed for all purchasing using a purchase order system that will increase the inventory of all equipment and supplies. The department is collecting the purchase of all subjects for this use and is set to be implemented. Expenses for the program will be \$10,000.

Cybil Boiny, Director

Transportation/Planning Program

Director R.C. Ahtone's position has been confirmed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials concerning Fort Sill Apache contracts. He has also been rewriting the bid letter and will meet with the county commissioner concerning tribal road problems.

Ahtone also is reviewing the safety and rescue programs, construction jobs and contracts available from the state, tribal, county and federal governments.

Enrollment Statistics as of June 5, 2003

- 0-5 years 100
6-12 years 121
13-17 years 271
18-24 years 13
TOTAL 543

Members living in Fort Sill Apache
Total 138

MINUTES OF MEETING

Business Committee acts on affairs of tribe

The Fort Sill Apache Tribe Business Committee discussed and took the following action during meetings in April and May, as recorded in the minutes, published here in final version. All items were approved unanimously unless otherwise noted. The Business Committee meets the first and third Thursday of each month unless a specially called meeting is required.

Business Committee members present were Chairman Jeff Houser, Secretary Treasurer Leland Michael Darrow, Benedict Kawaykka, Robin Isom and Dolly Loretta Buckner. Also in attendance were attorney Robert Prince and Tribal Administrator Don Wauahdooh. Vice Chairman Inman C. Goody was not present due to recovery from an automobile accident.

Tribal Enrollment

- The committee approved the enrollments of Tala Nikeah Cunningham, Natasha Kathryn Van Leeuwen, Jose Luis Angel Lopez and Joshua Wayne Sanders.
- Judith K. Lester's enrollment was denied because she is ineligible.
- As of May 1, 2003, the tribe had 542 members.

Emergency Assistance

- The committee authorized \$1,450 to be paid in assistance during the month of April.
- The committee authorized requests for access to minor per capita accounts totaling \$2,000.
- No funds are to be available from the burial fund without a death certificate.

Per Capita

- The children's per capita fund is to be moved to a high-interest savings account.
- Approximately \$70,596 is to be transferred to the children's per capita fund and \$101,442 to the adults' fund.
- Tribal Chairman Jeff Houser reported April was, as expected, a slow revenue month at the casino and that a supplement from contingency funds is necessary to ensure that per capita will not fall below \$300.
- Graduation gifts of \$350 for high school graduations and \$450 for college graduations were approved.

Travel

- Don Wauahdooh was authorized to attend an Environmental Protection Agency meeting in Dallas.
- Priscilla Goody was authorized to attend the Emergency Medical Service certification meeting in Reno.

Personnel

- Steven York was appointed to the Gaming Commission.
- Don Wauahdooh was hired as Tribal Administrator.
- Administrative leave for Business Committee members to attend meetings is not authorized.
- Steve Doerfel, president of Fort Sill Apache Industries, is to be paid for submitted expenses, excluding insurance and property tax. Doerfel's submitted bill totaled \$1,666 for three months.
- Tribal Attorney Robert Prince is to propose a settlement offer to former casino general manager David Qualls of no more than \$15,000.
- Tribal accountant John McNeil will be paid \$1,900 extra per month for his work in conjunction with processing the per capita payments.

Appointments

- Loretta Buckner made a motion to replace herself on the Housing Board with Jeannie Mann and appoint Jeff Houser as an alternate on the board. Todd Harjo was approved as an alternate on the Housing Commission.
- The gaming ordinance and commissioner terms were approved. Commissioners John McNeil and Steve York, one year; Keith Goody and Roy Kai Mitchell, two years; and Benny Kawaykka, three years.
- The contract for economic development consultant William Richardson was approved. He is to receive \$12,000 a month plus 2 percent of net for five years with a cap for his work on economic development. The contract will be submitted to the General Council for final approval.
- Eldridge Gordon, CPA, was authorized to conduct the 2002 audit of the tribe's finances.
- Steven Buckner and Shannon Mehinger were approved as alternates on

the Secretarial Election Board.

- Adrian Goody and Keith Goody were approved as alternates on the Indian Fair Board.

Other

- Payments are to continue to the Kerchee Family, whose agreement for temporary payments had expired.
- Participation in the Raman Navajo lawsuit was approved.
- The business committee approved a submission to advertise a job opening for web designer. Numerous tribal members have inquired about designing a tribal web site.
- Resolution FSABC 2003-09 for applying for an Administration for Native Americans computerization grant was approved.
- An EPA grant has been submitted for renewal. Rural development grant funds may be used for a convenience store.
- Drug testing for the casino employees and for those who had a prior positive was approved.
- Armbands were approved and the committee reimbursed Loretta Buckner for three already purchased for rides at the Apache Rattlesnake Festival.

Discussion

- An Arizona land offer was discussed and is to be further investigated.
- Jeannie Mann is working on development of a child-care program. It was suggested to pursue a contract with the state for children referred to the shelter by the Department of Human Services.
- Amendments to maintain the 8-A status of Fort Sill Apache Industries were discussed. Funds are available for a wind energy planning grant feasibility study. Also an Indian Health Service grant might be available for health care systems insurance feasibility.
- Economic Development consultant William Richardson proposed options to increase business revenue. Among the suggestions was the consideration of food service focusing on the military. The partner would provide the knowledge and expertise with the tribe getting 55 percent and MMI Dining Services getting 45 percent. A draft of the operating *(continued on next page)*

MINUTES OF MEETING

General Council meets, hears of New Mexico casino project

The following are the minutes of the Fort Sill Apache General Council Meeting, May 3, 2003, held at the Aging Nutrition Center. They were approved at the May 31st General Council meeting.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Jeff Houser, with the invocation given by Benedict Kawaykla.

Tribal Members in attendance. Roy "Kai" Mitchell, Dawain Kawaykla, Jackie Regan Spores, Leland Michael Darrow, Evangeline Z. Chappabirry, Monica Boyd, Claudia Salazar, Robin Isom, Wilson Ware Jr., Pamela Eaglesfield, Shawn A. Boyd, Ruby Dempsey, Naomi Dempsey, Mary Zurega Cuneo, Dolly Buckner, Darrel Shaw, Lori Ware, Jeanette Mann, Adrian Gooday, Peggy Duran, James Buckner, Shannon Tsatoke, Shannon Mehringer, Priscilla A. Gooday Mithlo. *Non-tribal members attending:* Don Wauahdoosh, Robert Prince, William Richardson.

Minutes of the February General Council Meeting were read by Secretary/Treasurer Michael Darrow. Loretta Buckner made a motion, seconded by Pam Eaglesfield to accept minutes with changes. 12 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstaining.

Chairman Jeff Houser welcomed Benedict Jozhe to the meeting and presented an update covering tribal government, the casino, the Industrial Development Corporation, the New Mexico project, the Apache Wye project.

Employment

- William Richardson, who has been contracted by the tribe for four months as a tribal consultant, gave a presentation on the New Mexico Casino project and other activities. An employment contract is to be considered for future work.

- James Buckner made a motion, seconded by Shannon Tsatoke to approve the New Mexico Casino project. 13 in favor, 2 opposed, 0 abstentions.

Enrollment

- Mary Zurega Cuneo made a motion, seconded by Peggy Duran, to approve FSAGC-2003-05 Resolution regarding the enrollment of Nathan Angelo Arquero. 9 in favor, 1 opposed, 0 abstaining.

- James Buckner made a motion, seconded by Darryl Shaw, to approve a disenrollment. 13 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstaining.

Resolutions

- Fort Sill Apache Industries Charter needs to be revised to fit the new organizational structure. Roy "Kai" Mitchell made a motion to approve FSAGC-2003-04 Resolution to Approve the Amendments to the Fort Sill Apache Industries. 14 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstaining.

Budget / Assistance

- James Buckner requested payment of a cost overrun of \$1,800 paid by Darryl Shaw related to work done for the tribe. Mary Zurega made a motion, seconded by Priscilla Gooday Mithlo to pay Darryl Shaw. 14 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstentions.

Other Items

- Insurance was discussed.
- Peggy Duran made a motion, seconded by James Buckner, that the General Council recognizes the new Housing Commission. 13 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstentions.
- The Gaming Commission report was given.

- James Buckner made a motion to adjourn, seconded by Jeannie Mann. 14 in favor, 0 opposed, 0 abstentions.

Community health rabies event draws large numbers

During May, almost 600 contracts were made with tribal members who were receiving help with various health and service needs, through the Community Health Representative / Emergency Medical Services Program.

One of the more well-received programs was a free rabies clinic held at the Fort Sill

Apache Complex, when 92 immunizations were given to pets.

Approximately 62 persons participated in the finger-stick blood-sugar check, in conjunction with the American Kidney Foundation. The program was part of a health screening concerning diabetes education. The tribe's community health repre-

sentative also hosted an environmental event in conjunction with several other tribes' similar programs, with 161 people attending.

The number of patients served was:

health education, 160; environmental health, 161; monitoring patients, 77; patient care, 76; case management, 76; and case screening, 62, among other cases.

The number of patients served in the health area was: HP/DB, 221; diabetes, 147; community injury control, 100; and maternal/child health, 60, among other cases.

Business Committee acts on affairs

(continued from previous page) agreement for Apache Dining Systems LLC is to be made. The tribe has 30 acres at Akela Flats. A much larger amount of land is needed for full development of a casino venture including a hotel and spa.

- Casino legal issues were discussed, as well as casino expansion. Accordingly, a trip to New Mexico and Arizona was proposed for June 8-14.

- Benny Jozhe's requested that the tribe consider renting his quarter section of land.

- The ICW needs matching funds, but this is already covered in the existing budget.

- The housing meeting went very well. House plans were to be examined, and documentation of house problems on Jeff Street were to be made.

- USDA and HUD grants are being formulated relating to the Apache Wye project. The Apache Wye expense is projected at \$1.3 million.

- A program for Tribal Artist Fellowships was suggested for consideration.

LEGAL BRIEFS

Case involving casino land jurisdiction under review by court

The Court of Federal Regulations Appeal Court has taken under review the case of a Comanche Tribe claim of jurisdiction and, therefore, gaming control of what is known as the Rowell property. The Fort Sill Apache casino sits on the Rowell property.

In March, the three-member panel heard arguments by Fort Sill Apache Tribal attorney Robert Prince and Washington, D.C. attorney John Racin, who is under contract from the tribe. The case was heard in the University of Oklahoma Law School moot courtroom.

The Rowell property was transferred to the Fort Sill Apache Tribe in 1999. Last August, CFR Court Judge Phil Lujan dismissed the Comanche Tribe's litigation, ruling, "This court lacks the authority to override a decision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and, thus lacks the authority to entertain the instant action."

The Comanche Tribe appealed to the CFR Appeal Court. The Comanche Tribe's argument is that the Rowell property is still under the jurisdiction of the Comanche Tribe because the BIA did not properly transfer it to the Fort Sill Apache Tribe.

If the Comanche Tribe has jurisdiction, they will have the authority to tax and regulate the Fort Sill Apache Casino, which in effect would put the tribal casino out of business.

Racin and Prince believe the Comanche Tribe's claim has no legal merit in CFR Court, and the three-member Appeal Court

should rule in favor of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe.

'Magical Irish' ruling a win for tribe

The 10th Circuit Court of Appeals, in a decision issued in April, ruled in favor of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe holding that the "Magical Irish" machine is not an illegal gambling device under the Johnson Act and is a permissible technologic aid to Class II gaming.

The Magical Irish decision broadens the use of Class II technologic aids, which make the games fun to play for customers, said tribal attorney Robert Prince. The decision helps clarify that the Johnson Act, which prohibits gambling devices, does not apply to Class II games.

This decision is a major victory for the Fort Sill Apache Tribe and the game's manufacturer, Diamond Games.

Qualls wants payment

Former casino general manager David Qualls is seeking payment from the Fort Sill Apache Tribe for his termination.

The Business Committee was reviewing the case at press time.

David Qualls' attorney had demanded a payment of

\$731,800. But, in May, Qualls reduced his request for "termination without cause" to \$450,000. Tribal Attorney Robert Prince continues to contend Qualls' claim has no validity.

The dispute began in November when the General Council had authorized the Business Committee to renegotiate Qualls' contract or to negotiate a new employment agreement for a new general manager. The Business Committee met several times and attempted to renegotiate Qualls' contract without success.

In December, when the committee learned that Qualls had been contacting attorneys, the Business Committee voted to terminate David Qualls' employment as the general manager of the casino.

	June	July
Reserve (April-May)	\$123,365.53	\$708,744.61
Debit Payroll	\$107,897.67	\$184,447.65
Ending Reserve	\$15,467.86	\$164,296.96
Expansion Reserve	\$ 56,798.40	\$105,599.74
Distribution to Tribe	\$493,636.36	\$528,484.85
Per Capita Distribution	\$162,900.00	\$174,400.00
Total Members	543	545
Amount per Member	\$300.00	\$320.00

Due to a clerical error, the June payment was \$320 instead of \$300.

Tribal leaders review economic development contract

One of the first resolutions coming before the General Council, via absentee ballot, is a vote on one or more contracts for economic development consultants.

The consultants are to bring to fruition the New Mexico Resort & Casino, and potentially \$640 million in revenue for the tribe.

At press time, the Business Committee was reviewing several different options, and the resolution was being formulated. That resolution is to be before absentee voters this month.

William Richardson of Jackson, Miss., has a contract proposal for the task but, at presstime, tribal chairman Jeff Houser was gathering information on other consultants for the job. Houser was comparing Richardson's contract to the going rate for such services and also was reviewing the functions of such a position. He has also completed reference checks and the Richardson contract has been reviewed by tribal attorneys Robert Prince of Lawton and John Racin of Washington, D.C. Richardson was hired in January on a

three-month contract, and then his services were renewed for another month. The Business Committee approved a more comprehensive contract in May, but the General Council tabled the measure to obtain more information.

The hesitancy in approving an economic development contract is due to past experiences, Houser said. Previously, economic development consultations have hidden information from the tribe and made critical decisions without tribal leaders present.

—CAROL HARTZOG

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 4:33 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. Let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting \$10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
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 aqua or Coughatta 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 will not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press releases 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 will do. NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]
mike@[Redacted]

5/7/2004

GTG-E000011983

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@dir.dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 12:43 PM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: CREA - Freshman Reception

Unfortunately, she is critical to me. what would it cost us?

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 1:11 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: CREA - Freshman Reception

We'll see what Erika comes back with but it sounds expensive. Do we owe them or something?

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

From: Laura Lippy [mailto:lauralippy@dir.dc.gov]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 12:46 PM
 To: Rodney Lane; Erica Merkel
 Cc: Todd Thrasher
 Subject: CREA - Freshman Reception

Jared called. They want to do this reception on Thursday, March 20th for 50-75 people. Jared said that Italia & Jack spoke regarding this and that Jack may want to comp it. Erica, can you call Jared to get details please? Rodney will talk to Jack about the comp issue. Thanks.
 [REDACTED]

CTC E000105191

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 9:39 PM
To: 'Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)'; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sandia Update/Advice

Kevin, this excuse about Scanlon from them is bullshit. I don't care how much they hate him, they paid for a result and they got it. whether he did what they wanted or not, they got their fucking mountain. And for them to be telling you that they won't rehire us because of him is also fucking bullshit. I know that not getting them will be a big hit on you and I am sorry about that, and I support whatever you want to do on this, but I think they're already gone and they are using that Scanlon excuse because they are cheap mother fuckers who don't want to pay our fees. I say fuck them and let's go get you a different tribe which appreciates hard work.

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 9:23 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sandia Update/Advice

Mielke called tonight and told me that the Council decided to send a team of 3 of their council members, including the Governor, to come to DC next Monday and Tuesday to interview firms. I told him that it sounded like we were out if they were doing that. He said they will probably want to meet again, but it might not be worth it if we are no longer in the running. Once again for Sandia, the issue was Scanlon. They said we did a great lobbying job, but since we insisted that they hire him, we bore responsibility for his lack of performance. There is nothing I can do about that now, but I only wonder if I shouldn't try to strike a deal with them even if it means a lower retainer and then build it back up over time. Not only was this my biggest client, it will be semi-significant hit for the firm if we don't get any revenue from them. (Only the big four tribes are larger than Sandia's monthly retainer). Thoughts?

GTG-E000003763

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 11:58 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Gone??

Good. I think the key thing to remember with all these clients is that they are annoying, but that the annoying losers are the only ones which have this kind of money and part with it so quickly. So, we have to put up with this stuff.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Gone??

Thanks - She's a little spastic - Im getting used to her a little more - but it does drive me nuts. We are totally kicking ass out there - but my synopsis is correct. No matter what happens in the end - Richard will try to take credit - so we just have to do the best we can and make sure the gov says it was our team - which he will.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 10:28 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Gone??
You are the total man. great response.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 8:07 AM
To: Candace Patencio; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted]
Subject: RE: Gone??

Candace - I am no longer out of the country. As for the other items - I have been on top of this the whole way and I will continue to do so.





-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patenco [mailto:cpatenco@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:15 AM
To: Mike Scanlon; Jack Abramoff; [mailto:jabramoff@gtlaw.com]
Subject: Gone??
Okay, you are out of the country Where???? I thought you were handling our negotiations???



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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 9:30 PM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Subject: RE: Saginaw Chippewa Tribe -- School Cost Share

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia.federici@dc.gov]
 Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 8:07 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Saginaw Chippewa Tribe -- School Cost Share

got it...

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
 Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 4:25 PM
 To: italia.federici
 Subject: FW: Saginaw Chippewa Tribe -- School Cost Share

Please let me know if you can call Steve on this. Thanks so much Italia!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 4:25 PM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Saginaw Chippewa Tribe -- School Cost Share

Below is an email from our client, the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe in Michigan. As you can see, BIA is dragging it's feet with regard to the cost share program. If it wasn't for the Saginaw, the program wouldn't even exist and now the BIA needs to have a meeting to discuss the implications of the language because they don't think the Saginaw are eligible for the money because they currently don't operate a BIA school and/or are not on the school construction priority list.

Well, the language we included in the bill made no reference to either BIA control or the priority list. I know this because I wrote it. We also included a colloquy with Senator Stabenow and Senator Burns clarifying the Saginaw were responsible for this.

We're really going to need someone from the top down to tell Aune Martin (who hasn't been hostile at all) that this money is going to the Saginaw, period. Your thoughts?

--Todd

"Just spoke with Dr. Ken Ross at BIA New Mexico office. He indicated concerns he has over the school cost-share legislation, which he interprets no Tribes can receive the money if they were not on the September 1996 BIA schools list. Therefore, he does not believe the Tribe is eligible. Dr. Ross indicated that he is meeting with Aune Martin and the BIA legal counsel next Tuesday to discuss the program. He wants to create criteria and had concerns about equity. Boyd Robinson of the same office indicated yesterday that he knows of other Tribes interested in the construction funds. Ross will not send any forms for the monies until after he obtains legal counsel from BIA."

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) (mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov) on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 11:17 AM
 To: Boznjak, Allison R. (AdmAsst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

We better get some prizes!

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

From: Reeder, Joe (Shld-DC-LT)
 Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 10:49 AM
 To: Rudy F. DeLeon (E-mail)
 Subject: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

> Dear Rudy,

>
 I really appreciate your call back yesterday, and want to elaborate on a unique upcoming charity event, The Spy Game, which will take place at the International Spy Museum on Wednesday, March 26. This is over the top - even for the Nation's Capital. The Capital Athletic Foundation chaired by Washington Redskin's owner Dan Snyder, will honor a good friend to many of us, Jim Kimsey, AOL Founding CEO and Chairman, at a gala charity at the new International Spy Museum in Washington DC. Jim is being honored with its Lifetime Achievement Award. This award is conferred upon distinguished Americans who are role models in their respective fields and who represent the highest ideals of sportsmanship.

> As we discussed, I would like to ask you and Boeing to be there.
 > This highly engaging competition has been written by Daniel Greenberg,
 > Creative Director for Lord of the Rings video game. The team that
 > solves the mystery will win up to \$50,000 in prizes. I mentioned that
 > dozens of prominent Senators and Members of Congress (see attached)
 > will be there cheering their spy teams to victory, and my thought was
 > that Boeing, or perhaps even Boeing teamed with another company, might
 > want to sponsor one of the Members. (You obviously can imagine which
 > Members will be selected by the defense contractors early on!) The spy
 > teams are \$25,000 and up to ten participants of your choosing,
 > including the Member. The enclosed summarizes of the game and
 > various levels of support. We'd love Boeing to sponsor a team, but
 > any participation will be very much appreciated. And, you can visit
 > www.spyevent.com.
 >
 > The list attached is but a small fraction of the VIP's coming. This will not be a
 traditional, stuffy testimonial dinner. It will be a true party-a spy party with many
 celebrities, sports figures, Bond girls, a high-end live auction, and the like. I
 believe those who attend will agree this party will go down in the record books, and it is
 all for a great cause-our kids.
 >
 > The Capital Athletic Foundation fosters character development by
 > recognizing organizations and individuals across the economic spectrum that exemplify
 the highest values of honorable, civil and ethical behavior in their endeavors. The
 Foundation awards grants to support needy and deserving programs that develop
 sportsmanship, and also awards grants that support programs and activities which
 specifically support disadvantaged youth. No one represents these ideals and sense of
 philanthropy better than Jim, which is why the Foundation has selected him as its first
 honoree. Enclosed please find a backgrounder on the Foundation.
 >
 > This Spy Event gala will be unique, memorable and great fun. More important, however,
 it will serve thousands of children throughout the metropolitan region. Boeing has been
 a wonderful corporate citizen, and I hope you will be able to support this worthy cause.
 Julie Doolittle, Congressman Doolittle's wife, may have phoned your office about the

GTG-E000121933

event, but I will call you tomorrow to see if we can put something together here, with a Member who also makes good business sense for Boeing.

> Kind personal regards, and many thanks for helping here, Rudy.

>
>

> Joe << File: CAF SPY EVENT INFO FOR SPONSORS.doc >> << File:
> [REDACTED] > Reeder

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>

> Attachments

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Just spoke with Ken Ross at BIA, New Mexico. He indicated that the Interior Assistant Secretary will handle the issue and send a letter. However, Ross stated that Aurene Martin and her legal counsel shared concerns over the legal aspects. Ross stated this issue is in the hands of the Assistant Secretary.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster: [REDACTED]

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia [REDACTED]]
Sent: Sunday, March 09, 2003 11:39 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Jena Choctaw Update

Hi Jack: I will call you on Monday with whatever I can find out...

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Sunday, March 09, 2003 10:04 AM
To: italia [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Jena Choctaw Update

I am not sure what more you can do on this, but it seems it's crunch time on Jena.

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

From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 6:35 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: Jena Choctaw Update

Can we find out anything from inside BIA on timing?
 Stephanie Leger Short

SECRET 10/04 00007

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Sunday, March 09, 2003 8:52 AM
 To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

We'll buy tix and Jason will get rooms and tee times.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Saturday, March 08, 2003 9:49 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

You mentioned a trip to Scotland. What are you thinking we can do here?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: 3/7/2003 5:05 PM
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

We need something much greater than these for the winners. What are we considering?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 2:51 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

We've made some progress. We have \$25,000 worth of airline vouchers for Continental pending and already received 10 portable DVD players and 10 very small, very high-end digital cameras donated. We also have the tickets from you for the Wizards, Caps and Redskins. Will let you know what else we are able to rustle up.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 12:50 PM
 To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

We better get some prizes!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Reeder, Joe (shld-DC-LT)
 Sent: Friday, March 07, 2003 10:49 AM
 To: Rudy F. DeLeon (E-mail)
 Subject: March 26th Spy Game at the Spy Museum

> Dear Rudy,

>
 I really appreciate your call back yesterday, and want to elaborate on a unique upcoming charity event, The Spy Game, which will take place at the International Spy Museum on Wednesday, March 26. This is over the top - even for the Nation's Capital. The Capital Athletic Foundation chaired by Washington Redskin's owner Dan Snyder, will honor a good friend to many of us, Jim Kimsey, AOL Founding CEO and Chairman, at a gala charity at the new International Spy Museum in Washington DC. Jim is being honored with its Lifetime Achievement Award. This award is conferred upon distinguished Americans who are role models in their respective fields and who represent the highest ideals of sportsmanship.

GTG-E000121929

> As we discussed, I would like to ask you and Boeing to be there. This highly engaging competition has been written by Daniel Greenberg, Creative Director for Lord of the Rings video game. The team that solves the mystery will win up to \$50,000 in prizes. I mentioned that dozens of prominent Senators and Members of Congress (see attached) will be there cheering their spy teams to victory, and my thought was that Boeing, or perhaps even Boeing teamed with another company, might want to sponsor one of the Members. (You obviously can imagine which Members will be selected by the defense contractors early on!) The spy teams are \$25,000 and up to ten participants of your choosing, including the Member. The enclosed summarizes of the game and various levels of support. We'd love Boeing to sponsor a team, but any participation will be very much appreciated. And, you can visit www.spyevent.com.

>

> The list attached is but a small fraction of the VIP's coming. This will not be a traditional, stuffy testimonial dinner. It will be a true party-a spy party with many celebrities, sports figures, Bond girls, a high-end live auction, and the like. I believe those who attend will agree this party will go down in the record books, and it is all for a great cause-our kids.

>

> The Capital Athletic Foundation fosters character development by recognizing organizations and individuals across the economic spectrum that exemplify the highest values of honorable, civil and ethical behavior in their endeavors. The Foundation awards grants to support needy and deserving programs that develop sportsmanship, and also awards grants that support programs and activities which specifically support disadvantaged youth. No one represents these ideals and sense of philanthropy better than Jim, which is why the Foundation has selected him as its first honoree. Enclosed please find a backgrounder on the Foundation.

>

> This Spy Event gala will be unique, memorable and great fun. More important, however, it will serve thousands of children throughout the metropolitan region. Boeing has been a wonderful corporate citizen, and I hope you will be able to support this worthy cause. Julie Doolittle, Congressman Doolittle's wife, may have phoned your office about the event, but I will call you tomorrow to see if we can put something together here, with a Member who also makes good business sense for Boeing.

>

> Kind personal regards, and many thanks for helping here, Rudy.

>

>

> Joe << File: CAF SPY EVENT INFO FOR [REDACTED] >> << File: [REDACTED] >> Reeder

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> Attachments

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GREENBERG TRAUHIG
MEMBERSHIP ACCOUNT

No. 025651

63-643
STB

NOT NEGOTIABLE IF NOT A MEMBER'S CHECK ISSUE

DATE: 03/11/03

CHECK NO: 28551

AMOUNT: \$ 10,000.00**

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Michael Chapman

THIS SIGNATURE REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUHIG
MEMBERSHIP ACCOUNT

MEMBER ID: 0203174120513062

Leo J. Weiss

03 03 26-33

#025651*

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ENDORSE HERE

X *Leo J. Weiss*

DO NOT WRITE OR SIGN BELOW THIS LINE
RESERVED FOR FINANCIAL INSTITUTION USE

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: SCANLON GOULD
SUBJECT: SACRAMENTO GROUND TEAM
DATE: 3/12/2003

Please note that we have retained Richard Lehman to head our ground team in Sacramento. As you will recall, Scanlon Gould was contracted to offer the Tribe a turn key solution, from grassroots advocacy, polling and database development to a highly effective negotiating team in the state capital. To that end, we have asked Mr. Lehman to represent the Tribe in the compact negotiations and believe his services to be invaluable in this process.

If you should have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact us at [REDACTED]. We will be providing an additional update to bring you up to speed on the status of your campaign this week.

BB/AC04995

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 16, 2003 1:30 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: What are you doing? Petras is coming to town this week? I'm gonna schedule

Then he wouldn't look like an Indian, though.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 16, 2003 11:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: What are you doing? Petras is coming to town this week? I'm gonna schedule

Some Jack-Petras time everyday.....

Have you noticed that he's wearing better ties and shirts....I've got him to spend some cash on it. He's into it. Ahahahhahahahaahahaha. If he would only cut that hair.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 026297

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE: 03/17/03 CHECK NO. 26297 AMOUNT \$ ***10,000.00***

PAY TO THE ORDER OF: Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG, TRAUERIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

"026297"

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 26297	Check Date: Mar 17/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
3/08/03	[REDACTED]	February 2003 retainer for consultation services/J. Abramoff.	10,000.00

DETACH

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

DETACH

GTG005425-ACCT-AC

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN UPDATE
DATE: 3/17/2003

Per our original strategy with the Tribe, we wanted to provide this brief update regarding the most recent events in your compact renegotiation. We are currently in the mobilization stages of your campaign working not only in Sacramento, but also in the greater Palm Springs area to maintain the proper pressure on the Governor and his negotiating team. We are also preparing to use even more public tactics to further illustrate the position of the tribe and the public support it enjoys.

You will recall that the campaign we outlined for you last summer involved many stages by which we build a political army, determine the most effective message to achieve your objectives, and finally mobilize your supporters to ensure that the governor acts in a manner consistent with the tribe's position. Having built your political database and identified nearly 160,000 supporters, tested a number of messages using a series of polls we were ready to begin the most comprehensive portion of the campaign, mobilization.

The mobilization phase includes a number of tactics and tools that have and will be used to achieve our objectives, including the employee letter-writing campaign in January as well as direct mail, opinion-maker letters, advertising and of course, direct lobbying.

Sacramento

As you know, for the past several months, our team has been working in Sacramento to begin identifying key political strategies with Governor Davis. In addition, we put together a very powerful lobby team that is the face of our effort with the Governor, including former Congressman Richard Lehman. The lobby team is working directly with the governor's staff to construct the most effective strategies and positions while our political tactics will continue to demonstrate to the Governor that a correctly negotiated compact will have a direct impact on his public support.

Media

Over the course of the next several weeks, we will begin to place strategic advertisements in local newspapers and on local radio stations promoting the position of the Tribe as well as to thank the Governor for his willingness to renegotiate the compact. Currently, the Governor is facing his worst poll numbers since taking office, and we believe that an ad campaign targeted at thanking him in advance for negotiating a compact with the Agua Caliente Tribe will demonstrate our ability to work closely with his office and finally put this issue to bed. In addition, the ads will continue to stir the pot in Southern California and expand your already enormous base of support.

Once the media buys have begun, they will in turn generate a number of media inquiries and stories about your campaign. We will be forwarding to you and your staff, prepared statements for you to make to the media once the inquiries begin. Obviously, it will be important for the Tribe to express how important the compact negotiations are to job creation, education and the state's economy at large.

Again, I wish to simply bring you up to date on the most recent events in the mobilization portion of the campaign. Our direct lobbying efforts and political tactics that we have outlined for you over the past several months and above, have combined to put this process on a very successful path. All of our efforts will be directed at working directly with the Governor while at the same time, demonstrating to him that negotiating a compact that expands your operations will have a positive impact on the community, state and of course, public opinion of him.

Direct Mail Campaign

As you know, we have been waging a "citizens" letter writing campaign throughout the state of California. This component is necessary to show that the average voter is on the side of the tribe, and to show, in a tangible way that public opinion is behind the tribe's position.

The direct mail campaign has been a complete success. You will recall the glossy mailer that we designed and sent to the members of your political database was approved and mailed late last month. The results thus far have been astounding. We have recorded over 2400 responses and expect hundreds, if not thousands, more. The responses to this campaign have exceeded all expectations, and will have a dramatic effect on the Governor's negotiating team. It is critical for average voters in the state to weigh in on this issue as politicians care about only one thing - votes.

Attached to this fax are copies of a few of the responses we have gotten. As we continue to collect additional mailers, we will compile them and send them to you in a completed report. We expect to have the complete responses before the end of the month.

Grasstops Campaign

As we discussed, we feel that it is very important for the Governor to hear from influential members of your local community and from his political family. While actual voters who care enough to call or write on an issue are always very important in a campaign like this, it is equally valuable to mobilize opinion-makers from your region to write on your behalf. Obviously, these influential clergymen, business leaders and elected officials carry tremendous clout with the Governor as they often can deliver a constituency of their own. In addition, we are targeting members of the Governor's own political family. That is, individuals who contribute money or have a personal relationship with the Governor. When an elected official hears an opinion from members of his own "inner circle", he/she is far more apt to take notice and take action.

Attached, you will find copies of some of the letters that have been written on your behalf. We will continue to send copies of subsequent letters as they are returned to us as well as a final report after all of the letters that have been collected.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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 Coughatta money?

Thanks my friend.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike.██████████@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 19, 2003 9:52 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: did we get the Coughatta money?

I will do so - I am speaking to William today about cutting this.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj.██████████ [mailto:abramoffj.██████████@██████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 11:01 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: did we get the Coughatta 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.██████████.

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN UPDATE
DATE: MARCH 21, 2003

Members of the Council:

I wanted to provide you with this brief addition to the campaign update we sent to you on Monday, March 17, 2003. We received very good news from the Governor this week. He and his staff have responded to our communication/official invitation with a direct phone call to our lobby team in Sacramento. Furthermore, the Governor indicated that it is his desire to meet face to face with our team in the coming weeks.

We believe this to be a very positive step, particularly since the Governor has declined to meet personally with most everyone else. Our months-long effort to maintain a close working relationship with the Governor and his team is paying, and will continue to pay, huge dividends.

Again, the opinion-maker campaign, direct mail campaign, our lobby efforts and the earlier stages of the mobilization phase have met with tremendous success. We are confident in the progress we have made to date, and we will continue to provide you with regular updates regarding your campaign.

If you should have questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or Chris Cathcart at [REDACTED]

WASHINGTON, DC 20003

BB/AC05000

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2003 4:26 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Money

OK, let's chat when we are next together. Meanwhile, let's get some more fucking money! Also, you have to get me a proposal for the Mewekmas.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike.scanlon@dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2003 4:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Money

I have a few real estate developments in the pipeline - One really big one - and a couple of small ones that I may need to raise outside capital for. I can guarantee the returns on rate and time, and if you wanted to do more down the road taking a run at the upside potential you could get into some of the longer term stuff - 18 month to 2 years stuff which is unbelievable on the return side - (I'm turning a 100% return on a one year project next month).

A group backed by Tony Coelho just bought up a big tract of land down the road from one of the developments I'm driving. Because I have a few projects in the pipeline I'm looking for some outside capital so I can keep ahead of the competition.

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2003 11:33 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Money
Sure. what's up?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike.scanlon@dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, March 25, 2003 11:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Money

Hey you want to make some money in real estate down here? Ive got a couple of real good deals I'm working on - I can guarantee a 20% return in a year.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

5/8/2004

GTG-E000012012

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN UPDATE
DATE: MARCH 26, 2003

Members of the Tribal Council: .

Please accept this brief campaign update to bring you up to speed on some of the details and tactics being used to successfully renegotiate your compact. These additions to our more comprehensive updates of last week will keep you abreast of the latest goings-on in your region and in Sacramento. You will recall that the mobilization phase is underway and our teams are working not only in the state capital, but also on the ground to garner public support (votes) that will serve as political cover with the Governor and express to him that it is critical for his political survival to negotiate with the tribe and sign a new, expanded compact.

I am excited to report that we are continuing to have tremendous success with our opinion-maker letter-writing campaign. Attached to this facsimile are 10 more letters from prominent members of the community, the Governor's own political family, and from elected leaders in the region. Of particular interest to you may be the letters written from Mayor George Stetter of Cathedral City and Councilmember Gary Bosworth from Desert Hot Springs. These letters will have a tremendous impact on the Governor and his willingness to renegotiate your compact.

Our team in the area will continue to work with local business leaders and other opinion-makers to keep the pressure on Governor Davis and his negotiating team to ensure that they are fully aware of the support the Tribe has on this issue. Opinion-makers like these are always very important to a campaign such as this, but they have never been more important, as we continue to watch the Governor's popularity numbers tumble.

Our negotiating team continues to have great success in Sacramento as well. Our team leader has had direct contact with the members of the state's negotiating team, and they will continue to pursue them on this issue.

BB/AC05002

One point of clarification, it appears that you have received two letters from the Governor's office on the compact issue. Those letters appear to be clerical errors and automatically generated by the Governor's administrative staff. You may disregard them as our lobby team in Sacramento is working directly with the Governor's team to effectively articulate the Tribe's objectives.

In addition, we are including for your review and approval, a mock-up of a political advertisement we would like to run in the local newspapers. We believe that a positive advertising campaign run in support of our efforts is an important step in generating and demonstrating the kind of public support the tribe enjoys and the Governor will need. Furthermore, we will be running several radio ads with a similar message and will forward to you shortly, a script for your approval.

As we mentioned in last week's updates, the progress to date has been good. Our number one concern now is timing. It is clear that the Governor would like to stall the process for as long as possible, but we remain committed to keeping the pressure on the Governor to act – and act quickly. The campaign has been running smoothly to date, our lobby team has been given unequalled access to the process and the political cover that we have been providing by way of employee activism, opinion-maker support and everyday citizen activism will ultimately allow for a successful resolution to the negotiations.

BB/AC05003

Todd Anthony Boulanger Lyson's Corner

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 4:15 PM
To: Erik Einertson
Subject: Re: Sandia

True...but we like money!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Einertson, Erik <erik.einertson@...>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulanger@...>
Sent: Wed Mar 26 17:12:53 2003
Subject: RE: Sandia

They really don't have as big of issues now though, do they? Should be effortless.
[Redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: boulanger@...
Sent: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 5:13 PM
To: Einertson, Erik
Subject: Re: Sandia

Yes, we are happy \$25K per month less.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Einertson, Erik <erik.einertson@...>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulanger@...>
Sent: Wed Mar 26 16:56:45 2003
Subject: RE: Sandia

How much less? Congrats if you are happy about it.
What is new on your front?
Erik Einertson
[Redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: boulanger@...
Sent: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 1:45 PM
To: Einertson, Erik
Subject: Sandia

Kept us on for a lot less money.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

Amsterdam Atlanta Boca Raton Boston Chicago Denver

Capital Athletic Foundation
presents

The Spy Game



The International Spy Museum
26 March, 2003



capital athletic foundation

The Capital Athletic Foundation promotes the ideals of sportsmanship by recognizing individuals and organizations across the economic spectrum that exemplify the highest values of honorable, civil and ethical behavior in their endeavors. The Foundation awards grants to support needy and deserving programs and activities that develop sportsmanship, and designates appropriate individuals as National Ambassadors of Sportsmanship. The Foundation also awards grants that specifically support sportsmanship programs and activities which serve disadvantaged youth. The CAF National Sportsmanship Hall of Fame showcases role models of sportsmanship throughout American society - giving all youth exposed to it a common sense of purpose.

The Capital Athletic Foundation makes grants to public and private secondary schools for programs that integrate sportsmanship within the academic curriculum. The Foundation also makes grants to Boy Scout troops, Girl Scout troops, and other youth organizations for programs that teach sportsmanship within the framework of organized group activities.

- The Alexandria Roller Youth Camp Foundation
- Washington State Community Foundation
- Easton's Chevy Chase Secondary School Girls Club, MD
- Beize Youth Soccer
- Boy Scouts of America, District 14, #13
- Camillus Athletic Club
- Girl Scout Council of The Nation's Capital
- Harris County Youth Program
- Howard County Youth Program
- Joy Of Sports Foundation
- Metropolitan Police Boys and Girls Clubs, D.C.
- The Waldorf School (Atlanta, GA)
- Washington TIC Soccer
- Washington Tennis Association
- Wichita Community Foundation
- Wichita Metropolitan Washington

Capital Athletic Foundation



Dear friends:

As Director of Community Relations for the Capital Athletic Foundation (CAF), I'd like to take this opportunity to thank you for joining us tonight and for supporting the efforts of the Foundation. CAF promotes the ideals of sportsmanship by recognizing individuals and organizations across the economic spectrum that exhibit the highest values of honorable, civil and ethical behavior in their endeavors and activities that develop sportsmanship. We award grants to support programs and activities which are in keeping with today's challenges us to provide a safe and healthy environment for our youth, and which is often at too lacking in our support of an honorable sense of sportsmanship amongst our youth groups with an honorable sense of direction and purpose to which they might not otherwise be exposed. We are very appreciative of your efforts, and hope you will continue to support CAF as it grows to help others prosper in the years to come.

Sincerely,

Julie Doolittle

Julie Doolittle
Director of Community Relations
Capital Athletic Foundation
www.capathletic.org

Capital Athletic Foundation

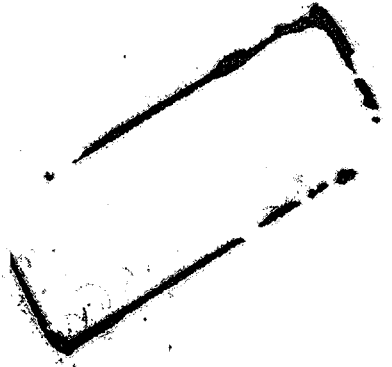


Capital Athletic Foundation
"The Spy Game"
at
The International Spy Museum
26 March, 2003

The mission if you choose to accept it.

Join us to launch the Capital Athletic Foundation and present CAF's first "Lifetime Achievement Award" to James V. Kimsey, founder of America Online. There will be an interactive spy-game portion of the evening as well as a live auction of highly confidential items to raise money for the Foundation. Following the game, guests will enjoy dinner at the Spy Museum and will receive their secret mission kit, equipped with various spy gadgets. Lavish prizes rich as the most notorious spy will be awarded to the victor of the "Interactive Spy Game" at the conclusion of the evening.

**For more information, call Warren Robold at
(301) [REDACTED] or a**



Designed especially for
Capital Athletic Foundation
by Advocacy Ink, Washington, DC
www.advocacyink.com

Subj: **correction**
Date: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 12:08:25 PM
From: abramoffj@██████████
To: Mjschwartz@██████████

Marc, one correction. Duane reminds me that non of the proceeds from the Elder Legacy Program to the charity can be used for lobbying purposes, therefore, the school will use other funds of the school to pay for that. This is a technicality but important.

Amsterdam Atlanta Boca Raton Boston Chicago Denver
Fort Lauderdale Los Angeles Miami New Jersey New York
Orlando Philadelphia Phoenix Tallahassee Tyson's Corner
Washington, D.C. West Palm Beach Wilmington Zurich

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:13 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@...' [mailto:GRHalpern@...]
Subject: RE: \$ planning

Righ. Thanks.

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

From: GRHalpern@... [mailto:GRHalpern@...]
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:47 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: \$ planning

okay, that's what I thought you meant. the KG check we need to do a tax withholding on it.

the Coushatta check, no withholding if it goes straight to CAF.

Rodney is working on a projection for the restaurants.

In a message dated 3/30/2003 11:28:47 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]

You mean the CCS check to Kaygold? Yes, that would be taxed on a 1099, right? The CAF check will come directly from Coushatta. I was mistaken about that one coming from CCS.

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

From: GRHalpern@... [mailto:GRHalpern@...]
Sent: Saturday, March 29, 2003 11:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: \$ planning

last time we discussed this, Mike was not willing to give you a check from CCS unless you were taxed on it on your 1099. is that not still the case?

In a message dated 3/28/2003 4:37:07 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]

I have \$1M coming in (I hope directly to CAF or Eshkol) probably next week, and \$1M due within the next 2 weeks to Kaygold. Both from CCS. How long will this money last both for the school and the restaurants?

5/9/2004

GTG-E000012166

*A message from the families of the
Agua Caliente Band of the Cabuilla Indians*



**THANK YOU
GOVERNOR DAVIS**

for agreeing to
renegotiate our compact.

Paid for by the Agua Caliente Band of Cabuilla Indians



DEAR GOVERNOR DAVIS,

The Agua Caliente Community would like to thank you for agreeing to renegotiate our compact. The livelihood of our families depends on the fair renegotiation of a new compact. A fairly negotiated compact will mean hundreds of additional jobs for our community — jobs that would otherwise go to people in other states. Thank you for keeping the working people of Southern California and their families in mind by agreeing to renegotiate a fair and favorable compact with the Agua Caliente.

Sincerely,
The Agua Caliente Band of Cabuilla Indians

THE UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INTERNATIONAL
SERIALS ACQUISITION DEPARTMENT
300 NORTH ZEEB ROAD
ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

BB/AC05004

May-19-2004 09:14

T-820 P.002 F-572

Business Checking

001 072 130 0 31 SAFEKEEP Replacement Statement 052

ATLANTIC RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
60 BALTIMORE AVENUE
REHOBOTH BEACH DE 19971

CB

Business Checking

4/01/2003 thru 4/30/2003

Account number:
Account holder(s): ATLANTIC RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
Taxpayer ID Number:

Account Summary

Opening balance 4/01 ← ACCT WAS OPENED \$0.00
Deposits and other credits 2,600.00 +
Other withdrawals and service fees 65.00 -
Closing balance 4/30 \$2,535.00

Deposits and Other Credits

Date Amount Description
4/02 2,600.00 TRANSFER PER CUSTOMER REQUEST
Total \$2,600.00

Other Withdrawals and Service Fees

Date Amount Description
4/03 65.00 AUTOMATED DEBIT HARLAND CHECKS CHK ORDERS
CG. ID. [REDACTED]
MISC [REDACTED]
Total \$65.00

Daily Balance Summary

Dates Amount Dates Amount Dates Amount
04/02 2,600.00 04/03 2,535.00

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 03, 2003 11:21 PM
To: italia@ [redacted]
Subject: RE: urgent alert - DOI Proposes Policy Change in Compact Review Process

No problem. I am pushing like mad. No check yet, but we'll get one asap.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, April 03, 2003 3:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: urgent alert - DOI Proposes Policy Change in Compact Review Process

Hi Jack: I will definitely see what I can find out. I hate to bug you, but is there any news about a possible contribution from EHS [redacted] - LEAS launch is rapidly approaching and we are very very committed. I pretty worried about getting everything in place. As for the good news, things are moving forward and I had a very good meeting yesterday with [redacted] from NRCC. He thinks LEA is great and will be extremely helpful to our guys! Thanks for all your help! --Italia

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@ [redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@ [redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, April 03, 2003 12:00 PM
To: italia@ [redacted]
Subject: FW: urgent alert - DOI Proposes Policy Change in Compact Review Process
Importance: High

If this attached memo is correct, someone over at BIA is doing some really odd things. Any way to see if this is something coming from the top? All our tribes are very agitated about this one. Thanks Italia.

<<4-1-03URGENT [redacted]>> Kevin - Per our conversation, I'll place calls as well to [redacted] ofc.
Frank Chaves
Director
Economic Development Department
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: John Harte [mailto:jharte@ [redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 02, 2003 5:50 PM
To: bassvincent@ [redacted]; fchaves@ [redacted]; jlcaine@ [redacted]; james.starr@ [redacted]; jeriannethomast@ [redacted]; migael@ [redacted]; jmcocoy@ [redacted]; lcornelje@ [redacted]; rthomase@ [redacted]; Roland Johnson (Roland Johnson); tburris@ [redacted]
Cc: John Harte
Subject: FW: urgent alert - DOI Proposes Policy Change in Compact Review Process
Importance: High

The Interior Department is considering making a drastic policy change in its

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Allison Bozniak

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: April 4, 2003

RE: Request for March 2003 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

March 2003 Retainer	\$10,000.00
---------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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@██████████

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@██████████
 Sent: Thursday, April 10, 2003 10:23 AM
 To: Italia@██████████
 Subject: ██████████

Thanks Italia. I met last night with the ██████████. They offered ██████████ but I felt badly asking them since they are not getting any cooperation yet. Perhaps once the court case clears in a few weeks Steve might be able to grab control of this. They are great folks. Still all set for ██████████ tomorrow and, if all goes well, ██████████ on Monday. That will more than cover all your costs.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, April 10, 2003 9:58 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: ██████████

Thank you so much Jack. Just able to respond to this because we are working out of the Teamsters building for the remainder of the week in order to better get everything organized. FYI - the total cost for this project is around 43k - including advance, travel, pr, materials, letterhead, website, banners, etc... some of these costs we won't need to duplicate in the future. We are doing a couple of media events here for roll-out and then going to 3 states - NY, NJ, PA. I have never done projects that require travel for multiple people before, so I'm not sure if we are above or below the norm - budget-wise.

Thanks again for everything! If anyone needs me right away, it's probably best to call my cell thru Friday...

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 09, 2003 8:24 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: ██████████

They have to vote the checks approved, which they are going to do on Friday. ██████████ said he would get it to us as early next week as he can. I think it's pretty set, but obviously we don't have it yet.

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No. 030244

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

63 633
670

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

PAY

DATE

CHECK NO.

AMOUNT

04/11/03

30244

\$ ***10,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈030244⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 30244

Check Date: Apr 11/03

<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
4/04/03	[REDACTED]	57044.010100 Consulting fee	10,000.00

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

GTG005430-ACCT-AC

April 10, 2003

* GIBLIN & O.P.A.
03 APR 11 AM 10:46

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Aqua Callants Consulting Fee	\$10,000.00	(1)	
2				(2)	
3				(3)	
4				(4)	
5				(5)	
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL		\$10,000.00

Payee: Michael Chapman Mail to Payee: Yes No

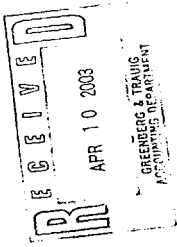
Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/LC Attorney's/Secretary's initials

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*

- (Fill in address if window envelope will be used)
- *DISBURSEMENT CODES
- (1) Telephone charges
 - (2) Messenger
 - (3) Reproduction charges
 - (4) Word Processing
 - (5) Witness fees
 - (6) Info & Research
 - (7) Title policies
 - (8) Court Fees/Filing fees
 - (9) Recording charges
 - (10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
 - (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
 - (12) Printing charges
 - (13) Transportation-Local Travel
 - (14) Postage
 - (15) Publication charges
 - (16) Legal expert & professional
 - (17) Special Clerical Services
 - (18) Other Disbursements
 - (19) Certified Copies
 - (20) Service Company charges
 - (21) Court reporter/Depo
 - (22) Transcript charges
 - (23) Subpoena Fees
 - (24) Govt. Agency reports
 - (25) Business Meals
 - (26) Copies from Courthouse
 - (27) Abstract, title & survey cty
 - (28) Facsimile
 - (29) Federal Express
 - (30) Local Counsel
 - (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
 - (32) Private Investigators
 - (33) Embos
 - (34) Lit Sup Vendors
- ACCOUNTING ONE#:
- Payee Code: _____
 Ck#: _____
 Date: _____

GTG005431-ACCT-AC



[Handwritten initials]

Atlantic Research and Analysis

53 Baltimore Avenue
Rehoboth, DE 19971
Phone: 302-226-4900

INVOICE

DATE: April 15, 2003

To:
Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
██████████
Elton, LA ██████████

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
4-15-03	Professional Services	\$2,000,000.00
	TOTAL	\$2,000,000.00

Please Make Checks Payable To:

Atlantic Research and Analysis
53 Baltimore Avenue
Rehoboth, DE 19971

[REDACTED]

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Wednesday, April 16, 2003 10:39 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Scanlon check

Unbelievable!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 16, 2003 10:40 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Scanlon check

Yes, lots of smack going down up there.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 16, 2003 10:36 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Scanlon check

Absolutely my friend - it also saves the franchise taxes too. Have you been following the articles coming out of Saginaw country?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 16, 2003 10:36 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Scanlon check

No problem dude. When's the next transfer? Please get him to direct that one to CAF or it will cost me about \$40K. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 16, 2003 10:32 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Scanlon check

Sorry about the this - there was a mix up in getting it to the drop off

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2003 7:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Scanlon check

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, April 15, 2003 5:48 PM

3/29/2006

To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Laura Lippy (E-mail); Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Scanlon check

we just found the package.... it was picked up by FedEx today at 4:30 PM. ETA is tomorrow at 10:30 AM. Laura, we will get it over to you as soon as it hits the office.

Just in case... the tracking # is 836598483459

Holly Bowers
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
ph: [REDACTED]

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3/29/2006

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 18, 2003 12:29 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

That's the least of our worries.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[REDACTED]>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Fri Apr 18 13:26:30 2003
 Subject: RE: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

They paid \$840K last year. And Hernan's money still goes through there.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 18, 2003 1:25 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

They haven't paid any money in over a year. Not sure why they are even listed.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[REDACTED]>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Fri Apr 18 13:23:19 2003
 Subject: RE: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

What do you mean?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 18, 2003 1:23 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

AIC is waaay gone.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[REDACTED]>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Fri Apr 18 13:21:36 2003
 Subject: FW: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

I think the stuff in this article about AIC makes us look so shady. Especially since people like Sandia know that Scanlon runs his shop out of Rehoboth Beach and that is where they mention AIC is located. Terrible.

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

From: Josephson, Janeanne Carlton (Mgr-DC/TCO-Mktg)

Sent: Friday, April 18, 2003 12:04 PM
To: ALLMARKETING; DCAtt; TCOAtt; Baggett, Fred (Shld-Tal-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Greenberg Traurig in The National Journal Today

Today's edition of the National Journal ranks Greenberg Traurig as number 5 in their top-10 lobbying firms list (which is up from our number 6 ranking from last Fall), and also mentions Jack Abramoff in the article on page 1234. We will order reprints of this article. In the People section on page 1252, our newest international trade attorneys - Ira Shapiro, Teresa Polino and Chandri Navarro-Bowman are mentioned (including a large photo of Ira). A press release announcing the strengthening of our international trade group in DC that will include the attorneys mentioned above, as well as Susan Renton who joined this week, will be distributed next week.
I have attached a fax copy of these articles in this email.

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM
FROM: MIKE
SUBJECT: POLITICAL 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 an 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 paid in so there is no big hurry to get those funds in.

BB/LC 007325

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 and 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 in 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 send those recommendation and any of their 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.

BB/LC 007327

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN UPDATE
DATE: APRIL 24, 2003

Per our original strategy agreement, I would like to provide you with this campaign update from the "front." As you know, we continue to not only utilize a number of political tactics designed to maintain pressure on the Governor, but also our negotiation team has reached its full speed and is working directly with the Governor's negotiators.

Mobilization

As part of your mobilization effort (the fourth phase of the step-wise campaign), we have implemented a number of additional tactics since our last update including a media campaign designed to generate new support as well as demonstrate your current political might. We have continued to work on the ground in your local region to generate even more examples of support from local leaders both from the business community and from local elected officials. Furthermore, we continue to generate tremendous support for your position from citizens all around the state of California as part of your direct mail campaign.

As you know, your campaign was an extensive and complex political plan to organize and ultimately mobilize individuals around the state of California to express their support for the Tribe's position on the compact renegotiations. The organization and research allows us to provide the Governor with political cover, freeing him to negotiate a favorable compact, or to move him politically to a position more in line with your own. All of our efforts in the first three steps were designed to build and develop that "army" of supporters. However, it is the final phase where the rubber meets the road. As you may recall, we have previously updated you on a number of tactics that we have used to mobilize your supporters. We continue to advance many of those tactics while employing new ones.

BB/AC05012

The opinion-maker letter writing campaign continues in full force. Attached to this update are several more letters from influential members of your business and government community. You will recall that opinion-makers in your region and members of the Governor's own political family are vital to the success of this or any political campaign. These members of your community either carry tremendous influence with the Governor or have constituencies of their own in the local community. Either way, their opinions matter greatly to Governor Davis.

Additionally, we continue to collect tremendous numbers of responses to your direct mail piece. The Governor will not be able to ignore 3000 voters throughout the state who care enough to send him correspondence in your favor. We have prepared copies of all of the responses and will send them directly to you next week.

Most recently, we have executed a media campaign in your local region. As you know, you approved two media buys, one in the *Desert Sun* the other on local radio. The print advertisement ran last Thursday, April 17 on page A-12 of the main news section. The advertisement, while firm and pointed, was also positive and will stand in stark contrast to a number of tactics used by other tribes throughout the state.

The same is true for the radio campaign that we are currently employing. As we speak, your approved radio advertisement is running throughout the Coachella Valley thanking the Governor for agreeing to renegotiate the compact and for encouraging the growth of jobs in the area. The advertisement is being run for two weeks and will be heard by one-third of the adult market in the Palm Springs area. It is safe to say, that your supporters will be well aware of your effort to renegotiate your compact.

Negotiations

Our negotiating team met officially with the Governor's negotiators this week. While the meeting was largely informational and ceremonial, it was quite productive. We accomplished a very important step of officially reiterating the Tribe's position to remove the limit on the number of slots and on the number of facilities, and increasing the duration of the compact. In addition, we were clear, and the negotiators readily acknowledged, that the Agua Caliente are a unique Tribe and one that will require specific attention. At this point in the process, we believe that that response is a very positive sign for the Tribe.

The negotiators were clear about several concerns they and the Governor have about the compact. Obviously, their number one concern is environmental. However, at this point the negotiators provided only anecdotal dialogue with regard to environmental concerns. Additionally, they are most concerned with the relationships between tribal governments and local authorities. We assured them that the Agua Caliente have had an exemplary relationship with its local governments and pointed to your long-standing contract with the city of Palm Springs and the County of Riverside. We believe this kind of working relationship will not only go a long way to placating the concerns of the Governor and his

BB/AC05013

team, but also may provide a model for reaching an agreement on the broader environmental issues.

A second concern that the Governor's team highlighted was the labor issue. While we believe that the issue will not be formally addressed in these negotiations (the Governor has no right to open this provision), we are aware of the concerns he has and the practical impact of those concerns on achieving the best possible compact for you. The negotiators did mention their general feeling that the "Tribes are behaving in a pre-1920s manner," and addressed their concerns about barring labor from organizing. They were more specific with regard to workers compensation and an apparent lack of coverage by some Tribes in the state. While they made no mention of the labor concerns with regard to the Agua Caliente, it is certainly something that our team will continue to monitor and will work closely with your staff to be sure that the team is armed with an adequate defense if specific claims are made against the Agua Caliente.

Of particular interest to our team are the attacks levied by the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (H.E.R.E.) in the Palm Springs area. We are aware of the Tribe's upcoming response to those attacks and believe that positive public relations campaign will be very beneficial to your negotiations in Sacramento. We have met and been in contact with your new labor relations team and will maintain regular communication with them to maintain the highest possible awareness and sensitivity to the labor issue at it pertains to your compact renegotiation.

Finally, and this has been apparent to everyone, the issue of money will be paramount, and one that is certainly driving the Governor's agenda. The Governor committed a rather large blunder by publicly acknowledging his unrealistic desire to raise \$1.5 billion from California Tribes, but he will most certainly want to generate some amount of revenue from this process. Furthermore, his desire to demonstrate that at least one new compact can be renegotiated will help to keep the Governor moving forward quickly, and hopefully, toward a favorable outcome. However, a large number of questions remain unanswered, and we are at a point now where they must be addressed. I hope that we can discuss many of these in a brief conference call that is scheduled for 11 AM Pacific time today. I have outlined a few of these questions below.

- How many more slots could the Tribe effectively use (without a new facility)?
- At what cost?
- Over what timeframe?
- How many more facilities could the tribe effectively use?
- At what cost?
- Over what timeframe?

Our team has already begun working with Max Ross to begin to address some of these and other issues. We will continue to work with your staff to be sure that the negotiating team is apprised of all possible scenarios.

An additional note, we have decided to hire Phil Recht of the law firm Mayer, Brown, Rowe and Maw. We understand that the Tribal Council may have some familiarity with Mr. Recht and his work on the last compact. We believe that he will be a valuable component and member of our team not only because we believe that he brings a unique perspective to the negotiations, but also because of his (and some of his colleagues') relationships in Sacramento.

We look forward to providing a more detailed report on our conference call today. As always, if you should have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me or Chris Cathcart at [REDACTED]

BB/AC05015

No problem. Should I call him?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike. [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 12:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

Jack - I have no control over this anymore - I have tried calling for four days - I don't know where it is going or if it has been sent.

I cant tell you anything else - and I am at my wits end with this stuff. Im sorry if it doesn't go to eskol CAF or wherever. I can tell you with certainty it will NOT go to Eshkol - he nor I have any invoices on the school.

Im sorry.

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

From: abramoff [mailto: [REDACTED]] [mailto:abramoff [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 12:22 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: did we find the money from William yet?

I really need to get those funds into Eshkol asap. let me know what we have to do. Thanks.

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To: [REDACTED]
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From: [REDACTED]

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3/24/2006

[REDACTED]

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Tuesday, April 29, 2003 10:26 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

That is so strange I have two messages from the Miami Herald on my voice mail related to Sun Cruz.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, April 29, 2003 10:24 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

If it doesn't by whatever time you feel comfortable with, let me know and I'll call him. more suncruz nightmares for me these days. I'll tell you when we next chat. Hate.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, April 29, 2003 10:20 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?
 that
 I think it will come in.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 8:04 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

At this point, I just hope it comes in. please let me know when you want me to call him on this.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 6:20 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

Hey - here is the last I heard. He called Thursday - I haven't spoken to him in three weeks- he said he took care of wire - and they the call got disrupted - I have tried calling -faxing ever since.

We checked the accounts Friday and today and nothing has hit - but it can sometimes take 2-3 days to actually show up.

I am just worried that it is going to come into CCS or AIC and there is not tax benefit to you. But I just cant control the process anymore.

Ill try again tonight - maybe wait to call him until tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]] (the person(s) named above. If you are not the
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 12:47 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: did we find the money from William yet?

3/24/2006

May-19-2004 09:14

T-820 P.004/013 F-572



Business Checking

001 [redacted] 072 130 0 31. SAFEKEEP Replacement Statement 052

ATLANTIC RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
60 BALTIMORE AVENUE
REHOBOTH BEACH DE 19971 CB

Business Checking 5/01/2003 thru 5/30/2003

Account number:
Account holder(s): ATLANTIC RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
Taxpayer ID Number:

Account Summary

Opening balance 5/01	\$2,835.00
Deposits and other credits	2,000,000.00 +
Checks	\$50,000.00 -
Other withdrawals and service fees	1,050,011.00 -
Closing balance 5/30	\$2,524.00

Deposits and Other Credits

Date	Amount	Description
5/01	2,000,000.00	FUNDS TRANSFER RCVD FROM WELLS FARGO, W. A./MERRILL LYNCH AM ORG=ANA - GENERAL ACCT P O BOX 518 RLTO RFB=7464 ORI= RFP=7464 05/01/03 11:04AM
Total	\$2,000,000.00	

Checks

Number	Amount	Date	Number	Amount	Date	Number	Amount	Date
1001	\$50,000.00	5/09	Total	\$50,000.00				

Other Withdrawals and Service Fees

Date	Amount	Description
5/07	1,050,000.00	TRANSFER PER CUSTOMER REQUEST
5/09	11.00	COMMERCIAL SERVICE CHARGES FOR APRIL 2003
Total	\$1,050,011.00	

Daily Balance Summary

Dates	Amount	Dates	Amount	Dates	Amount
05/01	2,802,835.00	05/07	\$2,835.00	05/09	\$2,524.00

email to postmaster@██████████

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Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@██████████
 Sent: Thursday, May 01, 2003 2:07 PM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: just heard from ██████████

He hopes to have final authority as of tomorrow for the check and bring it with him on Tuesday next week. G-D, willing! :-)

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Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@██████████
 Sent: Thursday, May 01, 2003 1:02 PM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: Letter from BIA to Breaux

██████████
 AWDC-PS10014F8F1

Oh my goodness!!! They are about to screw the Coushattas, and the other tribes there as well! Can you bring this to Steve's attention? We MUST get this stopped. Thanks so much.

<<AWDC-PS10014F8F1.TIF>>

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

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Holly Bowers

FROM: Michael Chapman *Michael Chapman*

DATE: May 3, 2003

RE: Request for April 2003 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

April 2003 Retainer	\$10,000.00
---------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Phone
[REDACTED] Fax
[REDACTED] e-mail

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Phone
[REDACTED] Fax
[REDACTED] e-mail

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Phone
[REDACTED] Fax
[REDACTED] e-mail

[REDACTED]

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 6:46 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Cough!

You will have a check tomorrow at your office via courier !

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 5:51 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Cough!

Did we get this money yet? I am in urgent need of funds. Any progress? Thanks Mike.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, May 05, 2003 10:44 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Cough!

No worries - consider it done on all fronts.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, May 05, 2003 10:30 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Cough!

Capital Athletic Foundation. Send it as a payment for services not a contribution, and we'll withhold the UBIT at CAF. Thanks Mike.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, May 05, 2003 10:08 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Cough!

Hey FYI - Coughatta has paid for the Louisiana 2003 program in full now. If its ok - I think it would be wise to hold back a bit for a rainy day (100 or so to cover operations), other than that please tell me where to send the funds.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
Washington, DC [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
mike [REDACTED]

The information contained in this transmission may contain

3/24/2006

Parker, Bryan (Indian Affairs)

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Wednesday, May 07, 2003 4:08 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Jack

Hey dude please cut a check to Capital Athletic Foundation for 950k. An please have it courier to Jack at GT marked persona. Pleas emake sure it gets there today my friend.

Also do we have contrac tlanguage drafted for Saginaw - can you please make sure it reads non-refundable - no results are garenteed and has a defnitive end date. You da man.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (fax)

[REDACTED] (cell)

mikc [REDACTED]

S:

#P: 0

Scanlon
611 T
W 103
112
12
18
11

3/24/2006

Re: Jack

Page 1 of 1

*Atlantic
Research***Tallmer, Matt (Indian Affairs)**

From: Chris Cathcart
Sent: Wednesday, May 07, 2003 4:30 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Re: Jack

950? Wow. It will come from atlantic research. I will pay CCs out of the rest.
As for sag, Chris is here now. I will have contract language after approval. Approval will likely happen on friday. There will be that language, though.

When you get a chance, there are a couple of issues I want to touch base with about when you get ahcnace ... I will be out of the office firday, but here tomorrow.

9/3/2004

MEMORANDUM

TO: RICK LEHMAN
FROM: CHRIS CATHCART
SUBJECT: AGUA CALIENTE DOCUMENTS
DATE: 5/14/2003
CC: JEANNINE ENGLISH

Please find enclosed for your review and use, the following items:

- "Net win" Calculations
- Tribal Workers' Compensation Ordinance
- Agua Caliente Land Use Agreements for the following jurisdictions:
 - City of Palm Springs
 - City of Cathedral City
 - City of Rancho Mirage
 - County of Riverside
- Agreement for Tribal/City Land Use Coordination on Certain Parcels
- Tribal Environmental Policy Act
- Tribal Building and Construction Codes
- Land and Development Codes
- ACBCI/City of Palm Springs MOU
- Spa Resort Casino Project Report
- Conformity Report
- Agua Caliente Indian Reservation, Land Status Map
- Land Use Regulatory Boundaries of the Agua Caliente Reservation

BB/AC05044

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: MAY 19, 2003

In relation to our ongoing efforts to renegotiate your compact, I would like to provide you with this brief progress report. Our last update addressed a number of the political tactics that we are continuing to leverage in our effort to keep the political pressure on Governor Davis to negotiate a new compact. Additionally, we addressed the efforts of your negotiating team that continues to work in Sacramento. All of these efforts are ongoing, forward-moving and briefly recapped below.

Political Organization/Database

- Development of a nationwide political matrix; on-line accessibility
- Design and implementation of survey/identification instruments
- Cross-referencing, data matching, and geo-coding
- Identification and classification of nearly 162,000 supporters
- Ongoing maintenance and updates to data/database

Research and Messaging

- Statewide and local polling – results indicated that a positive message is more effective; the issues considered to be more important are jobs and education
- Opposition research and issues management – identified Las Vegas interests as most detrimental
- Message development – a positive “thank you” message designed to give the Governor support rather than opposition
- Labor relations – Working closely with the “labor” team to manage the impact of attacks from labor
- Political relations – Maintain close contact with Governor’s political staff to keep the pulse of the Governor’s mansion; will continue to identify and employ new messages as they become necessary

BB/AC05046

Execution/Advocacy

- Employee letter-writing campaign – thanking the Governor for agreeing to renegotiate
- Direct mail campaign –directed several thousand letters to the Governor demanding that he negotiate fairly with the Tribe
- Business leaders – directed multiple mailings from influential business leaders throughout the state asking the Governor to renegotiate the compact
- Opinion-maker letter campaign – political family members writing on the tribe's behalf, highly influential leaders with tremendous political clout
- Local Leader Buy-in - working to achieve wide-spread local support from local leaders in the Riverside County area; critical component in combating the statewide complaints of environmental impacts, dissension between some tribes and their local governments
- Radio/Print Advertising – generating greater support and demonstrating the tribe's influence and reach
- Negotiating team – placing constant pressure on the Governor and his staff; providing up to the minute feedback on the governor's opinions and movements

The above is a list of just some of the tactics that we have employed to demonstrate the tribe's political power in the state. Many of the tactics are ongoing and will be used again. The key at this point is timing. We have made it abundantly clear that the tribe has the organization and resources to send thousands more calls, letters and communications to the Governor and can do it with a very effective message. However, it is critical that we target the Governor at precise times when he is most apt to "hear" us.

Regarding timing, we had from the beginning, been very optimistic about the timing of the renegotiations. All of our polling, both internally in Sacramento, and externally, throughout the state, indicated that the Governor wanted to resolve this issue and resolve it quickly. Our numbers showed a strong desire on the part of the Governor's staff to use the negotiations as an example of his willingness to tackle the budget crisis. What has become a political reality is that the Governor is very acutely watching his political flank. That is, the recall effort and the Governor's declining political support have caused him to focus squarely on his political future at the expense of some other very important policy issues, including the compact negotiations. Our strategy will be to continue to motivate the Governor to act quickly by applying appropriate political pressure on his staff, both internally with our lobbyists, but also externally using the grassroots network we built over the past several months.

The tribe has effectively demonstrated its ability and willingness to mobilize widespread support for its positions not only locally, but also throughout the state. Without question, there is no other tribe that has demonstrated this kind of grassroots support for its position, nor has any other tribe been as effective with its message. While the other tribes continue to pound the Governor and his position, the Agua Caliente are producing positive pieces lauding the Governor's willingness to negotiate. We have delivered these messages directly to the Governor and his staff, and we believe that has lead him not only to be more willing to negotiate with you, but also we anticipate the Governor will attempt to use the Agua Caliente as a lobbying force with other tribes to convince them to work in a cohesive manner.

Finally, our team continues to work on the three main points that we discussed with the Council during our conference call late last month. As you recall, there will be several issues of concern for the Governor's negotiating team. First, the environmental issues that have impacted other municipalities in the state are a principle concern of the negotiating team. Our legal team is reviewing the tribe's agreements with the many municipalities in Riverside County, as well as the agreement with the County itself. We believe that at the least, the tribe has a very good story to tell about its willingness to work closely with local governments while maintaining its sovereign right to manage its own land, and at best, we may be able to use your agreements as a model for a new compact. Furthermore, we are reviewing the tribe's workers compensation ordinance and continue to work closely with your labor relations team. While we have no intention of allowing the labor issue to enter directly into the negotiation process, we are planning to attack it as a political reality both in the Governor's mansion and in the legislature.

One item of unresolved business is the council's draft proposal for a revenue sharing plan. Per our last conversation, we were directed to work directly with the tribe's CFO after the council proposed a draft policy for revenue sharing. Upon completion of that draft, and delivery to the CFO, our legal team will craft a formal proposal for that aspect of the negotiations with the Governor.

In addition, our lobby team in Sacramento continues to push for a second meeting with the Governor's negotiating team. Although I had hoped to have that date for our previously scheduled meeting with the Council on May 21, 2003, I will be happy to forward the information to you once it is confirmed. As always, please do not hesitate to contact me or any member of our staff at [REDACTED]. Our team is hard at work, following what is a very fluid and at times unpredictable situation. Our immediate focus for the time being is to keep the pressure on the Governor to renegotiate sooner rather than later.

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: MAY 30, 2003

Per our on going effort to renegotiate your compact, I would like to briefly provide a few items for your review. Included below and on the attached pages are the following:

- Suggested Revenue Sharing Strategies
- Suggested Environmental Strategies
- Print Advertisement with Call-to-Action
- Several Opinion-maker letters written on your behalf

Revenue Sharing

During our conference call in late April, we had discussed several options for revenue sharing and agreed to work closely with your staff to further develop a strategy that the Council had agreed to formulate. To expedite this procedure, and to add to the discussion and internal debate, I wanted to provide you with a few examples of revenue sharing plans that may prove useful for your purposes. By no means are these an exhaustive list, and we believe that these may be altered to best meet the Council's objectives.

- a. Current Plan – Our intention is to fight to maintain the current revenue sharing plan under which you currently operate. However, if you desire changes to that provision, some questions may need to be considered. Such as, should there be a more uniform system whereby all tribes pay either flat fees or percentages? Should there be a change or clarification to the definition of net win? It is important to note, that we believe that the current revenue sharing plan is not on the table for negotiation. We also believe that the council is reasonably satisfied with the current system, at least as compared to having to give up some positions in exchange for some capitulation from the Governor.

BB/AC05050

- b. For those machines in excess of 2000 there may be several options for revenue sharing including some of those listed below.
1. Apply the current highest rates. That is either \$4350 annual flat fee or 13 percent of net win to all machines in excess of 2000.
 2. Propose a flat fee or net win percentage that would apply to all new machines.
 3. Propose a graduated scale of flat fees or net win percentages, which increase every 250, 500 or 1000 machines. If we proposed a graduated scale, should we use the same rates of graduation which exists in the current revenue sharing provisions? There, the flat fees increase by about 120% (from \$900 to \$1950 to \$4350) at each new level. The net win percentages increase by 3% (from 7% to 10% to 13%) at each new level.
 4. Propose an entirely new "per machine" fee or percentage or a "per block of machines" fee or percentage. In other words, instead of imposing, for example, a \$4350 annual flat fee on each machine over 2000, impose an annual flat fee of \$1 million (approximately \$4350 x 250) for the right to use each block of 250 machines in excess of 2000.

c. Revenue Distribution

Some additional questions should also be addressed, specifically regarding where the funds generated from the machines above 2000. That is, should those funds be donated to the state's general fund or should they be given to the two existing funds? An additional suggestion would be to create a new fund that the Tribes themselves could control and distribute, in full or in part, to local governments.

Again, these are merely suggestions that may prove to spur additional discussion and debate. Furthermore, it may prove useful for your staff to use some of these proposed solutions in a number of hypothetical scenarios for future growth. As we stated previously, we are ready to work closely with you and your staff to develop the most advantageous proposal for you and the Tribe.

BB/AC05051

Environmental Provisions

As you know, the compact's current environmental provisions require tribes to submit all environmental impact reports to the Governor's Office of Planning and Research and the county board of supervisors so that they may be distributed to the public. Thereafter, tribes must consult with the local board of supervisors and/or city council, including meeting with them to discuss mitigation of significant adverse off-reservation environmental impacts. Also, tribes must meet with and provide an opportunity for comment by members of the public who reside nearby and might be affected by the proposed project. Finally, the tribe simply must keep the board or council, and the public, apprised of the progress of a project, and must "make good faith efforts to mitigate any and all significant adverse off-reservation environmental impacts."

As we discussed last month, and in recent conversations and updates, we are currently reviewing the Tribe's current agreements with its local governments. We believe that the Tribe's history and partnership with local municipalities is something of which to be proud and upon which we can build. However, we know that the Governor is receiving enormous pressure from local governments and their statewide organization to win concessions from the Tribes with regard to section 10.8.

One plan that is being circulated, and discussed with the counties and local municipalities, is a plan that would represent a compromise position between the tribes and local governments. The proposed plan requires that tribes and local governments meet and confer in good faith on environmental issues for up to 45 days. If no agreement was reached in that time, either side could demand arbitration on the question of whether the other side acted in good faith. If the arbitrator finds that a party did not act in good faith, the parties would be ordered to meet and confer again, this time with the assistance of a mediator. The mediator, however, would have no power to bind the parties to any result. If the parties could not reach agreement after some period of time, they would go their separate ways. This proposal also would allow either the tribes or the state to demand further renegotiation of the environmental review section of the compact in 4 years. We will continue to monitor the progress of such a plan, but would like to make the Council aware of this proposal that is being circulated and encourage it to begin to review these concepts and discuss the attributes and drawbacks of such a plan.

Additionally, as we have discussed several times, we have been analyzing your current land-use agreements. They are certainly a tremendous example of the Tribe's willingness to work cooperatively with local governments. The model that could be applied to the environmental provisions would be to give the local governments the opportunity to evaluate the environmental impact, and if either party is unhappy, the tribe would be the final arbiter, just as with your land-use agreements.

Obviously, the details of either of these plans would be crucial, but we feel that it is vital, as we mentioned in the last conference call, that the Tribal Council have a defined position on some of these issues as it may become useful and beneficial for us to approach the Governor first with a proposal, rather than letting him, or other Tribes, steer the discourse.

BB/AC05052

Grassroots

It is becoming clear that the Governor is quite distracted by the recall rumors and whisperings around the state. It has been said that Governor Davis is not a "multi-tasker", which is to say, he is focused squarely on one issue at a time, and right now he is focused on his political survival. The result is great delay. We feel that it is necessary to mobilize your political army once again. We have attached for your review and approval, a half page print advertisement with a call to action. As you will see, we have maintained a very positive message that has been very well received in Sacramento, especially in comparison to some of the other Tribes' messages. We have added language, however, that drives the point home and reinforces more clearly and directly that the Governor needs to move *now*. All of our messaging work done last fall and winter indicates that voters are supportive of the Tribe's position when they know that jobs will be created. Voters know, and the governor should know, that the time is now for job creation.

As you know, the print ad will be readied upon your approval. However, prior to its release we want to bring to your attention a potentially important issue, just as we had done in previous efforts. Specifically, advertisements such as this may be covered by California campaign finance and lobby disclosure law. Generally, entities spending more than \$5,000 to influence legislative or administrative action may have to comply with certain registration and disclosure requirements. As you know, this advertisement will cost far in excess of \$5,000.

While we are not experts in California law, we are very aware of the ongoing legal battle that the Tribe is currently waging regarding California's campaign finance law. Therefore, before the advertisement is approved and placed, we thought you might wish to review this matter with your legal counsel to determine 1) whether you would be required to comply with these registration and disclosure requirements, and 2) whether any actions taken with regard to this mailer will in some way affect or influence your litigation strategy.

While we have raised this very same issue before, we are aware that some issues may have changed in the past several months with regard to your legal strategy and therefore, wished to raise the issue once again.

Grasstops

Additionally, we have attached a number of opinion-maker letters that have been written on your behalf. As you know, these individuals are business leaders, and influential people in the state of California. These people have close ties to the Governor and carry tremendous clout with the political leadership in Sacramento.

BB/AC05053



*A message from the members
of the Agua Caliente Band
of Cahuilla Indians*

**THANK YOU
GOVERNOR DAVIS**
for agreeing to
renegotiate our compact.



**NOW, LET'S
FINISH THE JOB.**

Paid for by the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

Dear Governor Davis:

As working families of Southern California, thank you for agreeing to renegotiate the Agua Caliente job-sharing compact with the state. We appreciate your concern for job security and economic growth.

Now, let's finish the job by signing a final agreement.

The continued prosperity of our families depends on a new compact, which will mean hundreds of additional jobs for Southern California.

Thank you for your attention to this most urgent issue.

Sincerely,

Name _____

Address _____

Clip here and return to:

Governor Gray Davis
c/o Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
255 N. El Cielo STE 140 #148
Palm Springs, California 92262

BB/AC05054

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Holly Bowers

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: June 12, 2003

RE: Request for May 2003 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

May 2003 Retainer	\$10,000.00
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Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

June 30, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	Agus Caliente	Consulting Services for July	\$5,000.00	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
TOTAL			\$5,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mall to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAAL/CC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature:

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger
- (3) Reproduction charges
- (4) Mail Processing
- (5) Mileage
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Tinted postcards

- (8) Court Filing fees
- (9) Recording charges
- (10) Travel
- (11) Travel & Lodging Out of Town
- (12) Printing charges
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage

- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal report & professional
- (17) Special Agent reports
- (18) Other Disbursements
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo

- (22) Transcriber charges
- (23) Subpoena fees
- (24) Court Reporters
- (25) Buy
- (26) Copies from Co. purchase
- (27) Abstract, title & survey chg
- (28) Facsimile

- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Courier
- (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
- (32) Private Investigators
- (33) Exhibits
- (34) Lit. Sup. vendors

Payee Code: 2683
 CK#: _____
 Date: _____

GTG005524-ACCT-AC

RECEIVED
JUN 30 2003

CREATED BY: J. BRING
ACCOUNT NUMBER: 00000000000000000000

No. 041895

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

53.643
570

PAY

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE CHECK NO AMOUNT

07/02/03 41895 \$ ***5,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈041895⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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Check #: 41895

Check Date: Jul 02/03

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
6/30/03	[REDACTED]	Consulting Services for July/ J. Abramoff.	5,000.00

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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GTG005523-ACCT-AC

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Holly Bowers

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: July 3, 2003



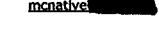
RE: Request for June 2003 Retainer

Please remit retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

June 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
June Expenses associated with NCAI Mid-Year:		
Airfare		573.00
Hotel		550.00
Car Rental		156.17
<hr/>		
Amount Due	\$	11,279.17
May 2003 Retainer (Past Due)	\$	10,000.00
Total Amount Due	\$	21,279.17

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman




 Phone
 Fax
 mcnative

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, July 06, 2003 8:24 PM
To: jhdoolittle [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Statement of Account

What? It is absolutely not dependent. Can you forward me the email she sent to you on this?

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

From: Julie Doolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, July 06, 2003 7:35 PM
To: Cnsler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Statement of Account

Dear Linsey,

I was not aware that my retainer was dependent on the payment from a client. Are you aware of the status of that payment?

Thanks,

jhd

5/8/2004

GTG-E000069555

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 4:48 AM
To: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Retainer

This is not OK with me. I want her paid asap. she should not be told that her payments are dependent on anything. Who told you that?

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

From: crisler [mailto:crisler@dc.gov] (mailto:crisler@dc.gov)
Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 4:14 PM
To: jhdoolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@dc.gov]
Subject: RE: Retainer

Julie,

Accounting tells me that your check is processed, but we are waiting for the client to pay their bill before we can distribute any funds. As soon as we have their money wired to us, your check will be cleared for payment.

Thanks,
Linsey

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

From: Julie Doolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@dc.gov]
Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 10:39 AM
To: Linsey Crisler
Subject: Retainer
Dear Linsey,

Just checking to see if my retainer is slated to arrive tomorrow.

Thanks for your help.

jhd

5/8/2004

GTG-E000069554

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 7:20 AM
 To: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAsst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Retainer

Thanks. just make sure she is not unpaid at any point or told that her payment is dependent on anything. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 8:06 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Retainer

I was told by Accounting that we couldn't pay any bills to outside consultants if there wasn't money in the retainer. This hasn't happened in the past so I didn't realize it was an issue. Consequently, to prevent this from happening in the future, I am going to pay her in the middle of the month to ensure that there is always money available. I agree that she should be paid more than timely.

Linsey Crisler

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@██████████>
 To: Crisler, Linsey C. [AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm] <crislerl@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Mon Jul 07 05:51:12 2003
 Subject: FW: Retainer

This is not OK with me. I want her paid asap. she should not be told that her payments are dependent on anything. Who told you that?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Crisler, Linsey C. [mailto:crislerl@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 4:14 PM
 To: jhdoolittle@cox.net
 Subject: RE: Retainer

Julie,

Accounting tells me that your check in processed, but we are waiting for the client to pay their bill before we can distribute any funds. As soon as we have their money wired to us, your check will be cleared for payment.

Thanks,
 Linsey

-----Original Message-----
 From: Julie Doolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 10:39 AM
 To: Linsey Crisler
 Subject: Retainer
 Dear Linsey,

Just checking to see if my retainer is slated to arrive tomorrow.

Thanks for your help.

jhd

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 4:47 AM
To: jhdoolittle [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Retainer

Thanks Julie. I will speak with Linsey to get this moving. Rodney moved to Colorado, but will be back this week (today in fact). I'll raise it with him and make sure he is in touch with you. Regards.

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

From: Julie Doolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@gtlaw.com] [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, July 06, 2003 10:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Retainer

Dear Jack,

Here is the email I received. I don't mean to cause any problems, I was just surprised by the response.

During the reception at Signatures for the Spy Event, early on, you mentioned that you had the next project in mind and wanted to get together with Rodney to discuss what you had in mind. I understand that Rodney and family have relocated to Montana, but that he is still actively running things here. I sent him an email to let you both know that I am ready with things settle down and you are ready to move forward.

Thanks for your help.

Julie

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

From: crislert@gtlaw.com [mailto:crislert@gtlaw.com] [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 4:14 PM
To: jhdoolittle@cox.net
Subject: RE: Retainer

Julie,

Accounting tells me that your check in processed, but we are waiting for the client to pay their bill before we can distribute any funds. As soon as we have their money wired to us, your check will be cleared for payment.

Thanks,
Linsey

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

From: Julie Doolittle [mailto:jhdoolittle@gtlaw.com] [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, June 30, 2003 10:39 AM
To: Linsey Crisler
Subject: Retainer

5/8/2004

GTG-E000069551

Charles Trout

From: David Flaherty [mailto:david@scanlonegould.com]
Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 3:04 PM
To: Charles Trout
Subject: RE: update to scanlon gould website

Let me look it over and I will give you a call.

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

From: Charles Trout [mailto:ctrout@scanlonegould.com]
Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 3:01 PM
To: David Flaherty
Subject: RE: update to scanlon gould website

David,

Everything should be back up and working. Most of the changes we discussed should be up there, with two exceptions.

- Add / Modify resources : A mock-up of the functionality exist, but any changes you make to a resource won't be populated. I'm currently working on that.
- Security : I haven't yet implemented the security features

Let me know if I missed anything or if there is anything else you would like to see!

Charles Trout
 Visual Impact Productions, Inc.
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]
 chuck@visualimpact.net

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

From: David Flaherty [mailto:david@scanlonegould.com]
Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 2:17 PM
To: Charles Trout
Subject: RE: update to scanlon gould website

Hi Chuck.

I can stay out of it right now.

That isn't a big problem.

Let me tell the other people here.

Let me know when we can get back in.

Dave

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

From: Charles Trout [mailto:ctrout@scanlonegould.com]

9/2/2004

Sent: Monday, July 07, 2003 2:14 PM
To: David Flaherty
Subject: update to scanlon gould website

David,

I am going to be posting the new updates that we've been working on. Are you currently working within the site? If so, let me know when I can take a few minutes to make the updates. Thanks!

Charles Trout
Visual Impact Productions, Inc.

[REDACTED]

chuck@[REDACTED]

No. 042482

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

63 543
676

PAY

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
DATE CHECK NO AMOUNT

07/08/03 42482 \$ ***10,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈042482⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 42482

Check Date: Jul 08/03

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
7/07/03	████████	May 2003 consultation services/ J. Abramoff.	10,000.00

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005436-ACCT-AC

July 07, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: TRUST ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente			(1)
2		Consulting Fees for May 2003	\$10,000.00		(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
			TOTAL		
			\$10,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Michael Chapman

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAA/LC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES

(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees	(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(16) Legal expert & professional	(23) Subpoena Fees	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(17) Special Clerical Services	(24) Govt. Agency reports	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(18) Other Disbursements	(25) Business Meals	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(19) Certified Copies	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(20) Service Company charges	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(21) Court reporter/Depo	(28) Facsimile	

Payee's Code: _____
 CK#: _____
 Date: _____

GTG005437-ACCT-AC

DISBURSEMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: JULY 10, 2003

Please find below a brief update of some recent developments impacting the compact renegotiations in Sacramento, including staff changes and developments in the recall campaign. Our team is monitoring the situation closely and will continue to keep you abreast of any and all impacts on the renegotiations.

Recall

It has become evident that the effort to secure enough signatures to qualify for a recall election has reached its finish line. Our sources indicate that there will not only be a recall election as has been widely reported, but also, it will more than likely occur in October. It appears very likely that the signature petition will be validated by the end of this month, thus requiring the Lt. Governor to call for an election within 60 to 90 days of validation. We have a number of formal and informal meetings scheduled with members of the Governor's staff to determine what this will mean for the renegotiations. We will follow up with you next week to discuss our findings.

Staff Changes

An additional development in Sacramento is the removal of David Rosenberg as the senior advisor to Governor Davis on Indian Gaming. He has been replaced by Tal Finney, who will act as the lead on these issues. Our sources indicate that Finney will not likely remain in this position, but will more than likely appoint someone to act on his behalf. Our ground team has some time scheduled with Finney and Rosenberg to discuss our concerns and our objectives for the compact renegotiations, as well as to determine who the key players will be.

Furthermore, it is important to note that Rosenberg's departure was the result, in large part, of the efforts of two tribes' direct lobbying of the Governor. We believe that the Pechanga and Morango Bands directly called for, and received, Mr. Rosenberg's dismissal.

BB/AC05068

Again, these events, while not surprising, will undoubtedly have an impact on the negotiations, their timing, and the players involved. We wanted to bring this information to your attention to keep the Council apprised of these developments, and will follow up in short order to discuss their repercussions in greater detail. As always feel free to contact Chris Cathcart or me at [REDACTED] at any time.

BB/AC05069

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2003 9:14 AM
 To: 'octagon1'
 Subject: RE: Package

Thanks my brother. I definitely want to come and will soon buy something there, but I can't leave the states, at least not yet. I believe I am having a direct impact on the folks who make policy which will help Israel (DeLay, Bush, etc) and don't want to abandon ship yet, albeit at great sacrifice to my family and me.

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

From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2003 5:03 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Package

BH

I think that we actually met at Hawthorne, no? Beverly High. What a sick place. Values were not allowed to be discussed there. let alone Torah values.

I know what you are saying. The culture war is here too, but the game is being played in our home court so we have a great chance of winning. In the package I sent Levi Tzitzit and a begged so that he could tie his own. I say to him there that "I hear he is a working man now" The message is that tzitzit is our spiritual body armor. And that he should make his own the same way that we fold our own parachutes. There is way too much Tuma working against us there.

I'll tell you this right from my heart brother. If there was a way for you to sell your home there and buy or build a beautiful home here still retaining your practice or having enough to live on. I would tell you to make the move. For the kids sake but also for yours. I believe that you would feel great spiritually. clean. That would be the greatest message to your children. And I would do everything to help you succeed.

You're my brother.

> You are so right on so many fronts. First, Levi must absolutely go to
 > Israel, frankly as soon as possible. I am beginning to think that it
 > is impossible to grow up frum in the US. Becoming a ba'al tashuva at
 > a more mature age is doable, but holding the kids against the torrent
 > of American culture, especially given the incredible weakness and
 > failures of the US yeshiva system, is really hard. As for the kids,
 > they constantly get reports about their Uncle and what a hero he is.
 > Actually, I am now on a trip with Daniel to LA. We went to BHHS
 > yesterday and he asked "is this where you met Uncle Shmuel?". It was
 > great!
 >

> -----Original Message-----

> From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@redacted]
 > Sent: Tuesday, July 15, 2003 11:14 PM
 > To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 > Subject: Re: Package

> BH

> Boker tov brother!!

> Wow! Are some of the kids at sleep away? They must be having a ball.
 > Chaim won't start camp till August. But I'm willing to talk to anyone
 > who's home at the time, really, all of them or any of them!!! It's

> not a matter of gratitude. I just want to be close and feel that I
> have some family. I want the kids to feel that they have an uncle in
> Israel who loves them and thinks about them. One day any of them might
> come to learn for a year and they should feel that they have a home
> here. If Levi would come to study for a year, then he would feel as if
> he had a place to go if he needed anything. At any rate I love sending
> them gifts.
>
>
>> Hi brother. I am on the road, so I am not sure if it arrived. Hard
>> to put all the kids together, since they are all over the place this
>> summer. In fact, we don't even have them together most shabboses.
>> We'll figure out some way to show their gratitude, but I am not sure
>> a joint call is logistically very possible. sorry my brother.
>

GTG-E000080537

Italia Federici

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [abramoff@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, July 17, 2003 10:06 PM
 To: Italia Federici office
 Subject: FW: Gries

Hi there. 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 great guy to me, but he can't (or at least won't) discuss any of my clients with me. the problem is that, since he won't do so, and since you are not able to chat with him now, I am left in a real dilemma. I can't deliver anything from Interior for my clients. It is as if the Clinton guys are back in power. I don't know what to do. I have a few clients who need answers, basic answers, from Interior, and I have no one to chat with. What should I do?

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, July 17, 2003 4:22 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Gries

Not only did he have a call with Cherokee today, but he also did a conference call with Hopi and Navajo on their water issue. So he is working Indian issues.

Italia Federici

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [abramoff@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 05, 2003 6:06 PM
 To: Italia Federici office
 Subject: ██

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@██████████.

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 044766

63 64 3
670

PAY

DATE

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
CHECK NO

AMOUNT

07/22/03

44766

\$ ***5,000.00**

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈044766⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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Check #: 44766

Check Date: Jul 22/03

<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
7/18/03		Consulting services for July 2003/ J. Abramoff.	5,000.00

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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GTG005528-ACCT-AC

July 18, 21:03

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1 57044.010100	Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions	Consulting services for July 2003	\$5,000.00	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL		
			\$5,000.00		

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAVLCC

Attorney's/Secretary's initials

Signature:

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger
- (3) Reproduction charges
- (4) Word Processing
- (5) Witness fees
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Title policies
- (8) Court Fees/Filing fees
- (9) Recording charges
- (10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
- (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
- (12) Printing charges
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage

- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal expert & professional
- (17) Special Clerical Services
- (18) Other Disbursements
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo
- (22) Transcript charges
- (23) Subpoena Fees
- (24) Gov. Agency reports
- (25) Business Meals
- (26) Copies from Courthouse
- (27) Abstract, title & survey chg
- (28) Facsimile

- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Counsel
- (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
- (32) Private Investigators
- (33) Exhibits
- (34) Lit Sup Vendors

Payee Code:

CN#:

Date:

GTG005529-ACCT-AC

POSTED

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: JULY 22, 2003

Per our update on July 10, 2003, I wanted to follow up with additional information regarding your compact renegotiations, and of course, the historical political events occurring in Sacramento.

Recall

As you know, the recall efforts have been largely successful. We continue to believe that the Governor will be forced to stand for election this Autumn.

BB/AC05070

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: JULY 24, 2003

Per our update on July 10, 2003, I wanted to follow up with additional information regarding your compact renegotiations, and of course, the historical political events occurring in Sacramento.

Recall

As you know, the recall efforts have been largely successful, and the Secretary of State has certified the petition. It is our contention that the recall effort has gained great momentum and the efforts to stall or quash it will fall considerably short. As we stated on the 10th, the Governor will likely stand for election in the fall, possibly as early as late September or October. We will continue to monitor the situation and address any issues that pertain to your compact negotiations.

Compact Renegotiation

The recall has opened a number of important questions that the Council should address. The most important is the question of what to do with regard to supporting or opposing any candidates in the upcoming election. We believe the Tribe has several options.

One such option would be to support the Governor. Governor Davis does have his detractors but he is also a fierce campaigner and come Election Day that is what the voters remember as they pull the lever. At this point, it appears he will have no Democratic challengers, which makes him ever more formidable. A second option is to support the recall/opposition effort. The quandary in this alternative is that there is not a clearly identified candidate. In addition, it is very unclear how receptive to some of the Tribe's agenda items a Republican candidate might be. Uncertainty is never helpful in a situation like this. The third possibility is to simply stay neutral. At this juncture, we believe that to be the best option. Until the field develops and the political picture becomes clearer, it is impossible to predict which candidate might prove to share in the same ideals as the Tribe. That said, the picture is changing rapidly in Sacramento, and we will stay in close contact with our ground team to ensure that we provide the council with timely and accurate updates and suggestions.

BB/AC05072

Furthermore, the recall effort remains the dominant issue in Sacramento. Our ground team remains vigilant and prepared to relay any and all intelligence regarding the compact negotiation process. However, the recall effort will dominate the political landscape in Sacramento for at least the next 60-90 days, and as such, there will be little progress with the negotiations. As always, we will be in contact with you regularly while we remain in this "wait-and-see" posture.

We are looking forward to following up with you in regards to these issues in the near future. Please feel free to contact Chris Cathcart or myself at [REDACTED] at any time.

BB/AC05073

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov], on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 11:40 AM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

Scotland is looking bad. We need to start planning next year now with [redacted] and [redacted]. I am not going to let Ralph do what he did this year, and overinvite. In fact, I would prefer that you invite all of the Members. The only addition would be [redacted] and [redacted]. So you should invite 4 others for next year (including [redacted] and [redacted]). We need to set a date early.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 10:34 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

Wednesday morning anytime—but just let me know. I will be in the air Tuesday afternoon-evening.

Also—please let me know about Scotland as soon as you can.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 10:03 AM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

I was hoping we could do it together, but you could do it via phone. I would not reschedule your trip because Ralph is very unreliable (such as in locking Congressmen).

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 9:28 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

Is this something that you plan on discussing with him alone, or with me.

I am now scheduled to go to Alaska on Tuesday at 1 pm., but I can try to change it if need be. Just let me know what you prefer.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Saturday, July 26, 2003 10:13 PM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: FW: Black Churches Insurance program

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@reedomranch.com] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@reedomranch.com]>
 Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 8:11 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

I'm in dc on tuesday night wednesday a.m. of this week and then wednesday next week. have holly call gretchen purser to try to set something up or as a back up, I can do a call.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@██████████] <mailto:[mailto:abramoffj@██████████]>
Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 7:36 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

Yes, let's meet in DC, or we could do a phone call. What do you prefer?

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@██████████] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@██████████]>
Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 12:37 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Black Churches Insurance program

yes, it looks interesting. i assume you'll set up a meeting in DC as a next step, or whatever we should do next, let me know.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@██████████] <mailto:[mailto:abramoffj@██████████]>
Sent: Tuesday, July 22, 2003 1:51 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Black Churches Insurance program

Per our previous discussion. Let me know how we can move forward to chat with folks who can set this up with African American elders. It can be huge. Thanks.

<< File: Charity Elder Program2.doc >>

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: AUGUST 4, 2003

As per the phone conversation between Vice Chairman Gonzales-Lyons and Chris Cathcart on Friday, August 1, 2003, I wanted to provide you with this brief update and answer to your questions regarding section 10.8 of the compact. As you know, section 10.8 addresses the environmental provisions of the compact.

The council has expressed some concerns about the Governor's possible course of action concerning the environmental provisions that include some binding arbitration or other legal action. Given the activities to date, the efforts made on behalf of the tribe and the Governor's lack of attention on this matter, a court would be very had pressed to find that the Tribe has not acted in good faith. As a result, we believe that the likelihood of the Governor taking any action such as those described above is very slim. The section does, however, provide an avenue for the Tribe to sue the Governor after 1/1/04 if it feels he has not acted in good faith. The court must consider the actions of both parties in making its ruling.

There is a danger in 10.8, however. The section states that if the sides have not resolved their differences with regard to the environmental provisions, the Tribe would be forced to cease all construction as of 1/1/05. For example, if the new casino in Palm Springs were not finished by January 2005, the Tribe would be forced to stop work on the facility if an agreement has not been reached by then.

The surest defense against this kind of action is a formal letter to the Governor expressing your opinion that he has not properly opened the negotiations under 10.8. That is, the Governor did not properly invoke 10.8 since he has not identified how that section has been inadequate with respect to the Agua Caliente's projects specifically. As you know, we have drafted a letter expressing that position officially and have attached it for your review. The council has several options in this regard. The first is to send the letter immediately to the Governor and go on record with its position. The risk in sending a letter like that now is that it may anger the state and its negotiators at a time when they are not tremendously focused on the issue anyway. The second option is to wait until the state is ready to negotiate again, probably sometime after the recall election, and go on record at that time.

BB/AC05074

We are happy to discuss the issue at anytime, but in summary, it is very clear that the Tribe has acted in good faith and the concern about any repercussions or law suits from the Governor should be assuaged.

Additionally, I would like to remind the council that we are closely monitoring the electoral situation in California. As we mentioned to you in our updates last month, the council has several options with regard to the upcoming election and its ideological support of a particular candidate(s). We are happy to provide you with any counsel on the matter as we approach the filing deadlines this week.

As always, please feel free to contact me or Chris Cathcart at [REDACTED].

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 046784

53-643
670

PAY

DATE

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

CHECK NO.

AMOUNT

08/06/03

46784

\$ ***5,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈046784⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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Check #: 46784

Check Date: Aug 06/03

<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
8/05/03		Consulting fee for September, 2003/ J. Abramoff.	5,000.00

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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GTG005533-ACCT-AC

August 05, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*
1	57044-010100	Agua Caliente Band of Indians		
2		Consulting fees for September	\$5,000.00	18
3				
4				
5				
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL	
			\$5,000.00	

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JALC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature: 

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees
(2) Long distance charges	(9) Printing charges
(3) Research charges	(10) Witness fees & stock cert
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging Out of Town
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel
(7) The policies	(14) Postage
(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges
(16) Court Reporter fees	(23) Report Fees
(17) Special Court Expenses	(24) Business Reports
(18) Other Disbursements	(25) Business Meals
(19) Certified Copies	(26) Copies from Courthouse
(20) Service Company charges	(27) Abstract, title & survey dng
(21) Court reporter/Dappo	(28) Facsimile
(29) Federal Express	
(30) Air Mail	
(31) Airtel/Airfile	
(32) Private Investigators	
(33) Exhibits	
(34) Lit Sup Vendors	

Payee Code: 

Clk#:

Date:

GTG005534-ACCT-AC

August 05, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE
1	57044.010100	Agua Band of Cehullia Indians	Consulting fees for June and July and expenses	18
2				(1)
3				(2)
4				(3)
5				(4)
			TOTAL	(5)
			\$20,992.67	
			\$20,992.67	

ACCOUNTING ONLY

Payee: Michael Chapman


Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JALC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

Signature: 
Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger
- (3) Reproduction charges
- (4) Word Processing
- (5) Witness fees
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Title policies
- (8) Court fees/filing fees
- (9) Recording charges
- (10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
- (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
- (12) Printing charges
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage
- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal expert & professional
- (17) Special Clerical Services
- (18) Other Disbursements
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo
- (22) Transcript charges
- (23) Subpoena Fees
- (24) Govt. Agency reports
- (25) Business Meals
- (26) Copies from Courthouse
- (27) Abstract, title & survey o/hg
- (28) Facsimile
- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Counsel
- (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
- (32) Private Investigators
- (33) Exhibits
- (34) Lit Sup vendors

Payee Cop

Ck#:

Date:

GTG005443-ACCT-AC

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Holly Bowers

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: August 6, 2003

RE: Request for August 2003 Retainer

Please remit my August 2003 retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

August 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
Amount Due	\$	10,000.00

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman
[Redacted]

Or send via Fedex to:
Michael Chapman
[Redacted]

Thank you.



Greenberg Traurig, LLP
1000 17th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: 202 462 7000 / Fax: 202 462 7001
www.gtlaw.com

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 047724

53643
670

PAY

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE 08/11/03 CHECK NO 47724 AMOUNT \$ ***10,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈047724⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 47724

Check Date: Aug 11/03

<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
8/06/03	██████████	57044.010100 Consulting fees for August, 2003	10,000.00

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

GTC005448-ACCT-AC

No. 046783

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

53.133
5/0

PAY

DATE: 08/06/03 CHECK NO: 46783 AMOUNT: \$ ***20,992.67***

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈046783⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 46783	Check Date: Aug 06/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
8/05/03	[REDACTED]	Consulting fees for June & July 2003 , expenses/ J. Abramoff.	20,992.67

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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GTG005442-ACCT-AC

August 05, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: STALLS O.F.A. AUG -7 PM 1:57

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING CONTROL*
1	57044.010100	Agua Band of Cahulla Indians	Consulting fees for August 2003	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
			TOTAL		
			\$10,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Michael Chapman


Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JALC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

Signature: 
Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

DISBURSEMENT CODES	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
(5) Printing fees	(12) Printing charges
(6) Witness fees	(13) Transportation-Local Travel
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage
(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges
(16) Legal expert & professional	(23) Subpoena Fees
(17) Special Clerical Services	(24) Govt. Agency reports
(18) Other Examinations	(25) Business Meals
(19) Service Copies	(26) Court House
(20) Service Copy/agency changes	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg
(21) Court reporter/Depo	(28) Facsimile
(29) Federal Express	(30) Local Counsel
(31) Arbitration/Mediators	(32) State Investigators
(33) Exhibits	(34) Li Stp Vendors

Payee Code:

Chk#:

Date:

GTG005449-ACCT-AC

DU

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: AUGUST 14, 2003

Per our ongoing efforts to monitor the political situation in Sacramento, I wanted to take this opportunity to provide the council with a brief strategy update regarding several possible courses of action. As we alluded to in our previous communiqués, the recall has created a very murky situation in California - one that in our opinion provides little to no hope of resolving itself soon. Now that the field of candidates has solidified, we believe the council should be prepared to act - especially in case an anti-gaming candidate surges to the forefront of the race. The purpose of this memorandum and its strategy is to position the tribe against the unforeseen, as best we can.

Polling

Our pollsters have been informally working in California throughout the last several weeks and have delivered a number of important pieces of information. The race in California, while clearer than last week, is still very fluid. We remain 2 months, and millions of dollars away from October 7, but a few items are becoming evident.

The media's love affair with Arnold Schwarzenegger is based almost completely on his fame and it is our opinion - albeit not completely based on scientific data - that his actual political support may be shaky. From what we can discern at this point, reports showing him with extremely high approval ratings ignore the fact that a strong portion of that support comes from Democrats who may not remain loyal to a Republican candidate once forced to take partisan positions on issues.

Additionally, we are concerned that initial reports of such strong willingness to recall Governor Davis may be overstated. While there is undoubtedly a very strong contingent of voters who will vote to recall the Governor, his numbers are likely to improve as the media frenzy subsides.

BB/AC05076

That said, we will be placing our own poll in the field early next week to test some of these very issues and provide you with a clearer scientifically-based picture of what is actually occurring throughout the state. We believe it is prudent to wait until next week to conduct the poll as any polls taken this week will be greatly skewed by intense media coverage and unclear messages emanating from the candidates and media outlets.

Political Tactics

Currently, the major challengers in the field, namely Schwarzenegger and Bustamante, have remained mostly silent on the issue of Indian gaming and the compacts, and we believe that it is in the best interest of the tribe and the compact effort to push the candidates to state publicly their opinion and position for the record. That is why we are proposing that we run an advertisement in the form of an open letter/question in the *Desert Sun* and ask the candidates directly about their position on issues important to the Agua Caliente. Additionally, we would like to prepare a statement from the council to the media informing them of the council's decision to place the ad and demand responses from all candidates wishing to be governor. We believe that this strategy will have several positive effects.

First, it will have the very beneficial effect of flushing the candidates out on the most important issue facing the tribes. We will be better able to decipher who, if any, of the candidates could be considered a friend of the tribe. Secondly, it will be very well-received by both of the Democrats "running." Both Governors Davis and Bustamante will be very comfortable in discussing political issues in the public forum, while they have made much of Schwarzenegger's unwillingness to engage and go on record with his opinions. As a result, you will have the indirect effect of keeping two of the three major candidates happy while not overtly boxing with a third (namely Schwarzenegger). Lastly and most importantly, with the answer from the candidates on this question and polling data on the race, we will know if the person who is most likely to become governor in 60 days is anti-gaming expansion, and we can develop a plan to assist in that candidate's defeat.

The bottom line is, come October 8th, we don't want to see a governor who is not inclined to give you a favorable compact and this strategy is intended to first, determine if that is possible, and second, to prevent it.

We believe that time is of the essence with regard to these issues, and as a result, we look forward to speaking with you at your earliest possible convenience.

BB/AC05077

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: AUGUST 26, 2003

Per our strategy memorandum last week, I wanted to follow up with a brief update and some further analysis for the council. As you will recall, we believed, and still do, that the recall election remains extremely fluid and hard to predict. As a result, we have conducted a state-wide poll to help us begin to flush out some key trends and predictors moving forward. I have attached the results of the poll and will forward them to you via Federal Express. Please also find below a brief synopsis of some of the key findings in last week's poll.

Methodology

This statewide survey of California voters was conducted August 21, 2003, among 800 very likely recall election voters throughout the state. Interview selection was at random from among lists of registered voters with a history of voting in California general elections, and respondents were screened for high likelihood of voting in the October 7th special recall election. The sample was constructed to statistically correlate with actual voter distributions in the state. The accuracy of the statewide survey with 800 likely voters is within +/-3.46% at a 95% confidence interval.

Key Findings

- California voters are very angry, with a whopping 74% thinking the state is headed in the wrong direction, and with 67% disapproving of Governor Gray Davis' job performance. The state budget crisis, employment picture, and energy crisis most drive these views.
- Of interest is the extremely high number of voters who are less likely and much less likely to vote for a candidate who "does not tell voters where he or she stands on important issues". Nearly 83 percent of voters are less likely to vote for a candidate who is not clear about his position on issues (65 percent much less likely). These numbers further enforce the need to for candidates to be clear on their positions of significant importance to the electorate.

BB/AC05078

- The current ballot on the question of recalling Davis from office is 56% in favor, 41% opposed, and just 3% firmly undecided. That makes it very difficult for Davis to survive. It's not impossible, however. Currently, 36% of Democrats say they will vote in favor of recalling Davis. Since California is such a Democratic state, if Davis is able to unite and rally Democrats to his cause, he might be able to avoid being recalled. It's a long shot, however, as Davis is currently only viewed favorably by 41% of Democrats, while 40% from his own party view him unfavorably.
- None of the possible replacements for Davis is especially well liked by the voters or shows major demographic strengths within the electorate. It appears unlikely that any candidate other than Cruz Bustamante and Arnold Schwarzenegger has an ability to expand his support to the level necessary to win on the replacement ballot.
- Between the two leading candidates, although Bustamante only leads by 2.5 percentage points (25%-22.5%), for several reasons, he is in a considerably stronger position than Schwarzenegger at this time. First, among all voters who have an opinion of both candidates (a leading indicator of where the vote ends up), Bustamante leads by 34%-25%. Second, Bustamante has a more unified base. He currently receives the support of 41% of Democratic voters and 44% of liberals, whereas Schwarzenegger receives only 37% of Republican voters and 31% of conservatives. The McClintock candidacy is clearly a problem for Schwarzenegger, because he is receiving 14% of Republicans' votes and 19% of conservatives'. Third, pro-recall voters are also more divided on their choice of replacement than are anti-recall voters (41% of pro-recall voters are presently committed to supporting candidates other than Schwarzenegger, while only 30% of anti-recall voters are committed to candidates other than Bustamante).
- Surprisingly, Bustamante does not have a large lead among Hispanic voters (only 36%-25% over Schwarzenegger). Note, however, that unlike the recall ballot, the replacement ballot is quite fluid. Unlike Davis, neither Bustamante nor Schwarzenegger is sufficiently locked into their electoral position to make accurate forecasting possible at this time.

BB/AC05079

- Overall, Indian gaming, and casino gambling generally, receives fairly good marks in the state. Although there is relatively little public awareness of the Agua Caliente Tribe (28% hard name identification), and even less knowledge of the compact (11%), the general climate for Indian casinos is positive (43%-31%). This support is considerably stronger in the Los Angeles media market (51%-23%) than elsewhere in the state. Similarly, only 25% see casino gambling as negative for California, while 64% view it having a neutral or positive impact. The positive view toward Indian casinos is driven in large part by the perception that they create jobs, help the economy, and boost revenues to the state. As a political leverage point, this finding is significant, as the reasons given for favoring Indian casinos are the same issues noted as the most important facing the state.
- Notwithstanding the overall fairly positive climate, however, efforts to expand casinos or the number of slot machines would be met with significant resistance by voters.

Tactics

As you know, we have also suggested that the Council employ a key advertising campaign that asks the candidates to articulate a position on the compact issue. We have included for your review and approval, a draft advertisement that does just that. We recommend that the ad be placed in the *Desert Sun* newspaper, and as we mentioned earlier, we believe the advertisement will have a number of important effects.

Obviously, it will help us to determine who is politically aligned with the council and the membership. In addition, it will be positively received by both Democrats in the race, namely Governors Davis and Bustamante. Both of these candidates are well-versed in the issues at hand, and each has a fairly positive record on tribal issues. Finally, we will be able to finally pin down each of these candidates on their position with regard to this very important issue, which should be very useful in the coming weeks and months. While achieving all of these ends, we will be able to avoid overtly fencing with Schwarzenegger who will undoubtedly remain a force in the election.

As with any public advertisement in the political arena we must note that while we believe that there are no requirements under lobbying disclosure or elections law, we are not legal experts and would advise the council to check with their attorneys regarding any disclosure rules associated with an advertisement such as this.

As always, we look forward to answering any questions the council may have and are available at [REDACTED]. We look forward to speaking with you on September 3rd, if not before.

BB/AC05080

Charles Trout

From: Chris Cathcart [chris@████████████████████]
Sent: Wednesday, August 27, 2003 3:05 PM
To: Charles Trout
Subject: RE: democracy direct feates/functionality

I will call

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

From: Charles Trout [mailto:ctrout@████████████████████]
Sent: Wednesday, August 27, 2003 2:57 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: democracy direct feates/functionality

Chris,

I reviewed the Democracy Direct software. I noticed a couple of differences in the data. For the most part the Choctaw data seems the same, though there may be a few resources missing.

The Democracy Direct application allows viewing of assets by "Facility" and "Committee". The desktop application I am working on now does not since it mimics the web application. Is this a problem?

The Democracy Direct application contains a lot more information about assets and legislators (each record has much more detail) than the web application. I recall you mentioned that the Tribes would like the edit certain information. What info where you talking about?

There are a number of reports I don't have access to, FEC, IRS and State reports.

Also there are "Projects" and "Research". I am not sure of their purpose; do they need those?

Also, for ease of use I have attempted to mimic the interface of the desktop app with the online app. For the most part they will be the same so the user will be able to use both without re-learning the interface.

I remember that your goal was to buy a laptop and have us install the application on it before delivery to the client. What kind of timeframe are you looking to do that in?

Thanks,

Charles Trout
Visual Impact Productions, Inc.

████████████████████
████████████████████
chuck@████████████████████

9/2/2004

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: September 3, 2003

RE: Request for September 2003 Retainer

Please remit my September 2003 retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

September 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
Amount Due	\$	10,000.00

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Or send via Fedex to:
Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]

Thank you.

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Friday, September 05, 2003 3:20 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: are you in town?

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, August 21, 2003 3:35 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: school cost share

I hate to keep asking for your help, but I am in a real bad situation on this cost share. We had the chairmen write to the Secretary, but no one is responding to them, and I can't get a meeting with anyone. Any ideas?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Thursday, August 21, 2003 1:41 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: school cost share

Just received a message from Ken Ross. He stated that BIA officials are having a meeting next week (Wed-Thur) in New Mexico to discuss the school cost share issue. He indicated that Aureen Martin is handling the issue and that they are taking their cues from her.

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Sunday, August 17, 2003 1:51 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Saginaw Cost Share

Any updates on this one?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Saturday, August 02, 2003 6:58 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Saginaw Cost Share

Hi Jack:

Just got this because I was not email accessible. Please feel free to call me if there is an urgent matter. I don't want your correspondence to go unanswered for days at a time. I will try to talk to someone about this first thing.

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Thursday, July 31, 2003 5:35 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Saginaw Cost Share

SECRET 10/04/00

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: SEPTEMBER 8, 2003

Per our teleconference last week, I wanted to review with you the details regarding the placement of your advertisement. As you know, we had proposed that we place the advertisement in the *Desert Sun* newspaper for a variety of reasons. The first is that the *Desert Sun* represents your home town paper. It is a logical place for an ad such as this to appear. It also allows us to run the ad with superior placement, that is, with a better location within the paper.

That said, we are more than happy to run the advertisement in the *LA Times*, and place the ad as soon as the middle of this week (although that will depend on the timing of your final approval). The benefits of running the advertisement in Los Angeles are obvious, and the most important being increased circulation.

Please let us know what the council's decision is, and we will execute immediately. In addition, we will send the ad and the associated costs to your legal counsel for any reporting requirements that he may deem necessary. As always, feel free to contact us at [REDACTED].

BB/AC05081

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: Grites

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: Grites

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: Grites

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.

No. 053043

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

PAY:

DATE

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE

CHECK NO.

AMC

09/22/03

53043

\$ 10,000.00**

TO THE
ORDER
OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈053043⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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Check #: 53043

Check Date: Sep 22/03

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
9/03/03	[REDACTED]	57044.010100 Consulting fees for services rendered Sept., 2003	10,000.00

DETACH

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005455-ACCT-AC

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING SYSTEM
1	Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions	Consulting fees for services rendered Sept. 2003	\$5,000.00	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL	\$5,000.00	

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JJA/LCC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature: 

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger
- (3) Reproduction charges
- (4) Window filing
- (5) Witness fees
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Title policies
- (8) Court Filing fees
- (9) Recording charges
- (10) Minute books, seal, & stock cert
- (11) Court Reporting
- (12) Printing - Out of Town
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage
- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal expert & professional
- (17) Special Clerical Services
- (18) Court Reporting
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo
- (22) Transcribe charges
- (23) Subpoena Fees
- (24) Govt. Agency reports
- (25) Business Cards
- (26) Business Cards - Inhouse
- (27) Abstract, title & survey cng
- (28) Facsimile
- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Courier
- (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
- (32) Police Investigators
- (33) Police Investigators
- (34) Lit Sup Vendors

Payee Code: 

Chk#: _____

Date: _____

GTG005540-ACCT-AC

POSTED

September 12, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

GTABR & O.P.A.
03 SEP 17 PM 2:41

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Michael Chapman <i>Agua</i>	Consulting fees for services rendered Sept. 2003	18	(1)
2			\$10,000.00		(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL		
			\$10,000.00		

Payee: Michael Chapman Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks: _____

Return to: JALCC Attorney/Secretary's Initials _____

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*
 Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Reasoning charges	(16) Legal services	(23) Stenographic	(30) Local Courier
(3) Document charges	(10) Justification & stock cert	(17) Social, Clerical, Services	(24) Court Appearances	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(18) Other Disbursements	(25) Business Meals	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(19) Certified Copies	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(20) Service Company charges	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(21) Court reporter/Depo	(28) Facsimile	

Payee Code: _____
 CK#: _____
 Date: _____

DC

GTG005456-ACCT-AC

GREENBERG TRAUERIG
TRUST COMPANY ACCOUNT

No. 053885

53885
870

NOT NEGOTIABLE AT 100% DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE: 09/25/03 CHECK NO.: 53885 AMOUNT: \$ 5,000.00**

TO THE ORDER OF: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUERIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈053885⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 53885	Check Date: Sep 25/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
9/08/03	██████████	To retain consulting services for October 2003/ J. September.	5,000.00

DETACH

Copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005539-ACCT-AC

September 12, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING CODE*
1	57044-010100	Sierra Dominion-Financial Solutions- Consulting fees for services rendered Sept. 2003	\$5,000.00	18	(1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____ (4) _____ (5) _____
2					
3					
4					
5					
**This description will print on client invoices when using Code 18			TOTAL	\$5,000.00	

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JALOC

Attorney's/Secretary's initials

Signature:

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES:		*ACCOUNTING CODES:	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(23) Transcription charges	(28) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(23) Subpoena Fees	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Business charges	(10) Travel, per diem & hotel cost	(24) Book/Advisory reports	(32) Arbitrator/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Local Out of Town	(24) Book/Advisory reports	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(26) Certified Copies	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(26) Copies from Courthouse	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	
		(28) Facsimile	

Payee Code: _____

CK#: _____

Date: _____

POSTED

GTG05540-ACCT-AC

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler


FROM: Michael Chapman *Michael Chapman*


DATE: October 3, 2003

RE: Request for October 2003 Retainer


Please remit my October 2003 retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

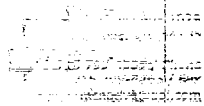
October 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
Amount Due	\$	10,000.00

Please send to:
Michael Chapman


Or send via Fedex to:
Michael Chapman


Thank you.


Phone
Fax
inactive



MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: PHIL RECHT
DATE: 10-15-03

Dear Council Members:

It was a pleasure speaking with you this week. We are pleased that the letter to Governor Davis will be sent without changes, and that a different letter requesting a face-to-face meeting will go to the governor-elect. We think that is a good strategy and are happy that we could be of assistance. If a member of your staff could forward to us, at your convenience, a copy of the letter that will be sent to the governor-elect that would be terrific.

In addition, the attorney we hired to work on the compact issue, Phil Recht, has been asked to serve in an appointed position with the state of California. His position would be on the state lottery commission. He does not believe that this will in any way conflict with his work on the compact negotiations, but we believed that it was prudent to let you know about his impending appointment.

Again, we are always available for questions or concerns at [REDACTED] and should you have any objection with regard to Mr. Recht's appointment, please let us know.

BB/AC05082

No. 059061

GREENBERG TRAUJIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

53-643
670

PAY

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
DATE CHECK NO. AMOUNT

10/31/03 59061 \$ ***10,000.00***

TO THE
ORDER

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUJIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈05906⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 59061

Check Date: Oct 31/03

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
10/01/03		57044.010100 Consultation services for September 2003.	10,000.00

DETACH COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005462-ACCT-AC

CHECK REQUEST

October 23, 2003

CHARTER 80, P.A.

03 OCT 31 AM 12:05

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente			
		Consultation services for September 2003	\$10,000.00	16	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
TOTAL			\$10,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Michael Chapman

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks: Need check Tuesday, November 4, 2003.

Return to: Jack Abramoff

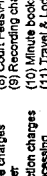
Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

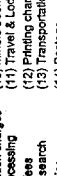
Signature: 

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff, Shareholder

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

DISBURSEMENT CODES	
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
(5) Witness fees	(12) Filing charges
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage
	(15) Publication charges
	(16) Legal expert & Professional
	(17) Special Clerical Services
	(18) Other Disbursements
	(19) Certified Copies
	(20) Service Company charges
	(21) Court reporter/Depo
	(22) Transcript charges
	(23) Subpoena Fees
	(24) Govt. Agency reports
	(25) Business Meals
	(26) Copies from Courthouse
	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg
	(28) Facsimile
	(29) Federal Express
	(30) Local Counsel
	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators
	(32) Private Investigators
	(33) Exhibits
	(34) Lit Sup Vendor

Payee: 

CK#: 

Date: _____

GTG005463-ACCT-AC

DC

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 11-17-03

Dear Council Members:

I wanted to provide you with a brief update with regard to a number of items on the compact negotiations. As you know, we will be sending in a team to facilitate a letter-writing campaign on your behalf. Our team will be in place tomorrow through Thursday at both of your Palm Springs area facilities. We have been in touch with Tim Taylor to expedite a number of logistical questions.

Additionally, I wanted address Governor Davis's recent letter to gaming tribes. As you know from a number of articles released this weekend, the Governor sent gaming tribes a letter on Friday canceling renegotiations on the environmental provisions of the current compact. The direct effects of this action are (1) to eliminate the possibility of a moratorium on tribal development which could result from the failure of the state and tribes to reach a new agreement on environmental issues, and (2) to avoid litigation next year by the tribes seeking for avoid the moratorium because the state did not negotiate in good faith.

From the Tribe's point of view, this action is helpful since it takes away much of the state's leverage in the renegotiation process. On the other hand, it also removes a deadline for reaching a new deal -- at present, there is nothing pushing the state to negotiate an agreement. Finally, we would note that the environmental issues can be put back on the table for renegotiation by the new Governor, just without the leverage of a moratorium on development.

We will be in touch in the near future to address these and other issues. As always, feel free to contact me directly at [REDACTED]

BB/AC05083

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 11-24-03

As you may have seen in *The Los Angeles Times* on the 22nd of November, there has been a recent push for expanded card rooms and racinos in the state of California. This push, on track to be on the ballot next November and funded by commercial gaming interests, would allow for expanded gaming operations at card clubs and slot machines at current horse-racing facilities. I do not believe this push will go very far, but the timing of their push for such an initiative is not coincidental.

The 2003 re-call election allowed for the perfect opportunity for card rooms to propose a change in the way gambling is done within the state of California. Throughout the re-call campaign, many tribes showed continued support of Lt. Governor Bustamante, and the subsequent political backlash has had two effects. One is that groups, such as the card room lobby, have opined that the California public is in favor of the Governor taking a firm stance on the compact issue. Secondly, the perception among these groups is that the governor would be inclined to entertain such an initiative in response to a lack of support from the tribes during his campaign. It appears that these groups may have, at the very least, underestimated the governor. Additionally, it is important to note that your decision to stay out of the campaign may benefit you in the negotiation process.

Schwarzenegger's communications director, Rob Stutzman, recently hinted that the governor would oppose an initiative planned by card clubs and horse-racing tracks, should the measure be on the ballot next year. Although the governor's opposition is a positive sign, the initiative will no doubt have the ability to complicate compact negotiations.

As for the details of the proposed initiative, the measure as currently drafted would require tribes to pay 25% of their net casino revenue to the state (the definition of net revenue is undetermined). That could be as much as \$1.25 billion of the roughly \$5 billion that tribes take in annually from gambling. If the tribes refuse to agree, five horse tracks and 11 card rooms in California would be allowed up to 30,000 slot machines and would give 35% of the revenue to the local government. Although the governor has not shown interest in this proposal, it could give him leverage in talks with tribes.

We were pleased that the governor's initial response was to oppose such an initiative because we believe this is the first step in repairing the relationship that was badly damaged during the campaign. However, as you have heard throughout his campaign, Governor Schwarzenegger would like tribes to give 25% of their revenue to the local government with the goal of helping California's struggling economy. Obviously, this number is ridiculous, and we will continue to work closely with our team to ensure that he begins to understand the realities of the gaming compact.

Please feel free to call me with any questions.

BB/AC05084

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 063034

63-643
676

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
DATE: 11/25/03 CHECK NO. 63034 AMOUNT: \$ 5,000.00**

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈063034⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 63034

Check Date: Nov 25/03

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
10/06/03	[REDACTED]	57044.010100 November retainer for consultation services.	5,000.00

DETACH

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005545-ACCT-AC

1

November 24, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

STARLER & O, P.A.

REGULAR ACCOUNT:

NOV 25 AM 11: 55

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*
1	57044-010100	Asus Caliente	\$5,000.00	18
2		November retainer for consultation services.		(1)
3				(2)
4				(3)
5				(4)
TOTAL			\$5,000.00	(5)

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Services, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks: Need check on Wednesday, November 26, 2003.

Return to: Jack Abramoff/ kkw

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*

Printed Name: Jack Abramoff, Shareholder

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

- (1) Telephone charges
- (2) Messenger
- (3) Reproduction charges
- (4) Word Processing
- (5) Witness fees
- (6) Info & Research
- (7) Title policies
- (8) Court Fees/Filing fees
- (9) Recording charges
- (10) Minute books, seal & stock cert
- (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
- (12) Printing charges
- (13) Transportation-Local Travel
- (14) Postage

- (15) Publication charges
- (16) Legal expert & professional
- (17) Special Clerical Services
- (18) Other Disbursements
- (19) Certified Copies
- (20) Service Company charges
- (21) Court reporter/Depo
- (22) Transcript charges
- (23) Subpoena Fees
- (24) Govt. Agency reports
- (25) Business Meals
- (26) Copies from Courthouse
- (27) Abstract, title & survey clog
- (28) Facsimile
- (29) Federal Express
- (30) Local Counsel
- (31) Arbitration/Mediators
- (32) Private Investigators
- (33) Exhibits
- (34) Lit Sup. Vendors

Payee Code:
 Ck#:
 Date:

GTG005546-ACCT-AC

DK

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman *Michael Chapman*

DATE: November 26, 2003

RE: Request for November 2003 Retainer

Please remit my November 2003 retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

November 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
Amount Due	\$	10,000.00

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[Redacted]

Or send via Fedex to:
Michael Chapman

[Redacted]

Thank you.

[Redacted]
[Redacted] / Phone
[Redacted] / Fax
[Redacted] mcnative

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: December 3, 2003

RE: Request for November/December 2003 Retainers

Please remit my November and December 2003 retainers, which are associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

November 2003 Retainer (Past Due)	\$	10,000.00
December 2003 Retainer	\$	10,000.00
Amount Due	\$	20,000.00

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Or send via Fedex to:
Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 12-3-03

As you may have seen in *The Los Angeles Times* on the 22nd of November, there has been a recent push for expanded card rooms and racinos in the state of California. This push, on track to be on the ballot next November and funded by commercial gaming interests, would allow for expanded gaming operations at card clubs and slot machines at current horse-racing facilities. The timing of their push for such an initiative is not coincidental.

The 2003 re-call election allowed for the perfect opportunity for card rooms to propose a change in the way gambling is done within the state of California. Throughout the re-call campaign, many tribes showed continued support of Lt. Governor Bustamante, and the subsequent political backlash has had two effects. One is that groups, such as the card room lobby, have opined that the California public is in favor of the Governor taking a firm stance on the compact issue. Secondly, the perception among these groups is that the governor would be inclined to entertain such an initiative in response to a lack of support from the tribes during his campaign. It appears that these groups may have, at the very least, underestimated the governor. Additionally, it is important to note that your decision to stay out of the campaign may benefit you in the negotiation process.

Schwarzenegger's communications director, Rob Stutzman, recently hinted that the governor would oppose an initiative planned by card clubs and horse-racing tracks, should the measure be on the ballot next year. However, in the past week, our operatives have indicated that the governor has backed off his initial stance in favor of a more neutral position.

As for the details of the proposed initiative, the measure as currently drafted would require tribes to pay 25% of their net casino revenue to the state (the definition of net revenue is undetermined). That could be as much as \$1.25 billion of the roughly \$5 billion that tribes take in annually from gambling. If the tribes refuse to agree, five horse tracks and 11 card rooms in California would be allowed up to 30,000 slot machines and would give 35% of the revenue to the local government. Furthermore, the initiate, while requiring the card rooms to contribute 30 percent of their revenue to the state, would also exempt them from local property and sales taxes.

BB/AC05085

Most believe that the proposal will be deemed unconstitutional, at least the parts pertaining to the California gaming tribes. However, our cursory analysis of the initiative indicates that even if part of it is deemed unconstitutional, the card rooms will still get slots. In some cases, as many as 3800 machines. Moreover, the proposal is heavily weighted towards the card rooms in the very valuable Los Angeles market. We believe this poses a very serious threat to the negotiations and the Governor's team is positioning him toward using his support or opposition for this initiative as a negotiating tool in the compact renegotiations.

Our operatives have also indicated that a number of the other tribes throughout the state have been hinting that they would like to get a group of the most influential organizations together to begin polling the issue and attempting to form a loose coalition to fight the initiative. We are happy to pursue such a relationship at your direction and as you see fit.

Please feel free to call me with any questions.

BB/AC05086

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW
DATE: 12-4-03

I would like to provide the council with a brief overview of some of the actions steps taken to date. As you will recall, the original campaign was designed as a step-wise process where by we built your political database, developed a sound messaging strategy and finally implemented and executed a number of tactics to mobilize your supporters for the compact renegotiations. Of course, much has happened in the past six months, and once again we have begun the process of mobilizing your grassroots supporters. Per our conversations with you at the council meeting this fall, we parachuted in our letter writing team to work with your employees to produce letters addressed to California's new Gopvemor. The campaign was a smashing success.

As you know, the campaign was conducted on Wednesday, November 19th and Thursday, November 20th. We were able to garner over 400 letters, all personally signed by employees. These letters were immediately sent to the Governor, each personally crafted and signed by employees of your casinos, and delivered to his office. We have attached copies of each letter in two volumes for your review.

If you are not aware of how we conducted this campaign, our ground team landed in Palm Springs on November 18th to prepare and secure locations for the campaign. We spent one day, November 19th, at the Agua Caliente Casino and one day, November 20th, at the Spa Resort Casino. In each casino, we were able to set up in the team member dining room, where we conducted 12 hour shifts in order to achieve maximum exposure to the many shifts of employees. Employees were enthusiastic, interested in, and supportive of your efforts to renegotiate the compact with the Governor. Without their support, and the marketing efforts of the HR department, campaigns such as these would not be as successful.

The result is a ground swell of support from individual citizens, each of which is a potential voter. The message in the governor's office will be clear, your employees support the tribal leadership and their efforts throughout the state.

Again, I wish to simply bring you up to date on the most recent events in the mobilization portion of the campaign. Our ground team continues to work in Sacramento and provide the eyes and ears of the effort. All of our efforts will be directed at working directly with the Governor while at the same time, demonstrating to him that negotiating a compact

BB/AC05087

that expands your operations will have a positive impact on the community, state and of course, public opinion of him.

As always, please call me with any questions.

BB/AC05088

Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 08, 2003 10:26 AM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: GRI

Another vendor. Let's discuss.

Erickson, Smith, O'Hara and Keigher LLC

11/4/2005

GRI 00034

From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 1:04 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: GRI check for \$25K to KAR Consulting

Come up when you have time:)

-----Original Message-----
From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 12:53 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: GRI check for \$25K to KAR Consulting

I have your check.
I have the papers for you to sign.
I have a check for myself.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 9:43 AM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Fw: GRI check for \$25K to KAR Consulting

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@██████████>
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis) <TeslerS@██████████>
Sent: Mon Dec 15 09:03:02 2003
Subject: GRI check for \$25K to KAR Consulting

Please get me this today. Thanks.

GRI 00132

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW
DATE: 12-16-03

Please find attached, copies of letters written by your employees to Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger last month. As you know, our letter-writing team was in Palm Springs last month to assist your staff in preparing letter-writing stations at both the Agua Caliente Casino and the Spa Resort casino. The campaign was a smashing success.

As you know, our team parachuted into Palm Springs on November 18th to prepare and secure locations for the campaign. We spent one day, November 19th, at the Agua Caliente Casino and one day, November 20th, at the Spa Resort Casino. In each casino, we were able to set up in the team member dining room, where we conducted 12 hour shifts to ensure that a maximum number of employees would have the opportunity to sign letters. Employees were enthusiastic, interested in, and supportive of your efforts to renegotiate the compact with the Governor. Their support, and that of your own human resources team, proved invaluable in this successful endeavor.

The results were impressive for a two day operation. Over 400 letters were generated and sent to the Governor. Each letter

Furthermore, we are continuing to work with our ground team to ensure that the Governor is continually aware of the support that Tribe has around the community. As always, please call me with any questions.

BB/AC05089

Erickson Smith O'Hara Keisher, LLC

INVOICE

DATE	INVOICE #
12/18/2003	12.18.01

BILL TO Sam Hook President GRI ████████████████████ ████████████████████ ████████████████████
--

DESCRIPTION	QTY	RATE	AMOUNT
PROFESSIONAL FEES for Services Rendered for 2003		Set Fee	\$25,000.00
Thank you!			Total \$25,000.00

Please remit payment to
Erickson Smith O'Hara Keisher LLC
████████████████████

GRI 00044

From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Friday, December 19, 2003 12:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: invoices

I need to get invoices for the 25K checks to KAR Consulting and Erickson, Smith, O'Hara and Keigher LLC. Is there someone I should call or some other way you would like to handle?

GRI 00130

No. 066688

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

53443
670

PAY

DATE

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
CHECK NO.

AMOUNT

TO THE
ORDER

Michael Chapman

12/19/03

66688

\$ 20,000.00

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAURIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑆066688⑆

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 66688	Check Date: Dec 19/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
12/03/03	[REDACTED]	Consulting fees for November and December	20,000.00

DETACH

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005469-ACCT-AC

December 12, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

STALLER & O, P.A.

DEC 15 AM 11:35 REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.0710700	Agua Caliente			(1)
		Consulting fees for November and December	\$20,000.00	1	(2)
2					(3)
3					(4)
4					(5)
5					
**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18			TOTAL	\$20,000.00	

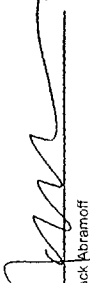
Payee: Michael Chapman

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: JAVLC

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature: 
Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

"DISBURSEMENT CODES"		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees/Filing fees	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(30) Local Counsel
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(31) Arbitrators/Mediators
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transcription-Local Travel	(34) Lit Sup Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publication charges	
	(16) Legal expert & professional	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Certified Copies	
	(20) Service Company charges	
	(21) Court reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transcript charges	
	(23) Subpoena Fees	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business Meals	
	(26) Copies from Courthouse	
	(27) Abstract, title & survey chg	
	(28) Facsimile	

Payee Code: _____
CK#: _____
Date: _____

RECEIVED
DEC 15 2003
AP-MIAMI-GT

GTG005470-ACCT-AC

A E N E A S
ENTERPRISES

STATEMENT

December 22, 2003

Grassroots Interactive, LLC
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Research on local gaming issues and local players in California gaming. Script development & pre-production work for local campaign. Work with local media outlets regarding potential media buys; Phone banking preparation and direct mail campaign. Design drafts, etc. for gaming issues.

Research on Internet gaming issues and local players in California gaming. Script development & pre-production work for local campaign. Work with local media outlets regarding potential media buys; Phone banking preparation and direct mail campaign. Design drafts, etc. for gaming issues.

Post gubernatorial election research and consulting on political and government policies of Governor Schwarzenegger

\$2,300,000

12-23-2003

GRI 00046

MEMORANDUM

TO: AGUA CALIENTE TRIBAL COUNCIL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: DATABASE
DATE: 12-26-03

The purpose of this memo is to inform you that we are currently in the process of updating the tribe's database. The updates will reflect changes in officeholders, committees, and some legislative districts. Because of these modifications, some applications on your database may not be functioning should you log on between now and roughly the 6th of January 2004.

We are working diligently to update your system, and we hope to have the new modifications made in a timely manner. We wanted to ensure you that even though some applications may not be available from time to time over the next couple of weeks, the database as a whole is in excellent condition and useable should an event arise.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me anytime.

BB/AC05090

A E N E A S
ENTERPRISES

STATEMENT

December 29, 2003

Grassroots Interactive, LLC
[REDACTED]

Previous Balance		\$2,300,000
12/26/03	Payment received - Thank you	(\$1,400,000)
Balance due		\$900,000

2003 VENTURA BOULEVARD • SUITE 202 • WOODLAND HILLS, CALIFORNIA 91367

GRI 00052

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 068359

53643
070

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 60 DAYS FROM ISSUE

DATE: 12/29/03 CHECK NO: 68359 AMOUNT: \$ 5,000.00

PAID TO THE ORDER OF: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG, TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

"068359"

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
Check #: 68359	Check Date: Dec 29/03		
<u>Inv. Date</u>	<u>Inv. Number</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Payment Amt</u>
11/24/03	[REDACTED]	57044.010100 December consultation services.	5,000.00

DETACH

copy

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005553-ACCT-AC

December 22, 2003

CHECK REQUEST

STALLER & O, P.A.

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: DEC 23 PM 12:55

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION*	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING-ONLY
1 57044.010100	Agua Caliente	December consultation services	\$5,000.00	16	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
TOTAL			\$5,000.00		

*This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

Mail to Payee: Yes No

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: Duane Gibson/ JB

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Printed Name: Duane Gibson
Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*

(Fill in address if window/envelope will be used)

- *DISBURSEMENT CODES**
- (1) Telephone charges
 - (2) Messenger
 - (3) Reproduction charges
 - (4) Word Processing
 - (5) Witness fees
 - (6) Info. & Research
 - (7) Title policies
 - (8) Court Fees/Filing fees
 - (9) Recording charges
 - (10) Minute books, seal & stock cert.
 - (11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town
 - (12) Printing charges
 - (13) Transportation-Local Travel
 - (14) Postage
 - (15) Publication charges
 - (16) Legal expert & professional
 - (17) Special Clinical Services
 - (18) Other Disbursements
 - (19) Certified Copies
 - (20) Service Company charges
 - (21) Court reporter/Depo
 - (22) Transcrip. charges
 - (23) Subpoena Fees
 - (24) Govt. Agency reports
 - (25) Business Meals
 - (26) Copies from Courthouse
 - (27) Abstract, title & survey dtg
 - (28) Facsimile
 - (29) Federal Express
 - (30) Local Counsel
 - (31) Arbitrator/Mediators
 - (32) Private Investigators
 - (33) Exhibits
 - (34) Lit. Sup. Vendors

Payee Code:

Ck#:

Date:

GTG005554-ACCT-AC

[Handwritten Initials]

National Capital Area Chapter

[Redacted]

December 31, 2003



Grassroots Interactive LLC

[Redacted]

Dear Donor:

Thank you for your kind and generous support of our Man & Woman of the Year Campaign. Your contribution of \$20,000.00 is greatly appreciated.

The Leukemia & Lymphoma Society has been making great strides in our "quest for a cure" for leukemia, lymphoma and myeloma. We invite you to browse our web site at www.leukemia-lymphoma.org for the latest cancer research updates.

In accordance with IRS guidelines, we are pleased to report that no goods or services were provided to you in relationship to this contribution. Please retain this for your records.

Again, our deepest thanks for your support of The Leukemia & Lymphoma Society.

Sincerely,


Tammy L. Moloy
Deputy Executive Director

*Thank you
for your
generosity!*

Cc: Amy D. Johnson, Donor Development Manager

Form **990-PF**

Return of Private Foundation
or Section 4947(a)(1) Nonexempt Charitable Trust
Treated as a Private Foundation

OMB No 1545-0052

2003

Department of the Treasury
Internal Revenue Service

Note: The organization may be able to use a copy of this return to satisfy state reporting requirements.

For calendar year 2003, or tax year beginning _____ and ending _____

B Check all that apply: Initial return Final return Amended return Address change Name change

Use the IRS label. Name of organization: **CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.**
Employer identification number: _____
Otherwise, print or type. C/O **JACK ABRAMOFF**
Number and street (or P.O. box number if mail is not delivered to street address): _____
Room/suite: _____
Telephone number: **202-349-7126**
City or town, state, and ZIP code: _____

H Check type of organization: Section 501(c)(3) exempt private foundation
 Section 4947(a)(1) nonexempt charitable trust Other taxable private foundation
I Fair market value of all assets at end of year: _____
Accounting method: Cash Accrual Other (specify) _____
J (from Part II, col. (c), line 16) _____
K (Part I, column (d) must be on cash basis.) **214,009**

Part I Analysis of Revenue and Expenses		(a) Revenue and expenses per books	(b) Net investment income	(c) Adjusted net income	(d) Disbursements for charitable purposes (cash basis only)
1	Contributions, gifts, grants, etc., received	2,158,941.			
2	Distributions from split-interest trusts				
3	Interest on savings and temporary cash investments	733.	733.		STATEMENT 2
4	Dividends and interest from securities				
5a	Gross rents				
5b	Net rental income (or loss)				
6a	Net gain (or loss) from sale of assets not on line 10	<4,069.>			STATEMENT 1
6b	Gross sales price for all assets on line 6a	16,670.			
7	Capital gain net income (from Part IV, line 2)		0.		
8	Net short-term capital gain				
9	Income modifications				
10a	Gross sales less returns and allowances				
10b	Less: Cost of goods sold				
10c	Gross profit or (loss)				
11	Other income				
12	Total. Add lines 1 through 11	2,155,605.	733.	0.	
13	Conservation or historic preservation expenses	0.	0.	0.	0.
14	Other employee salaries and wages				
15	Pension plans, employee benefits				
16a	Legal fees	1,883.	0.	0.	0.
16b	Accounting fees	35,691.	0.	0.	0.
16c	Other professional fees	2,000.	0.	0.	0.
17	Interest				
18	Taxes	100.	0.	0.	0.
19	Depreciation and depletion	1,248.	0.	0.	0.
20	Occupancy				
21	Travel, conferences, and meetings	251,163.	0.	0.	0.
22	Printing and publications				
23	Other expenses	2,544.	2,069.	0.	0.
24	Total operating and administrative expenses. Add lines 13 through 23	294,629.	2,069.	0.	0.
25	Contributions, gifts, grants paid	2,721,474.			2,721,474.
26	Total expenses and disbursements. Add lines 24 and 25	3,016,103.	2,069.	0.	2,721,474.
27	Subtract line 26 from line 12:				
28	Net investment income (if negative, enter -)	<860,498.>	0.		
29	Adjusted net income (if negative, enter -)			0.	

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Form 990-PF (2003)

C/O JACK ABRAMOFF

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Part II	Balance Sheets	Beginning of year		End of year	
		(a) Book Value	(b) Book Value	(c) Fair Market Value	
Assets	1 Cash - non-interest-bearing	1,036,585.	<662.>	<662.>	
	2 Savings and temporary cash investments				
	3 Accounts receivable ▶ 44.				
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶	104.	44.	44.	
	4 Pledges receivable ▶				
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶				
	5 Grants receivable				
	6 Receivables due from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons				
	7 Other assets and loans receivable ▶				
	Less: allowance for doubtful accounts ▶				
	8 Inventories for sale or use				
	9 Prepaid expenses and deferred charges				
	10a Investments - U.S. and state government obligations				
	b Investments - corporate stock				
	c Investments - corporate bonds				
11 Investments - land, buildings, and equipment, basis ▶					
Less accumulated depreciation ▶					
12 Investments - mortgage loans					
13 Investments - other					
14 Land, buildings, and equipment, basis ▶ 203,557.					
Less accumulated depreciation ▶ STMT 8 1,319.	37,668.	202,238.	202,238.		
15 Other assets (describe ▶ STATEMENT 9)	150.	12,389.	12,389.		
16 Total assets (to be completed by all filers)	1,074,507.	214,009.	214,009.		
Liabilities	17 Accounts payable and accrued expenses				
	18 Grants payable				
	19 Deferred revenue				
	20 Loans from officers, directors, trustees, and other disqualified persons				
	21 Mortgages and other notes payable				
	22 Other liabilities (describe ▶)				
23 Total liabilities (add lines 17 through 22)	0.	0.	0.		
Net Assets or Fund Balances	24 Organizations that follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 24 through 26 and lines 30 and 31. <input type="checkbox"/>				
	24 Unrestricted				
	25 Temporarily restricted				
	26 Permanently restricted				
	26 Organizations that do not follow SFAS 117, check here and complete lines 27 through 31. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
	27 Capital stock, trust principal, or current funds	0.	0.	0.	
	28 Paid-in or capital surplus, or land, bldg., and equipment fund	0.	0.	0.	
	29 Retained earnings, accumulated income, endowment, or other funds	1,074,507.	214,009.	214,009.	
	30 Total net assets or fund balances	1,074,507.	214,009.	214,009.	
	31 Total liabilities and net assets/fund balances	1,074,507.	214,009.	214,009.	

Part III Analysis of Changes in Net Assets or Fund Balances

1 Total net assets or fund balances at beginning of year - Part II, column (a), line 30 (must agree with end-of-year figure reported on prior year's return)	1	1,074,507.
2 Enter amount from Part I, line 27a	2	<860,498.>
3 Other increases not included in line 2 (denote) ▶	3	0.
4 Add lines 1, 2, and 3	4	214,009.
5 Decreases not included in line 2 (denote) ▶	5	0.
6 Total net assets or fund balances at end of year (line 4 minus line 5) - Part II, column (b), line 30	6	214,009.

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Part IV Capital Gains and Losses for Tax on Investment Income

(a) List and describe the kind(s) of property sold (e.g., real estate, 2-story brick warehouse; or common stock, 200 shs. MLC Co.)	(b) How acquired P - Purchase D - Donation	(c) Date acquired (mo., day, yr.)	(d) Date sold (mo., day, yr.)
1a SCHOOL VAN - DONATED TO CHAR ORG	P	10/10/01	01/08/03
b			
c			
d			
e			

(e) Gross sales price	(f) Depreciation allowed (or allowable)	(g) Cost or other basis plus expense of sale	(h) Gain or (loss) (e) plus (f) minus (g)
a 16,670.	5,321.	26,060.	<4,069.>
b			
c			
d			
e			

(i) F.M.V. as of 12/31/69	(j) Adjusted basis as of 12/31/69	(k) Excess of col. (i) over col. (j), if any	(l) Gain (col. (h) gain minus col. (k), but not less than -0-) or Losses (from col. (h))
a			<4,069.>
b			
c			
d			
e			

2 Capital gain net income or (net capital loss). { If gain, also enter in Part I, line 7 } { If (loss), enter -0- in Part I, line 7 }	2	<4,069.>
3 Net short-term capital gain or (loss) as defined in sections 1222(5) and (6): If gain, also enter in Part I, line 8, column (c). If (loss), enter -0- in Part I, line 8	3	N/A

Part V Qualification Under Section 4940(a) for Reduced Tax on Net Investment Income

(For optional use by domestic private foundations subject to the section 4940(a) tax on net investment income.)
If section 4940(d)(2) applies, leave this part blank.

Was the organization liable for the section 4942 tax on the distributable amount of any year in the base period?
If "Yes," the organization does not qualify under section 4940(e). Do not complete this part. Yes No

1 Enter the appropriate amount in each column for each year; see instructions before making any entries.

(a) Base period years Calendar year (or tax year beginning in)	(b) Adjusted qualifying distributions	(c) Net value of noncharitable-use assets	(d) Distribution ratio (col. (b) divided by col. (c))
2002	2,331,579.	1,058,355.	2.2030217
2001	153,020.	304,308.	.5028458
2000	11,824.	3,069.	3.8527208
1999	206.	11,820.	.0174281
1998			

2 Total of line 1, column (d)	2	6.5760164
3 Average distribution ratio for the 5-year base period - divide the total on line 2 by 5, or by the number of years the foundation has been in existence if less than 5 years	3	1.6440041
4 Enter the net value of noncharitable-use assets for 2003 from Part X, line 5	4	567,039.
5 Multiply line 4 by line 3	5	932,214.
6 Enter 1% of net investment income (1% of Part I, line 27b)	6	0.
7 -Add lines 5 and 6	7	932,214.
8 Enter qualifying distributions from Part XII, line 4 If line 8 is equal to or greater than line 7, check the box in Part VI, line 1b, and complete that part using a 1% tax rate. See the Part VI instructions.	8	2,721,474.

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CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

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Part VI Excise Tax Based on Investment Income (Section 4940(a), 4940(b), 4940(e), or 4948 - see instructions)

1a	Exempt operating foundations described in section 4940(d)(2), check here <input type="checkbox"/> and enter "N/A" on line 1.		
Date of ruling letter: _____ (attach copy of ruling letter if necessary-see instructions)			
b	Domestic organizations that meet the section 4940(e) requirements in Part V, check here <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> and enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	1	0.
c	All other domestic organizations enter 2% of line 27b. Exempt foreign organizations enter 4% of Part I, line 12, col. (b)		
2	Tax under section 511 (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	2	0.
3	Add lines 1 and 2	3	0.
4	Subtitle A (income) tax (domestic section 4947(a)(1) trusts and taxable foundations only. Others enter -0-)	4	0.
5	Tax based on investment income. Subtract line 4 from line 3. If zero or less, enter -0-	5	0.
6 Credits/Payments:			
a	2003 estimated tax payments and 2002 overpayment credited to 2003	6a	28.
b	Exempt foreign organizations - tax withheld at source	6b	
c	Tax paid with application for extension of time to file (Form 8868)	6c	
d	Backup withholding erroneously withheld	6d	
7	Total credits and payments. Add lines 6a through 6d	7	28.
8	Enter any penalty for underpayment of estimated tax. Check here <input type="checkbox"/> if Form 2220 is attached	8	
9	Tax due. If the total of lines 5 and 8 is more than line 7, enter amount owed	9	
10	Overpayment. If line 7 is more than the total of lines 5 and 8, enter the amount overpaid	10	28.
11	Enter the amount of line 10 to be credited to 2004 estimated tax	11	28.

Part VII-A Statements Regarding Activities

	Yes	No
1a		X
1b		X
1c		X
2		X
3		X
4a		X
4b		X
5		X
6		X
7	X	
8a		
8b	X	
9		X
10		X
11		X

Part VII-B Statements Regarding Activities for Which Form 4720 May Be Required

File Form 4720 if any item is checked in the "Yes" column, unless an exception applies.

	Yes	No
1a During the year did the organization (either directly or indirectly):		
(1) Engage in the sale or exchange, or leasing of property with a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(2) Borrow money from, lend money to, or otherwise extend credit to (or accept it from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(3) Furnish goods, services, or facilities to (or accept them from) a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(4) Pay compensation to, or pay or reimburse the expenses of, a disqualified person?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(5) Transfer any income or assets to a disqualified person (or make any of either available for the benefit or use of a disqualified person)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(6) Agree to pay money or property to a government official? (Exception: Check "No" if the organization agreed to make a grant to or to employ the official for a period after termination of government service, if terminating within 90 days.)	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
b If any answer is "Yes" to 1a(1)-(6), did any of the acts fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4941(d)-3 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see page 19 of the instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	1b
c Did the organization engage in a prior year in any of the acts described in 1a, other than excepted acts, that were not corrected before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2003?		1c X
2 Taxes on failure to distribute income (section 4942) (does not apply for years the organization was a private operating foundation defined in section 4942(j)(3) or 4942(j)(5)):		
a At the end of tax year 2003, did the organization have any undistributed income (lines 6d and 6e, Part XIII) for tax year(s) beginning before 2003? If "Yes," list the years	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
b Are there any years listed in 2a for which the organization is not applying the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) (relating to incorrect valuation of assets) to the year's undistributed income? (If applying section 4942(a)(2) to all years listed, answer "No" and attach statement - see Instructions.)	N/A	2b
c If the provisions of section 4942(a)(2) are being applied to any of the years listed in 2a, list the years here.		
3a Did the organization hold more than a 2% direct or indirect interest in any business enterprise at any time during the year?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
b If "Yes," did it have excess business holdings in 2003 as a result of (1) any purchase by the organization or disqualified persons after May 26, 1969; (2) the lapse of the 5-year period (or longer period approved by the Commissioner under section 4943(c)(7)) to dispose of holdings acquired by gift or bequest; or (3) the lapse of the 10-, 15-, or 20-year first phase holding period? (Use Schedule C, Form 4720, to determine if the organization had excess business holdings in 2003.)	N/A	3b
4a Did the organization invest during the year any amount in a manner that would jeopardize its charitable purposes?		4a X
b Did the organization make any investment in a prior year (but after December 31, 1969) that could jeopardize its charitable purpose that had not been removed from jeopardy before the first day of the tax year beginning in 2003?		4b X
5a During the year did the organization pay or incur any amount to:		
(1) Carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation (section 4945(e))?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(2) Influence the outcome of any specific public election (see section 4955); or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(3) Provide a grant to an individual for travel, study, or other similar purposes?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(4) Provide a grant to an organization other than a charitable, etc., organization described in section 509(a)(1), (2), or (3), or section 4940(d)(2)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
(5) Provide for any purpose other than religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
b If any answer is "Yes" to 5a(1)-(5), did any of the transactions fail to qualify under the exceptions described in Regulations section 53.4945 or in a current notice regarding disaster assistance (see instructions)? Organizations relying on a current notice regarding disaster assistance check here	N/A	5b
c If the answer is "Yes" to question 5a(4), does the organization claim exemption from the tax because it maintained expenditure responsibility for the grant?	N/A <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
6a Did the organization, during the year, receive any funds, directly or indirectly, to pay premiums on a personal benefit contract?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
b Did the organization, during the year, pay premiums, directly or indirectly, on a personal benefit contract? If you answered "Yes" to 6b, also file Form 8870	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	6b X

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CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.
C/O JACK ABRAMOFF

Part VIII Information About Officers, Directors, Trustees, Foundation Managers, Highly Paid Employees, and Contractors Page 6

1 List all officers, directors, trustees, foundation managers and their compensation:

(a) Name and address	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation (If not paid, enter -0-)	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and deferred compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION LLC	TRUSTEE			
[REDACTED]		0.	0.	0.
JACK ABRAMOFF	CO-MANAGING MEMBER			
[REDACTED]		10	0.	0.
PAMELA ABRAMOFF	CO-MANAGING MEMBER			
[REDACTED]		1	0.	0.

2 Compensation of five highest-paid employees (other than those included on line 1). If none, enter "NONE."

(a) Name and address of each employee paid more than \$50,000	(b) Title and average hours per week devoted to position	(c) Compensation	(d) Contributions to employee benefit plans and deferred compensation	(e) Expense account, other allowances
NONE				

Total number of other employees paid over \$50,000 0

3 Five highest-paid independent contractors for professional services. If none, enter "NONE."

(a) Name and address of each person paid more than \$50,000	(b) Type of service	(c) Compensation
NONE		

Total number of others receiving over \$50,000 for professional services 0

Part IX-A Summary of Direct Charitable Activities

List the foundation's four largest direct charitable activities during the tax year. Include relevant statistical information such as the number of organizations and other beneficiaries served, conferences convened, research papers produced, etc.	Expenses
1 ESHKOL ACADEMY - ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AND ATHLETIC FACILITIES AND OPERATIONS OF PRIVATE BOYS SCHOOL. INCLUDES TEACHING FACILITIES, INSTRUCTORS AND ICE RINK DONATION	2,366,512.
2 BEIS AVROHOM CHAIM - A RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION, PROVIDES RELIGIOUS SERVICES FOR THE CONGREGATION AND HOUSING FOR THE ESHKOL ACADEMY STUDENT ATHLETES.	251,242.
3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS THAT INTEGRATE SPORTSMANSHIP W/ ACADEMIC CURRICULUM AND THE FRAMEWORK OF ORGANIZED GROUP ACTIVITIES.	59,500.
4 KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET - AN EDUCATION INSTITUTION IN ISRAEL. SUPPORT USED FOR EDUCATION, ATHLETIC AND SECURITY.	44,220.

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Form 990-PF (2003)

Part IX-B Summary of Program-Related Investments

Describe the two largest program-related investments made by the foundation during the tax year on lines 1 and 2.	Amount
1 N/A	
2	
3	
4	
All other program-related investments. See instructions.	
Total. Add lines 1 through 3	0.

Part X Minimum Investment Return (All domestic foundations must complete this part. Foreign foundations, see instructions.)

1 Fair market value of assets not used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes:	
a Average monthly fair market value of securities	1a 0.
b Average of monthly cash balances	1b 361,003.
c Fair market value of all other assets	1c 214,671.
d Total (add lines 1a, b, and c)	1d 575,674.
e Reduction claimed for blockage or other factors reported on lines 1a and 1c (attach detailed explanation)	1e 0.
2 Acquisition indebtedness applicable to line 1 assets	2 0.
3 Subtract line 2 from line 1d	3 575,674.
4 Cash deemed held for charitable activities. Enter 1 1/2% of line 3 (for greater amount, see instructions)	4 8,635.
5 Net value of noncharitable-use assets. Subtract line 4 from line 3. Enter here and on Part V, line 4	5 567,039.
6 Minimum investment return. Enter 5% of line 5	6 28,352.

Part XI Distributable Amount (see instructions) (Section 4942(j)(3) and (j)(5) private operating foundations and certain foreign organizations check here and do not complete this part.)

1 Minimum investment return from Part X, line 6	1 28,352.
2a Tax on investment income for 2003 from Part VI, line 5	2a
b Income tax for 2003. (This does not include the tax from Part VI.)	2b
c Add lines 2a and 2b	2c 0.
d Distributable amount before adjustments. Subtract line 2c from line 1	3 28,352.
4a Recoveries of amounts treated as qualifying distributions	4a 0.
b Income distributions from section 4947(a)(2) trusts	4b 0.
c Add lines 4a and 4b	4c 0.
5 Add lines 3 and 4c	5 28,352.
6 Deduction from distributable amount (see instructions)	6 0.
7 Distributable amount as adjusted. Subtract line 6 from line 5. Enter here and on Part XIII, line 1	7 28,352.

Part XII Qualifying Distributions (see instructions)

1 Amounts paid (including administrative expenses) to accomplish charitable, etc., purposes:	
a Expenses, contributions, gifts, etc. - total from Part I, column (d), line 26	1a 2,721,474.
b Program-related investments - Total from Part IX-B	1b 0.
2 Amounts paid to acquire assets used (or held for use) directly in carrying out charitable, etc., purposes	2
3 Amounts set aside for specific charitable projects that satisfy the:	
a Suitability test (prior IRS approval required)	3a
b Cash distribution test (attach the required schedule)	3b
4 Qualifying distributions. Add lines 1a through 3b. Enter here and on Part V, line 8, and Part XIII, line 4	4 2,721,474.
5 Organizations that qualify under section 4940(e) for the reduced rate of tax on net investment income. Enter 1% of Part I, line 27b	5 0.
6 Adjusted qualifying distributions. Subtract line 5 from line 4	6 2,721,474.

Note: The amount on line 6 will be used in Part V, column (b), in subsequent years when calculating whether the foundation qualifies for the section 4940(e) reduction of tax in those years.

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Form 990-PF (2003)

C/O JACK ABRAMOFF

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Part XIII Undistributed Income (see instructions)

	(a) Corpus	(b) Years prior to 2002	(c) 2002	(d) 2003
1 Distributable amount for 2003 from Part XI, line 7				28,352.
2 Undistributed income, if any, as of the end of 2002				
a Enter amount for 2002 only			0.	
b Total for prior years:		0.		
3 Excess distributions carryover, if any, to 2003:				
a From 1998				
b From 1999				
c From 2000			11,592.	
d From 2001			137,905.	
e From 2002			2,278,815.	
f Total of lines 3a through e	2,428,312.			
4 Qualifying distributions for 2003 from Part XII, line 4: ▶ \$	2,721,474.			
a Applied to 2002, but not more than line 2a			0.	
b Applied to undistributed income of prior years (Election required - see instructions)		0.		
c Treated as distributions out of corpus (Election required - see instructions)	0.			
d Applied to 2003 distributable amount				28,352.
e Remaining amount distributed out of corpus	2,693,122.			
5 Excess distributions carryover applied to 2003 (If an amount appears in column (d), the same amount must be shown in column (a))	0.			0.
6 Enter the net total of each column as indicated below:				
a Corpus Add lines 3f, 4c, and 4e Subtract line 5	5,121,434.			
b Prior years' undistributed income. Subtract line 4b from line 2b		0.		
c Enter the amount of prior years' undistributed income for which a notice of deficiency has been issued, or on which the section 4942(a) tax has been previously assessed		0.		
d Subtract line 6c from line 6b. Taxable amount - see instructions		0.		
e Undistributed income for 2002. Subtract line 4e from line 2a. Taxable amount - see instr.			0.	
f Undistributed income for 2003. Subtract lines 4d and 5 from line 1. This amount must be distributed in 2004				0.
7 Amounts treated as distributions out of corpus to satisfy requirements imposed by section 170(b)(1)(E) or 4942(g)(3)	0.			
8 Excess distributions carryover from 1998 not applied on line 5 or line 7	0.			
9 Excess distributions carryover to 2004. Subtract lines 7 and 8 from line 6a	5,121,434.			
10 Analysis of line 8:				
a Excess from 1999				
b Excess from 2000			11,592.	
c Excess from 2001			137,905.	
d Excess from 2002			2,278,815.	
e Excess from 2003			2,693,122.	

832871 12-05-03

Form 990-PF (2003)

222

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Form 990-PF (2003)

C/O JACK ABRAMOFF

Page 10

Part XV Supplementary Information (continued)

3 Grants and Contributions Paid During the Year or Approved for Future Payment

Recipient Name and address (home or business)	If recipient is an individual, show any relationship to any foundation manager or substantial contributor	Foundation status of recipient	Purpose of grant or contribution	Amount
<p>a Paid during the year</p> <p>SEE STATEMENT 11</p>				
<p>Total</p>				<p>3a 2,721,474.</p>
<p>b Approved for future payment</p> <p>NONE</p>				
<p>Total</p>				<p>3b 0.</p>

832601 12-05-03

Form 990-PF (2003)

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

Form 990-PF (2003)

C/O JACK ABRAMOFF

Page 12

Part XVII Information Regarding Transfers To and Transactions and Relationships With Noncharitable Exempt Organizations

Table with columns: Question, Yes, No. Includes questions 1, a, b, c, d regarding transfers to noncharitable exempt organizations.

Table with columns: (a) Line no., (b) Amount involved, (c) Name of noncharitable exempt organization, (d) Description of transfers, transactions, and sharing arrangements.

2a Is the organization directly or indirectly affiliated with, or related to, one or more tax-exempt organizations described in section 501(c) of the Code (other than section 501(c)(3)) or in section 527? Yes No [X]

b If "Yes," complete the following schedule.

Table with columns: (a) Name of organization, (b) Type of organization, (c) Description of relationship.

I certify that the information on this schedule is true and correct, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct, and I have no knowledge of any information that would cause the information on this schedule to be untrue or incorrect.

Signature and date: 5/19/05 [Signature]

9:09 AM
03/28/04
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
Profit & Loss
January through December 2003

	Jan - Dec 03
Ordinary Income/Expense	
Income	
Contributions Income	
KayGold, LLC	47,890.85
EA	500,000.00
National Center for Public Pol	250,000.00
Atlantic Research & Analysis	950,000.00
Sony Electronics Inc.	6,000.00
██████████	1,000.00
Maor Inc.	2,500.00
██████████	500.00
██████████	1,900.00
██████████	50.00
Jack Abramoff	400,000.00
Total Contributions Income	2,158,940.95
Miscellaneous Income	0.00
Total Income	2,158,940.95
Expense	
Loss on disposal of asset	4,069.00
Bank Service Charges	2,058.56
Charitable Activities	
Beis Avrohom Chaim	251,242.00
Eshkol Academy	
Rent	61,815.41
Contributions	2,131,670.00
Expenses	78,224.66
Ice Rink Donation	1,000.00
Independent Contractors	55,000.00
Parsonage & Reimb Exp	
Parsonage & Reimb Exp/Lapin	35,102.10
Total Parsonage & Reimb Exp	35,102.10
Rabbi D. Lapin	5,900.00
Total Eshkol Academy	2,366,512.17
Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance	44,220.00
Scotland Fundraiser	
Travel	102,335.37
Scotland Fundraiser - Other	47,890.85
Total Scotland Fundraiser	150,226.32
Spy Museum Fundraiser	
Reimbursed Donation	2,000.00
Expenses	36,144.72
Independent Contractors	62,791.84
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser	100,936.56
Total Charitable Activities	2,913,137.05
Contributions	59,500.00
Licenses and Permits	225.00
Professional Fees	
Bookkeeping	3,500.00
Accounting	32,182.47
Consulting	2,000.00
Legal Fees	1,956.00
Total Professional Fees	39,640.47
Registered Agent Expense	150.00
Taxes Expense	100.00
Total Expense	3,018,898.08
Net Ordinary Income	-859,957.13
Other Income/Expense	

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2003

8:13 AM
8/29/04
Assured Bank

Type	Date	Desc	Name	Name	Dr/Cr	Amount	Balance
Total Bank Service Charges						2,006.84	2,006.84
Charitable Activities							
Bank Accounts Debit							
Check	8/6/2003	1168	Larry Kramer, Ent	Eastern-800 Eschold Drive	Bank/Trust Bank	41,280.00	41,280.00
Check	7/10/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Larry Kramer, Ent	Twelve Purchase of 800 Eschold Drive	Bank/Trust Bank	207,200.00	247,280.00
Check	8/6/2003	10215	Stephen G. Cohen, LLC	Section 4 - Strategic services	Bank/Trust Bank	2,800.00	249,780.00
Check	8/21/2003	10223		Country Cash - Bank Accounts Debit	Bank/Trust Bank	7,492.00	257,272.00
Total Bank Service Charges						251,772.00	251,772.00
Bank/Trust Accounts							
Bank							
Check	8/4/2003	10017	Columbia Management Inc.	September Fund	Bank/Trust Bank	12,338.21	12,338.21
Check	10/10/2003	10020	Columbia Management Inc.	October Fund	Bank/Trust Bank	12,338.21	24,676.42
Check	11/10/2003	10021	Round Commercial Properties, LLC	November Fund	Bank/Trust Bank	12,313.33	36,989.75
Check	7/30/2003	10045	Round Commercial Properties, LLC	Letter # 07/18/03	Bank/Trust Bank	12,313.33	49,303.08
Check	12/08/2003	10025	Round Commercial Properties, LLC	Letter # 07/18/03	Bank/Trust Bank	12,313.33	61,616.41
Total Bank						61,816.41	61,816.41
Contributions							
Deposit	1/8/2003	DCMATE WH		Deposit of vote to Exhibit (see book value)	-SPLT-	18,870.00	18,870.00
Check	12/7/2003	Wire	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	100,000.00	116,870.00
Check	3/14/2003	Wire	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	80,000.00	196,870.00
Check	3/25/2003	Wire	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	150,000.00	346,870.00
Check	3/14/2003	Wire	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	80,000.00	426,870.00
Check	3/28/2003	Wire	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	120,000.00	546,870.00
Check	4/8/2003	WIRE DR	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	180,000.00	726,870.00
Check	4/28/2003	WIRE DR	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	400,000.00	1,126,870.00
Check	8/25/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	175,000.00	951,870.00
Check	8/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	150,000.00	801,870.00
Check	9/27/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	100,000.00	701,870.00
Check	7/28/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	100,000.00	601,870.00
Check	4/28/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	80,000.00	521,870.00
Check	8/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	100,000.00	421,870.00
Check	8/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	140,000.00	281,870.00
Check	8/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	160,000.00	121,870.00
Check	10/4/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	160,000.00	4,870.00
Check	10/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	300,000.00	2,870.00
Check	11/18/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	160,000.00	2,870.00
Check	12/12/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Assembly		Bank/Trust Bank	160,000.00	2,870.00
Total Contributions						2,131,870.00	2,131,870.00
Expenses							
Deposit	1/15/2003	VOID WIRE		To void Wire transfer to M Redwood transfer	Bank/Trust Bank	-16,800.00	-16,800.00
Check	3/25/2003	Wire	Psychology	educational materials	Bank/Trust Bank	84,270.86	69,970.86
Check	8/7/2003	1130	Ronald Yehoshua Lory	Restaurant - travel expenses	Bank/Trust Bank	1,500.00	71,470.86
Check	8/20/2003	10011	Dan Shue	Restaurant - travel expenses	Bank/Trust Bank	164.80	71,635.66
Check	10/20/2003	10254	Exhibit Assembly	Restaurants for meeting expenses	Bank/Trust Bank	8,600.00	80,235.66
Total Expenses						76,234.86	76,234.86
Ass Bank Debit							
Check	10/2/2003	1110	Dee Debrae Mackley, LLC		Bank/Trust Bank	1,000.00	1,000.00
Total Ass Bank Debit						1,000.00	1,000.00
Independent Contractors							
Check	3/6/2003	1136	Sam Hunt		Bank/Trust Bank	30,000.00	30,000.00
Check	8/10/2003	10258	Harry W. Lynch, Ent.	Wastewater - J Abneroff/Conrad	Bank/Trust Bank	6,000.00	36,000.00
Check	12/1/2003	10267	Leah Salzman	Consulting services	Bank/Trust Bank	50,000.00	86,000.00
Check	12/15/2003	10249	Leah Salzman	Consulting services	Bank/Trust Bank	8,000.00	94,000.00
Total Independent Contractors						94,000.00	94,000.00
Payroll & Related Exp							
Payroll & Related Exp/Leah							
Check	1/12/2003	1108	The Shores	Jan pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	4,000.00
Check	1/14/2003	1110	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	2,828.80	6,828.80
Check	1/22/2003	1130	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	7,000.00	13,828.80
Check	1/22/2003	1119	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	1,340.00	15,168.80
Check	1/26/2003	1122	The Shores	Feb pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	19,168.80
Check	3/9/2003	1127	Ralsh D Lugin	Mar pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	30.00	19,198.80
Check	3/25/2003	1130	The Shores	Apr pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	23,198.80
Check	3/25/2003	1134	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	2,500.00	25,698.80
Check	3/25/2003	1133	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	133.41	25,832.21
Check	3/19/2003	1144	Ralsh D Lugin	Ralsh Lugin's Amc2	Bank/Trust Bank	2,000.00	27,832.21
Check	4/1/2003	1140	The Shores	April pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	31,832.21
Check	4/1/2003	1132	The Shores	May pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	35,832.21
Check	8/25/2003	1181	The Shores	June pay #821, Ralsh D. Lugin	Bank/Trust Bank	4,000.00	39,832.21
Total Payroll & Related Exp/Leah						39,162.16	39,162.16
Leah D. Lugin							
Check	8/29/2003	1151	Ralsh David Lugin-1088	Services 12/16 01	Bank/Trust Bank	2,800.00	2,800.00
Check	8/29/2003	1140	Ralsh David Lugin-1088	Services 12/16 01	Bank/Trust Bank	2,800.00	5,600.00
Total Leah D. Lugin						5,600.00	5,600.00
Total Exhibit Assembly						2,946,812.17	2,946,812.17
Exhibit Direct Travel and Expenses							
Check	1/15/2003	Wire	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	3,800.00	3,800.00
Check	3/6/2003	Wire	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	3,800.00	7,600.00
Check	4/1/2003	WIRE DR	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	2,800.00	10,400.00
Check	4/25/2003	WIRE DR	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	1,800.00	12,200.00
Check	8/9/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	3,800.00	16,000.00
Check	8/6/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	1,800.00	17,800.00
Check	7/2/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	3,800.00	21,600.00
Check	8/4/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	1,800.00	23,400.00
Check	8/9/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	3,800.00	27,200.00
Check	8/25/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	2,300.00	29,500.00
Check	9/27/2003	WIRE DEBIT	Exhibit Bank 24	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Bank/Trust Bank	2,600.00	32,100.00

From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, January 05, 2004 9:25 AM
To: 'GRHalpern@[REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: Aeneas Enterprises, Inc.

Okay

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

From: GRHalpern@[REDACTED] GRHalpern@[REDACTED]
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <hookss@[REDACTED]>
Sent: Mon Jan 05 09:13:36 2004
Subject: Aeneas Enterprises, Inc.

pls make sure you have invoices from Aeneas Enterprises, Inc. for the transfer and check at year end. you will need to issue a1099 to it for the total amount.

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

Business: [REDACTED]
Fax: [REDACTED]
Email: grhalpern@[REDACTED]

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GRI00117

From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, January 05, 2004 12:38 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[REDACTED]'
Subject: RE: 1099 ?'s

No. I have not dealt with them directly. I hope to get all the file from before, etc and get my hands around them this week.

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

From: GRHalpern@[REDACTED]mailto:GRHalpern@[REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, January 02, 2004 12:38 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: 1099 ?'s

do you have complete name(or web site) for Fieldworks and American for Tax reform? I am trying to figure out if they need a 1099 or not.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[REDACTED]
Business: [REDACTED]
Fax: [REDACTED]
Email: grhalpern@[REDACTED]

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A E N E A S
ENTERPRISES

STATEMENT

January 5, 2004

Grassroots Interactive, LLC
[REDACTED]

Previous Balance	\$ 900,000
1/2/04 Payment received - Thank you	(\$ 900,000)
Balance due	\$0.00

6/8/2004

GRI 00053

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: January 8, 2004

RE: Request for January 2004 Retainer

Please remit January's retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

January 2004 Retainer	\$10,000.00
-----------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

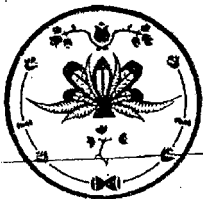
Please remit to:
Michael Chapman

[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:

[REDACTED]

date



The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe Of Michigan



January 23, 2004

Via Electronic & Certified Mail

Capital Campaign Strategies
Attn: Mike Scanlon



Dear Mr. Scanlon:

This is to inform you that the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe passed a motion today terminating the Consulting Agreement between your firm and the Tribe dated October 13, 2003 for a smoking ban. This termination is made due to your firm's material breach of contract and is effective immediately. This breach consisted of your firm's failure to provide the reports and work product required under the Agreement. Please return any confidential information concerning the Tribe acquired by your firm to the Legal Department at the above address.

Finally, all future communications by your firm to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe are to be directed solely to the attention of the Tribe's Legal Department.

Sincerely,

Audrey Falcon
Tribal Chief

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: February 5, 2004

RE: Request for February 2004 Retainer

Please remit February's retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

February 2004 Retainer	\$10,000.00
------------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:

Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]



[Redacted]
Facsimile [Redacted]
www.pattonbogggs.com

February 6, 2004

Robert K. Tompkins
rtompkins@ [Redacted]

VIA FACSIMILE AND CERTIFIED MAIL

Mr. Sean Reed
Legal Department
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan
[Redacted]

Re: Capital Campaign Strategies, LLC

Dear Mr. Reed:

This firm represents Capital Campaign Strategies, LLC, ("CCS") and is in receipt of Chief Falcon's January 23, 2004 letter to CCS on behalf of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan (the "Tribe"). We have also reviewed the October 13, 2003 Consulting Agreement ("Agreement") between the Tribe and CCS. Chief Falcon represents in her January 23, 2004 letter that the Agreement was terminated by the Tribe by a vote that same day. CCS hereby acknowledges receipt of the Tribe's notice of termination, and is directing this correspondence to you in accordance with Chief Falcon's instruction.

As you know, the Agreement required the Tribe to make a payment in the sum of \$2.755 million to CCS no later than December 1, 2003. Despite CCS's repeated requests that the Tribe meet its contractual obligations and pay this amount, the Tribe has failed to do so. Please contact me as soon as possible to discuss how the Tribe intends to remedy this serious breach.

In addition, Chief Falcon's letter incorrectly suggests that CCS committed a "material breach" of the Agreement by failing "to provide the reports and work product required under the Agreement." As the Tribe's records should clearly indicate, Chief Falcon's assertions are in error.

As you must be aware, the "Addendum" to the Agreement, which we understand you drafted and presented to CCS to sign, added the following language to the Agreement:



22. Presentations to Client

CCS agrees to submit three written reports to the Tribal Chief, Tribal Sub-Chief and Dr. Chris Petras detailing the status of work being performed under Phase I and Phase II of the Scope of Work (sic). Such reports shall be submitted on the following dates:

1. November 14, 2003;
2. May 14, 2004
3. August 6, 2004

The Addendum did not specify the form, length or content of such reports. In addition, no other deliverables were required under the terms of the Agreement.

In accordance with this requirement, CCS submitted a multi-page written report to the three individuals identified in Paragraph 22 on November 14, 2003. A copy of this report is attached, along with a Federal Express receipt and a printout from Federal Express acknowledging that a "R. Shafe" signed for the package at 11:28 a.m. on November 14, 2003. (See Attachment A). Though not specifically required to do so, CCS also transmitted copies of this report by facsimile on the same day. (See attachment B).

It is our understanding that then-Chief Kahgegab, Sub-Chief Pego, and Dr. Petras have all acknowledged receiving the November 14, 2003 report in a timely way. In addition to the November 14, 2003 Report, CCS frequently discussed the progress of this project with the Tribe's appointed representatives.

It is also significant that prior to Chief Falcon's January 23, 2004 letter, CCS has not received any specific criticism of its written report or any suggestion that it failed to meet its obligations under the Agreement.

Therefore, for each of these reasons, it is clear that Chief Falcon's letter misstates the facts in suggesting that CCS failed to provide the reports and work product required by the Agreement, or otherwise materially breached the Agreement. Please advise us immediately if the Tribe disagrees.

Finally, in accordance with the terms of the Addendum, the Tribe is required to provide 45 days written notice prior to terminating the Agreement. Clearly, the Tribe's termination came well after the December 1, 2003 payment to CCS was due, and the Tribe's notice of termination does nothing to absolve the Tribe of its obligation to make this payment.



Again, please contact me as soon as possible so that we can come to a sensible resolution of this matter. My contact information is listed herein.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robert K. Tompkins".

Robert K. Tompkins
Michael Klein
Patton Boggs, LLP
Counsel to Capital Campaign Strategies, LLC

cc: Mr. Michael Scanlon, CCS, LLC

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 10:21 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Saginaw - Recall Update

Great stuff.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd A. [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:20 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (SHld-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (SHld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Saginaw - Recall Update

As of Friday, Maynard had just under 200 signatures for the recall petition (250 is required). They are going to get 300 just to be sure. This was completed in less than one week, which is highly unusual because the Saginaw are a very slow moving tribe. Diana, who was originally on Maynard's team and then switched to Bernie has finally come back into the fold. Her family was planning on signing the petition this weekend.

Also, two of Bernie's guys on the council are scared and trying to get in Maynard's good graces....they don't know that they are also on the recall list.

Once the recall is completed, we are going to have to get a letter to BIA asking that they send monitors, etc, to the special election date. While council has to pick the special election date, it is unlikely that they will, so we may get Meskwaki Round II.

If Robert Pego wins the special election on the 11th for the vacant seat, we may actually have a majority and can at a minimum get Rosenthal fired.

This is confidential, obviously.

Todd A. Boulanger
Director of Government Affairs
Greenberg Traurig LLP
[REDACTED]

(p): [REDACTED]
(f): [REDACTED]
(c): [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 11, 2004 6:50 PM
To: Boutanger, Todd A [REDACTED]
Subject: petras called - 300 sigs by saturday!!

GTG-E000028364

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

No. 074982

63643
670

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc.

NOT NEGOTIABLE AFTER 90 DAYS FROM ISSUE
DATE 02/19/04 CHECK NO. 74982 AMOUNT \$ 5,000.00

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

#074982#

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 74982

Check Date: Feb 19/04

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
2/04/04		consulting fees	5,000.00

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

GTG005566-ACCT-AC

February 18, 2004

CHECK REQUEST

GAHLER & O.P.A.
04 FEB 19 PM 2:05

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT:


FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	57044.010100	Agua Caliente	Consulting fees	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
			TOTAL		

**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18

Payee: Sierra Dominion Financial Services
 Mail to Payee: Yes No
 Special Instructions and/or Remarks:
 Return to: JALCC

Signature: 
 Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(6) Court Filing fees	Payee Code: 
(2) Messenger	(8) Reconciling charges	CK#: _____
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	Date: _____
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of town	
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publication charges	
	(16) Legal expert & professional	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Mailed Copies	
	(20) Services Computer changes	
	(21) Court Reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transcript charges	
	(23) Subpoena Fees	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business meals	
	(26) Expenses from Courthouse	
	(27) Absence	
	(28) Facsimile	
	(29) Federal Express	
	(30) Local Counsel	
	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators	
	(32) Private Investigators	
	(33) Exhibits	
	(34) Lit. Sup. Vendors	

DC

GTG005567-ACCT-AC

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>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk>; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd>

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>
 To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme>; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd>

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

5/24/2004

5/24/2004

GTG-E000255216

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 embarrassment. 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

5/24/2004

5/24/2004

GTG-E000255217

From: Matt DeMazza [mailto:matt@mattdemazza.com]
 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: <matt@mattdemazza.com>
 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 <matt@mattdemazza.com>
 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: <matt@mattdemazza.com>
 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 <matt@mattdemazza.com>
 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: <matt@mattdemazza.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kringk@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: <mattdemazza@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kringk@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: <mattdemazza@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kringk@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: <mattdemazza@redskins.com>
 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@redskins.com>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kringk@redskins.com>
 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. <[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

From: [REDACTED]
 Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 7:33 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: transcription as text

Not as bad as I expected
 Aic seems different in piece than you described
 Next steps?

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 To: [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tue Feb 17 16:58:05 2004
 Subject: FW: transcription as text

-----Original Message-----
 From: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 03, 2004 10:07 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: transcription as text

Interview with Susan Schmidt

Present: Jack Abramoff, Jill Perry, Allen Foster, Kevin Ring, Todd Boulanger, Jon van Horne

SS: As I'm sure you know I'm working on a story about your work with some of these gaming tribes and your relationship with Mike Scanlon and his company and the work that two of you have done in tandem for some of the tribes and so that what's I want to talk to you about. Basically, the thing that I have discovered in reporting on some of this is that you guys are, between the two of your firms, making an unprecedented amount of money from these tribes. Mostly, the lion's share to Scanlon's company. So, I want to ask you, basically what your relationship is with his firm, well he's got several firms. As I understand it from the tribes that I've talked to you guys work together and you recommend that they hire him and I'm curious as to what you think he is bringing to the tribes, what you bring to the tribes, what your role is, what his role is and maybe you could talk about that.

JA: I think we're going to be a liberty to chat about Greenberg practice in general and our practice with the tribes. In terms of Mike or any other third party, you know 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, and so probably best to have you go ahead and check directly with him and if you have specific questions again, we'll take them and we'll look at them, but in general I think we feel at liberty to discuss in general our practice, which we're delighted to do, with the tribes. We represent, gosh, probably, eight tribes, nine tribes, something of that nature. And, our activities primarily for them at Greenberg take place in Washington, DC, and these tribes often times do have other issues that involve other vendors, Scanlon's company I guess being one of them, that take place in their state and other places like that.

SS: Okay, but you basically recommend to these tribes that they hire him?

JA: We have recommended that different tribes hire different vendors for different needs that they might have. Again, I'm going to defer in terms of any discussion of Scanlon or

his company or any specific third party vendor. I'm sure you'll have an opportunity to discuss directly with them and with the tribe. They have their own direct relationships that you'll be able to discuss with them.

SS: Well, do you recommend his company and do you know what they are doing for the tribes and do you endorse what he's doing?

JA: Well, again I think that some of this gets into the area of our confidential dealings with our clients so I'm happy, we'll go back and look at that question.

SS: I mean, is Scanlon a client?

JA: No, our tribes are clients.

SS: But, do you endorse his methods and his company...

JA: We're not really in a position of...other than, offering to our various clients, when they have needs that we can't fulfill, depending on the situation a variety of vendors outside the firm who would do that, whether a be a banking, a merchant bank or a grassroots organization which might be some of the stuff that Scanlon does and others by the way as well, other grassroots companies, or media companies or whatever they may be. But, I think in all cases the outside vendors with the client is their relationship with the client and not probably appropriate for us to discuss on their behalf.

SS: Do you have an ownership stake in Capitol Campaign Strategies or Scanlon Gould or any of Mike Scanlon's other ventures?

JA: No. No, I don't, but again I don't really want to be in a, I'm happy for you to ask questions, you know we're not in the practice on commenting on the third party vendors that, in terms of, other than with discussions with clients. Again, I'm happy to take in all the various questions you have about Scanlon or any of the other vendors but beyond what we've just discussed, I really don't think it's appropriate for me to go beyond that.

SS: So you don't have any ownership stake in any ...

JA: I've answered that, and I really again, I don't want to go beyond that with you. I said I don't. I don't have any.

SS: Okay, alright. You know, this is so much at the heart of what I want to ask you about. Because you are a big connected Washington lobbyist that goes out to these tribes, unsophisticated people often and you are selling your access to people in Washington and they're buying that for a very large fee and then you're recommending this other guy and saying bring him in 3 or 4 times what you're charging, which is already pretty high. So, I guess that's the essence of what I'm going to be writing about so anything that you want to say about that...

JA: Well let me tell you generally, if I can, and [question to Allen Foster] tell me if this is a appropriate in a general context about what we do for the tribes and sometimes their needs to have more political activities in their states where they have other situations in their states, which is not always the case, but in certain cases where the tribe might have, for example, a need to have their compact re-negotiated or they may have competition issues in their state with other gaming entities or entities that are hostile to gaming. Generally, what we do is a number of projects, I can't think of too many tribes that we have gone out to solicit their business, most of the clients that we have have come to us and they ask our help for legislation and specific needs on Washington as the tribes have a government to government relationship with the federal government and so we have developed a practice that in part specializes in dealing with tribes and helping tribes protect tribal sovereignty in Washington and has an ability to assist the individual tribes that we are engaged by in their efforts to improve their relationships across the board, both in the Congress and the Administration and other policy makers, Republican, Democrat, House and Senate basically there are a lot of folks who the tribes generally desire to have more knowledge about what their activities are and specifically about history and sovereignty, tribal sovereignty which is generally misunderstood, I think it's less misunderstood now than when we started this, which we actually started at a previous firm

SS: Uh hum.

JA: then I came here. I've been doing this since 1995 with the tribes. So that is, we're generally invited in to talk to a tribe that either is not satisfied with it's Washington representation or generally desires to have some sort of better approach to the federal government. And frequently, these tribes are in a situation where they have a specific need. Sometimes those specific needs are macro needs fighting, for example, to preserve sovereignty on the tax issue to ensure that tribes are not taxed either at the state level or federal level being the government

SS: Are you talking about the fee for regulation or

JA: No, I'm talking about, no, when we actually started this, the first issue we were involved in on behalf of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians was the, a UBIT tax on tribal gaming enterprises. There was a proposition that was approved into the 1995 budget reconciliation by the House which put a tax on tribes. So, we were engaged by the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians who recognize that most of the lobbyists at that point for tribes only had dealings with the Democrats and that the new majority Republicans didn't have anybody talking to them and we were basically approached by the Choctaws at our old firm and were successful in dealing with that. As time developed tribes would have us involved in many more issues, for example, the Choctaw at first just wanted us involved in that one issue...garbled...a lot of other lobbyists and lawyers involved and we said that's fine we'll handle this and we had some success and expanded our activities with them and have been with them almost 10 years now continuing strong.

SS: What was that specific tax issue.

JA: It was a UBIT, unrelated business income tax for tribal gaming enterprises, you know Indian gaming. And it was in the House reconciliation, budget reconciliation bill. We can, we can, it's been written about a lot we can get you our efforts on that, we can certainly get you some more...

SS: And that saved the tribe a lot of money?

JA: Saved all tribes 30% of their revenue. It was passed by the House written as a 30% across the board tax of all tribal gaming enterprises and it was fairly widely recognized that we were the ones who put together the approach that helped to defeat that. Which was a message to Conservatives to say, look, tribes are not your enemy and a tax is your enemy under every circumstance and so many of the Conservative activists groups were able to get active and House leadership, who had previously not been, frankly, very active for tribes or on behalf of tribes, particularly DeLay recognized that they were in the process of putting forward a tax which was abhorrent of course philosophically to Republicans and they took a leadership stand in conference as we were able to work on the Senate and so we were able to defeat that. And subsequently year after year for awhile. Eventually in the late 90s the effort to tax tribes sort of receded a bit, Chairman Archer made it sort of stone issue of his approaches each year but he of course retired and Congress came in and it's been a little less active, even Congressman Istook had an effort for a number of years which we fought which was to basically arrange state taxes of tribes and we fought that. We've fought a lot of issues on behalf of all Indian country and at the beginning when we first became active on behalf of tribes we were very active, and we still do it to this day. You know, we happen to have a very strong practice here on behalf of these issues, we're very emotionally committed to them and we have tribes, even tribes that we represent today, some of them, I know that you had a comment about our fees, some of our clients, we didn't charge any fees when they weren't in a position to be able to paying these fees. We are a business obviously, so we can't do too much of that, but we do an awful lot of it. We've just recently ... with a tribe in Iowa called the Meskawki, the Sac and Fox tribe, where we helped the people of the tribe, almost unanimously they overturned a very corrupt tribal council and the group that we were working on behalf of in trying to help the voice of the people in their recall of this tribal council get ratified, we didn't accept any money from them. We thought that their money should go to their tribal members, what little they had. The group that was in power was siphoning money off, in fact, including paying a lobbyist in DC 300,000 a month out of Dorsey and Whitney or something like that or one of the firms and so you know we are very emotionally committed to them, we've put together a very strong team to help the tribes and that's why we don't have a lot of tribal clients because we tend to be very involved with each of the

tribes we have, we're also very careful not to have conflicts which other firms, I don't know if you've sort of look at the world of representation of tribes or not, sometimes firms will take a whole bunch of tribes all around each other and those inevitably will bring conflicts. I mean, they are competing nations, they're not, there isn't one big Indian nation, it is 500...

SS: Now are you not getting fees now from the Sac and Fox tribe.

JA: We are now and what I'm guess I'm saying is we are business, we charge fees, we are expensive, we are successful. I don't think any of the clients we have worked, I mean they stay with us a long time, other than if elections, and there have been some tribes and some other targets?, elections will bring you a new council and they'll have their own people and that kind of thing...

SS: How did you get involve in trying to out the corrupt tribal council?

JA: We were approached by the tribal council that now exists who were being led by the traditional leader, their traditional chief, apparently, well I guess it's fairly well proven at the point, the council that had been elected was involved with some rather difficult matters in terms of, I don't know if it was a shadow employee...

JV: regardless of what caused it, the members of the tribe wanted a recall election
JA: And they came to us

JV: and the existing tribal council refused to follow the Constitutional procedures for the recall and basically we worked with those who wanted the recall to make it happen

SS: And what did you do for it?

JA: Well we worked very hard with Congress, educating Congress and educating the Bureau of Indian Affairs and others about what was going on there. I should note that Senator Grassley from the state was very active, Harkin was very active there was fairly unanimous view in the state that the council that had taken power and was abusing the system had to go once the people had decided that and they were using processes to defeat the real people there and eventually the BIA and the rest stepped in and basically forced an election which they resoundly lost. SO when we were approached by the traditional chief and the other folks, yeah, they said, look we don't have, you're expensive, we read in all the papers and we don't have money, we said look, we're not in this for money only, I mean we are a business we can't do everybody for free but we do many of our clients, at least for awhile we try to help them along on basically in that case a no fee basis, same thing with Massachusetts, the Mashpee tribe who we've been trying to help we basically we don't want to have a fee from them until we get them to a point where they're in good stead and they've actually insisted that we take a little fee so we're taking a tiny fee, I forgot what the number is from them

TB: 5 or 10 thousand

JA: Yeah, 5 or 10 a month out of dignity and pride they felt that they did not want to have us working for free. I only bring all this up to say they we are very passionately committed to this. WE don't feel that we have the emotional strength to take on 50 tribal clients there are 50 tribes who've contacted us, we just don't take every tribe on. We try to take on tribes where we think we can be helpful, we try to take on tribes where the issues are interesting and meaningful in the overall debate, we try to take on tribes also that sort of fit the criterion of being real tribes that are good with their neighbors that are really helpful to the environment of the state they're in and many cases have been unfairly dealt with. And in some cases, by the way, where those tribes are unfairly dealt with, they need more than just us. And they need to have, for example, to be politically organized in the state which is why are vendors come in, including Scanlon and others to work on that and help them get organized. Some of these tribes, for example, have a compact, gaming compact renewable every certain period of time and they'll come in, these outside grassroots types groups and they'll do a fairly massive effort on behalf of the tribe and we intensive those tribes and that a tribe should be organized politically and that a tribe should be having their supporters whether it members, employees, their vendors, their customers and whoever has positive interaction with the tribe, all of those people we firmly believe need to be part of the tribal family and communicate their

message to the powers that be so that the tribes don't continue to be mistreated as they've been for centuries in this country and one of the ways that they can avail themselves of doing that is by massive political organization and basically being the biggest political stick on the block and that's I'm sure you're eluding to in terms of fees and things like that of Scanlon and others who do that. But again, we don't do that, we don't have the capacity really in the state, we're really only here and you know there have to be outside folks who...

SS: Are there big pressing issues right now before the Congress or uh...?

JA: Yeah, there always are, there, invariably, at one point or another, somewhere between 20 and 40 bills that are meaningful to the tribes. For example, right now we're engaged in the effort to on the internet taxation of cigarettes. Where the tribal sovereignty, thanks to an interest group out there that's been conveniently a foe of the tribes the Convenience Store Operators, they've made and this was the other source the Istook tax effort, they've made efforts to sort of rope in the tribes in a bill that's not really relevant to them and hurt tribal sovereignty, so we have mounted up and we're riding and working very hard to ensure that this bill, which is a bill supported by a wide coalition, I don't know if you're following that at all, but everything from the anti-smoking groups to the cigarette companies, but this bill doesn't ...garbled...would surround hurt the tribes

SS: Now what, how would it hurt the tribes?

JA: Well, um, I don't know...

JV: [interrupting] it would allow the, allow states basically to sue the tribes which they can't do now over enforcement of something called the Jenkins act which is federal law allowing for state taxation of cigarettes and also to prevent smuggling cigarettes without state tax, the coalition behind it argues that it's for preventing terrorist ...garbled... financing their activities and to prevent access to really cheap cigarettes which would allow minors to start smoking so it's anti-smoking as well as anti-terrorism front the convenience store people just snuck in this thing to beat up on tribes because they thing is that tribes are treated unfairly because they don't pay state tax not because they are sovereigns of the government and in fact that's really not an issue because virtually every tribe that does any significant business of its own has a compact with the state as to how to deal with tax issues, state tax issues. There are state where the state and the tribes have agreed the states simply won't try to collect any and other states where the collection is done at the distributor level and not at the retail, there's other states where the tribes have agreed to collect the same amount of tax that the state does in order to have an even playing field for retail sales. So those issues really don't exist in reality they're simply used as an effort to develop for a trade association but in this particular at the Senate it was called a pact, but I can't remember what it's called its 2428

KR: But it's a bigger deal than that, I mean that's the issue, it's a bigger issue

JV: Buried in that is the ability for states to force this against the tribe in state or federal court or get the feds to do it for them and in a situation which would really impose on the tribe's ability to operate as a government. And I guess that's where we're coming from, that they're a real government, they provide real services to their people across the board whether it's education, health care, elder care, law enforcement, judicial services, they are a complete government and they deserve the respect of the complete government because they really provide services to their members and they represent truly a different culture now from the rest of the country and

SS: Who's pushing this bill, who's bill is this?

JA: Well the aspect that goes against the tribes is the National Association of Convenience Stores but there is a big coalition pushing to the overall issue

JV: Yeah, there's other issues too

JA: That particular aspect of it is being pushed by the National

TB: The Senate bill doesn't include that provision which passed

JV: Yeah, the Senate bill

TB: I think that's 1177

JV: Yeah

TB: We worked on that legislation

JV: Yeah the Senate bill as it got passed has provisions in it to protect the tribes and the tribes really want to be, go along with the states, help the states in enforcing this, because they don't, they have the same health care concerns, they have the same concerns about terrorism, so they want to be participants in this not the victims of it. And, the Senate bill provides for it and the House bill does and the House bill still contains provisions that would prevent the tribes from

SS: So that, so this is, this is the biggest thing going right now?

JA: This is one of the macro fights. Each year, in the beginning they were all macro fights, meaning all issues that are going to dramatically impact sovereignty and there'd be dozens of them at a time that we, whether it's ICWA, Indian Child Welfare Act, or it would be on tribal courts and what would generally happen is there'd be some tribes of the 550+ tribes that would probably step over the bounds of good dealings with neighbors and that would generate an attack on all of Indian country from members either in or around that area and so even though well over 90% of the tribes were not doing whatever that is, that one excuse would be used as the reason to legislate. So we spend a good deal of time on that. Now here's, this is an example of a macro issue it effect all the tribes. Actually, ironically, it doesn't impact that much our tribes as much because our tribes have worked out all their deals

JV: Tax compacts

JA: From the beginning of our practice of tribal governments we used to only represent the Choctaw, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. And the Choctaw would have us go out and fight on behalf of smaller tribes and on behalf of Indian country in general because Chief Martin of the Choctaws felt that a lot of tribes weren't as fortunate as the Choctaws had become through his leadership and wanted to have a force out there that was powerful to help them and so we still do that actually on behalf for smaller tribes who have difficulties. But then eventually we actually they asked us to look at helping a tribe in Louisiana and who asked us to look at another tribe in Louisiana and then we sort of expanded a little bit and we wound up always carefully agreeing to who we would represent or not represent ensuring that we didn't overlap, we didn't want to have two tribe were at fisticuffs with each other we didn't want to get involved in that, we don't want to get involved in internal tribal issues and things like that. People would sometimes love to have us get involved but we just don't want to get involved in that. We are good at working here in Washington on behalf of Indian country in general and on behalf of our tribes specifically on macro issues and on issues that relate directly to those tribes and that's what we're trained to do and that's what we're good at and that's what we stay focused on and we're very proud of our practice, frankly, we think we've done a lot of good.

SS: Now do you ever get involved in creating committees that lobby get out public opinion against a rival tribe, gaming interest for example, you know environmental group opposes the creation of our casino proposed by a rival tribe or the Christian Coalition religious groups?

JA: We have, in our efforts on behalf of tribes, we do everything we can to help the tribes we're working on working with in DC and we try to obviously everything we can within the bounds of legality and morality we try to be sensitive wherever possible to other tribes. We don't like to see tribes fighting each other. Unfortunately, sometimes tribes do fight each other and sometimes it gets very public, for example in Louisiana, you know the tribe down there the Jena band of Choctaw Indians -- though they're not related to the Choctaws other than historically -- made a very big effort with the governor there to put a casino between one of our main clients and their market, and our clients, and the other tribes by the way, were very upset about this and most of Indian country

that was involved was also very concerned about the tribe being used by the governor, Governor Foster down there to basically seek vengeance on our client who he never quite got the pound of flesh from that he had hoped in his efforts to attack the tribe. So we have in DC actively worked where appropriate and that has again been widely reported I think that was in a NY Times article done a couple of years ago as well and that issue continues to flare up the Jena has, I think Patton Boggs and few other firms they hired to help them so they're continually trying to get things going there's a whole entanglement down there business wise, I don't know if you've followed that at all...

SS: What have you done on their behalf?

JA: I can't get into certain specific things other than what's been in the press, just let me say that we have done in DC, but we don't work, look we are a lobby firm in Washington DC, look, I should say this, our DC office, we do have lobby shops in 6 or 8 of our offices in Boston and New York and places like that so there is, the firm does do lobby in Tallahassee and places like that. Louisiana is not one of the places we do have, I don't think they have an office, we don't have an office in Louisiana. And, we are not lobbyists in Louisiana and we don't you know have any impact on Louisiana, we have impact here and so on behalf of our tribe in Louisiana we have been on the same side on the Jena issue as those are generally opposed to gaming including I guess Christian Coalition, I'm not sure how active they were or not in that effort and they generally don't tend to bring their effort here, those kind of groups tend to be more active in the states but we...

SS: How often do you find your interests pairing up with the Christian Coalition?

JA: Well not frequently, they're not the biggest fans of tribal gaming and we don't really, I don't think we really maintain any contact with Christian Coalition here. I'm not even certain what the status, I mean Ralph Reed who used to head Christian Coalition used to work for me and I'm you know...garbled...he's out of Christian Coalition I'm not even certain who heads Christian Coalition right now, but they're not, they don't figure into our efforts here. It would be a little tough for us to march up to the Hill saying we're the Christian Coalition or we're, you know support us cause we're just like the Christian Coalition, I mean we're fairly well known as lobbyists on the gaming issues. And we don't hold like the Christian Coalition does that gaming is wrong and evil. Now, frequently in Washington people coming from two different sides of an issue find themselves on the same side, for example the cigarette companies and the anti-smoking groups just mentioned before and you know we will sometimes find ourselves on the same side of issues with them as well, but I don't think they would in any way consider themselves our ally.

SS: And, are you involved in supporting financially some of these committees that oppose or that your tribes are opposed to on a gaming issue, for example, there are environmentalists groups, anti-smoking groups, Christian Coalition, do you instruct the tribe or bank roll any of those groups.

JA: Let me again say that in terms of the communications with the tribes I'm just going to defer on responding to that but let me say that I personally have a long history or involvement with all sorts of Conservative member groups. I was myself chairman of a number of them, not Christian Coalition, I'm Jewish, but Toward Tradition which is actually one of the Conservative, religious conservative groups that is Jewish oriented I was chairman of myself. We weren't involved, and I don't think they've ever been involved in gaming issues or anything of that nature. I have personally contributed when Ralph was starting Christian Coalition back in '89 or '88, I personally contributed to it even though I'm not a member of Christian Coalition, but I can certainly speak to that. There are groups that are out there in the Conservative movement that have been active on these issues, they have their own reasons to be active on these issues again in terms of Christian Coalition and the other religious conservative groups they've openly been against and hostile to every form of gaming forever at least as I know, at least since gaming became an issue on a federal basis. I don't think until IGRA gaming was a federal issue.

SS: But sometimes that serves your purposes and the tribes...

JA: Well, again, you know politics, the nature of politics is such that we find ourselves at times allied for the same result on a short term issue with groups that we don't...

necessarily agree with.

SS: Do you think it's proper for a tribe to conceal it's true support, you know it's true backing of a group that's lobbying against a casino?

JA: I'm unaware of a tribe that's done that, do you have an example of

SS: Well, a sort of about in Louisiana uh,

JA: Okay, I'm unaware of a tribe making an attempt to conceal it's support

SS: The in Michigan, the Saginaw Chippewa, I think there was a petition drive...

JA: In the state of Michigan?

SS: Yeah.

JA: Okay, so we wouldn't have been involved in that.

SS: I guess it would have been Scanlon posing as an environmental group.

JA: I have zero knowledge of this, in terms of what he did in the state of Michigan, we are not, we are not active with the third party vendors of the tribes. We do what we do and what we did and what we did on behalf of Saginaw and do or did up until the end of our representation with them focused a lot on their needs in Washington, the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe prior to our representation had never really been able to develop it's federal government relationship. We worked very hard to get them appropriations, appropriate appropriations and to help correct federal governments dealings with everything from their tribal college to health care and housing and things like that. That was our mandate, again we don't do activities in states as much as we are active in Washington DC that's primarily our expertise.

SS: So, can you then tell me a little bit about some of the groups that you recommend tribes donate to in addition to political parties, but there are some groups that are sort of mystery groups like this American International Center which is a big client or was a big client here, CREA, Coalition of Republican Environmental Activists, Capital Athletic Foundation, Citizens for Tax Reform.

JA: Citizens for Tax Reform, is that the group, Citizens for Tax Reform?

SS: Yeah.

JA: Well, again, I'm going to defer in terms of our specific advice we give to the clients. You know, and note the question and see if we can respond on that.

SS: Oh, what about American International Center, I mean since you represent them.

JA: All the more so, I'm going to have to defer on both sides on that.

SS: I mean they look like a, some sort of a, very strange operation that had no apparent business. They're located at Mike Scanlon's house in Rehoboth, tribes, tribe in Louisiana is giving money to this organization and this organization is hiring you guys as lobbyists, you know what's this all about.

JA: Yeah, I'm going to, I'm going to defer discussing that again, you know we've got the question and you know if we can we'll get back to you on that.

SS: Is there somebody at AIC that you would recommend that I talk to?

JA: Well, why don't we come back to you on that?

SS: Okay. What about this Coalition for Republican Environmental Activism, this was a group Gale Norton was involved with and Grover Norquist and is involved with, why have the tribes the give to that group.

JA: Our uh, I'm going to give you a general approach for all our tribes and our tribal

practice on this. We from the beginning have strongly recommended to our tribes where appropriate and they're able that they support Republicans, obviously we're a bi-partisan practice and our tribes support Democrats as well, Republicans and Democrats, and particularly Republicans because Indian country has traditionally not been supportive of Republicans in the same context Conservatives and conservative organizations. We feel that tribal support and friendship for the network of free market activists would benefit the Indian country in general in the sense of strengthening the free market approach and the anti-tax approach and the basic conservative approach would benefit and strengthen members' ability to appreciate the fact that tribes are also engaged in the same ideological and philosophical efforts that conservatives are. Basically saying look, we want to be left alone we want to be able succeed and not with the interference of the state governments to impede our enterprises and things like that so we have consistently encouraged our tribes, and by the way, its not just out tribes, we encourage all of our clients to be very politically active, its one of the aspects of our representations with them that where appropriate and where legal and where they're capable, we are very strong advocates of our clients being full participants in the political system. That not only includes giving hard money contributions where they're allowed to candidates or to chairman of the committees, which is a frequent act in Washington DC, but also to the underlying philosophical and activist groups that sort of bolster in this case the conservative movement and the Republican members many of whom sprung from these ideological groups and activist organizations.

SS: Well, some of these groups though, it's a mystery as to what their political involve is. I mean, is for example, AIC is that a political organization.

JA: Well, I'm going to defer on commenting on any of the individuals if that's okay and just sort of leave my

SS: Do you know if any of these organizations move money into 527s or

JA: I'm unaware of any organization moving any money into anywhere. I mean we're not involved in that way. I don't know what the law is and I don't know what they do. I'm sure investigations can figure that out but I don't have any knowledge of what ...

SS: Are you aware of any ongoing investigation into this?

JA: Nah, I meant you.

SS: Actually, you know, it's structured in such a way to be quite well concealed.

JA: I can't comment on that, I don't know how it's structured and I'm not aware of any grand plan to do such things.

SS: The Capital Athletic Foundation, I mean that sounds like a local group here.

JA: Well again, let me defer on commenting on each of the individual groups that may or may not have been involved with the tribes and see if we can past it.

SS: I mean, you won't even say what that is.

JA: Well, I think once we start discussing one of the groups it's going to be very tough for me to say I can't discuss all the groups and I just prefer to be able to discuss with the client where they feel it's appropriate we talk about their contribution patterns and other than what's publicly available and things like that.

SS: Just overall though, your fees and the obviously the fees that Scanlon gets are you know so dwarf anything that other lobbyists get other you know Indian gaming lobbyist too, I mean is there you know a tribe that's paying 10 or 15k a month is suddenly then paying 180K a month plus expenses, what's the justification for that, what is your, you know, what do you bring to the job that other lobbyists don't?

JA: Well, I think we bring in an order of magnitude in terms of our success and our approach on behalf of the tribe. 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, meaning that these lobbyists who give 20 or 30K a month to ultimately don't get them

anything or they don't enable them to improve their federal government relations on a significant basis. Our tribes, I think if you spoke to them, and actually we'd like to give you a list of the tribes and contact names and numbers and invite you to do so, you obviously may have done so already I don't know, but in case you haven't, we're happy to have you do it, here are basically the folks from the tribes that we work with. One of them is no long a client on that list which is the Saginaw Chippewa but our tribes, virtually all of them, have come to us after failing with the firms small or big, by the way, they charge them a little bit of money and get them nowhere and what they get with us a total dedication to their goals and agenda and then success. I think the clients are best to speak to whether or not we're worth what we charge. I would think that if we had issues in that regard we wouldn't be having our clients for year after year after year as we do. Other than in the case of elections, our clients do not disengage us. They ask us to increase our activities with them.

SS: You know, isn't there some, you know concern about outside people getting involved in tribal elections and isn't that frowned upon by the regulators here in Washington?

JA: I'm sorry I don't understand, tribal elections?

SS: Getting involved in tribal elections outside firms, outside influences, bringing money or expertise or whatever, getting involved in tribal elections getting people ousted, getting people elected, getting people re-elected using tribal funds for that purpose.

JA: Well I don't know, I'm not sure I understand the question, do you mean with the Sac and Fox in Iowa, or our getting involved?

SS: No, I was actually thinking of the Agua Caliente, some people running for election getting dominance on the tribal council and then bringing you guys in and you guys bringing Scanlon in sort of unfolding

JA: With Agua Caliente, I, you can check, but I don't think the tribal council makeup has changed much over the years, I'm not certain

SS: Well it's changed enough so that I think you guys were hired, I mean

JA: Well, I don't know that we were hired for the tribal council change, I think you should check the makeup, I'm sure you can easily do it, call them, the makeup of the individuals on the tribal council has fairly, I mean one or two off and on over time, but my understanding of why they came to us, at least as to what we were told, was that they were unhappy with the lobbyist they had, they had some specific issues they were going nowhere on and we have engaged on those issues and again I invite you to call the Chairman of the tribe who's been Chairman for a long time, well before we were there and discuss with him whether he thinks we are worth keeping on, I mean they are continuing to keep us on, and by the way, I should also note to you in virtually every circumstance other than where the tribe has required it, our arrangement is very much unlike a lot of these other lobbyists, most of the lobbyists say we want a one year/ two year contract, our deal is, with every client that we have, except where the client demands it for their own reasons of governance, is that if they're unhappy with us, they don't have to wait a year, they can fire us that minute and we're gone. That's the deal we have and have certainly have that to my knowledge with Agua Caliente and I'm not aware of any tribal election shifting in Agua Caliente at all. I mean I think uh

SS: Is it the 5 member council?

JA: There's a 5 member council. I don't, I think there's basically been the chairman, Barbara, Jeanette, Moraino and Virginia and Candace who is Moraino's cousin are one year off, one year on, but that they've been the same, to my knowledge, for years, or at least before we got there. They came to us basically, specifically complaining about their lobbyist in Washington, who I think was charging them 30K a month or something like that and not delivering things to them, and uh

SS: What is it that they wanted here?

JA: Well, they were, they had a number of issues, one was the post office, they had

dealings with the post office, that's the one I specifically remember, maybe we can get Duane in here unless you guys remember any of the other issues. They had very tough dealings with the post office and were promised continually to have this dealt with on a Washington DC level and nothing ever happened. In fact, the lobbyist who they had, I won't mention any names, nice enough guy, he actually tried to get the then Chairman of the committee that dealt with the post office, Dan Burton at that time, to visit the tribe continually and couldn't get him to go and he actually called me and asked me to help, we had nothing to do with the tribe at that point, and I called Dan on his behalf and got Dan to visit the tribe. I didn't know where the tribe was back then, and then a couple years later after still nothing happening, that was one of the reasons they came to us and they asked me to come and I went out and they were also they had lots of issues, some of which we couldn't deal with, there were banking issues that we subsequently got, I think we recommended some folks to them on banking issues and other matters of that nature, but um.

SS: Do you remember what the post office issue was?

JA: I don't off the top of my head, but Jon.

JV: A lot of these issues, I'm not sure we can get into specific details on that, but a lot of these issues have to do with the status of their land whether it's taken into trust or not because as these tribes develop economically, in order to grow, they need to, oh wait a minute, cause what I say is very important. Like I was saying, a lot of these issues deal with land in trust...garbled...which are ultimately controlled here in Washington even though they relate to real estate at the particular reservation or location of the tribe. I'm not, I think indirectly this one may have dealt with the land in trust issue. They have other land in trust issues, other tribes, in fact most of the tribes we deal with have land in trusts issues which are very difficult and are a constant problem because of the BIA bureaucracy and

JA: I should also note

JV: And its not just gaming its for all purposes. Whether we have I mean one tribe that wants to take land into trust for a clinic for crying out loud and BIA keeps losing their application.

JA: In fact, let me highlight why it is tribes like Agua approach us when those are their issues. We were successful in legislatively moving 8000+ acres for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw into trust legislatively because the BIA since 1927 has been delaying them claiming that they lost their application almost a dozen times probably and really was bad faith and finally Chief Martin, the head of the tribe, asked us to deal with this with Congress, which is not usually the first avenue approach of relief. But, when you have an agency acting in that manner that significance, we went ahead and were successfully able to do that thanks to Senator Cochran and others but I think that that was so extraordinary in Indian country that an act like that was able to happen that, you know frankly, a lot of tribes that do approach us, do approach us on land in trust issues and we don't agree to represent them because we feel that what they're going after is really not necessarily something we want to be involved with on a gaming basis or something of that nature. 8000+ acres for the Choctaws included everything from their reservation which looked like a chess board, you know filling in some pieces, to health care clinics, senior citizens homes and other things like that that were outside their reservation and as a consequence, the federal programs that go to help these people couldn't apply and so we worked legislatively to do it so I think that some of the Agua interests regarded that and we're working, obviously to successfully include for them dealings on these piece type matter as well. But that's why we're approached by tribes. We're approached by tribes cause we have a reputation of being able to succeed in certain areas where perhaps some others can't. And we've been very fortunate, frankly to be involved with tribes, we consider it to be one of the great experiences of our lives, all of us, especially those of us, like myself who come from a conservative Republican background who did not have exposure to native Americans really in anyway politically during my whole political upbringing. I told Chief Martin the first time I talked to him on the phone that I'm perfect for him because the very people that are doing this to him are just like me, they'd never really had an occasion to even learn about the tribes. Education in America is woefully inadequate about the history of the tribes and about Native Americans and I was a product of that so I certainly yes in the mindset of the members who thought like that and so therefore it was possible for us to

think outside the box and to help the tribes in ways that those lobbyists who had spent years in very, in a very fine way laboring on behalf of the tribes couldn't quite conceive with the new majority. And that's sort of how we got into things.

SS: Have you, you know the Coushatta tribe in Louisiana, you know been the topic down there of all kinds of reports about financial mismanagement huge amounts of money sort of disappearing. The FBI is investigating, there's an internal memo down there created, I guess last May by the outgoing comptroller saying that they'd spent 32 million on lobbying in the past couple of years and the lion's share of it, one of the tribal council members told me, went to Scanlon through you.

JA: Well, the money that we receive from the tribe is all reported in our lobbying...garbled...and is publicly available

SS: Right

JA: And is not anywhere near 32 million dollars. I don't know how much Scanlon or any other vendor for any other service received down there, that's not our business and we don't get involved in that. But, all money that we received were dutifully reported on our lobbying disclosure forms and are publicly available. If you don't have them already and can't get them, we'd certainly be happy to help.

SS: I have them.

JA: Okay

SS: I mean, I bring up the Scanlon thing because his fees are not reported anywhere.

JA: Have you talked to Scanlon?

SS: Not yet.

JA: Okay, well. When, I'm sure he'll have something to say. But we, we, I don't have you know capacity to respond for Scanlon.

SS: I mean I bring it up to you because you have a reputation he does not and you go out in the countryside and urge that people hire him and so, sort of your seal of approval means something um, you are connected to people in the leadership of the Congress and the White House and so when you say hire this guy that carries some weight and if this guy is charging tribes you know 10 million dollars for junk um that is something I would think that you would be concerned about and your law firm would be concerned about and that's why I'm bringing it up to you.

JA: Well, let me say this if I can, certainly in the case of Coushatta's and many of the tribes where we have recommended third party vendors to help them, I'm unaware of any tribe in any way being dissatisfied with those vendors. I would assume they would contact us and complain to things of that nature. The, uh, certainly, I have never received any contact from the Chairman of Coushatta or the others that I recall Mike Scanlon or other third party vendors being involved with and I'm sure you're able to ask him those questions and ask the tribes. I would ask the tribes directly, each of them, I don't know how many on that list have used Mike or others. I'm sure you've been investigating this story for awhile you probably of where he has been involved and where he's not been I would certainly recommend you ask directly to them and see what he has done. I don't know whether his work or other people's work is worthwhile or not in the sense that you're describing junk. I didn't mean to say worthwhile or not, but you've said it's junk. I don't know whether it's junk or it's not, the best arbiter of the quality of the work is most probably the person who engaged the vendor to be involved.

SS: Yeah, well, I'm talking to some of the tribal council members of different tribes.

JA: Keep, I mean, obviously I'm sure you know this by now, one has to be constantly cognizant of the fact that in most tribes, there's a continuing a power struggle going on. And, often times outside parties who are working on behalf of the tribe as a whole are lured into, not themselves lured, but are brought into as an issue internal power struggles. And it happened to us as well until the tribe sat down and realized, that uh,

gosh these folks are out there, specifically, one of the clients who we've had the longest, these folks are out there working on behalf of all of us and they're not involved in our internecine who is controlling what piece of the pie at the tribe. So, I'm sure you're aware of this at this point and I think it's just very important to make sure you get a wide picture among the various factions within the tribe and I think you'll probably find that given the internecine fighting in some of the tribes you'll wind up with varying views of the validity and value of the work done by every one of the vendors right down to their people providing them with tissue paper probably. So, I think it's just something to highlight in terms of the tribes. It's not by the way just tribes, I mean, this happens in many places, many governments.

JV: Yeah, tribes really are as political as any other government.

SS: Yeah, I am definitely aware.

JV: Like I say, you know we're really not Indian lobbyists, we're lobbyists who happen to represent several tribes. And, I think it's a little demeaning to think that only people who don't charge much can represent tribes. Tribes are entitled to the best representation in town and it may cost a little more but they're entitled to it just like any other government any other private entity would be entitled to it. So, I, you know, not in this firm, but in another firm, I got into Indian matter precisely because our first client was not allowed in the Washington office of their then Washington office to even use the Xerox machine because they were on the outs with another tribe with whom they were having a problem. And they walked out of that office and into our office and too many of the old time Indian lobbyists will represent anybody that walks through the door and if they could get all 500 tribes signed up they'd do it. And you just can't do that anymore than you...flip tape...or tribes with philosophical differences or historic issues. Like we represent a tribe in Arizona and we will never represent another tribe in Arizona because of their history.

JA: Well that, I should note also on the Aqua front, one of the concerns of the tribes in the whole region where they are located from San Diego on up through Coachella Valley is that the previous lobbyists were representing all the tribes and so they were playing off the interests and so in fact, when we, we were so adamant about our desire not to ever have competing interests for our tribes that we agreed to be exclusive to the Aqua within the state of California, taking us out by the way of 50 some odd other significant tribal organizations, many of whom, at least 10 of whom, have contacted us, basically begging us to represent them and we've said no, so again with us, we're just of a different approach. We believe that you know we're a law firm, our clients have to be, we have to do, aggressively help our clients, we represent the nation that we represent, we don't represent all of Indian country, although we do work on behalf of all Indian country, but we represent the Choctaw nation, we represent the Coushatta nation, the Chitimacha nation. Those are our clients, those are the interests that we have in mind.

KR: Jack, I'm going to just say one thing, cause I was on the not speak unless spoken to, but just say one thing that we didn't mention when we were talking about other lobbying firms. And sort of fee and I don't think we'll be disclosing too much of our client information it's all available to the public

JA: Go ahead

KR: There have been clients who have come to us and said, you know, we were told we cannot get federal money for this health clinic or we cannot get federal money for this victim's of crime program our lobbyist told us that money is not earmarked for tribes. And, that had not been our record. But, I just, we don't fight just defensive battles is my point, we fight the Indian country fights but I think our clients are very aggressive but offensively and I the record shows that. I think that that's, cause I know a lot of the folks who have smaller retainers have, I mean I know of in two cases other firms have told their clients who have then hired us that you cannot get money, I mean you can't money out of Congress for your need. I mean you can get IRS funding, you can get the formulas and all that, but earmarks are not available to tribes.

SS: And are there specific earmarks that you...

KR: Well like I say, it's all public information and our tribes should highlight the ones

they want to highlight, I just think it's worth mentioning that there is a difference between playing defense and playing offense and some of our tribes where they have had critical health needs have sought federal assistance and received it where they told they didn't even seek it because their lobbyist told them not to, that it wasn't available to them. But they can all attest to that, I think even better than we can. But it's also all in sort of bills...

SS: Well, if you want to point me to any projects that would be helpful.

AF: We'll take that under advisement. If our clients give us permission. I think it more appropriately comes from the client. If the client gives us permission to give you a list, we'll give you a list, but uh.

JA: I don't know if this is appropriate or not and I don't know if you have any intention of contacting any of the clients, but if you do, and you wish, and it is alright to do, you could theoretically discuss it with them before you contact them and just tell them they could go ahead if they want to highlight, when you do discuss it with them, specific projects for this year or whatever year it is, again I don't know if you're planning to talk to them.

AF: I'm just sensitive to our giving any list of specific accomplishments for tribes because if you go and publish a list of accomplishments for tribes we don't have any idea whether that helps or hurts our clients the next time we go to the Hill. It might well hurt them and so therefore the client should be the one that comes up with kind of information, not us with some backpadding list of great deeds that we've done.

TS: Any word search of our clients names in any conference report you'll find some and you can use that.

SS: Well, you know if you

AF: We'll inquire of the client but we, I think it would be entirely inappropriate for us a firm to be touting our accomplishments on behalf of the clients without the clients consent. It's not something we do.

SS: Okay. And let me ask you one other thing related to fee and that's expenses, your fees are fees plus expenses. Which is kind of unusual when the fees are this high.

JV: I was under the impression that sometimes they were and sometimes they weren't.

KR: Yeah.

JA: Well, you're focused on the ones that aren't.

SS: Well, one of the complaints I've heard is that some tribes get 1K/2K a month in Bills in Signatures. You know feeling like, some dissident council members feeling as though they're floating your restaurant in addition to

JA: Well I think again we'll want to probably hold on a specific discussion of each client. But, in general I don't think there'd be any lack of a whole number of restaurants in town that are regularly visited in the appropriate duties of the lobbyists. But, I don't think there's be any one focus in one place or not, and I hope that and am fairly certain that nothing being done by this or any other firm in any representations is by any means floating any restaurant. I have first hand restaurant experience to back that comment up. It would take an army of people compelled to eat every meal, so uh, anyway. I mean, again, there may be, there may be some cases of dissidence in members of councils that are unhappy with the incumbent of choice of a firm that's delivering things for the tribe in DC and thereby, you know as a consequence making that entire tribal council and the whole tribe look good. Dissidents generally aren't in favor of that and so they're willing to probably focus on aspects that you know in the abstract might seem unusual but you know in terms of stand by my statement about our folks where appropriate and where permissible spend as much time or more in a whole host of other restaurants other than any that I may be involved in.

SS: Just to touch on one other thing and that is SunCruz and what the plan was as far as

tie in to Indian gaming. Was there some plan to bring in some of these tribes that you now represent into the SunCruz venture?

JA: Well SunCruz is an ongoing matter we're going to have to defer comment on that. Can I answer.

AF: I think I know the answer.

JA: The answer is no, but I don't want to answer any more questions than that.

AF: Well no, but the answer to that one is no.

SS: And, so you don't want to comment anymore

JA: SunCruz is one of the ongoing matters I think that Allen referred to earlier. If you want to pose questions we can add

SS: I mean I guess I'd just like to know a little bit about the 23 million dollar wire transfer issue and what's going on with that.

JA: Well, again, it's an ongoing matter and that is no way related to any of the tribes or any of our clients. But, I think beyond that I'm going to have to

SS: I bring it up because I read some stuff about SunCruz that said you were trying to do a tie-in in some way with

JA: Yeah, I'm unaware of what that could be a tie-in

SS: With the tribes and gaming

AF: Can you refer us to what you read that we could look at and respond to that.

SS: Yeah, I've got some clips on it and I think I read a couple of things.

AF: Why don't you just e-mail Jack what it is and we'll take a look at it and see if we can't respond.

SS: Okay. And, um, you've not heard from the FBI on the Louisiana investigation.

JA: No

SS: Okay. And as far as your current representation, the only one on here that you're not representing is the Saginaw Chippewa?

JA: That's correct. I don't know that that is exhaustive, Hopi's not on there.

SS: The Alaskan natives are

JA: Right, I mean we do, you know the Alaskan Natives are entirely a different set of issues, they have don't have gaming and things like that.

KR: Same with Hopi.

JA: What's that?

KR: Same with Hopi, Hopi doesn't have gaming.

JA: Yeah, Hopi and I think there are other small, yeah well, Cherokee of Oklahoma. Again, we're not currently representing them, we did a small matter for them, it was not gaming related. Anyone else.

JV: They may be coming back though.

JA: Cherokee?

JV: Yeah, Cherokee.

JA: Yeah okay but we don't currently, anyone else...

SS: Are there other third party vendors that do grassroots work and that sort of thing that you recommend.

JA: Uh-huh.

SS: And can you tell me who any of those people are.

JA: Let me find out if I can and we'll come back to you.

SS: Alright, well let's be back in touch with you as far as some of these questions outstanding like AIC and other groups.

JA: Sure, do you wish to have us transcribe the questions or do you want to posit questions. We can certainly go off of the transcription.

SS: You know what I'm interested in.

AF: We can figure it out.

SS: I mean if you want me to, I'd be glad to.

JA: No, yeah. Your call, but I mean we've got this and we'll get that transcribed.

AF: And if we've missed something that you think we've missed from it, you can

SS: I mean I can summarize it.

AF: Why don't you do that, it might make life easier for me.

SS: Okay. I'd like to get all your names if you have cards or....thanks very much.

Linsey C. Crisler
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
crislerlc@ [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 [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:31 PM
To: Marc Schwartz
Subject: RE: ARTICLE

Hi Marc. The piece was the usual hit bullshit, but what's new. Funny part (for me, not Mike) was that 60% of the over 300 emails I got thought it was a puff piece. Thank G-D for ADD!

-----Original Message-----
From: Marc Schwartz [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:05 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: ARTICLE

Well, it wasn't pretty. It sure looks like Scanlon was living a little large, huh! Call me when you get a chance.

Marc J. Schwartz
[REDACTED]

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GREENBERG TRAURIG

No. 076838

63-643
670

PK

DATE: 03/03/04 CHECK NO: 76838 AMOUNT: \$ ****10,000.00****

TO THE ORDER OF

Michael Chapman

TWO SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR AMOUNTS OVER \$10,000.00

GREENBERG, TRAUIG
DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT

⑈076838⑈

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
------	-------------	-----------	---------

Check #: 76838 Check Date: Mar 03/04

Inv. Date	Inv. Number	Description	Payment Amt
2/18/04	[REDACTED]	57044.010100 Consulting fees for January	10,000.00

COPY

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	BALANCE
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DETACH

GTG005489-ACCT-AC

February 18, 2005

CHECK REQUEST STALLER & O, P.A.

REGULAR ACCOUNT: RETAINER ACCOUNT: PH 2: 41

FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	[REDACTED]	Consulting fees for January	\$10,000.00	18	(1)
2					(2)
3					(3)
4					(4)
5					(5)
TOTAL			\$10,000.00		

**This description will print on client invoices when using Code 18

Payee: Michael Chapman
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

Mail to Payee: Yes No
 Special Instructions and/or Remarks:
 Return to: JALCC

Signature: [Signature]
 Printed Name: Jack Abramoff

Attorney/Secretary's Initials

(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)

*DISBURSEMENT CODES		ACCOUNTING ONLY
(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Filing fees	(29) Federal Expenses
(2) Message	(9) Reimbursement	(30) Local Courses
(3) Reception charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(31) Arbitrator/Mediators
(4) Word processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(32) Private Investigators
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(33) Exhibits
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(34) Lit. Sup. Vendors
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	
	(15) Publicity charges	
	(16) Legal expert & professional	
	(17) Special Clerical Services	
	(18) Other Disbursements	
	(19) Certified Copies	
	(20) Service Company charges	
	(21) Court reporter/Depo	
	(22) Transaction Charges	
	(23) Subpoena Fees	
	(24) Govt. Agency reports	
	(25) Business Meals	
	(26) Copies from Courthouse	
	(27) Abstract, title & survey,chg	
	(28) Facsimile	

GTG005490-ACCT-AC

[Handwritten Signature]

From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 3:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE:

get her to send an op-ed. we gotta play up the racist angle.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:46 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW:

Read this one.

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio Anderson [mailto:candace.██████████]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:18 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE:

That is great. Please, educate Jeannette that this makes us the Tribe sound stupid and we do not know what is going on. No, the word is gullible according to the article. It makes us sound as though the Tribe is not behind the lobbyist we have hired. Isn't it usual that the Barbara is the only seated Council member that spoke out against their own lobbyist? The other people are all ex-officers aren't they???? I also wonder how the Post was able to meet and talk to our Tribal Members for their view unless Barbara gave them some names. The members of the Tribe are not on the web page with contact numbers. Yes, I am a little bitter with her.

Candace

From: abramoffj[██████████] [mailto:abramoffj[██████████]]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 10:45 AM
To: candace[██████████]
Subject: RE:

I just heard you were not coming and that makes me sad, but you need to get better and it is cold here. I am going to schedule Richard for dinner, and will try to get Jeanette as well. I'll let you know how that goes. By the way, I thought the Post piece was racist, saying that these corporations (read: whites) are properly spending millions to defend themselves, but tribes can't. I wish I could write a letter to the editor on that one, but it would probably not be good for me to do it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio Anderson [mailto:candace.██████████]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 12:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Gibson, Duane R. (Shid-DC-Gov/Adm)

5/6/2004

GTG-E000056552

Subject:

Well, let us see how the Tribe reacts to the article. Unfortunately, I am not expecting too much. It really is up to the rest of the Tribal Council. I am sorry; the Vice Chair did this because the Tribe's position is in support of the firm and you. Anyway, I guess you have heard I am not in DC. I decided to stay home I have been fighting this cold I can't seem to shake it. I was glad to see you when you were here. Please, try and schedule some time with Richard & Jeanette while they are there. Maybe have dinner with them. There are two proxies with them. It would be good if they were able to come and meet you also Duane can continue to educate them on the great work you guys have done for us. Jeanette told me Barbara was not coming.

Candace

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5/6/2004

GTG-E000056553

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Jack Abramoff
Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler and/or Holly Bowers

FROM: Michael Chapman *Michael Chapman*

DATE: March 1, 2004

RE: Request for March 2004 Retainer

Please remit March's retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

March 2004 Retainer \$10,000.00

Total Amount Due \$10,000.00

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman
[Redacted]

Overnight Shipping Address:
[Redacted]

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Phone / Fax
[Redacted] mcnative

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Phone / Fax
[Redacted]

[Redacted]
[Redacted] PHONE
[Redacted]

BAKER BOTTS LLP

THE WARNER

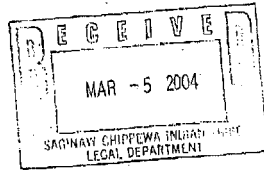


AUSTIN
BAKU
DALLAS
HOUSTON
LONDON
MOSCOW
NEW YORK
RIYADH
WASHINGTON

March 5, 2004

BY TELECOPY

Sean Reed
Legal Department
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan
[Redacted]



RE: Capital Campaign Strategies, LLC

Dear Sean:

This firm now represents Capital Campaign Strategies, LLC ("CCS") and Michael P. Scanlon. I write to follow up on correspondence exchanged between certain members of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe ("the Tribe") and Mr. Scanlon over the past few months, as well as a letter to you concerning CCS that was sent by Robert K. Tompkins on February 6, 2004.

It appears clear that, as a result of a change in tribal leadership, the Tribe no longer desires to bear the burdens of, or to receive the benefits of, an ongoing contractual relationship with CCS. While CCS wishes that were not the case, it has no desire to try to force this contractual relationship forward with an unwilling party. As a result, in light of the present Tribe leadership's position, CCS will consider this contract unconditionally canceled from this point forward.

If you have any questions concerning the foregoing, or need any further information from CCS, please contact me directly at [Redacted]. Thank you.

Sincerely,

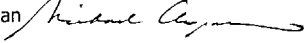
Stephen L. Braga

Michael Chapman

*Dedicated to
Fund Raising &
Public Relations*

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Linsey Crisler

FROM: Michael Chapman 

DATE: March 10, 2004

RE: Request for March 2004 Retainer

Please remit March's retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

March 2004 Retainer	\$10,000.00
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Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:
Michael Chapman



Overnight Shipping Address:




 Phone
/ Fax
mnative

INVOICE STATEMENT

TO: Governmental Affairs Division
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
Attn: Duane Gibson

FROM: Michael Chapman

DATE: March 24, 2004

RE: Request for March 2004 Retainer

Please remit March's retainer, which is associated with work on the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' account.

March 2004 Retainer	\$10,000.00
---------------------	-------------

Total Amount Due	\$10,000.00
------------------	-------------

Please remit to:

Michael Chapman
[REDACTED]

Overnight Shipping Address:
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Greenberg Traurig
Vendor Payments Report

Report: APAY06
Req'd By: WILLENBORGE

3/25/2004
12:00 PM

Colunga

[Signature]

Vendor ID	Vendor Name	Check Number	Check Date	Period	Bank	Check Amount	Office	Dept	Prof Ctr	Amount
Invoice Number	GL Account or Client Matter									
6631	Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc									
36179		5/22/2003	200305	10107		(\$5,000.00)				
52103	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		01	1000	GT	(\$5,000.00)
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 52103; DATE: 5/22/2003 - Consulting services - June										
2286		9/20/2002	200209	10107		\$6,612.90				
090102	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$6,612.90
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 090102; DATE: 9/11/2002 - August retainer prorated from 8/22-8/31; September retainer; J. Abramoff. <i>9/30/02 (22)</i>										
5121		10/10/2002	200210	10107		\$5,000.00				
092902	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 092902; DATE: 9/26/2002 - October 2002 consultant retainer; J. Abramoff. <i>10-10-02 (5121)</i>										
11161		11/25/2002	200211	10107		\$5,000.00				
112102	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
November 2002 retainer for consultation services regarding Agua Caliente/J. Abramoff. <i>11-25-02 11161</i>										
18193		1/13/2003	200301	10107		\$10,077.52				
010203	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,077.52
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 010203; DATE: 1/22/2003 - Expenses; January retainer; February retainer; J. Abramoff. <i>18193 1-13-03</i>										
36179		5/22/2003	200305	10107		\$5,000.00				
52103	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		01	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 52103; DATE: 5/22/2003 - Consulting services - June. <i>36179 5-22-03 cancelled</i>										
41895		7/2/2003	200307	10107		\$5,000.00				
063003	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 063003; DATE: 6/30/2003 - Consulting Services for July; J. Abramoff.										
44766		7/22/2003	200307	10107		\$5,000.00				
071803	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 071803; DATE: 7/16/2003 - Consulting services for July 2003; J. Abramoff.										
36764		8/6/2003	200308	10107		\$5,000.00				
060503	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 060503; DATE: 8/5/2003 - Consulting fee for September, 2003; J. Abramoff.										
53885		9/25/2003	200309	10107		\$5,000.00				
090803	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 090803; DATE: 9/8/2003 - To retain consulting services for October 2003; J. Abramoff.										
63034		11/25/2003	200311	10107		\$5,000.00				

Handwritten notes and initials:
A
4558
471
40

GTG005494-ACCT-AC

Greenberg Traurig
Vendor Payments Report

Report: APAY06
Req'd By: WILLENBORGE

Vendor ID	Vendor Name	Check Number	Check Date	Period	Bank	Check Amount	Office	Dept.	Prof Ctr	Amount
Invoice Number	GL Account or Client Matter									
100603	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 100603; DATE: 10/6/2003 - 57044.010100 November retainer for consultation services.										
68359	12/29/2003	200312	10107			\$5,000.00				
112403	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 112403; DATE: 11/24/2003 - 57044.010100 December consultation services.										
71704	1/28/2004	200401	10107			\$5,000.00				
122403	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians		01	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 122403; DATE: 12/24/2003 - 57044.010100 Consultation services for January, 2004										
74982	2/19/2004	200402	10107			\$5,000.00				
020404	Disb: 57044.010100				Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahulla Indians		01	1000	GT	\$5,000.00
VENDOR: Sierra Dominion Financial Solutions, Inc; INVOICE#: 020404; DATE: 2/4/2004 - 57044.010100 Consulting fees										
Totals: Check:						\$66,690.42	GL:	0.00	Disb:	\$66,690.42

GTG005495-ACCT-AC

J2522004
12:03 PM

Edona Greenberg Traurig
Vendor Payments Report

Report: APAY06
Req'd By: WILLENBORGE

Vendor ID	Vendor Name	Check Number	Check Date	Period	Bank	Check Amount	Office	Dept.	Prof Ctr	Amount
86674	Chapman, Michael									
		3678	5/22/2003	200305	10107	(\$10,000.00)				
		52703	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		01	1000	GT	(\$10,000.00)
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 52103; DATE: 5/22/2003 - Consulting Fee								
		1596	9/13/2002	200209	10107	\$10,489.81				
		090302	G/L: 52125		New Business Development-100% Deductible		11	1000	GT	489.81
		09032002	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 09032002; DATE: 9/3/2002 - Consultation services regarding Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians retainer for August 2002/ J. Abramoff								
		5120	10/10/2002	200210	10107	\$10,000.00				
		100202	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 100202; DATE: 10/2/2002 - September 2002 consultation retainer/ J. Abramoff								
		11180	11/25/2002	200211	10107	\$10,000.00				
		112103	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		October 2002 retainer for consultation services regarding Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians/ J. Abramoff								
		20425	2/4/2003	200302	10107	\$10,000.00				
		011303	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 011303; DATE: 1/13/2003 - December 2002 retainer consultation fee/ J. Abramoff								
		25651	3/11/2003	200303	10107	\$10,000.00				
		021303	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 021303; DATE: 2/13/2003 - January 2003 retainer for consulting services/ J. Abramoff								
		26297	3/17/2003	200303	10107	\$10,000.00				
		030803	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 030803; DATE: 3/8/2003 - February 2003 retainer for consultation services/ J. Abramoff								
		30244	4/11/2003	200304	10107	\$10,000.00				
		040403	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		01	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 040403; DATE: 4/4/2003 - 57044.010100 Consulting fee								
		38178	5/22/2003	200305	10107	\$10,000.00				
		52703	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		01	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 52703; DATE: 5/22/2003 - Consulting Fee								
		42482	7/8/2003	200307	10107	\$10,000.00				
		070703	Disb: 57044.010100		Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians		11	1000	GT	\$10,000.00
		VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 070703; DATE: 7/7/2003 - May 2003 consultation services/ J. Abramoff								

REDACTED

ready

PA 1514

A 4663

9-13-02 1596 489.81

9-13-02 (1596)

10-10-02 (5120)

11-25-02 (11760)

2-4-03 (20425)

3-11-03 (25651)

3-17-03 (26297)

4-11-03 (30244)

5-22-03 (38178) cancelled

GTG005389-ACCT-AC

1/25/2004
12:57 PM

Greenberg Traurig
Vendor Payments Report

Report: APAY06
Req'd By: WILLENBORGE

Vendor ID	Vendor Name	Check Number	Check Date	Period	Bank	Check Amount	Office	Dept	Proj Ctr	Amount	
Invoice Number	GL Account or Client/Matter										
✓ 46783	✓ 6/6/2003	200308	10107			\$20,992.67					
080503	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 11 1000 GT									\$20,992.67
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 080503; DATE: 6/5/2003 - Consulting fees for June & July 2003, expenses/ J. Abramoff.											
✓ 47724	✓ 8/11/2003	200308	10107			\$10,000.00					
080603	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 11 1000 GT									\$10,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 080603; DATE: 8/6/2003 - 57044.010100 Consulting fees for August, 2003											
✓ 53043	✓ 9/22/2003	200309	10107			\$10,000.00					
090303	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 11 1000 GT									\$10,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 090303; DATE: 9/3/2003 - 57044.010100 Consulting fees for services rendered Sept., 2003											
✓ 59061	✓ 10/31/2003	200310	10107			\$10,000.00					
100103	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 11 1000 GT									\$10,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 100103; DATE: 10/1/2003 - 57044.010100 Consultation services for September 2003.											
✓ 66688	✓ 12/19/2003	200312	10107			\$20,000.00					
120303	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 11 1000 GT									\$20,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 120303; DATE: 12/3/2003 - Consulting fees for November and December											
✓ 71703	✓ 1/26/2004	200401	10107			\$10,000.00					
010804	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 01 1000 GT									\$10,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 010804; DATE: 1/8/2004 - 57044.010100 Consultation services for January, 2004											
✓ 76838	✓ 3/3/2004	200403	10107			\$10,000.00					
021804	Disb: 57044.010100	Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians / Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 01 1000 GT									\$10,000.00
VENDOR: Chapman, Michael; INVOICE#: 021804; DATE: 2/18/2004 - 57044.010100 Consulting fees for January											
Totals: Check:						\$171,482.48	GL:	489.81	Disb:	\$170,992.67	

GTG005390-ACCT-AC

ERICKSON-SMITH-O'HARA-KEIGHER, LLC
██████████
Date June 8, 2004 578
70-2201719 3

Pay to the Order of Grassroots Interactive LLC \$25,000.⁰⁰
Twenty Five Thousand & 00/100 Dollars

HomeStar⁺
Bank
██████████

For Fran T. Smith
██████████ ██████████ 0578

Continued SAFETY BLUE Print

GRI 00057

Diversatech**To:** Grassroot Interactive**Subject:** Payment to Erickson,Smith,O'Hara,Keigher, LLCChief Financial Officer
Grassroots Interactive, LLC
[REDACTED]

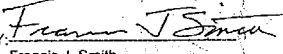
Dear Sir or Madam:

On January 12, 2004 we received your check # 1008 , dated 12/4/03, in the amount of \$25,000.00 payable to Erickson,Smith,O'Hara,Keigher LLC. I did not understand why we received the check because I was not aware of any services our LLC performed for Grassroots but I just assumed that one of our LLC Members provided some service to you and had not advised me of that fact.

However, I have now had the opportunity to check with all of our LLC Members and have concluded that we did not provide any services to Grassroot Interactive LLC. Thus, I have to assume that the check was sent us in error and for that reason I am enclosing check # 578 in the amount of \$25,000.00 to return to Grassroots the \$25,000.00 you sent us by mistake.

Sincerely Yours,

Erickson,Smith,O'Hara,Keigher LLC

BY: 
Francis J. Smith

6/8/2004

GRI 00055



0037
POSTNET 77366
2600666 #



Chief Financial Officer
Consensus Interactive, LLC
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

2600666-1707 b6b7c8d9e0f1a2b3c4d5e6f7g8h9i0j1k2l3m4n5o6p7q8r9s0t1u2v3w4x5y6z7

Shipping
over

Abmroudi made at least 10 trips to Libya, many lasting as long as five days, and he was seen in Libya on several occasions. Abmroudi participated in meetings with Libya's

GRI 00056



Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2004
WWW.USDOJ. [REDACTED]

CRM
[REDACTED]
TDD [REDACTED]

ABDURAHMAN ALAMOUDI SENTENCED TO JAIL IN TERRORISM FINANCING CASE

WASHINGTON, D.C. - A U.S. citizen has been sentenced to 23 years in jail on charges related to his activities in the United States and abroad with nations and organizations that have ties to terrorism, the Department of Justice announced today.

Aldurahman M. Alamoudi, a naturalized U.S. citizen who was born in Eritrea, was sentenced to 276 months in jail by District Judge Claude M. Hilton in federal court in Alexandria, Virginia, this morning. On July 30, 2004, Alamoudi pleaded guilty to three federal offenses: one count of violating the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), which imposes terrorism-related sanctions prohibiting unlicensed travel to and commerce with Libya; one count of false statements made in his application for naturalization; and a tax offense involving a long-term scheme to conceal from the IRS his financial transactions with Libya and his foreign bank accounts and to omit material information from the tax returns filed by his charities.

As part of a plea agreement, Alamoudi agreed to cooperate fully and truthfully in any and all investigations, including an ongoing investigation into a plot to assassinate an ally in the war against terrorism. Under the terms of that plea agreement, Alamoudi also agreed that he should be sentenced under the terrorism provision of the federal sentencing guidelines, and he agreed to forfeit all proceeds from his illegal dealings with Libya, which total at least \$910,000, including \$340,000 seized from him in the United Kingdom.

Alamoudi became a naturalized citizen in 1996. He is the founder and former executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC), the founder of the American Muslim Foundation (AMF), and was an influential member of other Islamic political and charitable organizations.

Court documents filed in conjunction with his plea agreement describe how, from November 1995 to September 2003, Alamoudi devised a scheme to obtain money from Libya and other sources overseas for transmission into the United States without attracting the attention of federal immigration, customs and law enforcement officials. Alamoudi admitted to participating in a comprehensive scheme to conceal prohibited financial transactions related to Libya, his travel to Libya, and financial transactions designed to evade currency reporting requirements, among other things.

Alamoudi made at least 10 trips to Libya, many lasting as long as five days. According to court documents, while in Libya, Alamoudi participated in meetings with Libyan government officials.

[REDACTED]

3/31/2006

Initially, during a meeting on March 13, 2003, Alamoudi and Libyan government officials discussed creating "headaches" and disruptions in Saudi Arabia. As the scheme continued, however, Alamoudi learned that the actual objective was the assassination of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. Alamoudi participated in recruiting participants for this plot by introducing the Libyans to two Saudi dissidents in London and facilitating the transfer of hundreds of thousands of dollars of cash from the Libyans to those dissidents to finance the plot.

Alamoudi has been in U.S. custody since his arrest shortly after arriving at Washington Dulles International Airport on Sept. 28, 2003. Alamoudi intentionally withheld information about his Libya travel in response to a question from a Customs officer about which countries he had traveled to his itinerary.

"The government's investigations are designed to prevent acts of terrorism by obtaining cooperation and developing intelligence," said Attorney General John Ashcroft. "The sentence handed down in the Alamoudi case today shows that the system works: a terrorist facilitator has been sentenced to jail and we have reason to expect that through his cooperation, we will obtain intelligence that will assist us in our ongoing efforts to advance these critical investigations."

"This is a clear victory in the war against terrorism," said U.S. Attorney Paul J. McNulty of the Eastern District of Virginia. "Terrorists need money to operate, and the defendant was caught in the act of financing their deadly schemes."

Michael Garcia, Department of Homeland Security Assistant Secretary for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), stated: "The sentence handed down today reflects the seriousness of Alamoudi's crimes. His conviction is the result of an extensive joint investigation by ICE, the FBI and IRS, in which agents tracked suitcases stuffed with cash, unearthed Swiss bank accounts, and documented meetings with shadowy figures around the globe. This case demonstrates how ICE is applying its legal authorities under the Joint Terrorism Task Force umbrella to address threats to our homeland."

"The ability to detect and analyze complex financial information from numerous sources is essential to the government's fight against terror," said Nancy Jardini, Chief, IRS Criminal Investigation. "The IRS has committed extensive civil and criminal resources to shut down terrorist financing from domestic sources, including charities."

The case is being investigated by agents of the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Department of Homeland Security, Criminal Investigations at the Internal Revenue Service, and the Washington Field Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Assistant U.S. Attorney Gordon D. Kromberg and Special Assistant U.S. Attorney Steven P. Ward, on detail from the Tax Division of the Department of Justice, prosecuted the case.

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04-698

3/31/2006


Abdurahman Alamoudi

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Abdurahman Mohamed Alamoudi was born in the country of Eritrea and later became a naturalized American citizen. In 1990 he founded the American Muslim Council, the aim of the group being to lobby Republican and Democratic politians and gain Muslims in America political clout. During this time Alamoudi served as an Islamic adviser to President Bill Clinton and a fundrasier for both Republican and Democratic parties. More recently, Alamoudi has worked with leading conservatives such as Grover Norquist, the president of Americans for Tax Reform. Alamoudi and other Muslim leaders met with then-presidential candidate George Bush in Austin in July 2000, offering to support his bid for the White House in exchange for Bush's commitment to repeal certain antiterrorist laws. After the attacks of September 11th, Alamoudi spoke at the National Cathedral prayer service for the victims of the attack. Alamoudi also acted as a consultant to the Pentagon for over a decade.

In march 2004, Alamoudi pled guilty to three criminal counts, including accepting hundreds of thousands of dollars from Libya in violation of U.S. law and attempting to hide it from the U.S government in addition to tax and immigration violations. He was sentenced to 23 years in jail.

David Savafian, the White House Chief Procurement officer indicted in 2005 with officially charged with obstructing a criminal probe has also been linked to Alamoudi by federal prosecutors.

 *This biographical article related to crime is a stub. You can help Wikipedia by expanding it*

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Categories: Activist stubs | Crime biographical stubs

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2/15/06 L.A. Times (Bus. Sec.) (Pg. Unavail. Online)
2006 WLNR 2585753

1. Los Angeles Times

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February 15, 2006

Abramoff Charged Malaysia for Meeting With Bush

By Tom Hamburger and Peter Wallsten

WASHINGTON -- When the government of Malaysia sought to repair its tarnished image in the U.S. by arranging a meeting between President Bush and its controversial prime minister in 2002, it did what many other well-heeled interests in Washington did: It called on well-connected lobbyist Jack Abramoff for help.

It was a tall order. The prime minister, Mahatir Mohamed, had been chastised by the Clinton administration for repeated anti-Semitic statements and for jailing his political opponents. But it was important to the Malaysians, according to an Abramoff associate who attended meetings with the Malaysian ambassador and Abramoff.

Abramoff contacted presidential adviser Karl Rove on at least four occasions to help arrange a meeting, according to an eyewitness to the activities.

Finally, this former associate said, Rove's office called to tell Abramoff personally that the Malaysian leader would soon be getting an official White House invitation.

In May 2002, Mahatir met with Bush in the Oval Office and his photograph with the president was beamed around the world.

Abramoff received \$1.2 million from the Malaysian government for his lobbying services in 2001 and 2002, according to an Abramoff associate. Documents obtained by Senate investigators appear to confirm at least \$900,000 of that amount.

It's not clear how central Abramoff was in arranging the Oval Office session that was of such import to the Malaysians. The White House says the meeting was arranged through normal White House and State Department channels.

But it was clear, the former associate said, that Abramoff took credit for arranging the session. His reputation for close relationships with the White House and congressional officials enabled him to charge stratospheric fees from his lobbying clients -- and the president's meeting with Malaysia's prime minister enhanced that reputation.

The Malaysia episode sheds new light on the practices of Abramoff, the man at the center of a burgeoning corruption scandal, and suggests a closer tie than previously acknowledged between the now-disgraced lobbyist and the highest levels of the Bush White House.

Abramoff has pleaded guilty to improperly influencing members of Congress and their aides, offering foreign travel and other benefits and later seeking favors from some of them. He often routed lobbying fees through nonprofit organizations to evade taxes or hide the sources of the funds.

The Malaysian payments were made to the American International Center, a bogus "international think tank" that an Abramoff partner, Michael Scanlon, set up at a Delaware beach house. Abramoff and Scanlon used the center to collect millions from their lobbying clients.

By routing the money in that way, Abramoff identified his client on federal lobbying disclosure forms as the Delaware-based International Center and thus avoided having to register with the Justice Department as an agent of a foreign government.

After the Malaysian leader's White House meeting, a former associate said, Abramoff was invited to a dinner honoring the prime minister at the Malaysian embassy and given a seat near the head table.

At least one other Washington lobbying firm -- Alexander Strategies, which was run by an Abramoff friend and former chief of staff to then-House majority leader Tom DeLay -- was also compensated during this period for helping boost Malaysia's reputation in Washington. That firm, too, was given credit in some circles for helping to arrange the White House meeting as well as separate trips for leading members of Congress, including DeLay and several Democrats, to Malaysia.

The eyewitness was the only person to observe Abramoff's direct contacts with Rove and even then he only heard Abramoff's end of the conversation. He recalled Abramoff picking up his ringing cell phone, flashing the Caller ID and saying, "It's Karl." Abramoff listened for a few seconds and gave the associate a thumbs-up. The lobbyist then closed his phone and said the official invitation was forthcoming. "Call the ambassador."

Apart from the direct contacts between Rove and Abramoff, the witness's description of the Malaysia episode was backed by another former Abramoff associate and by documents released last year by the Senate Indian Affairs Committee. Both of Abramoff's former associates asked that their names not be used because they feared it could damage future business opportunities.

Both said Abramoff talked of his access to Rove and cited his relationship with Rove's secretary, Susan Ralston, who serves as Rove's administrative assistant. Before joining the White House staff, Ralston performed similar services as an assistant to Abramoff. One of the former associates said Abramoff referred to Ralston as "my implant" in the White House.

A White House spokeswoman, Erin Healy, said Tuesday that Rove had "no recollection" of any conversations with Abramoff regarding the Malaysian meeting. She said the meeting was

arranged through "normal staffing channels."

The meeting took place as Malaysia, a heavily Muslim country, and U.S. officials were discussing that nation's participation in the post-Sept. 11 campaign against terrorism.

"At the time (Mahatir) was Asia's longest-serving prime minister, and an influential Islamic leader," Healy said. "The president met with him to discuss Malaysia's role in the war on terrorism."

Healy said Rove considered Abramoff a "casual acquaintance."

White House officials said Ralston's hiring had nothing to do with her prior association with Abramoff. Healy said she was a "valued member of the White House team."

While White House officials have taken pains to distance Bush and his aides from Abramoff, hoping to shield the president from the scandal's political fallout, former associates say Abramoff would often brag of his ties to the highest levels of the administration.

In addition to the now-famous photographs of him with Bush at White House functions, one lobbyist recalls Abramoff's frequent refrain when confronting important legislative issues: "I'll call Karl on that."

The Malaysian embassy did not respond to requests for comment on Abramoff's work. But bills from the American International Center to the Malaysian embassy have been turned over to a Senate Committee investigating Abramoff's representation of Indian tribes, which he has admitted to defrauding.

The records show that checks from the Embassy of Malaysia from American International Center. Lobbying records show that Abramoff's lobbying firm, Greenberg Traurig, received hundreds of thousands of dollars from the Center but did not disclose that the funds originated with the government of Malaysia.

Abramoff told associates that they did not need to disclose Malaysia as the client on federal lobbying disclosure forms -- or register as a foreign agent with the Justice Department -- because the client was American International Center, a domestic organization, not the government of Malaysia.

Abramoff's lawyer, Abbe Lowell, declined comment on any aspect of Abramoff's work for Malaysia.

On one occasion, Abramoff, an orthodox Jew and avid supporter of Israel, was asked whether he was comfortable representing a country led by a man known for anti-Semitic comments.

Abramoff responded, "They pay their bills on time."

Staff writer Stephen Braun also contributed to this story.

--- INDEX REFERENCES ---

NEWS SUBJECT: (Race Relations (1RA49); Social Issues (1SO05); Government (1GO80); Minority & Ethnic Groups (1MI43))

REGION: (Malaysia (1MA62); USA (1US73); Southeast Asia (1SO64); Americas (1AM92); Delaware (1DE13); North America (1NO39); Far East (1FA27); Asia (1AS61); Eastern Asia (1EA61))

Language: EN

OTHER INDEXING: (ABRAMOFF; ABRAMOFF CHARGED MALAYSIA; AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER; BUSH WHITE HOUSE; CALLER; CENTER; CONGRESS; DELAWARE; EMBASSY OF MALAYSIA; INDIAN; INTERNATIONAL CENTER; ISLAMIC; JACK ABRAMOFF; JUSTICE DEPARTMENT; MALAYSIA; OVAL OFFICE; SENATE; SENATE COMMITTEE; SENATE INDIAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE; STATE DEPARTMENT; WHITE HOUSE) (Abbe Lowell; Bush; Clinton; DeLay; Erin Healy; Greenberg Traurig; Healy; Mahatir; Mahatir Mohamed; Michael Scanlon; Ralston; Rove; Scanlon; Semitic; Susan Ralston; Tom DeLay)

Word Count: 1470
2/15/06 LAT-BUS (No Page)
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Lobbying & Law

India decided to give its \$50,000-a-month contract to Akin Gump, rather than stick with Piper Rudnick, citing concern that more attrition may lie ahead. Merrigan argues, however, that his firm's work with foreign-government clients remains strong.

Still, the shop has its work cut out in 2003. Last year, more than a quarter of its revenues came courtesy of the American Insurance Association, which paid Verner, Lipfert and Piper Rudnick more than \$5.6 million, by far the largest lobbying account of 2002. Merrigan says he expects the firm's fees from the insurance association to be much lower this year.

Meanwhile, lobbyist Jack Abramoff continued to show why he's an object of curiosity and awe on K Street. The senior director of government affairs at Greenberg Traurig reported whopping annual fees of about \$2 million from each of three Indian tribes with gambling operations: the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, and the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Abramoff lobbied on myriad bills, including one that would have barred states from setting labor standards on tribal lands, and another to provide a tax break for the construction of schools on Indian territory.

But maintaining its lofty spot at No. 5 in the rankings could get harder for Greenberg Traurig this year. In February, it lost managing partner Howard Vine, a 10-year stalwart at the firm who had opened its Washington office. He took his book of business to law firm Dickstein Shapiro Morin & Oshinsky.

The rest of the top 10 stacked up much as they have in past years. Van Scoyoc Associates, the largest lobbying shop in Washington not affiliated with a larger parent company or a law firm, defied the year's trend, boosting revenues

THE TOP-10 LOBBYING FIRMS

(Fee income, January 1–December 31, 2002)

LOBBYING FIRM	2002 REVENUES	2001 REVENUES	% CHANGE
1. Cassidy & Associates	28,000,000	39,000,000	-12
2. Patton Boggs	26,340,000	23,500,000	12
3. Akin Gump Strause Hauer & Feld	22,180,000	19,200,000	16
4. Piper Rudnick	20,150,000	19,390,000	4
5. Greenberg Traurig	17,800,000	16,400,000	7
6. Van Scoyoc Associates	16,910,000	13,400,000	26
7. Barbour, Griffith & Rogers	12,780,000	12,300,000	4
8. Williams & Jensen	12,260,000	10,900,000	12
9. Washington Council Ernst & Young	12,030,000	17,000,000	-30
10. Hogan & Hartson	10,690,000	8,217,000	30

by 26 percent. At No. 6, the firm relies on a long list of corporate, university, and municipal-government clients hoping to slip an earmark or two into appropriations bills.

Barbour Griffith & Rogers—which has been without its principal rainmaker, former Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour—still managed to hold its No. 7 spot in the rankings. Barbour left the firm last fall to run for governor of Mississippi.

Rounding out the Nos. 8, 9, and 10 slots were Williams & Jensen; Washington Council Ernst & Young; and Hogan & Hartson, which was the only new firm among the top 10. Hogan & Hartson replaced accounting firm PricewaterhouseCoopers, which had built a substantial lobbying practice, but lost most of it when former Joint Tax Committee Staff Director Kenneth Kies left to join Clark/Bardes Consulting.

Williams & Jensen, meanwhile, can boast of the biggest hiring coup of the year. Susan Hirschmann, former chief of staff to then-House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, joined the firm in September.

Throughout the year, controversial issues kept the billable hours high at many of the firms. Piper Rudnick earned more than \$800,000 representing Bermuda-based manufacturer Ingersoll-Rand as Congress was

considering legislation that would have penalized U.S. companies that move to offshore tax havens. Hogan & Hartson and Barbour Griffith continued to sock it to Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, two quasi-governmental institutions that promote home ownership in low- and moderate-income communities. The two firms represented FM Watch, an organization of private banks and mortgage lenders that accuse Fannie and Freddie of stealing their business.

As always, tracing some lobbyists' fees back to the source can be a challenging endeavor. Jack Abramoff, for example, posted large fees from a client with interests that are hard to decipher: The American International Center, a public policy research foundation in Rehoboth Beach, Del., paid Greenberg Traurig more than \$800,000.

Abramoff says he worked to promote a "pro-free-market, pro-free-trade" approach to governance in Southeast Asia. The center's Web site cites its "global-minded purpose of enhancing the methods of empowerment for territories, commonwealths, and sovereign nations in possession of and within the United States." To that end, the center "seeks to expand the parameters of international discourse in an effort to leverage the combined power of world intellect." The center's directors, David Grosh and Brian Mann, did not return phone calls seeking elaboration.

Another new Abramoff client, Rose Garden Holdings, is a privately held importer/exporter of paper, clothing, and electronics, with a Hong Kong address. It paid the firm \$700,000 last year to lobby for "fair and adequate trade relations with nations in Southeast Asia," Abramoff said.

For additional relevant information, please call [redacted]

TOP CLIENTS

(January 1–December 31, 2002)

GREENBERG TRAURIG		
1. Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana		\$2,020,000
2. Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe		1,820,000
3. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians		1,740,000
4. Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Recovery Project		920,000
5. American International Center		840,000

SOURCES: House and Senate reports

AIC

Rose Garden Holdings

From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 3:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE:

get her to send an op-ed. we gotta play up the racist angle.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:46 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW:

Read this one.

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio Anderson [mailto:candace@tribe.nv.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:18 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE:

That is great. Please, educate Jeannette that this makes us the Tribe sound stupid and we do not know what is going on. No, the word is gullible according to the article. It makes us sound as though the Tribe is not behind the lobbyist we have hired. Isn't it usual that the Barbara is the only seated Council member that spoke out against their own lobbyist? The other people are all ex-officers aren't they???? I also wonder how the Post was able to meet and talk to our Tribal Members for their view unless Barbara gave them some names. The members of the Tribe are not on the web page with contact numbers. Yes, I am a little bitter with her.

Candace

From: abramoff, jack [mailto:abramoff@tribe.nv.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 10:45 AM
To: candace@tribe.nv.gov
Subject: RE:

I just heard you were not coming and that makes me sad, but you need to get better and it is cold here. I am going to schedule Richard for dinner, and will try to get Jeannette as well. I'll let you know how that goes. By the way, I thought the Post piece was racist, saying that these corporations (read: whites) are properly spending millions to defend themselves, but tribes can't. I wish I could write a letter to the editor on that one, but it would probably not be good for me to do it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio Anderson [mailto:candace@tribe.nv.gov]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 12:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Gibson, Duane R. (Shhd-DC-Gov/Adm)

5/6/2004

GTG-E000056552

Subject:

Well, let us see how the Tribe reacts to the article. Unfortunately, I am not expecting too much. It really is up to the rest of the Tribal Council. I am sorry; the Vice Chair did this because the Tribe's position is in support of the firm and you. Anyway, I guess you have heard I am not in DC. I decided to stay home I have been fighting this cold I can't seem to shake it. I was glad to see you when you were here. Please, try and schedule some time with Richard & Jeanette while they are there. Maybe have dinner with them. There are two proxies with them. It would be good if they were able to come and meet you also Duane can continue to educate them on the great work you guys have done for us. Jeanette told me Barbara was not coming.

Candace

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@██████████

5/6/2004

GTG-E000056553

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

October 17, 2005

Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. and Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council
 Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan

[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

Dear Chief Kahgegab:

Thank you very much for the opportunity to become the Public Relations Firm of Recors for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan. As I presented to the council in December of 2001, we are prepared to provide top to bottom public relation service to the tribe and can initiate our representation immediately.

As I understand it, the council is not yet fully prepared to initiate the full public affairs program that I presented, but remains in need of full public relations services. To that end, below we have detailed the services we will provide the tribe followed by contract language that will initiate our relation ship.

As you're Public Relations Agency of Record Capitol Campaign Strategies will provide the following services:

CCS will represent the tribe on a a daily basis with the media before members of the local and national media.

CCS will propose, stage and help excute all inter-tribe communications as directed by the council. This will include communitnag important tribal government issues to the tribal embersghio at large _----,-----.

CCS will assist the council in the sheehding, staging and staffing of all "community meetings."

CCS will handle all announcement communications for the councils. Such as all community meeting pre-publicity and invitations.

CCS will develop and produce a Public Relations Mater Plan for the council. This Master Plan will make specific recommendations for tribal communications in a variety of different areas such as community relations, advertising, government relations and investor relations. CCS will then present the plan to the council and execute the recommendations put forward at the councils direction.

CCS will do a full-scale "public affairs audit" of the tribes communications capabilities. This audit will determine the how well or poorly the tribes external communications systems have worked in the past, and how they can be updated if necessary.

CCS will develop a Public Service Announcement Strategy for the tribe. This strategy will help the tribal council improve its public standing by utilizing a free form of communication.

CCS will develop and help execute a full service community service plan that will identify worthy charity and event sponsorships, and ensure that the tribe is represented at the events.

In addition to these services, CCS will provide on-going public relations council to the tribe. On a daily basis we will provide counsel on important topics, develop strategies and action plans to deal with crisis situations and interact with a variety of news outlets.

As we requested we are prepared to service all of the tribes Public Relations need starting immediately. Given the vast nature of this representation we are prepared to have a team on-site this week. In the interim, please review the representation language below at contacts if you have any questions.

Capitol Campaign Strategies (CCS) and the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public relations services as outlined in this letter and the presentation given on December 6, 2001. CCS will be employed directly by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council and work through the legislative affairs department. The relationship will be effective this day, January 19, 2002, and run through December 31, 2002

For the services outlined in this agreement CCS will be paid a retainer of \$100,000.00 per month. In addition CCS will be reimbursed all expenses incurred on behalf of the tribe. Expenses in excess of \$500.00 will be submitted for approval in advance. In addition, any advertising or other "out of pocket" activities will be submitted in advance and payment for those services must be made in full by the tribe in advance

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Maynard Kahgegab, Jr.

Date

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

~~_____~~
~~_____~~

Draft - Agua Caliente Plan for the 106th Cong.

[Redacted text block]

[Redacted text block]

[Redacted text block]

Member and Staff Trips – Goal: educate Members and staff on the merits of the projects and issues that the Tribe is advancing in Washington, D.C., by bringing key staff to Palm Springs for fact-finding and briefing sessions with the tribe. We will be recommending a series of trips for some of the issues listed above.

Sporting and Event Tickets – Goal: provide Members and staff with courtesy tickets to sport games and other events, which help to create the relationships needed advance issues important to the Tribe. Many of our Tribal clients participate in ownership of Executive Suites and Boxes at the MCI Center, FedEx Field, and Camden Yards (Baltimore), in order to get the tools for relationship building to advance your issues. The Tribe should evaluate pooling its resources with other tribes so that it can utilize these effective assets as well.

DATE

Tribal Member Name
Address
City, ST ZIP00

Dear Tribal Member:

As we enter the dog days of summer, I wanted to send you a brief update on Tribal Council activities. By now you should have received a postcard reminding you of our upcoming Community Meeting on Monday, August 26th. I encourage your participation and look forward to seeing you next week.

With our eighth month in August almost complete, there are many great things happening for us to share with you. But first, let me thank all of those responsible for planning and those who attended our recent Pow Wow. The turnout was tremendous and the weekend was a great success. What a great way to reconnect with friends and neighbors while sharing our cultural traditions and remembering that we are all an important part of this tribe!

As I have mentioned in updates before, having a voice in Washington, DC that legislators and policymakers listen to is crucial to the success of our tribe and all Native Americans. Not only do their decisions impact us economically, they can also affect the sovereignty we fight so hard to protect for the future of our children.

I, along with Tribal Council members, have and will continue to travel to Washington to foster these important relationships. Happily, we have been well received by lawmakers and their staff. They are just as interested in how they can best aid our tribe while respecting our culture and history. In essence our work in Washington is greatly educational, our role being teacher.

The strength and unity we all took part in at the Pow Wow is what I take with me to Washington. Tribal Council members and myself meet not only with Congressmen but we are actively working on White House initiatives and projects relating to Native American communities. I personally have visited the White House twice this past Congressional session and advised key staffers of our tribe's needs and that of Native Americans as a whole. It is very encouraging to have the White House asking for this tribe's input.

And, the Tribal Council is not the only voice these leaders hear. Our elders and youth visit the Nation's Capitol as well. They represent our tribe and culture very well as they meet political leaders too. This is a membership-wide undertaking; everyone has a voice.

Building these relationships is an ongoing endeavor that we will aggressively continue to pursue. Part of that includes extending invitations for these decision makers to visit our tribal community and experience for themselves how we live and work. Just a few weeks ago Senator Debbie Stabenow came to Mt. Pleasant to see our great community. Additionally, we actively monitor and track any and all legislation that could possible impact our community.

These are the relationships crucial to our continued success and protection. They make it possible for us to break ground on a new school, residential treatment center, elders complex and much more. Our partnership with all these political leaders allows us to develop programs that will enhance our economic and social quality of life.

I look forward to seeing you next week to discuss in more detail Tribal Council activities.

Sincerely,

Chief Maynard Kahgebab, Jr.
and the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council

Candace Patencio

- ✓ Honest
- ✓ Effective
- ✓ Experienced

Vote Candace Patencio for Tribal Council.

Candace is working for you. Cast your vote for Candace and show that you support, an *honest, effective and experienced* tribal council.

Vote Candace for Tribal Council and choose to bring about positive change for the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.

MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!

WHO: Candace Patencio, Candidate for Tribal Council
Virginia Siva, Candidate for Tribal Chairman

WHAT: "Meet the Candidates" Community Meeting

WHERE: Andreas Room
Wyndham Palm Springs
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

WHEN: Sunday, March 10, 2002
7:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Coffee and dessert will be served.

Agua Caliente
Tribal Chairman and Council Election
GOTV Timeline

Wednesday, March 6, 2002

- Draft Talking Points for Virginia
- Final Drafts of Candidate Letters
- Final Drafts of Candidate Fliers
- Create Invitation for Community Meeting
- Send Letters, Fliers and Invitation for Candidates' Approval
- Confirm Staff Flights
- Confirm Staff Hotel Reservations
- Confirm Van Rentals (2)
- Driving directions from LAX to Palm Springs
- Secure site for Community Meeting
 - Book caterer
- Print envelopes, letters
- Buy Stamps
- FedEx mailing to Palm Springs
- Contact candidates and review timeline
- Complete 3-tier list

Thursday, March 7, 2002

9:15 AM WHEELS UP Dulles (United Airlines, Flight 183)
11:56 AM WHEELS DOWN LAX

TO DO

- Staff prepares for door-to-door campaigning
- Staff prepares for Community Meeting
- Candidate letters arrive via FedEx and dropped in mail.
- Buy cell phone
- Secure Post Office Box address

Friday, March 8, 2002

Noon Lunch with Candidates

4:00 PM - 9:00PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO

- Provide candidates with talking points for Community Meeting

Saturday, March 9, 2002

9:00 AM - 9:00PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO

- Prep candidates for Community Meeting

Sunday, March 10, 2002

10:00 AM - 4:00 PM Door-to-door campaigning

7:30 PM - 9:00 PM Community Meeting

Monday, March 11, 2001

1:10 PM WHEELS UP LAX (United Airlines, Flight 194)

8:51 PM WHEELS DOWN Dulles

Tribal Election 2002 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

Message

We will communicate that this election is about direct leadership by people who are in touch with the tribe. You are the new leaders, the leaders who will take the tribe into the future. Not the old leaders who are only looking out for number one.

Tactics

This campaign is built on direct interaction with the tribal members. That is why we have developed a plan that will put you in contact with every voter at least five times over the next 7 days. More importantly, by segmenting the voter population into three tiers, you will have a tailored message for each member you meet. There are a number of ways to interact with the voters, and we have developed 4 highly effective systems to deliver your message. They are listed below.

I. Mail

We have developed three separate mail pieces that will articulate your message. The first will hit Friday, March 8. It will be a personalized letter from you, explaining why you are a superior candidate for your position.

The second will be a comparison piece that draws distinctions between you and your opponents. This letter will reach voters on Monday, March 11.

The third piece will be a traditional Get Out The Vote piece (GOTV) that asks for their support and reminds them to mail in their ballot. This piece will be delivered Thursday, March 14.

II. Door to Door

You are the candidates who are in touch. Let's prove it. During the weekend of March 8-10, you will make personal contact with 50 voters (each). This personal interaction will go miles by making yourself visible to the voters. This is your chance to prove that you are the candidates who are truly working for the tribal members.

III. Phones

We have developed a phone script that will reiterate your message to the voters and ask for their support. It will be coordinated from Palm Springs, and will take place throughout the weekend of March 8-10. Phone messaging is especially effective in reaching those voters that cannot be contacted in person.

IV. Candidates meeting

On Sunday, March 10, we will organize a candidates' night for both of you. Obviously, it will afford the opportunity to remind your supporters to send in their ballots, and give you an opportunity to articulate your views to those "undecideds" who attend. More importantly, it will create a buzz around the membership that will ultimately sweep you into office.

Candace Patencio

- ✓ Honest
- ✓ Effective
- ✓ Experienced

Candace Patencio

- ✓ Honest
- ✓ Effective
- ✓ Experienced

MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!

WHO: Candace Patencio,
Tribal Council Candidate

WHAT: "Meet the Candidates"
Meeting

WHERE: Andreas Room
Wyndham Palm Springs
888 Tahquitz Canyon Way
Palm Springs, CA

WHEN: Sunday, March 10, 2002
5:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.

Hors d'oeuvres will be served.

MEET CANDACE PATENCIO!!

WHO: Candace Patencio,
Tribal Council Candidate

WHAT: "Meet the Candidates"
Meeting

WHERE: Andreas Room
Wyndham Palm Springs
888 Tahquitz Canyon Way
Palm Springs, CA

WHEN: Sunday, March 10, 2002
5:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.

Hors d'oeuvres will be served.

Dear Friend,

While every election is important, this year's tribal council election will directly impact the future of our tribe. The stakes have never been higher. Your vote can send a message that our tribe chooses to elect leaders who will work for ALL tribal members.

We need an honest, effective and experienced council to move our tribe toward a brighter future. That's why I am asking for your vote. As a tribal council member, I will use my education and gaming business experience to help further our successes while continuing to honor our rich legacy of strength and community. I will work hand-in-hand with the council to make smart decisions that produce positive changes for the tribe.

Casting your vote for me means that you support an *honest, effective and experienced* tribal council. A vote for me is a vote for open dialogue, smart business decisions and a prosperous future.

Your vote is critical. All of us can choose to bring a positive change by working together. But to do it, I need your vote by **March 19th**.

Sincerely,

Candace Patencio

Dear Friend,

Your vote in this year's Tribal Council elections will play a key role in determining the direction of the Agua Caliente Tribe. As a candidate for Tribal Chairman, I want to bring a new energy into the Council, lead with conviction and work for results that benefit you.

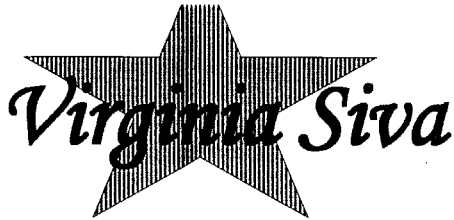
Our tribe needs a leader who understands your concerns and is in tune with your needs. As an experienced member of the tribal council I know our community well and I will remain in touch and available to all members. It is time that our tribe has a leader who is dedicated to working for you.

A vote for me is a vote for new beginnings and a brighter future. New ideas and a fresh outlook are important to the continued prosperity of our tribe. I will use every resource at my disposal to ensure that the Agua Caliente Tribe's success is **YOUR success**.

I ask for your vote and together will face a happy and prosperous future.

Sincerely,

Virginia Siva



YOUR vote can send a message: that our Tribe chooses to elect leaders that are in touch with and will give back to our community.

Virginia Siva is such a leader!

Vote Virginia Siva for Tribal Chairman.

VIRGINIA SIVA:
Sincere Leadership ★ Inspired Results

MEET VIRGINIA SIVA!!

- WHO:** Virginia Siva, Candidate for Tribal Chairman
Candace Patencio, Candidate for Tribal Council
- WHAT:** "Meet the Candidates" Community Meeting
- WHERE:** Andreas Room
Wyndham Palm Springs
[REDACTED]
- WHEN:** Sunday, March 10, 2002
7:00 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.

Coffee and dessert will be served.

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
01/01/2001		SunCruz	Consulting Fees	Account Openi...		X	29,170.00	29,170.00
01/25/2001	91	YMCA	Shareholder Draw		894.00	X		28,276.00
01/25/2001	92	Thomas Scanlon, Esq.	Legal/Professional		1,000.00	X		27,276.00
01/31/2001	1002	Washington Strategies	Professional Campaign...		4,000.00	X		23,276.00
01/31/2001	1003	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		17,026.00
02/02/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	21,500.00	38,526.00
02/02/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	29,585.00	68,111.00
02/02/2001	1004	David Grosh	Subcontractors	DE Hospital Pr...	500.00	X		67,611.00
02/02/2001	1005	Bill Moss	Subcontractors	DE Hospital Pr...	250.00	X		67,361.00
02/02/2001	1006	Saul Ewing, LLP	Loan Rec - AIC	Corp. Filings	500.00	X		66,861.00
02/09/2001			Bank Charges		54.04	X		66,806.96
02/12/2001	1007	Penne & Edward Fue...	Rent	Rent	4,500.00	X		62,306.96
02/12/2001	1008	Penne & Edward Fue...	Rent		2,040.97	X		60,265.99
02/12/2001	1009	Pro Video	Office Equip:Communi...	Audio/Video	591.12	X		59,674.87
02/12/2001			Travel		28.00	X		59,646.87
02/12/2001			Travel:Airfare		702.75	X		58,944.12
02/12/2001			Travel:Airfare		729.50	X		58,214.62
02/12/2001			Travel:Airfare		159.50	X		58,055.12
02/14/2001			Travel:Airfare		608.75	X		57,446.37
02/14/2001			Travel:Rental Car		59.18	X		57,387.19
02/15/2001			Travel:Lodging		453.90	X		56,933.29
02/15/2001			Shareholder Draw		78.07	X		56,855.22
02/16/2001			Supplies		749.45	X		56,105.77
02/16/2001			Office Equipment [split]		2,469.56	X		53,636.21
02/18/2001	1010	Fairfax Antena	Office Equipment:Insta...	Cable/Satellite I...	454.71	X		53,181.50
02/18/2001	1011	Dave Thomson	Supplies	C/S Inst	50.00	X		53,131.50
02/18/2001	1012	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		46,881.50
02/18/2001	1013	Greyhound Productio...	Shareholder Draw		5,000.00	X		41,881.50
02/20/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		125.50	X		41,756.00
02/20/2001			Office Equipment		585.85	X		41,170.15
02/20/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Plain Old Person	112.56	X		41,057.59
02/21/2001			Supplies		136.07	X		40,921.52
02/21/2001			Telephone		664.03	X		40,257.49
02/21/2001			Shareholder Draw		957.04	X		39,300.45
02/22/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		27.55	X		39,272.90
02/23/2001			Supplies		96.32	X		39,176.58
02/26/2001			Office Expense		414.75	X		38,761.83
02/26/2001			Office Equip:Communi...		1,158.20	X		37,603.63
02/26/2001		Greenburg Traurig	Money Market		7,500.00	X		30,103.63
02/28/2001			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...		X	0.47	30,104.10

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC

7/15/2004

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03/01/2001	1014	Penne & Edward Fue...	Rent*		4,500.00	X		25,604.10
03/01/2001	1015	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		19,354.10
03/01/2001			Copies		7.60	X		19,346.50
03/01/2001			Supplies		68.78	X		19,277.72
03/02/2001			Shareholder Draw	Caruso Florist	206.21	X		19,071.51
03/02/2001			Office Expense		105.74	X		18,965.77
03/02/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		303.40	X		18,662.37
03/05/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		114.34	X		18,548.03
03/05/2001			Shareholder Draw		247.41	X		18,300.62
03/05/2001			Shareholder Draw	Dean Deluca	503.25	X		17,797.37
03/09/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	J Pauls	25.79	X		17,771.58
03/09/2001			Copies	Kinko	16.71	X		17,754.87
03/11/2001	1016	Nayer Kamel	Travel	Driver	2,500.00	X		15,254.87
03/11/2001	1017	Maria Silva	Supplies	Clean Office	90.00	X		15,164.87
03/11/2001	1018	Scott Mardell	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Bartending Rec...	20.00	X		15,144.87
03/11/2001	1019	Eun Chung	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		20.00	X		15,124.87
03/11/2001	1020	Stephen Marks	Subcontractors	Suncizuz-client	24,519.98	X		-9,395.11
03/12/2001			Copies	Kinko	21.10	X		-9,416.21
03/12/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Mortons	31.41	X		-9,447.62
03/12/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Hay Adams Ho...	38.00	X		-9,485.62
03/12/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Third Edititon	49.00	X		-9,534.62
03/12/2001			Supplies	Staples	84.92	X		-9,619.54
03/12/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Mortons	400.89	X		-10,020.43
03/15/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	27,518.98	17,498.55
03/15/2001			Money Market	Transfer	15,000.00	X		2,498.55
03/16/2001	1021	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		-3,751.45
03/16/2001	1022	Brian Mann	Subcontractors		500.00	X		-4,251.45
03/16/2001	1023	Brian Mann	Loan Rec - AIC	Phone for AIC	200.00	X		-4,451.45
03/16/2001	1024	Bill Moss	Subcontractors		500.00	X		-4,951.45
03/16/2001	1025	David Clay	-split		7,400.00	X		-12,351.45
03/16/2001	1026	David Clay	Subcontractors		2,885.00	X		-15,236.45
03/16/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Fund Raiser	360.00	X		-15,596.45
03/20/2001		Qorvis	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	25,000.00	-9,403.55
03/20/2001			Shareholder Draw		131.97	X		9,271.58
03/21/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	4 Seasons	23.25	X		9,248.33
03/22/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	RE.Weatons	202.40	X		9,045.93
03/23/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Mortons	236.41	X		8,809.52
03/27/2001			Travel:Parking		57.00	X		8,802.52
03/28/2001		Greenburg Traurig	-split	Deposit		X	19,585.00	28,387.52
03/28/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Mortons	23.71	X		28,363.81

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC

7/15/2004

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03/28/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		193.02	X		28,170.79
03/29/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Capital Grill	23.25	X		28,147.54
03/29/2001			Shareholder Draw	MPS Withdrawl	61.50	X		28,086.04
03/29/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Capital Grill	147.08	X		27,938.96
03/29/2001			Travel:Airfare	Delta	293.50	X		27,645.46
03/29/2001			Travel:Airfare	Delta	293.50	X		27,351.96
03/29/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways	468.99	X		26,882.97
03/29/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways	1,049.00	X		25,833.97
03/30/2001	1029	David Clay	Subcontractors		2,885.00	X		22,948.97
03/30/2001	1030	Regus Business Cent...	Security Deposit	Deposit 1050 C...	14,600.00	X		8,348.97
03/30/2001	1031	David Clay	Subcontractors		2,885.00	X		5,463.97
03/30/2001	1032	Structure Design	Professional Campaign...	Gtranzrig	7,000.00	X		-1,536.03
03/30/2001	1033	Qorvis	Professional Campaign...	Suncruz - client	28,800.00	X		-30,336.03
03/30/2001		Clementine	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Clementine	145.00	X		-30,481.03
03/30/2001			Travel:Parking		42.00	X		-30,523.03
03/30/2001			Travel:Rental Car	Hertz	126.33	X		-30,649.36
03/30/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways	150.00	X		-30,799.36
03/31/2001			Research/Education [s...		46.48	X		-30,845.84
04/02/2001	1034	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		-37,095.84
04/02/2001			Shareholder Draw		201.50	X		-37,297.34
04/02/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Mortons	202.25	X		-37,499.59
04/02/2001			Travel:Lodging	Omni Hotel	269.45	X		-37,769.04
04/02/2001			Travel	Boston Coach	390.90	X		-38,159.94
04/03/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	4 Seasons	11.37	X		-38,171.31
04/03/2001			Travel:Lodging	4 Seasons	1,198.54	X		-39,369.85
04/03/2001			Shipping	Fedex	26.12	X		-39,395.97
04/04/2001		SunCruz	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	50,000.00	10,604.03
04/04/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	62,500.00	73,104.03
04/04/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		118.39	X		72,985.64
04/04/2001			Supplies	Staples	51.80	X		72,933.84
04/05/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Morton's	71.20	X		72,862.64
04/05/2001			Travel	Boston Coach	103.72	X		72,758.92
04/05/2001			Telephone	Verizon NJ	716.10	X		72,042.82
04/05/2001			Travel			X	97.73	72,140.55
04/06/2001	1035	Capital Security	Professional Campaign...	Suncruz - client	10,000.00	X		62,140.55
04/06/2001	1036	Penne & Edward Fue...	Rent		3,000.00	X		59,140.55
04/06/2001	1037	Nayer Kamel	Travel	Driver	950.00	X		58,190.55
04/06/2001			Shipping	Fedex	14.04	X		58,176.51
04/06/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	RH Weatons	108.30	X		58,068.21
04/06/2001			Travel	Boston Coach	136.26	X		57,931.95

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC

7/15/2004

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From 01/01/2001 through 07/15/2004

Sorted by: Date, Type, Number/Ref

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04/08/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Benihana	26.10	X		57,905.85
04/09/2001			Shareholder Draw	Withdrawal	201.50	X		57,704.35
04/09/2001			Travel:Airfare	Continental St ...	945.75	X		56,758.60
04/09/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways ST L	1,489.25	X		55,269.35
04/09/2001			Supplies	Circuit City	56.01	X		55,213.34
04/10/2001			Money Market	Deposit			X 25,000.00	80,213.34
04/11/2001			Travel	Chevron	11.14	X		80,202.20
04/11/2001			Research/Education	Govt Records	63.48	X		80,138.72
04/11/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Capital Grill	210.99	X		79,927.73
04/11/2001			Research/Education	WECCRGP	264.71	X		79,663.02
04/11/2001			Travel	Exxon TX	10.00	X		79,653.02
04/12/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways NC	994.50	X		78,658.52
04/13/2001			Shipping	Fedex	13.00	X		78,645.52
04/13/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Palm Rest TX	200.38	X		78,445.14
04/13/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Westin Hotel TX	6.24	X		78,438.90
04/16/2001			Shipping	Fedex	16.38	X		78,422.52
04/16/2001			Shipping	Fedex	16.38	X		78,406.14
04/16/2001			Shipping	Fedex	17.04	X		78,389.10
04/16/2001			Travel	Texaco TX	20.00	X		78,369.10
04/16/2001			Research/Education	Borders TX	26.96	X		78,342.14
04/16/2001			Shipping	Fedex	62.44	X		78,279.70
04/16/2001			Travel:Parking	Metro Airport	70.00	X		78,209.70
04/16/2001			Travel:Lodging	Westin Hotel TX	313.95	X		77,895.75
04/16/2001			Travel:Airfare	USAirways	608.75	X		77,287.00
04/16/2001			Travel:Airfare	Delta ST L	970.00	X		76,317.00
04/16/2001			Advertising	Creative Impre...	69.00	X		76,248.00
04/18/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit			X 5,000.00	81,248.00
04/18/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	The Oceanaire	146.45	X		81,101.55
04/18/2001			Internet	Register.com	70.00	X		81,031.55
04/18/2001			Shareholder Draw	Direct TV	78.07	X		80,953.48
04/19/2001			Consulting Fees	Sun Cruz			X 50,000.00	130,953.48
04/19/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Zachariah	78.34	X		130,875.14
04/23/2001			Shipping	Fedex	16.12	X		130,859.02
04/24/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit			X 12,500.00	143,359.02
04/24/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Grand Casino ...	146.00	X		143,313.02
04/24/2001			Shipping	Fedex TN	23.92	X		143,289.10
04/24/2001			Miscellaneous	Couchatta - Ki...	404.00	X		142,885.10
04/24/2001			Postage	USPS	136.00	X		142,749.10
04/26/2001			Consulting Fees	Coushatta			X 200,000.00	342,749.10
04/26/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Morjon's	77.05	X		342,702.05

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04/26/2001			Travel:Airfare	Continental S...	1,150.75	X		341,551.30
04/26/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Grand Coughatta	65.95	X		341,485.35
04/26/2001			Travel:Airfare	Continental S...	1,147.75	X		340,337.60
04/26/2001			Copies	kinko	3.12	X		340,334.48
04/30/2001	1038	David Clay	Subcontractors	April Expenses	1,353.39	X		338,981.09
04/30/2001	1039	AIC	Loan Rec - AIC		2,980.00	X		336,001.09
04/30/2001	1040	Thomas Scanlon, Esq.	Legal/Professional		1,000.00	X		335,001.09
04/30/2001	1041	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense		75,000.00	X		260,001.09
04/30/2001	1042	David Clay	Subcontractors		2,115.39	X		257,885.70
04/30/2001	1044	David Clay	Supplies	Reimburse Offi...	133.81	X		257,751.89
04/30/2001	1045	LCS Company	Computer Lease	Computer Lease	1,277.82	X		256,474.07
04/30/2001	1046	Stephen Marks	Subcontractors	Consulting - Su...	8,363.46	X		248,110.61
04/30/2001	1047	Stephen Marks	Subcontractors	Consulting - Su...	2,942.20	X		245,168.41
04/30/2001	1048	GOP Market Place ...	Tele Polls	Suncruz - client	1,499.45	X		243,668.96
04/30/2001	1049	MNET Computers	Office Equipment:Serv...		2,315.00	X		241,353.96
04/30/2001	1050	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Suncruz - client	5,000.00	X		236,353.96
04/30/2001	1051	Anton Design	Campaign Expense	SC Project 401	420.00	X		235,933.96
04/30/2001	1052	American Express	American Express CC		6,300.00	X		229,633.96
04/30/2001	1053	Chris Cathcart	Supplies	Reimburse Offi...	118.57	X		229,515.39
04/30/2001	1054	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		223,265.39
04/30/2001	1056	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		217,015.39
04/30/2001	1057	Chris Cathcart	Shipping		157.43	X		216,857.96
04/30/2001	1058	Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses	P/E 4/30	940.40	X		215,917.56
04/30/2001	1059	David Clay	Payroll Expenses		1,989.67	X		213,927.89
04/30/2001	1060	Brasswod Reasearch	Professional Campaign...	Cushatter - client	13,920.00	X		200,007.89
04/30/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Grand Coughatta	13.40	X		199,994.49
04/30/2001			Shareholder Draw	East of Maui	150.00	X		199,844.49
04/30/2001			Research/Education	Press Center DC	367.48	X		199,477.01
04/30/2001			Miscellaneous	Am Ex	450.00	X		199,027.01
04/30/2001			Shareholder Draw	Thompson Spo...	1,128.00	X		197,899.01
04/30/2001			Travel:Parking	Balance Adjust...	63.00	X		197,836.01
05/01/2001	1062	JBG Properties	Security Deposit	Security Deposit	4,300.00	X		193,536.01
05/01/2001	1063	JBG Properties	Split	Rent May	5,235.00	X		188,301.01
05/01/2001			Shipping		42.12	X		188,258.89
05/01/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...		26.50	X		188,233.39
05/01/2001			Travel:Airfare		649.50	X		188,882.89
05/01/2001			Tax:Payroll [split]	ADP	1,772.10	X		187,110.79
5/02/2001			Travel		36.82	X		187,073.97
05/03/2001	1065	Regus Business Cent...	Split	Inv # [REDACTED]	1,895.37	X		185,278.60
05/03/2001	1066	Regus Business Cent...	Rent	David Clay	6,800.00	X		178,778.60

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05/03/2001	1067	Regus Business Cent...	Rent	04/01 rent	3,520.00	X		175,258.60
05/03/2001	1068	Regus Business Cent...	Office Expense	Inv # [REDACTED]	605.40	X		174,653.20
05/03/2001	1069	American Express	-split-		5,500.00	X		169,153.20
05/03/2001	1071	Brian Mann	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		167,653.20
05/03/2001	1072	Brian Mann	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		166,153.20
05/03/2001	1075	Red Top Cab	Travel	Inv # [REDACTED]	13.92	X		166,139.28
05/04/2001			Shipping		16.12	X		166,123.16
05/07/2001			Shipping		73.44	X		166,049.72
05/07/2001			Travel		1,283.71	X		164,766.01
05/07/2001			Computer Lease	Computers	944.57	X		163,821.44
05/08/2001			Office Equip:Communi...	Bose Stereo	674.69	X		163,146.75
05/08/2001			Shipping		33.48	X		163,113.27
05/08/2001			Miscellaneous [split]		143.89	X		162,969.38
05/08/2001			Bank Charges		41.38	X		162,928.00
05/08/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Blue Moon Fis...	336.66	X		162,591.34
05/11/2001			Shipping		16.12	X		162,575.22
05/15/2001		American Express	Bank Charges [split]		5,500.00	X		157,075.22
05/15/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]	10001	1,406.55	X		155,668.67
05/15/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]	10000	1,588.09	X		154,080.58
05/15/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]	10002	3,662.23	X		150,418.35
05/15/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]		5,175.92	X		145,242.43
05/15/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]		40.47	X		145,201.96
05/17/2001			Shipping		16.12	X		145,185.84
05/18/2001		Greenburg Traurig	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	10,000.00	155,185.84
05/20/2001	1076	Red Top Cab	Travel	Inv # [REDACTED]	153.18	X		155,032.66
05/20/2001	1077	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease		702.08	X		154,330.58
05/20/2001	1078	International Data M...	Professional Campaign...	Inv # [REDACTED]	350.00	X		153,980.58
05/20/2001	1079	Pete Sekulaw	Subcontractors		3,568.00	X		150,412.58
05/20/2001	1080	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...		47,000.00	X		103,412.58
05/20/2001	1081	David Grosh	Loan Rec - AIC	AIC Pmt	2,250.00	X		101,162.58
05/20/2001	1082	Qorvis	Professional Campaign...	Coushatti - client	50,000.00	X		51,162.58
05/20/2001	1083	Capitol Athletic Fou...	Referral Expense		182,000.00	X		-130,837.42
05/21/2001			Shareholder Draw		78.07	X		-130,915.49
05/21/2001			Shipping		24.04	X		-130,939.53
05/23/2001			Legal/Professional		40.47	X		-130,980.00
05/24/2001			-split-	Deposit		X	245,300.00	114,320.00
05/25/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		53.24	X		114,266.76
05/30/2001		Coushatta	Consulting Fees	Deposit-\$287.5...		X	307,500.00	421,766.76
05/31/2001	10003	Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses		1,588.09	X		420,178.67
05/31/2001	10004	David Clay	Payroll Expenses		752.05	X		419,426.62

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05/31/2001	10005	Michael Scanlon	Payroll Expenses		3,866.52	X		415,560.10
05/31/2001			-split-		4,260.40	X		411,299.70
05/31/2001			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...		X	15.77	411,315.47
06/01/2001	1085	BCBS	Insurance:Health		549.00	X		410,766.47
06/01/2001	1086	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...		96,250.00	X		314,516.47
06/01/2001	1087	Stephen Marks	Subcontractors	FL/LA Expens...	11,011.05	X		303,505.42
06/01/2001	1088	JBG Properties	-split-		4,300.00	X		299,205.42
06/01/2001	1089	Chris Cathcart	Travel	LA Reimbursm...	54.38	X		299,151.04
06/04/2001	1090	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors	Services & Bon...	2,250.00	X		296,901.04
06/04/2001		American Express	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		15,000.00	X		281,901.04
06/05/2001	1091	GOP Market Place	Tele Polls	Inv # 13. Cous...	1,697.52	X		280,203.52
06/05/2001	1092	GOP Market Place	Tele Polls	Inv #16 Coush...	1,305.00	X		278,898.52
06/05/2001			Shipping [split]		40.20	X		278,858.32
06/05/2001			Legal/Professional		40.47	X		278,817.85
06/06/2001		SunCruz	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	30,000.00	308,817.85
06/08/2001			Shipping		26.38	X		308,791.47
06/10/2001	1094	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense		50,000.00	X		258,791.47
06/10/2001	1095	Regus Business Cent...	Rent		6,600.00	X		252,191.47
06/10/2001	1097	Regus Business Cent...	Rent	July Rent	6,637.95	X		245,553.52
06/10/2001	1098	Regus Business Cent...	Telephone	Telecom Inv 40...	3,178.63	X		242,374.89
06/11/2001	1099	Washington Express	Shipping		228.77	X		242,146.12
06/11/2001	1100	Qorvis	Professional Campaign...	Coushatta Ven...	30,000.00	X		212,146.12
06/11/2001	1104	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		210,646.12
06/11/2001		Federal Express	Shipping [split]		45.24	X		210,600.88
06/12/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		210,586.84
06/12/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		210,572.80
06/13/2001			Shareholder Draw	Cambridge Bea...	1,230.00	X		209,342.80
06/14/2001			Shareholder Draw [split]		101.50	X		209,241.30
06/14/2001			Shareholder Draw [split]		101.50	X		209,139.80
06/14/2001			Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Withdrawal	101.50	X		209,038.30
06/15/2001	1103	Brian Mann	Loan Rec - AIC		2,500.00	X		206,538.30
06/15/2001	1105	Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses		1,588.09	X		204,950.21
06/18/2001		SunCruz	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	26,200.00	231,150.21
06/18/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Fedex	28.74	X		231,121.47
06/20/2001			Shareholder Draw	Direct TV	78.03	X		231,043.40
06/21/2001		SunCruz	Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	19,000.00	250,043.40
06/22/2001	1106	Pat Gould	Subcontractors		11,000.00	X		239,043.40
06/22/2001			Shipping	Fedex	26.92	X		239,016.48
06/25/2001			Consulting Fees	Qorvis/AIC		X	132,500.00	371,516.48
06/25/2001	1107	Chris Cathcart	Subcontractors	Bonus	2,500.00	X		369,016.48

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06/25/2001	1109	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...		3,250.00	X		365,766.48
06/25/2001	1110	Billmyer/Marks	Subcontractors		34,538.54	X		331,227.94
06/25/2001	1111	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	June services	3,000.00	X		328,227.94
06/25/2001	1112	Friends of Elisa Swa...	Donation/Charity	Donation	500.00	X		327,727.94
06/25/2001	1113	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Media Buy	305,000.00	X		22,727.94
06/28/2001			Telephone	Cingular	806.63	X		21,921.31
06/29/2001			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	850,000.00	871,921.31
06/29/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	618,750.00	1,490,671.31
06/29/2001			Money Market		500,000.00	X		990,671.31
06/29/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Fedex	23.92	X		990,647.39
06/29/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Fedex	14.04	X		990,633.35
06/29/2001			Shareholder Draw	Unknown	8,000.00	X		982,633.35
06/30/2001			Tax:Payroll [split]		5,454.60	X		977,178.75
07/01/2001	1114	Century Strategies	Professional Campaign...		100,000.00	X		877,178.75
07/01/2001	1115	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Media Buy	150,000.00	X		727,178.75
07/01/2001	1116	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...		618,000.00	X		109,178.75
07/01/2001	1122	JBG Properties	-split-		4,670.00	X		104,508.75
07/01/2001	1123	Anton Design	Campaign Expense		591.67	X		103,917.08
07/01/2001	1124	Regus Business Cent...	Rent	Rent July	6,637.95	X		97,279.13
07/02/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		30.62	X		97,248.51
07/02/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		24.04	X		97,224.47
07/02/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		17.04	X		97,207.43
07/02/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		97,192.35
07/03/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		19.90	X		97,172.45
07/05/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	205,000.00	302,172.45
07/05/2001		Cambridge Beaches	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		128.83	X		302,043.62
07/05/2001	1118	Rodney Lane	Subcontractors		16,354.97	X		285,688.65
07/05/2001	1125	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		284,188.65
07/05/2001	1126	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	July Accounting	3,000.00	X		281,188.65
07/05/2001	1127	Red Top Cab	-split-		1,391.43	X		279,797.22
07/05/2001	1128	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	July Computer ...	622.77	X		279,174.45
07/06/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	292,500.00	571,674.45
07/06/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	102,000.00	673,674.45
07/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		56.70	X		673,617.75
07/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		23.92	X		673,593.83
07/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.32	X		673,577.71
07/10/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		19.12	X		673,558.59
7/10/2001		First Union	Bank Charges	Charge Statement	44.00	X		673,514.59
7/10/2001	1120	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment/Serv...	Office Equipment	375.00	X		673,139.59
07/12/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		35.16	X		673,104.43

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07/13/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		20.88	X		673,083.55
07/13/2001			Payroll Expenses [split]		3,686.25	X		669,397.30
07/13/2001			Legal/Professional		50.65	X		669,346.65
07/16/2001		Cambridge Beaches	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		33.60	X		669,313.05
07/16/2001		Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses		1,595.43	X		667,717.62
07/16/2001	1129	Michael Scanlon	-split-		3,913.43	X		663,804.19
07/17/2001	1131	Century Strategies	Professional Campaign...	Mississippi	46,350.00	X		617,454.19
07/19/2001		Cingular	Telephone		139.65	X		617,314.54
07/19/2001		American Express	-split-		42,419.67	X		574,894.87
07/19/2001		Direct TV	Shareholder Draw		78.07	X		574,816.80
07/19/2001	1133	Pat Gould	Travel	July Expenses	1,362.40	X		573,454.40
07/19/2001	1134	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		571,954.40
07/19/2001	1135	Robin Scanlon	Supplies		93.30	X		571,861.10
07/19/2001	1136	BCBS	Insurance:Health		378.20	X		571,482.90
07/19/2001	1137	Verizon	Telephonic		108.40	X		571,374.50
07/19/2001	1139	IMC Health Care	Insurance:Health		1,200.00	X		570,174.50
07/19/2001	1140	MNET Computers	Office Equipment:Serv...		1,547.00	X		568,627.50
07/19/2001	1141	MNET Computers	Office Equipment:Serv...		500.00	X		568,127.50
07/19/2001	1142	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Coushatta	195.50	X		567,932.00
07/19/2001	1143	Washington Express	Shipping	Coushatta	18.52	X		567,913.48
07/19/2001	1145	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Media Buy - C...	55,949.00	X		511,964.48
07/19/2001	1146	Del - AI Group, LLC	Rent	Buffalo Office ...	3,290.00	X		508,674.48
07/23/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	48,650.00	557,324.48
07/23/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		31.72	X		557,292.76
07/23/2001	1147	Vertex Computer	Office Equip:Communi...	Citrix Server	4,044.38	X		553,248.38
07/23/2001	1148	Chris Cathcart	Travel	Expense Reimb...	773.89	X		552,474.49
07/24/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.12	X		552,458.37
07/25/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		17.04	X		552,441.33
07/25/2001	1150	Doug Yeatman	Shareholder Draw		6,000.00	X		546,441.33
07/25/2001	1151	Michael Stillwell	Loan Rec - Pat Gould		13,500.00	X		532,941.33
07/25/2001	1152	Aaron Stetter	Subcontractors	Hiring Bonus	1,500.00	X		531,441.33
07/25/2001	1153	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Media-Buy - C...	58,000.00	X		473,441.33
07/25/2001	1155	Land Rover of Wilmi...	split-...	Purchase Rang...	80,062.94	X		393,378.39
07/25/2001	1156	Wilgus Insurance As...	Insurance:Auto	Auto Insur...	935.60	X		392,442.79
07/26/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	97,500.00	489,942.79
07/26/2001			Money-Market	Withdrawal	328,394.00	X		161,548.79
07/31/2001		Michael Scanlon	Payroll Expenses		4,300.94	X		157,247.85
07/31/2001		Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses		1,395.42	X		155,852.43
07/31/2001	1074	Michael Scanlon	Payroll Expenses	Pat Gould	42,226.68	X		113,625.75
07/31/2001	1157	Pat Gould	Payroll Expenses		5,085.58	X		108,540.17

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07/31/2001	1158	Monica Brenahan	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		106,845.17
07/31/2001	1159	JBG Properties	-split-		4,485.00	X		102,360.17
07/31/2001	1160	Qorvis	Professional Campaign...	Coushatta	30,000.00	X		72,360.17
07/31/2001	1161	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		30,000.00	X		42,360.17
07/31/2001			Tax:Payroll [split]		51,643.10	X		-9,282.93
07/31/2001			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...		X	314.90	-8,968.03
08/01/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	127,500.00	118,531.97
08/01/2001	1163	Century Strategies	Professional Campaign...		47,000.00	X		71,531.97
08/01/2001	1164	Pepco	Utilities	Buffalo Utilities	597.22	X		70,934.75
08/01/2001	1165	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		69,434.75
08/07/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		69,419.67
08/07/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		69,405.63
08/07/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		69,391.59
08/07/2001	1166	Mark W. Dichl, CPA	Legal/Professional	August Accoun...	3,000.00	X		66,391.59
08/08/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		24.04	X		66,367.55
08/08/2001		First Union	Bank Charges		152.00	X		66,215.55
08/14/2001	1167	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Cash Expenses	447.20	X		65,768.35
08/14/2001	1168	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors	Aug Salary	1,500.00	X		64,268.35
08/15/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional		12.00	X		64,256.35
08/15/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses	8/15	9,817.05	X		54,439.30
08/15/2001		ADP	-split-	8/15 P/R	6,328.88	X		48,110.42
08/15/2001	1169	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		10,000.00	X		38,110.42
08/15/2001	1171	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease		1,391.01	X		36,719.41
08/15/2001	1172	Vertex Computer	-split-		7,846.19	X		28,873.22
08/17/2001		Cingular	Telephone		139.65	X		28,733.57
08/17/2001		Direct TV	Shareholder Draw		78.07	X		28,655.50
08/22/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		302.00	X		28,353.50
08/23/2001	1173	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Computer Leas...	3,113.85	X		25,239.65
08/23/2001	1174	Anton Design	Advertising	Bus Cards	330.00	X		24,909.65
08/23/2001	1175	BCBS	Insurance:Health		366.00	X		24,543.65
08/23/2001	1176	Red Top Cab	Travel		438.90	X		24,104.75
08/23/2001	1177	Bell South	Telephone	Blackberry	617.86	X		23,486.89
08/24/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	42,941.00	66,397.89
08/24/2001	1178	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Cash Expenses	255.04	X		66,142.85
08/24/2001	1179	Regus Business Cent...	Rent	ADP	4,132.08	X		62,010.77
08/24/2001	1180	Window Wear	Shareholder Draw	New Office Co...	4,238.00	X		57,772.77
08/24/2001	1181	Kady Construction	Shareholder Draw	New Office Co...	2,525.00	X		55,247.77
8/27/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Federal Express	32.78	X		55,215.59
08/27/2001	1182	Pat Gould	-split-	Cash Expenses	449.35	X		54,766.24
08/27/2001	1183	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Cash Expenses	262.33	X		54,503.91

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08/28/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		30.68	X		54,473.23
08/28/2001	1184	Iam International	Professional Campaign...		10,000.00	X		44,473.23
08/29/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		20.28	X		44,452.95
08/31/2001		Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses		1,595.43	X		42,857.52
08/31/2001		Michael Scanlon	Payroll Expenses		4,300.92	X		38,556.60
08/31/2001		Pat Gould	Payroll Expenses		3,191.04	X		35,365.56
08/31/2001		ADP	-split-		6,328.88	X		29,036.68
08/31/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		29,020.30
08/31/2001	1186	MNET Computers	Office Equipment-Serv...	Coushatta	1,687.50	X		27,332.80
08/31/2001			Payroll Expenses	Payroll	5,030.58	X		22,302.22
08/31/2001			Legal/Professional		94.72	X		22,207.50
09/03/2001	1185	Brasswod Reasearch	Professional Campaign...	Polling - Cough...	17,692.00	X		4,515.50
09/04/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		29.50	X		4,486.00
09/04/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		11.96	X		4,474.04
09/04/2001	1187	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Choctaw	100,000.00	X		-95,525.96
09/05/2001			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	1,500,000.00	1,404,474.04
09/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		34.70	X		1,404,439.34
09/05/2001		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		239.33	X		1,404,200.01
09/05/2001	1188	Regus Business Cent...	-split-	Sept. Services	12,416.57	X		1,391,783.44
09/05/2001	1189	Aaron Stetter	Miscellaneous		70.57	X		1,391,712.87
09/05/2001	1191	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	Sept Services	3,000.00	X		1,388,712.87
09/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		22.88	X		1,388,689.99
09/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		1,388,673.61
09/06/2001		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	11,587.44	X		1,377,086.17
09/06/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional		47.39	X		1,377,038.78
09/07/2001			Money Market	Deposit		X	596,948.00	1,973,986.78
09/07/2001	1192	C. E. Pucket	Miscellaneous		945.00	X		1,973,041.78
09/07/2001	1193	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors	Sept - Dec Salary	12,000.00	X		1,961,041.78
09/07/2001	1194	Vertex Computer	Office Equip:Communi...		1,530.48	X		1,959,511.30
09/10/2001	1197	Verizon	Telephone	Robin's Bill	343.25	X		1,959,168.05
09/12/2001	1195	Crate and Barrel	Office Equip:Furniture		2,127.69	X		1,957,040.36
09/12/2001	1196	Jenna DiRocco	Subcontractors	Reimbursement	220.00	X		1,956,820.36
09/12/2001			Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		956,820.36
09/14/2001		ADP	-split-		1,283.41	X		955,536.95
09/14/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses		2,325.07	X		953,211.88
09/17/2001			Shareholder Draw		36,879.00	X		916,332.88
09/17/2001		Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Transfer	150,000.00	X		766,332.88
09/17/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		18.46	X		766,314.42
09/17/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	9/31 P/R	43,557.90	X		766,300.47
09/17/2001	1198	Crate and Barrel	Office Equip:Furniture		987.60	X		765,312.87

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09/17/2001	1199	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Desks/consales	7,000.00	X		758,312.87
09/17/2001	1201	Brasswod Reasearch	Professional Campaign...	Polling - Cough...	14,262.50	X		744,050.37
09/19/2001		Direct TV	Shareholder Draw		78.07	X		743,972.30
09/19/2001			Money Market		652,472.78	X		91,499.52
09/24/2001	1200	Home Depot	Office Equip:Furniture		690.37	X		90,809.15
09/24/2001	1202	Staples Communicat...	Office Equip:Communi...	Phone system d...	2,465.40	X		88,343.75
09/24/2001	1203	Aaron's Office Furnit...	Office Equip:Furniture	Conference Ta...	2,163.65	X		86,180.10
09/24/2001	1206	Jenna DiRocco	Subcontractors	Consulting Ret...	6,500.00	X		79,680.10
09/24/2001	1207	Chris Cathcart	Subcontractors	Bonus	15,000.00	X		64,680.10
09/24/2001	1208	JBG Properties	-split	Rent	8,970.00	X		55,710.10
09/24/2001	1210	Old Guard Insurance	Insurance:Auto		275.00	X		55,435.10
09/24/2001	1211	BCBS	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	915.00	X		54,520.10
09/24/2001	1212	IMC Health Care	Subcontractors	Cobra Health P...	1,200.00	X		53,320.10
09/24/2001	1213	Robin Scanlon	Office Expense	Expense Reimb...	215.00	X		53,105.10
09/24/2001	1214	Pepco	Utilities		273.65	X		52,831.45
09/24/2001	1215	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Salary	5,132.00	X		47,699.45
09/24/2001	1216	Ellicott Development	Shareholder Draw	Buffalo Rent	1,595.00	X		46,104.45
09/24/2001	1217	Verizon	Telephone		929.60	X		45,174.85
09/24/2001	1218	Michael Scanlon	-split	Back Salary	7,860.52	X		37,314.33
09/24/2001	1219	Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses	Back Salary	1,588.08	X		35,726.25
09/24/2001	1220	Staples Communicat...	Office Equip:Communi...	Telephone syst...	4,930.80	X		30,795.45
09/24/2001	1221	Aaron Stetter	Miscellaneous	Expense	50.77	X		30,744.68
09/24/2001	1222	Nextel	Telephone	Pat Phone	650.42	X		30,094.26
09/24/2001	1223	American Express	-split	AmEx Bill	28,703.54	X		1,390.72
09/25/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		1,376.68
09/25/2001		Document Printing	Copies		2.23	X		1,374.45
09/25/2001	1204	Old Colony	Office Equip:Fixtures		526.68	X		847.77
09/25/2001	1205	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Desks/consales	793.13	X		54.64
09/26/2001		Palm Restuarant	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		67.36	X		-12.72
09/26/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		-26.76
09/26/2001		Exxon	Travel		13.45	X		-40.21
09/27/2001			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	1,500,000.00	1,499,859.79
09/27/2001	ADP		Payroll Expenses	9/31 P/R	2,325.06	X		1,497,634.73
09/27/2001	ADP		-split	9/31 P/R	1,253.43	X		1,496,381.30
09/27/2001	Hertz Rent-A-Car		Travel:Rental Car		202.53	X		1,496,178.77
10/01/2001	Federal Express		Shipping		42.24	X		1,496,136.53
10/01/2001	Federal Express		Shipping		16.00	X		1,496,120.53
10/01/2001	Dell Computers		Computer Lease		169.27	X		1,495,951.29
10/02/2001	Federal Express		Shipping		44.04	X		1,495,907.25
10/02/2001			Money Market	Transfer	1,395,434.00	X		100,503.25

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10/03/2001			Legal/Professional	Deposit	X		12.00	100,515.25
10/03/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	9/31 P/R	43.95	X		100,471.30
10/05/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit	X	15,000.00		115,471.30
10/05/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit	X	940,000.00		1,055,471.30
10/05/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	56,374.00		1,111,845.30
10/05/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	7,430.00		1,119,275.30
10/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		18.60	X		1,119,256.70
10/09/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		1,119,242.66
10/09/2001			Money Market		81,000.00	X		1,038,242.66
10/09/2001	1314	Michael Scanlon	-split-	Merrill Lynch A...	864,512.46	X		173,730.20
10/10/2001		First Union	Bank Charges		42.00	X		173,688.20
10/12/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		173,673.12
10/12/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses	10/15 P/R	2,499.82	X		171,173.30
10/12/2001		ADP	-split-	10/15 P/R	1,762.04	X		169,411.26
10/12/2001	1224	Chubb	Insurance	Office Insurance	1,606.00	X		167,805.26
10/12/2001	1225	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Coushatta - cho...	39,235.67	X		128,569.59
10/12/2001	1226	Jenna DiRocco	Office Expense	Reimbursement	382.48	X		128,187.11
10/12/2001	1227	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	275.00	X		127,912.11
10/12/2001	1228	MCI	Telephone	Robin's Long d...	14.55	X		127,897.56
10/12/2001	1229	IRS	Tax:Licenses		6,000.00	X		121,897.56
10/12/2001	1230	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	Oct-Dec.	9,000.00	X		112,897.56
10/12/2001	1231	R. D. B. Group	Professional Campaign...		4,800.00	X		108,097.56
10/12/2001	1232	Whalley and associates	Professional Campaign...	Choctaw	3,463.00	X		104,634.56
10/12/2001	1233	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense	Expense	259.99	X		104,374.57
10/12/2001	1236	Red Top Cab	Travel		2,013.41	X		102,361.16
10/12/2001	1237	Verizon	Telephone	Robin	81.79	X		102,279.37
10/12/2001	1239	Regus Business Cent...	Office Expense	Sept. Services	2,287.40	X		99,991.97
10/12/2001	1240	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense	Expense	66.06	X		99,925.91
10/15/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.12	X		99,909.79
10/15/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		99,894.71
10/15/2001	1238	Qorvis	Professional Campaign...		100,000.00	X		-105.29
10/16/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	4,753.00		4,647.71
10/16/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		4,631.33
10/16/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		4,617.29
10/17/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	50.00		4,667.29
10/17/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	444,610.00		449,277.29
10/17/2001			Money Market	Deposit	X	7,118.00		456,395.29
10/17/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	10/15 P/R	49,228.00	X		456,346.07
10/19/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		17.04	X		456,329.03
10/19/2001	1235		Miscellaneous		100.00	X		456,229.03

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10/22/2001			Money Market	Deposit		X	290.00	456,519.03
10/22/2001			Money Market	Deposit		X	200,000.00	656,519.03
10/22/2001		Direct TV	Office Expense		127.02	X		656,392.01
10/22/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		111.54	X		656,280.47
10/22/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		53.82	X		656,226.65
10/23/2001	1241	American Express	Travel:Airfare	AmEx Bill	15,000.00	X		641,226.65
10/23/2001	1242	Vertex Computer	Office Equip:Communi...		4,740.93	X		636,485.72
10/23/2001	1243	Window Wear	Shareholder Draw	New Office Co...	1,604.05	X		634,881.67
10/23/2001	1244	Aaron Stetter	Subcontractors	Pay	1,100.00	X		633,781.67
10/23/2001	1245	Robert Rankin	Subcontractors	SS: [REDACTED]	1,250.00	X		632,531.67
10/25/2001	1246	Barer Plumbing	Repaires/Maintenance		85.00	X		632,446.67
10/25/2001	1247	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense		428,000.00	X		204,446.67
10/25/2001	1248	R. D. B. Group	Professional Campaign...		7,200.00	X		197,246.67
10/25/2001	1249	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Poling	21,647.45	X		175,599.22
10/25/2001	1250	BCBS	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	549.00	X		175,050.22
10/25/2001	1251	Staples Communitca...	Office Equip:Communi...	Phone system p...	379.74	X		174,670.48
10/25/2001	1252	Robin Scanton	Office Expense	Expense Reimb...	37.98	X		174,632.50
10/25/2001	1253	Verizon	Telephone		230.73	X		174,401.77
10/25/2001	1255	American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	33,681.16	X		140,720.61
10/26/2001	1257	Brian Mann	Subcontractors		7,500.00	X		133,220.61
10/26/2001	1258	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Salary	4,929.50	X		128,291.11
10/26/2001	1259	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		6,250.00	X		122,041.11
10/26/2001	1260	Window Wear	Shareholder Draw	New Office Co...	4,238.00	X		117,803.11
10/26/2001	1262	Crescent Electrician	Office Equipment:Insta...		204.50	X		117,598.61
10/29/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		60.84	X		117,537.77
10/29/2001	1263	Robin Scanton	Office Expense	Expense Reimb...	39.28	X		117,498.49
10/29/2001	1264	Vertex Computer	-split-	Mike LT, Amy ...	1,876.05	X		115,622.44
10/30/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		111.54	X		115,510.90
10/30/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses	10/31 P/R	2,499.82	X		113,011.08
10/30/2001		ADP	-split-	10/31 P/R	1,762.04	X		111,249.04
10/30/2001	1267	Wilson Research	Professional Campaign...		16,000.00	X		95,249.04
10/30/2001	1269	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	12,000.00	X		83,249.04
10/31/2001		Consulting Fees	Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	700,000.00	783,249.04
10/31/2001		Consulting Fees	Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	2,170,000.00	2,953,249.04
10/31/2001	1270	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Desks/consales	1,348.31	X		2,951,900.73
10/31/2001	1271	Datalink	Office Equipment:Insta...		354.00	X		2,951,546.73
10/31/2001	1272	Paul	Office Expense		300.00	X		2,951,446.73
10/31/2001		Shareholder Draw	Shareholder Draw	Balance Adjust...	387.25	X		2,951,159.48
11/01/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		29.90	X		2,951,129.58
11/01/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		23.44	X		2,951,106.14

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11/01/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		2,951,089.76
11/01/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		2,951,075.72
11/01/2001		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		2,950,871.43
11/01/2001	1265	MCI	Telephone		127.72	X		2,950,743.71
11/01/2001	1273	Re - Maxx	Shareholder Draw		10,000.00	X		2,940,743.71
11/01/2001	1274	Verizon	Telephone		271.61	X		2,940,472.10
11/01/2001	1275	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Salary	4,429.50	X		2,936,042.60
11/01/2001	1276	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		5,000.00	X		2,931,042.60
11/02/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		18.46	X		2,931,024.14
11/02/2001	1277	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Pay	1,861.20	X		2,929,162.94
11/02/2001	1278	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Alabama	25,000.00	X		2,904,162.94
11/02/2001	1279	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...		11,236.02	X		2,892,926.92
11/02/2001	1280	Brasswod Reasearch	Professional Campaign...		11,270.00	X		2,881,656.92
11/02/2001	1281	Washington Post	Subscription		12.67	X		2,881,644.25
11/02/2001	1282	AT&T	Telephone		308.47	X		2,881,335.78
11/02/2001	1284	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	75.78	X		2,881,260.00
11/02/2001	1285	Washington Mutual	Rent:517 Seward	Office Rent No...	3,868.05	X		2,877,391.95
11/02/2001	1287	Washington Post	Subscription		55.51	X		2,877,336.44
11/02/2001	1288	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent	4,710.00	X		2,872,626.44
11/02/2001	1289	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,400,000.00	X		1,472,626.44
11/05/2001			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	1,670,000.00	3,142,626.44
11/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		3,142,610.06
11/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.38	X		3,142,593.68
11/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		3,142,578.60
11/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		3,142,564.56
11/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		3,142,550.52
11/05/2001	1283	Staples Communicat...	Office Equip:Communi...	Phone system p...	840.00	X		3,141,710.52
11/05/2001	1290	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	6,250.00	X		3,135,460.52
11/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		63.38	X		3,135,397.14
11/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		38.94	X		3,135,358.20
11/06/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		26.38	X		3,135,331.82
11/07/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	10/31 P/R	42.22	X		3,135,289.60
11/08/2001	1301	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...	Coush - TX Pr...	100,000.00	X		3,035,289.60
11/08/2001	1304	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...	Invoice #s	350,000.00	X		2,685,289.60
11/09/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	5,000.00	2,690,289.60
11/09/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		66.50	X		2,690,223.10
11/09/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		23.92	X		2,690,199.18
11/09/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.08	X		2,690,184.10
11/09/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		2,690,170.06
11/09/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	50,000.00	X		2,640,170.06

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11/09/2001		First Union	Bank Charges		36.00	X		2,640,134.06
11/09/2001	1305	Staples Communicat...	Supplies	Phone system p...	23.99	X		2,640,110.07
11/09/2001	1306	Washington Express	Shipping		127.89	X		2,639,982.18
11/09/2001	1307	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	1,375.00	X		2,638,607.18
11/09/2001	1308	Washington Gas	Utilities		18.02	X		2,638,589.16
11/09/2001	1309	AT&T	Office Equipment:Insta...	DSL Install, 1...	1,049.93	X		2,637,539.23
11/09/2001	1310	Verizon	Telephone	Robin	84.24	X		2,637,454.99
11/09/2001	1311	Regus Business Cent...	Office Expense	Oct. Services	274.35	X		2,637,180.64
11/09/2001	1312	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	69.38	X		2,637,111.26
11/14/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		2,637,096.32
11/14/2001	1313	Vertex Computer	-split-	Mike LT, Amy ...	13,938.08	X		2,623,158.24
11/15/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit-MBCI		X	2,350,000.00	4,973,158.24
11/15/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	1,563,740.39	X		3,409,417.85
11/15/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses	11/15 P/R	1,688.56	X		3,407,729.29
11/15/2001		ADP	-split-	11/15 P/R	2,787.01	X		3,404,942.28
11/15/2001	1314	Pat Gould	-split-	Salary - 11/15, ...	6,500.00	X		3,398,442.28
11/15/2001	1315	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Reimbursement	606.28	X		3,397,836.00
11/16/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	9,675.00	3,407,511.00
11/17/2001	1292	David Jones	Travel:Lodging	Pat Rent	625.00	X		3,406,886.00
11/19/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	102.00	X		3,406,784.00
11/19/2001		Direct TV	Office Expense		127.02	X		3,406,656.98
11/19/2001	1316	Howard and Hoffma...	Insurance	Corporate Insur...	2,615.00	X		3,404,041.98
11/19/2001	1317	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services (...)	3,278.65	X		3,400,763.33
11/20/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		22.15	X		3,400,741.18
11/20/2001	1318	BCBS	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	549.00	X		3,400,192.18
11/20/2001	1319	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent - 2401 PA...	4,485.00	X		3,395,707.18
11/20/2001	1320	Roll Call	Subscription	Annual Subscri...	296.10	X		3,395,411.08
11/20/2001	1321	Verizon	Telephone	SGPA Phones	235.79	X		3,395,175.29
11/20/2001	1322	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	56.88	X		3,395,118.41
11/20/2001	1323	Washington Post	Subscription	Annual Subscri...	82.49	X		3,395,035.92
11/20/2001	1324	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Invoice Numbe...	7,000.00	X		3,388,035.92
11/20/2001	1325	Robin Axline	Telephone	Phone Reimbur...	53.07	X		3,387,982.85
11/20/2001	1326	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - Mon...	503.58	X		3,387,479.27
11/20/2001	1327	Ellicott Development	Shareholder Draw	Buffalo Rent	1,000.00	X		3,386,479.27
11/21/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Drill Computers	20.60	X		3,386,458.67
11/23/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		17.77	X		3,386,440.90
11/23/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	10/31 P/R	43.95	X		3,386,396.95
11/23/2001		Federal Express	Shipping	Drill Computers	16.97	X		3,386,380.98
11/24/2001	1293	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	12,000.00	X		3,374,380.98
11/26/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	307.50	X		3,374,179.48

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11/26/2001	1291	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Bama Race & ...	75,000.00	X		3,299,179.48
11/26/2001	1330	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Texas	13,000.00	X		3,286,179.48
11/26/2001	1331	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Alabama	130,000.00	X		3,156,179.48
11/27/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	9,343.78	3,165,523.26
11/27/2001			Money Market		2,923,485.08	X		242,038.18
11/27/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		242,023.24
11/27/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		15.41	X		242,007.83
11/27/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	5,000.00	X		237,007.83
11/27/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Wedding	60,000.00	X		177,007.83
11/27/2001	1332	Aaron's Office Furnit...	Office Equip:Furniture	office chairs	2,447.06	X		174,560.77
11/27/2001	1333	American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	22,928.86	X		151,631.91
11/28/2001	1334	Ellicott Development	Shareholder Draw	Buffalo Rent	1,000.00	X		150,631.91
11/28/2001	1335	David Flaherty	Office Equip:Communi...	Cell Phone Pur...	318.67	X		150,313.24
11/28/2001	1336	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Mike's Cell	639.34	X		149,673.90
11/28/2001	1337	Pepco	Utilities		168.30	X		149,505.60
11/28/2001	1338	U. S. Department of ...	Shareholder Draw		23,899.97	X		125,605.63
11/28/2001	1339	Verizon	Telephone	2401 PA Ave. ...	152.57	X		125,453.06
11/28/2001	1340	Robin Axline	-split-	office supplies,...	60.95	X		125,392.11
11/28/2001	1341	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	LA Survey	6,763.00	X		118,629.11
11/28/2001	1342	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	95.53	X		118,533.58
11/28/2001	1343	AT&T	Telephone	Long Distance	904.45	X		117,629.13
11/28/2001	1344	MCI	Telephone	Robin Lond Di...	67.92	X		117,561.21
11/28/2001	1345	Sprint PCS	Telephone	David Cell Ac...	90.96	X		117,470.25
11/28/2001	1346	A Cleaning Service, L...	Repaires/Maintenance	517 Cleaning	600.00	X		116,870.25
11/28/2001	1347	Major Transports	Travel	10/15 - 11/15 ...	816.50	X		116,053.75
11/29/2001	1348	Window Wear	Shareholder Draw	New Office Co...	1,609.50	X		114,444.25
11/29/2001	1350	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Salary - 11/15, ...	5,750.00	X		108,694.25
11/29/2001	1351	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services - ...	11,000.00	X		97,694.25
11/30/2001		ADP	-split-	11/30 P/R	2,464.55	X		95,229.70
11/30/2001		ADP	-split-	11/30 P/R	2,787.22	X		92,442.48
11/30/2001	1352	Vertex Computer	-split-	Erin computer, ...	14,402.27	X		78,040.21
11/30/2001	4203	Amy Biederman	Payroll Expenses		1,263.60	X		76,776.61
11/30/2001			Shareholder Draw	Balance Adjust...	7,781.04	X		68,995.57
12/01/2001		CVS	Office Expense		48.01	X		68,947.56
12/03/2001		Dell Computers	Computer Lease	Washington Cit...	204.22	X		68,743.27
12/03/2001	1353	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Alabama	19,692.00	X		49,051.27
12/03/2001	1354	IMC Health Care	Subcontractors	Cobra Health P...	1,200.00	X		47,851.27
12/03/2001	1355	David Jones	Travel/Lodging	Pat Res	750.00	X		47,101.27
12/04/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	44,000.00	91,101.27
12/04/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.22	X		91,085.05

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12/04/2001	1356	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Desks/consoles	2,522.14	X		88,562.91
12/05/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		88,547.97
12/05/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional	11/30 P/R	45.67	X		88,502.30
12/06/2001		Washington Mutual	Rent:517 Seward	Office Rent De...	3,868.05	X		84,634.25
12/06/2001	1358	Igor Communications	Advertising	Deposit - Biz C...	2,000.00	X		82,634.25
12/06/2001	1359	Document solution/X...	Office Equip:Communi...	Color Printer	5,400.00	X		77,234.25
12/06/2001	1360	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense	Expense Reimb...	1,418.19	X		75,816.06
12/10/2001	1361	Erie Insurance	Insurance	Home owners I...	1,530.00	X		74,286.06
12/11/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		13.77	X		74,272.29
12/11/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		13.91	X		74,258.38
12/11/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		74,243.44
12/11/2001		First Union	Bank Charges		53.00	X		74,190.44
12/12/2001			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	23,192.00	97,382.44
12/12/2001	1362	Brian J. Mann	Professional Campaign...	Professional Se...	5,000.00	X		92,382.44
12/12/2001	1363	Legg Mason Wood ...	Shareholder Draw	Preferred Acco...	50,000.00	X		42,382.44
12/13/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		16.83	X		42,365.61
12/13/2001		ADP	Payroll Expenses		4,423.35	X		37,942.26
12/13/2001		ADP	-split-		2,830.96	X		35,111.30
12/13/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional		45.67	X		35,065.63
12/13/2001		ADP	Legal/Professional		47.09	X		35,018.54
12/13/2001	1364	Occasions Caterers	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Christmas Party	4,475.00	X		30,543.54
12/14/2001			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	16,000.00	46,543.54
12/14/2001	1365	Amy Biederman	Office Expense		161.37	X		46,382.17
12/14/2001	1366	Washington Strategies	Professional Campaign...	Inv [REDACTED]	5,000.00	X		41,382.17
12/14/2001	1367	Washington Express	Shipping	Courier	60.84	X		41,321.33
12/14/2001	1368	Igor Communications	Office Expense	Biz Cards, Lett...	1,368.75	X		39,952.58
12/14/2001	1369	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Mike's Cell	988.61	X		38,963.97
12/14/2001	1370	Verizon	Shareholder Draw	2401 PA Ave. ...	47.90	X		38,916.07
12/14/2001	1371	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Invoice Numbe...	10,500.00	X		28,416.07
12/14/2001	1372	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	915.00	X		27,501.07
12/14/2001	1373	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Insta...	Blackberry acti...	3,052.48	X		24,448.59
12/14/2001	1374	R. D. B. Group	Professional Campaign...	CA	2,250.00	X		22,198.59
12/14/2001	1375	Erin Yeatman	Telephone	CCAGE Phone...	284.48	X		21,914.11
12/14/2001	1376	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	CCAGE Cell	92.87	X		21,821.24
12/14/2001	1377	Washington Gas	Utilities	517 Gas	40.65	X		21,780.59
12/14/2001	1378	Dave Flaherty	Professional Campaign...	LA Data	1,500.00	X		20,280.59
12/14/2001	1379	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	80.43	X		20,200.16
12/14/2001	1380	Robin Axline	-split-	cell phone, shi...	68.74	X		20,131.42
12/14/2001	1381	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Strv...	Tech Work	175.00	X		19,956.42
12/14/2001	1382	Anton Design	Advertising	Bus Cards	173.82	X		19,782.60

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12/14/2001	1383	AT&T	Internet	DSL	399.95	X		19,383.15
12/14/2001	1384	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	124.88	X		19,258.27
12/14/2001	1385	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	93.02	X		19,165.25
12/14/2001	1386	Red Top Cab	Travel	Acct #'s [REDACTED]	1,343.33	X		17,821.92
12/14/2001	1387	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Salary - 12/15, ...	5,750.00	X		12,071.92
12/17/2001	1388	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Conference Ta...	7,762.00	X		4,309.92
12/18/2001			Consulting Fees	Aic/GT		X	110,000.00	114,309.92
12/19/2001	1389	Old Colony Shop	Office Equip:Fixtures	Framing	1,034.55	X		113,275.37
12/19/2001	1390	David Flaherty	Subcontractors	Merry Christmas	1,000.00	X		112,275.37
12/19/2001	1391	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Merry Christmas	2,500.00	X		109,775.37
12/19/2001	1392	Erin Yeatman	Subcontractors	Merry Christmas	1,000.00	X		108,775.37
12/19/2001	1393	Robin Scanlon	Subcontractors	Merry Christmas	3,000.00	X		105,775.37
12/19/2001	1396	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense		300,000.00	X		-194,224.63
12/20/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		13.77	X		-194,238.40
12/20/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		27.29	X		-194,265.69
12/20/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		27.77	X		-194,293.46
12/20/2001		Direct TV	Office Expense		78.07	X		-194,371.53
12/20/2001		ADP	-split-		20,776.75	X		-215,148.28
12/20/2001	1399	Amy Biederman	Office Expense		321.42	X		-215,469.70
12/21/2001	1400	Aaron's Office Furnit...	Office Equip:Furniture	office chairs	1,560.87	X		-217,030.57
12/21/2001	1404	Thompson Communi...	Professional Campaign...		50,000.00	X		-267,030.57
12/24/2001		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		61.50	X		-267,092.07
12/24/2001		American Express	Travel:Lodging	AmEx Bill	26,739.30	X		-293,831.37
12/26/2001		Federal Express	Shipping		8.93	X		-293,840.30
12/26/2001		ADP	-split-		10,207.64	X		-304,047.94
12/28/2001			Money Market	Deposit		X	248,258.00	-55,789.94
12/28/2001	1405	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	CA Survey	7,315.00	X		-63,104.94
12/28/2001	1406	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent - 2401 PA...	4,485.00	X		-67,589.94
12/28/2001	1407	R. D. B. Group	Professional Campaign...	LA	7,052.73	X		-74,642.67
12/28/2001	1408	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	235.79	X		-74,878.46
12/28/2001	1409	Division of Revenue	Tax:Income	[REDACTED]	350,000.00	X		-424,878.46
12/28/2001	1410	Division of Revenue	Tax:Licenses	[REDACTED]	33.75	X		-424,912.21
12/31/2001			MoneyMarket	Deposit		X	29,576.00	-395,336.21
12/31/2001		ADP	-split-		2,787.02	X		-398,123.23
12/31/2001		ADP	-split-		22,261.00	X		-420,384.23
12/31/2001	1398	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense...		1,718,425.00	X		-2,138,809.23
12/31/2001	1443	Century Strategies	Professional Campaign...		250,000.00	X		-2,388,809.23
12/31/2001	4508	Amy Biederman	Payroll Expenses		1,836.33	X		-2,390,645.56
12/31/2001	4509	David Flaherty	Payroll Expenses		1,994.58	X		-2,392,640.14
12/31/2001	4510	ADP	Payroll Expenses		1,778.62	X		-2,394,418.76

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12/31/2001			Shareholder Draw	Balance Adjust...	X	142.29	-2,393,773.00	
01/01/2002			Shareholder Draw	Deposit	X	1,636.33	-2,392,137.00	
01/02/2002			Money Market	Deposit	X	2,754,942.00	362,804.86	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	19.13	362,785.73	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	16.58	362,769.15	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	16.58	362,752.57	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	16.58	362,735.99	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	16.32	362,719.67	
01/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	13.77	362,705.90	
01/02/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent Jan...	X	3,868.05	358,837.85	
01/02/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		X	204.29	358,633.56	
01/03/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit	X	252,500.00	611,133.56	
01/03/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		X	49.11	611,084.45	
01/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	14.79	611,069.66	
01/03/2002	1411	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	12/31/01 - Less...	X	5,750.00	605,319.66	
01/03/2002	1412	David Jones	Travel:Lodging	Pat Rent	X	750.00	604,569.66	
01/04/2002	1413	Robin Axline	Subcontractors		X	3,000.00	601,569.66	
01/08/2002	1414	Ellicott Development	Miscellaneous	Buffalo Rent	X	1,000.00	600,569.66	
01/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	33.92	600,535.74	
01/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	13.77	600,521.97	
01/09/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		X	202.00	600,319.97	
01/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		X	32.15	600,287.82	
01/10/2002	1415	MCI	Telephone	Robin Lond Di...	X	204.08	600,083.74	
01/10/2002	1416	Pepco	Utilities		X	144.15	599,939.59	
01/10/2002	1417	AT&T	Telephone	517 Long Dista...	X	214.19	599,725.40	
01/10/2002	1418	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	January	X	3,000.00	596,725.40	
01/14/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	X	10,000.00	586,725.40	
01/14/2002		ADP	-split-	1/15 P/R	X	4,916.43	581,808.97	
01/14/2002		ADP	-split-	1/15 P/R	X	7,418.56	574,390.41	
01/14/2002	1419	American Express	Miscellaneous	VOID: AmEx ...	X		574,390.41	
01/14/2002	1420	American Express	American Express CC	AmEx Bill	X	26,739.30	547,651.11	
01/14/2002	1421	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Serv...	Telephone Pro...	X	1,443.84	546,207.27	
01/14/2002	1422	AT&T	Telephone	517 Long dista...	X	160.11	546,047.16	
01/14/2002	1423	Robin Axline	Telephone		X	84.87	545,962.29	
01/14/2002	1424	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	X	84.87	545,877.42	
01/14/2002	1425	Major Sports	Travel:Car Services	11/28/01-1/13/...	X	1,886.00	543,991.42	
01/14/2002	1426	Amy Biederman	Travel:Parking	Expense Reimb...	X	38.00	543,953.42	
01/14/2002	1427	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Invoice Numbe...	X	7,000.00	536,953.42	
01/14/2002	1428	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	X	732.00	536,221.42	
01/14/2002	1429	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Expenses	X	1,364.92	534,856.50	

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01/14/2002	1430	Vector Security	Office Equip:Security	Security - Inst...	423.00	X		534,462.50
01/14/2002	1431	Washington Gas	Utilities	309 Gas	85.75	X		534,376.75
01/14/2002	1432	Washington Gas	Utilities	517 Gas - Acct...	154.32	X		534,222.43
01/14/2002	1433	Washington Express	Shipping	Courier	49.95	X		534,172.48
01/14/2002	1434	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Dave Table	608.06	X		533,564.42
01/14/2002	1435	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Dec-J...	1,600.00	X		531,964.42
01/14/2002	1436	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - mon...	40.29	X		531,924.13
01/14/2002	1437	AT&T	Internet	DSL	399.95	X		531,524.18
01/14/2002	1438	Through The Grapevi...	Office Expense	Christmas Flo...	169.20	X		531,354.98
01/14/2002	1439	LVM Productions	Advertising	T-Shirts	1,974.80	X		529,380.18
01/14/2002	1440	David Flaherty	Supplies	Expense Reimb...	62.68	X		529,317.50
01/14/2002	1441	Erin Yeatman	-split-	Expense Reimb...	772.06	X		528,545.44
01/14/2002	1442	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #'s [REDACTED]	251.51	X		528,293.93
01/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.00	X		528,277.93
01/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.65	X		528,263.28
01/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		528,248.70
01/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		202.00	X		528,046.70
01/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		528,030.03
01/15/2002	1444	Erin Yeatman	Payroll Expenses	Payroll-12/10...	3,923.49	X		524,106.54
01/15/2002	1445	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	1/15/02 - Less ...	5,750.00	X		518,356.54
01/15/2002	1446	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards, Lett...	2,860.49	X		515,496.05
01/16/2002		American Express	Travel:Lodging	AmEx Bill	10,000.00	X		505,496.05
01/16/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		59.75	X		505,436.30
01/16/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		47.39	X		505,388.91
01/16/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		505,378.91
01/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.97	X		505,356.94
01/18/2002			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	1,505,000.00	2,010,356.94
01/18/2002			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	1,500,000.00	3,510,356.94
01/18/2002			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	1,000,000.00	4,510,356.94
01/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.40	X		4,510,341.54
01/18/2002	1447	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Licenses	Acct. # [REDACTED]	80.00	X		4,510,261.54
01/18/2002	1448	Tim Douglas	Repairs/Maintenance	Handy work	150.00	X		4,510,111.54
01/21/2002	1449	Glover Associates Int...	Professional Campaign...	First Retainer Pa...	6,000.00	X		4,504,111.54
01/22/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	12,000.00	4,516,111.54
01/22/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.02	X		4,516,033.47
01/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		33.58	X		4,515,999.89
01/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Acct # [REDACTED]	29.88	X		4,515,970.01
01/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Acct # [REDACTED]	15.40	X		4,515,954.61
01/23/2002	1450	PMCC Mortgage Cor...	Shareholder Draw	Loan # [REDACTED]	3,328.96	X		4,512,625.65
01/23/2002	1451	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	138.45	X		4,512,487.20

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01/24/2002			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	800,000.00	5,312,487.20
01/24/2002	1452	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	LA	25,000.00	X		5,287,487.20
01/25/2002		Cingular	Telephone		356.97	X		5,287,130.23
01/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Acct # [REDACTED]	15.66	X		5,287,114.57
01/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		5,287,099.99
01/25/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		20.00	X		5,287,079.99
01/30/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	20,250.00	5,307,329.99
01/30/2002			Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		4,307,329.99
01/30/2002			Shareholder Draw		950,000.00	X		3,357,329.99
01/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.65	X		3,357,315.34
01/30/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		52.56	X		3,357,262.78
01/30/2002		American Express	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	AmEx Bill	3,971.28	X		3,353,291.50
01/30/2002			Payroll Expenses [split]		11,634.54	X		3,341,656.96
01/30/2002			Payroll Expenses [split]		12,908.39	X		3,328,748.57
01/31/2002	1453	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	145.04	X		3,328,603.53
01/31/2002	1454	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	MS Survey	17,682.00	X		3,310,921.53
01/31/2002	1455	Federal Express	Shipping	Acct # [REDACTED]	31.35	X		3,310,890.18
01/31/2002	1456	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards, Lett...	2,309.01	X		3,308,581.17
01/31/2002	1457	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	180.00	X		3,308,401.17
01/31/2002	1458	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - mon...	120.86	X		3,308,280.31
01/31/2002	1459	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service	1,002.00	X		3,307,278.31
01/31/2002	1460	Occasions Caterers	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	Christmas Party	1,096.50	X		3,306,181.81
01/31/2002	1461	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	517 Seward/ A...	65.38	X		3,306,116.43
01/31/2002	1462	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	231.28	X		3,305,885.15
01/31/2002	1463	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services - ...	12,613.75	X		3,293,271.40
01/31/2002	1464	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Dave Table	158.63	X		3,293,112.77
01/31/2002	1465	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services - ...	10,782.00	X		3,282,330.77
01/31/2002	1466	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	Jan. Research	500.00	X		3,281,830.77
01/31/2002	1467	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent - 2401 PA...	4,485.00	X		3,277,345.77
01/31/2002	1469	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	1/31/02 - Less ...	5,750.00	X		3,271,595.77
01/31/2002	1475	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	55,559.00	X		3,216,036.77
02/01/2002			Legal/Professional	Deposit		X	31.25	3,216,068.02
02/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		3,216,054.79
02/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		12.63	X		3,216,042.16
02/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent Jan...	3,868.05	X		3,212,174.11
02/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		3,211,969.82
02/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		3,211,956.59
02/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.63	X		3,211,943.96
02/01/2002	1470	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	January	3,000.00	X		3,208,943.96
02/01/2002	1471	David Jones	Travel:Lodging	Payment to be ...	600.00	X		3,208,343.96

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02/01/2002	1472	Ellicott Development	Miscellaneous	Buffalo Rent	1,000.00	X		3,207,343.96
02/02/2002	1473	Robin Axline	Subcontractors		3,000.00	X		3,204,343.96
02/06/2002			Consulting Fees	Coush-Jena		X	1,200,000.00	4,404,343.96
02/07/2002	1476	Jon Van Horne	Legal/Professional	Legal Work - 3...	20,000.00	X		4,384,343.96
02/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		4,384,329.38
02/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.10	X		4,384,309.28
02/12/2002		Cingular	Telephone		190.31	X		4,384,118.97
02/12/2002	1477	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	117.40	X		4,384,001.57
02/12/2002	1478	Federal Express	Shipping		14.79	X		4,383,986.78
02/12/2002	1479	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	732.00	X		4,383,254.78
02/12/2002	1480	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Invoice Numbe...	7,000.00	X		4,376,254.78
02/12/2002	1481	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	58.33	X		4,376,196.45
02/12/2002	1482	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	90.77	X		4,376,105.68
02/12/2002	1483	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	517 Seward/ A...	71.63	X		4,376,034.05
02/12/2002	1484	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	Alabama - Radio	4,194.42	X		4,371,839.63
02/12/2002	1485	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	DE Survey	15,586.00	X		4,356,253.63
02/12/2002	1486	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Feby	1,200.00	X		4,355,053.63
02/12/2002	1488	AT&T	Telephone	DSL	399.95	X		4,354,653.68
02/12/2002	1489	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	LA - Jena	30,000.00	X		4,324,653.68
02/12/2002	1491	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense	Expenses	673.35	X		4,323,980.33
02/13/2002		ADP	-split-		385.55	X		4,323,594.78
02/13/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		113.00	X		4,323,481.78
02/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.85	X		4,323,456.93
02/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.66	X		4,323,441.27
02/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,323,428.17
02/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,323,415.07
02/13/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		301.50	X		4,323,113.57
02/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.85	X		4,323,097.72
02/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.15	X		4,323,088.57
02/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		72.50	X		4,323,016.07
02/14/2002			Shareholder Draw		20,000.00	X		4,303,016.07
02/14/2002		Alexander Strategies ...	Professional Campaign...		120,000.00	X		4,183,016.07
02/14/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		4,182,938.00
02/14/2002			Payroll Expenses [split]		12,908.39	X		4,170,029.61
02/14/2002			Payroll Expenses [split]		8,679.76	X		4,161,349.85
02/15/2002	1490	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	2/15/02- Less ...	5,750.00	X		4,155,599.85
02/19/2002			Consulting Fees	Sag Chip-MISC		X	1,869,831.00	6,025,430.85
02/19/2002	1492	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...		51,679.00	X		5,973,751.85
02/20/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		43.00	X		5,973,708.85
02/20/2002	1494	Glover Associates Int...	Professional Campaign...	Final Payment ...	34,291.16	X		5,939,417.69

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02/21/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		50.83	X		5,939,366.86
02/21/2002		Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	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/Professional	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 # [REDACTED]	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	[REDACTED]	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# [REDACTED]	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. # [REDACTED]	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	[REDACTED]	773.01	X		2,823,145.58
02/27/2002	1520	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment/Serv...	Service/Equipme...	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	MBGI-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

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02/28/2002	1522	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	2/28/02 - Less ...	6,750.00	X		4,347,253.08
02/28/2002	1523	Pat Gould	-split-	Expenses	3,467.08	X		4,343,786.00
02/28/2002	1524	David Jones	Travel:Lodging	rent	600.00	X		4,343,186.00
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		29.00	X		4,343,157.00
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.50	X		4,343,140.50
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,343,127.40
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,343,114.30
03/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent Jan...	3,868.05	X		4,339,246.25
03/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		4,339,041.96
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		25.25	X		4,339,016.71
03/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.40	X		4,339,007.31
03/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		101.50	X		4,338,905.81
03/01/2002	1525	IMC Health Care	Subcontractors	Cobra Health P...	1,628.00	X		4,337,277.81
03/01/2002	1526	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	MS Bonus	50,000.00	X		4,287,277.81
03/04/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	1,002,750.00	5,290,027.81
03/04/2002	1527	Datalink	Office Equipment:Serv...		350.00	X		5,289,677.81
03/05/2002			Money Market	Deposit		X	2,000,000.00	7,289,677.81
03/05/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	2,100,000.00	9,389,677.81
03/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.45	X		9,389,663.36
03/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		9,389,650.26
03/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		9,389,637.16
03/05/2002		District of Columbia	Tax:Property		41.50	X		9,389,595.66
03/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.85	X		9,389,581.81
03/05/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		4,753,108.94	X		4,636,472.87
03/06/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional	P/R 2/28	50.83	X		4,636,422.04
03/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,636,408.94
03/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		4,636,395.84
03/13/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	1,450.00	4,637,845.84
03/13/2002	1529	F.D. Grayton, Inc.	Repaires/Maintanence	Plumber	340.04	X		4,637,505.80
03/14/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses	P/R 3/15	12,885.32	X		4,624,620.48
03/14/2002		ADP	-split-	P/R 3/15	8,464.52	X		4,616,155.96
03/14/2002			Shareholder Draw		150,000.00	X		4,466,155.96
03/15/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	3,405,000.00	7,871,155.96
03/15/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	1,875,000.00	9,746,155.96
03/15/2002	1286	District of Columbia	Tax:Franchise		201,664.00	X		9,544,491.96
03/15/2002	1530	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense	VOID: Expenses		X		9,544,491.96
03/15/2002	1531	Erin Yeatman	Payroll Expenses	Bonus	2,500.00	X		9,541,991.96
03/15/2002	1532	Dave Flaherty	Payroll Expenses	Bonus	2,500.00	X		9,539,491.96
03/15/2002	1533	Aaron Stetter	Payroll Expenses	Bonus	2,500.00	X		9,536,991.96
03/15/2002	1534	Amy Biederman	Payroll Expenses	Bonus	2,500.00	X		9,534,491.96

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03/15/2002	1535	Chris Cathcart	Payroll Expenses	Bonus	5,000.00	X		9,529,491.96
03/15/2002	1536	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,466.61	X		9,527,025.35
03/15/2002	1537	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	131.75	X		9,526,893.60
03/15/2002	1538	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	134.75	X		9,526,758.85
03/15/2002	1539	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	280.00	X		9,526,478.85
03/15/2002	1540	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	76.84	X		9,526,402.01
03/15/2002	1541	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	63.84	X		9,526,338.17
03/15/2002	1542	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	248.09	X		9,526,090.08
03/15/2002	1543	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	coushatta	3,500.00	X		9,522,590.08
03/15/2002	1544	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Choctaw	3,500.00	X		9,519,090.08
03/15/2002	1545	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services - ...	5,300.09	X		9,513,789.99
03/15/2002	1546	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	123.00	X		9,513,666.99
03/15/2002	1547	AT&T	Telephone	DSL	399.95	X		9,513,267.04
03/15/2002	1548	Robin Axline	Telephone	cell phone	112.81	X		9,513,154.23
03/15/2002	1549	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning March	1,200.00	X		9,511,954.23
03/15/2002	1550	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	40.29	X		9,511,913.94
03/15/2002	1551	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Expense	791.34	X		9,511,122.60
3/15/2002	1552	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Expenses	717.09	X		9,510,405.51
03/15/2002	1553	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Payroll	5,750.00	X		9,504,655.51
03/18/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		102.00	X		9,504,553.51
03/18/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	38,877.75	X		9,465,675.76
03/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.33	X		9,465,660.43
03/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		11.31	X		9,465,649.12
03/18/2002	1554	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Saginaw Chipp...	9,500.00	X		9,456,149.12
03/21/2002	1555	Webaccess, Inc.	Office Equipment:Serv...	Install and mon...	1,781.00	X		9,454,368.12
03/21/2002	1556	Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	[REDACTED]	3,328.96	X		9,451,039.16
03/21/2002	1557	Jack Abramoff	Referral Expense	1099 to Kay G...	4,080,997.00	X		5,370,042.16
03/21/2002	1558	Kevin Ring	Referral Expense		67,500.00	X		5,302,542.16
03/22/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		5,302,464.09
03/22/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional	P/R 2/28	50.83	X		5,302,413.26
03/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		30.65	X		5,302,382.61
03/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		30.50	X		5,302,352.11
03/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.17	X		5,302,338.94
03/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.17	X		5,302,325.77
03/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.17	X		5,302,312.60
03/22/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional	Amendment	159.75	X		5,302,152.85
03/22/2002		Verizon	Telephone	Acct# 0007164...	93.87	X		5,302,058.98
03/22/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		4,302,058.98
03/23/2002			Consulting Fees	Tigua-MISC		X	829,500.00	5,131,558.98
03/25/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		12.00	X		5,131,546.98

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03/25/2002		Cingular	Telephone		190.57	X		5,131,356.41
03/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.33	X		5,131,341.08
03/25/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional	P/R 2/28	150.00	X		5,131,191.08
03/25/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		300,000.00	X		4,831,191.08
03/25/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		25,000.00	X		4,806,191.08
03/25/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	7,105.59	X		4,799,085.49
03/25/2002	1560	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	LA Survey	7,560.00	X		4,791,525.49
03/25/2002	1561	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Serv...	Telephone Pro...	280.00	X		4,791,245.49
03/25/2002	1562	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Serv...	Telephone Pro...	840.00	X		4,790,405.49
03/25/2002	1563	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	March Research	500.00	X		4,789,905.49
03/25/2002	1564	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	1,617.97	X		4,788,287.52
03/25/2002	1565	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	331.84	X		4,787,955.68
03/25/2002	1566	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	650.46	X		4,787,305.22
03/25/2002	1567	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-03	1,892.90	X		4,785,412.32
03/25/2002	1568	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent - 2401 PA...	4,485.00	X		4,780,927.32
03/25/2002	1569	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct# [REDACTED]	354.69	X		4,780,572.63
03/27/2002		Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	media	33,600.00	X		4,746,972.63
03/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		45.23	X		4,746,927.40
03/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		43.17	X		4,746,884.23
03/28/2002		Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	media	116,680.00	X		4,630,204.23
03/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		114.57	X		4,630,089.66
03/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		64.82	X		4,630,024.84
03/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.17	X		4,630,011.67
03/29/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses	P/R 3/31	12,885.33	X		4,617,126.34
03/29/2002		ADP	-split-	P/R 3/31	8,460.50	X		4,608,665.84
04/01/2002			Consulting Fees	Sag Chip		X	1,200,000.00	5,808,665.84
04/01/2002			Legal/Professional	Deposit		X	34.00	5,808,729.84
04/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		114.57	X		5,808,615.27
04/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		202.00	X		5,808,413.27
04/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent april	3,868.05	X		5,804,545.22
04/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		5,804,340.93
04/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		106.23	X		5,804,234.70
04/01/2002	1295		Shareholder Draw		9,962.00	X		5,794,272.70
04/01/2002	1296		Shareholder Draw		18,842.50	X		5,775,430.20
04/01/2002	1297		Shareholder Draw		19,235.78	X		5,756,194.42
04/01/2002	1298		Shareholder Draw		9,000.00	X		5,747,194.42
04/01/2002	1528	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Aaron Steiner	9,500.00	X		5,737,694.42
04/01/2002	1570	United States Post M...	Professional Campaign...	Sag Mailer	455.49	X		5,737,238.93
04/01/2002	1571	Pat Gould	Split	Payroll, less tax	6,750.00	X		5,730,488.93
04/01/2002	1572	void	Miscellaneous	VOID		X		5,730,488.93

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04/02/2002	1573	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		4,350,000.00	X		1,380,488.93
04/02/2002	1574	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		500,000.00	X		880,488.93
04/03/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional	P/R 3/31	50.83	X		880,438.10
04/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		22.36	X		880,415.74
04/03/2002	1576	Brian J. Mann	Subcontractors	Professional Se...	2,500.00	X		877,915.74
04/04/2002			Consulting Fees	Tigua-MISC		X	1,293,180.00	2,171,095.74
04/04/2002			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	2,100,000.00	4,271,095.74
04/04/2002	1577	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Payroll	3,000.00	X		4,268,095.74
04/04/2002	1578	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	3,677.08	X		4,264,418.66
04/04/2002	1579	Trakker Solutions	Professional Campaign...	Database - Sag ...	5,000.00	X		4,259,418.66
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		127.62	X		4,259,291.04
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		122.84	X		4,259,168.20
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		70.58	X		4,259,097.62
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		70.58	X		4,259,027.04
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		68.82	X		4,258,958.22
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		52.01	X		4,258,906.21
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.79	X		4,258,877.42
04/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		11.36	X		4,258,866.06
04/08/2002	1580	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		2,138,025.00	X		2,120,841.06
04/08/2002	1581	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Lands...	31,000.00	X		2,089,841.06
04/08/2002	1582	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	13,581.06	X		2,076,260.00
04/08/2002	1583	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	March	3,000.00	X		2,073,260.00
04/08/2002	1584	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		46,497.00	X		2,026,763.00
04/08/2002	1585	Brian J. Mann	Subcontractors	Professional Se...	5,000.00	X		2,021,763.00
04/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		43.18	X		2,021,719.82
04/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.40	X		2,021,704.42
04/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.65	X		2,021,689.77
04/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		2,021,675.19
04/10/2002			Consulting Fees	Sandia		X	875,000.00	2,896,675.19
04/10/2002	1586	Frabrizio and McLau...	Professional Campaign...	NM Poll 2	10,000.00	X		2,886,675.19
04/11/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		52.00	X		2,886,623.19
04/11/2002		Cingular	Telephone		430.38	X		2,886,192.81
04/11/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		210.50	X		2,885,982.31
04/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		62.37	X		2,885,919.94
04/11/2002	1587	Pepco	Utilities		140.68	X		2,885,779.26
04/11/2002	1588	Pepco	Utilities		112.45	X		2,885,666.81
04/11/2002	1589	Aaron Stetter	Office Expense		802.43	X		2,884,864.38
04/11/2002	1590	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC	163.08	X		2,884,701.30
04/11/2002	1591	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	Temp Services	1,214.25	X		2,883,487.05
04/11/2002	1592	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	4,831.55	X		2,878,655.50

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04/11/2002	1593	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Prof Services - ...	41,634.96	X		2,837,023.54
04/11/2002	1594	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-04	1,242.00	X		2,835,781.54
04/11/2002	1595	LYM Productions	Advertising	Cups	264.55	X		2,835,516.99
04/11/2002	1596	Robin Axline	Telephone	Phone	158.11	X		2,835,358.88
04/11/2002	1597	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	LA Survey/LA ...	28,567.67	X		2,806,791.21
04/11/2002	1598	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,262.00	X		2,805,529.21
04/11/2002	1599	Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		2,802,200.25
04/11/2002	1600	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	66.47	X		2,802,133.78
04/11/2002	1601	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Mike Cell - 90...	606.15	X		2,801,527.63
04/11/2002	1602	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	39.75	X		2,801,487.88
04/11/2002	1603	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	46.00	X		2,801,441.88
04/11/2002	1604	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	135.69	X		2,801,306.19
04/11/2002	1605	Southwest Computer ...	Professional Campaign...	Data Key Punc...	1,731.08	X		2,799,575.11
04/11/2002	1606	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Serv...	Telephone Pro...	1,231.89	X		2,798,343.22
04/11/2002	1607	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Managment fee...	7,000.00	X		2,791,343.22
04/11/2002	1608	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Tigua Key pun...	276.00	X		2,791,067.22
04/11/2002	1609	Frabrizio and McLau...	Professional Campaign...	NM Poll 2	3,500.00	X		2,787,567.22
04/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		55.05	X		2,787,512.17
04/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		47.98	X		2,787,464.19
04/12/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses	P/R 4/15	12,885.31	X		2,774,578.88
04/12/2002		ADP	-split	P/R 4/15	8,454.54	X		2,766,124.34
04/12/2002	1610	Designer Kitchens, Inc.	Shareholder Draw		22,000.00	X		2,744,124.34
04/12/2002	1611	Dockety Design Con...	Shareholder Draw		68,879.00	X		2,675,245.34
04/12/2002	1612	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw		5,960.95	X		2,669,284.39
04/12/2002	1613	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw		16,196.95	X		2,653,087.44
04/12/2002	1614	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw		4,936.87	X		2,648,150.57
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		55.30	X		2,648,095.27
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		51.76	X		2,648,043.51
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.30	X		2,648,022.21
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		2,648,007.63
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		2,647,993.05
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		2,647,979.82
04/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		2,647,966.59
04/15/2002	1615	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Tigua	50,000.00	X		2,597,966.59
04/15/2002	1616	Kevin Ring	Referral Expense	Referral Expense	67,500.00	X		2,530,466.59
04/16/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	5,250.00	2,535,716.59
04/16/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses	1 Qtr 2002 Bgn...	64,695.36	X		2,471,021.23
04/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	12/6 Properties	11.36	X		2,471,009.87
04/16/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		2,000,000.00	X		2,471,009.87
04/16/2002		American Express	-split	AmEx Bill	33,613.72	X		437,396.15

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04/16/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.83	X		437,338.32
04/16/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		101.50	X		437,236.82
04/17/2002			Consulting Fees	Sag Chip		X	1,050,000.00	1,487,236.82
04/17/2002	1617	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractor Campaign...	April Research	500.00	X		1,486,736.82
04/17/2002	1618	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Payroll, less fo...	5,750.00	X		1,480,986.82
04/17/2002	1619	Erin Yeatman	-split-	Reimbursement	185.00	X		1,480,801.82
04/17/2002	1620	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	650.46	X		1,480,151.36
04/17/2002	1621	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	LA Auto Calls	6,362.72	X		1,473,788.64
04/17/2002	1622	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	VOID: LA Aut...		X		1,473,788.64
04/17/2002	1623	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	NM ID and Lis...	17,288.27	X		1,456,500.37
04/17/2002	1624	David Jones	Travel:Lodging		600.00	X		1,455,900.37
04/17/2002	1625	Pat Gould	Travel:Lodging	Rent reimburse...	600.00	X		1,455,300.37
04/17/2002	1626	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Desks	1,532.00	X		1,453,768.37
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		85.43	X		1,453,682.94
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		74.83	X		1,453,608.11
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		1,453,593.53
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		1,453,580.30
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		1,453,567.07
04/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		1,453,553.84
04/19/2002		ADP	-split-		41,995.19	X		1,411,558.65
04/19/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	6,726.19	X		1,404,832.46
04/19/2002		Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	89.27	X		1,404,743.19
04/19/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		1,404,665.12
04/22/2002	1627	Pepco	Utilities	VOID: 011250...		X		1,404,665.12
04/22/2002	1628	Pepco	Utilities	VOID: 011250...		X		1,404,665.12
04/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		27.36	X		1,404,637.76
04/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		1,404,624.53
04/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.13	X		1,404,615.40
04/23/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		50.53	X		1,404,564.87
04/23/2002	1629	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	Cleaning April	1,200.00	X		1,403,364.87
04/24/2002	1630	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		78,000.00	X		1,325,364.87
04/24/2002	1631	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		1,275,364.87
04/24/2002	1632	Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		24,675.00	X		1,250,689.87
04/24/2002	1633	Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		21,710.00	X		1,228,979.87
04/25/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-	California Travel	102.00	X		1,228,877.87
04/25/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-	California Travel	202.00	X		1,228,675.87
04/26/2002	1634	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Sandia	30,000.00	X		1,198,675.87
04/26/2002	1635	JBG Properties	-split-	2401 PA Avenue	4,957.00	X		1,193,718.87
04/26/2002	1636	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	53.15	X		1,193,665.72
04/26/2002	1637	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	76.15	X		1,193,589.57

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04/29/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		14,546.00 X		1,179,043.57
04/29/2002		ADP	-split-		8,317.71 X		1,170,725.86
04/29/2002	1299	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	74,239.00 X		1,096,486.86
04/29/2002			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...	X	8.85	1,096,495.71
05/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent May	3,868.05 X		1,092,627.66
05/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29 X		1,092,423.37
05/01/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		52.56 X		1,092,370.81
05/01/2002		Georgetown Valet	Travel:Parking		20.57 X		1,092,350.24
05/01/2002	1638	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		6,330.54 X		1,086,019.70
05/01/2002	1639	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	May	3,000.00 X		1,083,019.70
05/01/2002	1640	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	145.98 X		1,082,873.72
05/01/2002	1641	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	139.80 X		1,082,733.92
05/01/2002	1642	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	8,442.79 X		1,074,291.13
05/01/2002	1643	K.C. Company, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	DE house	66,802.32 X		1,007,488.81
05/01/2002	1644	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equipment:Serv...	Telephone Pro...	3,252.13 X		1,004,236.68
05/01/2002	1645	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Rug	3,489.75 X		1,000,746.93
05/01/2002	1646	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	media - LA	18,330.80 X		982,416.13
05/01/2002	1647	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	NY/MI	28,369.00 X		954,047.13
05/01/2002	1648	RST Marketing Asso...	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	1,486.72 X		952,560.41
05/01/2002	1649	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-05	1,058.00 X		951,502.41
05/01/2002	1650	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	LA I.D.	21,256.86 X		930,245.55
05/01/2002	1651	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	111.00 X		930,134.55
05/01/2002	1652	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	114.00 X		930,020.55
05/01/2002	1653	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	831.81 X		929,188.74
05/01/2002	1654	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	Cullen Street	18,175.00 X		911,013.74
05/01/2002	1655	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan plus ...	6,750.00 X		904,263.74
05/01/2002	1656	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	00154340	180.00 X		904,083.74
05/01/2002	1657	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #'s [REDACTED]	30.95 X		904,052.79
05/01/2002	1658	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	510.25 X		903,542.54
05/01/2002	1659	Residences at the Ritz	Miscellaneous	VOID: Securit...	X		903,542.54
05/03/2002	1660	2200 M Street, LLC	Security Deposit	Security Deposit	15,000.00 X		888,542.54
05/03/2002	1661	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Payroll	3,000.00 X		885,542.54
05/03/2002	1662	Mr. Ibray	Auto Expense	Mike Car Wash	60.00 X		885,482.54
05/06/2002			Consulting Fees	[REDACTED]	10,000.00 X		895,482.54
05/06/2002		California Tortilla	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	[REDACTED]	15,140.00 X		895,467.35
05/06/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Anton Design	39,146.28 X		856,321.07
05/06/2002		Alex Rent A Car	Travel:Rental Car	Any Rent A Car	733.15 X		855,587.92
05/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Robin Axline	96.96 X		855,490.96
05/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Aaron Steink	70.20 X		855,420.76
05/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	[REDACTED]	14.56 X		855,406.18

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05/06/2002	1663	Utility Lines Constru...	Shareholder Draw	Irrigation Depo...	6,825.00	X		848,581.18
05/08/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		848,567.95
05/08/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		848,554.72
05/08/2002	1664	Cash	Shipping	Car Auto Carri...	2,000.00	X		846,554.72
05/08/2002	1665	George M. Howard a...	Shareholder Draw	Cullen Street	3,355.00	X		843,199.72
05/09/2002		Cingular	Telephone		282.20	X		842,917.52
05/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		92.76	X		842,824.76
05/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.82	X		842,800.94
05/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.64	X		842,787.30
05/09/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		58.00	X		842,729.30
05/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.75	X		842,700.55
05/10/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.53	X		842,672.02
05/10/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.66	X		842,656.36
05/10/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.58	X		842,641.78
05/10/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.23	X		842,628.55
05/10/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		300.00	X		842,328.55
05/10/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.86	X		842,313.69
05/13/2002	1666	Penn Life Insurance ...	Shareholder Draw		1,102.00	X		841,211.69
05/14/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	1,000,000.00	1,841,211.69
05/14/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	2,750.00	1,843,961.69
05/14/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		14,546.00	X		1,829,415.69
05/14/2002		ADP	-split		8,317.71	X		1,821,097.98
05/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.49	X		1,821,071.49
05/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		22.70	X		1,821,048.79
05/14/2002	1667	Verizon	Telephone	VOID: Acct# [REDACTED]		X		1,821,048.79
05/14/2002	1668	Verizon	Telephone	VOID: Acct# [REDACTED]		X		1,821,048.79
05/15/2002			Payroll Expenses	Deposit		X	1,273.18	1,822,321.97
05/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.75	X		1,822,300.22
05/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.32	X		1,822,283.90
05/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.71	X		1,822,269.19
05/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.71	X		1,822,254.48
05/15/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		1,822,244.48
05/15/2002	1669	W.C. & A. N. Miller	Shareholder Draw	Deposit	50,000.00	X		1,772,244.48
05/15/2002	1670	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Sandia	44,000.00	X		1,728,244.48
05/15/2002	1671	Rachel Murphree	Payroll Expense		1,273.18	X		1,726,971.30
05/15/2002	1672	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	200.00	X		1,726,771.30
05/15/2002	1673	Amy Biederman	Telephone	Expenses	131.80	X		1,726,639.50
05/15/2002	1674	Robin Axline	Telephone	Cell Phone	49.77	X		1,726,589.73
05/15/2002	1675	Aaron Stetter	-split	Expenses	406.67	X		1,726,183.06
05/15/2002	1676	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	DB Invoices	14,000.00	X		1,712,183.06

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05/15/2002	1677	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards,	112.50	X		1,712,070.56
05/15/2002	1678	Delaware Secretary o...	Tax:Licenses	LLC Fee	100.00	X		1,711,970.56
05/15/2002	1679	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,725.60	X		1,710,244.96
05/15/2002	1680	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	40.66	X		1,710,204.30
05/15/2002	1681	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	26.60	X		1,710,177.70
05/15/2002	1682	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street ...	455.36	X		1,709,722.34
05/15/2002	1683	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	4,504.84	X		1,705,217.50
05/15/2002	1684	Webaccess, Inc.	Office Equipment:Serv...	Monthly [REDACTED]	732.00	X		1,704,485.50
05/15/2002	1685	Washington Express	Shipping	Courier	62.72	X		1,704,422.78
05/15/2002	1686	Xerox Corporation	Supplies		477.99	X		1,703,944.79
05/15/2002	1687	Rachel Murphree	-split-	Reimbursement	436.80	X		1,703,507.99
05/15/2002	1688	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	Sandia [REDACTED]	7,710.75	X		1,695,797.24
05/15/2002	1689	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	490.27	X		1,695,306.97
05/15/2002	1690	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	3,216.56	X		1,692,090.41
05/15/2002	1691	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	198.08	X		1,691,892.33
05/15/2002	1692	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning May	1,200.00	X		1,690,692.33
05/15/2002	1693	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan, Les...	4,750.00	X		1,685,942.33
05/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		33.15	X		1,685,909.18
05/17/2002	1694	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	28,112.57	X		1,657,796.61
05/17/2002	1695	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Expenses	181.00	X		1,657,615.61
05/17/2002	1696	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		76,000.00	X		1,581,615.61
05/20/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill [REDACTED]	36,381.43	X		1,545,234.18
05/20/2002		Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	301.89	X		1,544,932.29
05/20/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	38.51	X		1,544,893.78
05/20/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	62.22	X		1,544,831.56
05/20/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice # [REDACTED]	62.22	X		1,544,769.34
05/20/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		1,544,691.27
05/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	11.48	X		1,544,679.79
05/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	25.76	X		1,544,654.03
05/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	29.07	X		1,544,624.96
05/22/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100,000.00	X		1,444,624.96
05/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	52.56	X		1,444,572.40
05/22/2002	1697	Kirk-Whitney Data	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip Postage	451.50	X		1,444,120.90
05/23/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	3,500.00	1,447,620.90
05/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	16.21	X		1,447,604.69
05/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	19.46	X		1,447,585.23
05/24/2002	1698	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	VOID: Payroll		X		1,447,585.23
05/24/2002	1699	Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	70.51	X		1,447,514.72
05/24/2002	1700	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	198.59	X		1,447,316.13
05/24/2002	1701	Old Guard Insurance	Insurance		1,844.00	X		1,445,472.13

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05/24/2002	1702	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		44.75	X		1,445,427.38
05/24/2002	1703	Red Top Cab	Travel/Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	95.22	X		1,445,332.16
05/24/2002	1704	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional	April 2002	10,198.25	X		1,435,133.91
05/24/2002	1705	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities	73674	310.09	X		1,434,823.82
05/24/2002	1706	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	57.51	X		1,434,766.31
05/24/2002	1707	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# [REDACTED]	94.65	X		1,434,671.66
05/24/2002	1708	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	650.46	X		1,434,021.20
05/24/2002	1709	JBG Properties	-split-	2401 PA Avenue	4,957.00	X		1,429,064.20
05/24/2002	1710	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	May Research	500.00	X		1,428,564.20
05/24/2002	1711	Verizon	Telephone	Acct # [REDACTED]	571.65	X		1,427,992.55
05/24/2002	1712	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan,	6,750.00	X		1,421,242.55
05/24/2002	1713	GOP Market Place	Professional Campaign...	Inv. # [REDACTED]	432.32	X		1,420,810.23
05/24/2002	1714	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	Sandia	12,650.40	X		1,408,159.83
05/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	25.25	X		1,408,134.58
05/28/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100,000.00	X		1,308,134.58
05/28/2002	1716	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	Sandia	26,000.00	X		1,282,134.58
05/29/2002	1717	Claxton Walker and ...	Shareholder Draw	VOID: Propert...		X		1,282,134.58
05/29/2002	1718	Claxton Walker and ...	Shareholder Draw	Property Inspec...	1,000.00	X		1,281,134.58
05/30/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,317.71	X		1,272,816.87
05/30/2002		ADP	-split-		14,546.00	X		1,258,270.87
05/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	13.36	X		1,258,257.51
05/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	16.92	X		1,258,240.59
05/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.72	X		1,258,213.87
05/30/2002	1719	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw	#s [REDACTED]	114,077.71	X		1,144,136.16
05/30/2002	1720	Verizon	Telephone	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		1,144,136.16
05/30/2002	1721	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	NY; CT, OH ID	20,681.80	X		1,123,454.36
05/30/2002	1722	Verizon	Telephone	617120076	187.42	X		1,123,266.94
05/30/2002	1723	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	110.29	X		1,123,156.65
05/30/2002	1724	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	615.13	X		1,122,541.52
05/30/2002	1725	Blair Carmean and S...	Shareholder Draw		4,024.50	X		1,118,517.02
05/30/2002	1726	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards,	209.56	X		1,118,307.46
05/30/2002	1727	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Chair	1,279.58	X		1,117,027.88
05/30/2002	1728	Jeff Norsen Memoria...	Donation/Charity	Golf Tourname...	300.00	X		1,116,727.88
05/30/2002	1729	Jack Abramoff	-split-	Expesne Reimb...	16,397.66	X		1,100,330.22
05/30/2002	1730	Kevin Kelly	Professional Campaign...	VOID: Databas...		X		1,100,330.22
05/30/2002	1731	Trakker Solutions	Professional Campaign...	Database	5,000.00	X		1,095,330.22
05/30/2002	1732	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	June 2002	3,000.00	X		1,092,330.22
06/01/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	4,762.48	1,097,092.70
06/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	40.17	X		1,097,052.53
06/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #s [REDACTED]	15.56	X		1,097,036.97

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06/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #'s [REDACTED]	13.36	X		1,097,023.61
06/03/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent June	3,868.05	X		1,093,155.56
06/03/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent June	3,328.96	X		1,089,826.60
06/03/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,089,622.31
06/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #'s [REDACTED]	13.36	X		1,089,608.95
06/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice #'s [REDACTED]	8.16	X		1,089,600.79
06/05/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		52.56	X		1,089,548.23
06/05/2002	1733	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Payroll	3,000.00	X		1,086,548.23
06/06/2002	1734	Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		14,530.00	X		1,072,018.23
06/10/2002	1735	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	Cullen Street	82,944.57	X		989,073.66
06/10/2002	1736	Designer Kitchens, Inc.	Shareholder Draw		71,559.00	X		917,514.66
06/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		917,501.23
06/11/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		18.00	X		917,483.23
06/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.24	X		917,462.99
06/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.98	X		917,446.01
06/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		917,432.58
06/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		917,417.80
06/12/2002	1737	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		150,000.00	X		767,417.80
06/12/2002	1738	Kirk-Whitney Data	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip Postage	731.34	X		766,686.46
06/12/2002	1739	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Lands...	63,156.82	X		703,529.64
06/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.74	X		703,519.90
06/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		8.00	X		703,511.90
06/13/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		653,511.90
06/13/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		60,000.00	X		593,511.90
06/13/2002	1740	Rachel Murphree	-split-	VOID: Reimbu...		X		593,511.90
06/14/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,232.11	X		585,279.79
06/14/2002		ADP	-split-		14,631.61	X		570,648.18
06/14/2002		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	125.69	X		570,522.49
06/14/2002		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	123.04	X		570,399.45
06/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		19.54	X		570,379.91
06/14/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		570,178.41
06/14/2002	1741	Clear-View Services	Shareholder Draw		160.00	X		570,018.41
06/14/2002	1742	Citrix Systems	Office Equipment/Serv...	Citrix Renewal	846.00	X		569,172.41
06/14/2002	1743	Rachel Murphree	-split-	Reimbursement	133.41	X		569,039.00
06/14/2002	1744	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	305.97	X		568,733.03
06/14/2002	1745	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Expense	795.29	X		567,937.74
06/14/2002	1746	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	1,011.48	X		566,926.26
06/14/2002	1747	CarFirst BlueCross...	Insurance/Health	Health Insurance	1,805.90	X		565,120.36
06/14/2002	1748	Robin Axline	Office Expense	Reimbursement	518.11	X		565,069.45
06/14/2002	1749	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards	115.00	X		564,954.45

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06/14/2002	1750	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		263.80	X		564,690.65
06/14/2002	1751	Connectiv	Utilities	I Cullen Street ...	301.83	X		564,388.82
06/14/2002	1752	Washington Gas	Utilities		10.29	X		564,378.53
06/14/2002	1753	Washington Gas	Utilities		30.95	X		564,347.58
06/14/2002	1754	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	NM/MS	20,895.00	X		543,452.58
06/14/2002	1755	Utility Lines Constru...	Shareholder Draw	Irrigation Depo...	8,750.00	X		534,702.58
06/14/2002	1756	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	MS	1,450.55	X		533,252.03
06/14/2002	1757	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-06	368.00	X		532,884.03
06/14/2002	1758	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		32.65	X		532,851.38
06/14/2002	1759	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	DB Invoices	14,000.00	X		518,851.38
06/14/2002	1760	Wehaccess, Inc.	Office Equipment:Serv...	Monthly -	703.00	X		518,148.38
06/14/2002	1761	Saul Ewing, LLP	Loan Rec - AIC	Corp. Filings	284.50	X		517,863.88
06/14/2002	1762	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	SCM	1,000.00	X		516,863.88
06/14/2002	1763	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning June	1,200.00	X		515,663.88
06/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		515,649.10
06/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		8.92	X		515,640.18
06/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		29.73	X		515,610.45
06/18/2002	1764	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan,	5,750.00	X		509,860.45
06/18/2002	1765	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	15,536.71	X		494,323.74
06/18/2002	1766	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	Cullen Street	22,960.56	X		471,363.18
06/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		471,349.75
06/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		471,336.32
06/19/2002		Verizon	Telephone		241.22	X		471,095.10
06/19/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		52.56	X		471,042.54
06/19/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	29,646.34	X		441,396.20
06/20/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		441,318.13
06/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		441,303.35
06/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		441,288.57
06/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.89	X		441,272.68
06/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.89	X		441,256.79
06/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.90	X		441,237.89
06/24/2002			Consulting Fees,	GT/BNP		X	17,750.00	458,987.89
06/24/2002			Professional Campaign...		10,000.00	X		448,987.89
06/24/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		728.00	X		448,259.89
06/24/2002		Areana's	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		20.45	X		448,239.44
06/24/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		22.75	X		448,216.69
06/25/2002			Professional Campaign...	Deposit		X	10,000.00	458,216.69
06/25/2002	1767	Don Woodruff	Professional Campaign...	Database Setup	2,500.00	X		455,716.69
06/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.16	X		455,692.53
06/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		80.21	X		455,612.32

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06/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		80.21	X		455,532.11
06/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		80.21	X		455,451.90
06/26/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		305.00	X		455,146.90
06/26/2002	1768	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	817.72	X		454,329.18
06/26/2002	1769	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	2,918.33	X		451,410.85
06/26/2002	1770	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	SCM	1,000.00	X		450,410.85
06/26/2002	1771	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		447,410.85
06/27/2002			Consulting Fees	Sag Chip		X	1,900,000.00	2,347,410.85
06/27/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		20.00	X		2,347,390.85
06/27/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,218.09	X		2,339,172.76
06/27/2002		ADP	-split-		14,631.62	X		2,324,541.14
06/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		7.89	X		2,324,533.25
06/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.81	X		2,324,523.44
06/28/2002		Areana's	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		20.45	X		2,324,502.99
06/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.43	X		2,324,479.56
06/28/2002			Miscellaneous		2.10	X		2,324,477.46
06/28/2002	1772	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		94,177.83	X		2,230,299.63
06/28/2002	1773	2200 M Street, LLC	Travel:Lodging	July Rent	15,000.00	X		2,215,299.63
07/01/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		39,861.00	X		2,175,438.63
07/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		154.50	X		2,175,284.13
07/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,175,270.70
07/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		201.50	X		2,175,069.20
07/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent July	3,868.05	X		2,171,201.15
07/01/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent July	3,328.96	X		2,167,872.19
07/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		2,167,667.90
07/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.28	X		2,167,641.62
07/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		2,167,626.84
07/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,167,613.41
07/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,167,599.98
07/02/2002	1774	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-07	1,449.00	X		2,166,150.98
07/02/2002	1775	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	517 Seward/ A...	22.55	X		2,166,128.43
07/02/2002	1776	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater, C...	14,908.14	X		2,151,220.29
07/02/2002	1777	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Emily Cell- 61...	211.28	X		2,151,009.01
07/02/2002	1778	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	79.19	X		2,150,929.82
07/02/2002	1779	Igor Communications	Advertising	[REDACTED]	95.50	X		2,150,834.32
07/02/2002	1780	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	June [REDACTED]	500.00	X		2,150,334.32
07/02/2002	1781	Cingular	Telephone	Brian A. Gould [REDACTED]	309.69	X		2,150,024.63
07/02/2002	1782	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional	May 2002, Stater	475.74	X		2,149,548.92
07/02/2002	1783	Verizon	Telephone	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		2,149,548.92
07/02/2002	1784	JBG Properties	-split-	2401 PA Avenue	4,957.00	X		2,144,591.92

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07/02/2002	1785	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Payroll	3,000.00	X		2,141,591.92
07/02/2002	1786	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan,	6,750.00	X		2,134,841.92
07/02/2002	1787	Verizon	Telephone		586.77	X		2,134,255.15
07/03/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		52.56	X		2,134,202.59
07/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		128.13	X		2,134,074.46
07/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,134,061.03
07/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,134,047.60
07/08/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		659.69	X		2,133,387.91
07/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.21	X		2,133,371.70
07/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		2,133,356.92
07/09/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		11,420.64	X		2,121,936.28
07/09/2002	1788	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater - ...	3,600.00	X		2,118,336.28
07/11/2002	1789	Long Fence	Repaires/Maintenance	317 Fence Repair	1,855.00	X		2,116,481.28
07/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		88.67	X		2,116,392.61
07/12/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,177.59	X		2,108,215.02
07/12/2002		ADP	-split-		14,631.62	X		2,093,583.40
07/12/2002	1790	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		800,000.00	X		1,293,583.40
07/12/2002	1791	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		20,000.00	X		1,273,583.40
07/12/2002	1792	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		44,000.00	X		1,229,583.40
07/12/2002	1793	Joseph Regan	Legal/Professional		392.00	X		1,229,191.40
07/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		192.00	X		1,228,999.40
07/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		188.98	X		1,228,810.42
07/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.75	X		1,228,608.67
07/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		31.75	X		1,228,576.92
07/15/2002		Pepco	Utilities		312.89	X		1,228,264.03
07/15/2002		Pepco	Utilities		245.33	X		1,228,018.70
07/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		87.13	X		1,227,931.57
07/16/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		76.35	X		1,227,855.22
07/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		71.24	X		1,227,783.98
07/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.68	X		1,227,766.30
07/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.98	X		1,227,749.32
07/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		1,227,734.54
07/16/2002	1794	Harold Grosh	Subcontractors	Michigan	2,500.00	X		1,225,234.54
07/16/2002	1795	Jeremy Diehl	Subcontractors	Michigan	2,500.00	X		1,222,734.54
07/16/2002	1796	Brian J. Mann	Subcontractors	Michigan	2,500.00	X		1,220,234.54
07/16/2002	1797	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	3,293.28	X		1,216,941.26
07/16/2002	1798	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	June AT P...	500.00	X		1,216,441.26
07/16/2002	1799	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Expense	3,268.58	X		1,213,172.68
07/16/2002	-1800	Connectiv	Utilities	11 Coffey Street...	677.74	X		1,212,494.94
07/16/2002	1801	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,805.00	X		1,210,689.94

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07/16/2002	1802	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	DB Invoices	14,000.00	X		1,196,689.94
07/16/2002	1803	Robin Axline	Telephone	expense	49.77	X		1,196,640.17
07/16/2002	1804	Rachel Murphree	-split-	Reimbursement	142.12	X		1,196,498.05
07/16/2002	1805	Clear View Services	Shareholder Draw		160.00	X		1,196,338.05
07/16/2002	1806	Washington Gas	Utilities		8.04	X		1,196,330.01
07/16/2002	1807	Washington Gas	Utilities		27.49	X		1,196,302.52
07/16/2002	1808	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	R2611734, 35, ...	594.75	X		1,195,707.77
07/16/2002	1809	Chic Cleaning	Office Expense		200.00	X		1,195,507.77
07/16/2002	1810	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		42.25	X		1,195,465.52
07/16/2002	1811	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	cullen Street	12,552.00	X		1,182,913.52
07/16/2002	1812	Utility Lines Construc...	Shareholder Draw	Irrigation	100.75	X		1,182,812.77
07/16/2002	1813	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	650.46	X		1,182,162.31
07/16/2002	1814	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	8,980.00	X		1,173,182.31
07/16/2002	1815	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	FL, CA, MD	13,966.60	X		1,159,215.71
07/16/2002	1816	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	NM	7,610.00	X		1,151,605.71
07/16/2002	1817	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning July	1,200.00	X		1,150,405.71
07/16/2002	1818	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw	I Cullen Lands...	134.86	X		1,150,270.85
07/17/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		65.01	X		1,150,205.84
07/18/2002	1820	Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		61,500.00	X		1,088,705.84
07/19/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	70,464.15	X		1,018,241.69
07/22/2002			Consulting Fees	GT/ANT		X	14,855.00	1,033,096.69
07/22/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		1,033,018.62
07/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.60	X		1,033,009.02
07/22/2002		ADP	Tax:Payroll		193.21	X		1,032,815.81
07/22/2002		Verizon	Telephone		148.43	X		1,032,667.38
07/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.26	X		1,032,639.12
07/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		1,032,625.69
07/24/2002	1821	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		67,786.45	X		964,839.24
07/25/2002	1822	JBG Properties	-split-	2401 PA Avenue	4,957.00	X		959,882.24
07/26/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		17.95	X		959,864.29
07/26/2002	1823	Matthew J. Stetter	Professional Campaign...	EIS Deposit	1,658.00	X		958,206.29
07/26/2002	1824	Joseph Regan	Legal/Professional		560.00	X		957,646.29
07/30/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Back Porch	1,136.00	X		956,510.29
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		22.04	X		956,488.25
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.26	X		956,469.99
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.75	X		956,452.24
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.68	X		956,434.56
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		956,419.78
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		956,405.00
07/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		956,391.57

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07/30/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		14,631.61	X		941,759.96
07/30/2002		ADP	-split-		8,170.86	X		933,589.10
07/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.21	X		933,562.89
07/31/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		39,056.36	X		894,506.53
07/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		22.64	X		894,483.89
07/31/2002	1825	JBG Properties	-split-	2401 PA Avenue	4,957.00	X		889,526.89
07/31/2002	1826	JBG Properties	-split-	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		889,526.89
07/31/2002	1827	Great Scott Movers	Miscellaneous		1,545.50	X		887,981.39
07/31/2002	1828	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Payroll	3,000.00	X		884,981.39
07/31/2002	1829	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	83.93	X		884,897.46
07/31/2002	1830	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	166.03	X		884,731.43
07/31/2002	1831	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-08	138.00	X		884,593.43
07/31/2002	1832	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	Cleaning August	1,200.00	X		883,393.43
07/31/2002	1833	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	10,265.82	X		873,127.61
07/31/2002	1834	Walpole Woodworkers	Shareholder Draw		28,002.00	X		845,125.61
07/31/2002	1835	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	11,796.00	X		833,329.61
07/31/2002	1836	Cingular	Telephone		1,247.60	X		832,082.01
07/31/2002	1837	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Lands...	5,376.17	X		826,705.84
07/31/2002	1838	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	NM	1,350.30	X		825,355.54
07/31/2002	1839	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	MI	8,128.00	X		817,227.54
07/31/2002	1840	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		8.75	X		817,218.79
07/31/2002	1841	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	912.52	X		816,306.27
07/31/2002	1842	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	370.50	X		815,935.77
07/31/2002	1843	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan, plus	12,500.00	X		803,435.77
07/31/2002	1844	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	35,797.00	X		767,638.77
07/31/2002	1845	Delaware Departmen...	Tax:Payroll		25.50	X		767,613.27
07/31/2002	1846	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	SCM	1,000.00	X		766,613.27
07/31/2002	1847	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		763,613.27
08/01/2002			Consulting Fees	Jena		X	2,100,000.00	2,863,613.27
08/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		12.88	X		2,863,600.39
08/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,863,586.96
08/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.91	X		2,863,570.05
08/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.54	X		2,863,546.51
08/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,863,533.08
08/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.26	X		2,863,514.82
08/02/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		2,863,310.53
08/02/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent: Au...	3,328.96	X		2,859,981.57
08/02/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent July	5,868.05	X		2,856,113.52
08/02/2002	1848	Kirk-Whitney Data	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip Postage	493.12	X		2,855,620.40
08/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,855,606.97

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08/21/2002	1876	Kellogg Collection	Shareholder Draw		49,581.57	X		2,685,930.10
08/21/2002	1877	Don Woodruff	Professional Campaign...	Database Phase 2	2,500.00	X		2,683,430.10
08/23/2002	1878	Mike Jones	Subcontractors	Helicopter	1,000.00	X		2,682,430.10
08/23/2002	1879	Joseph Regan	Legal/Professional		580.00	X		2,681,850.10
08/26/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	30,220.98	X		2,651,629.12
08/27/2002			Consulting Fees	Agua		X	2,720,000.00	5,371,629.12
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		42.99	X		5,371,586.13
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		41.97	X		5,371,544.16
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.36	X		5,371,520.80
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.60	X		5,371,503.20
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.71	X		5,371,488.49
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.71	X		5,371,473.78
08/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.36	X		5,371,460.42
08/27/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		5,371,258.92
08/27/2002	1880	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Lands...	534.24	X		5,370,724.68
08/27/2002	1881	Aviation Group, LLC	Travel:Airfare		8,953.38	X		5,361,771.30
08/27/2002	1882	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional	August 2002	4,367.92	X		5,357,403.38
08/27/2002	1883	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Telematch Serv...	1,535.76	X		5,355,867.62
08/27/2002	1884	Antenna Alternatives	Shareholder Draw		497.75	X		5,355,369.87
08/27/2002	1885	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #'s [REDACTED]	320.85	X		5,355,049.02
08/27/2002	1886	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	57.48	X		5,354,991.54
08/27/2002	1887	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equip:Communi...	1279346	1,258.43	X		5,353,733.11
08/27/2002	1888	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	9,060.15	X		5,344,672.96
08/27/2002	1889	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		22.75	X		5,344,650.21
08/27/2002	1890	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI ID, LA Poli...	12,027.81	X		5,332,622.40
08/27/2002	1891	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	891.87	X		5,331,730.53
08/27/2002	1892	Washington Post	Subscription	Annual Subscri...	51.78	X		5,331,678.75
08/27/2002	1893	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	60.79	X		5,331,617.96
08/27/2002	1894	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	[REDACTED]	1,113.40	X		5,330,504.56
08/27/2002	1895	Sussex County Council	Tax	[REDACTED]	97.49	X		5,330,407.07
08/27/2002	1896	Igor Communications	Advertising	Golf Balls	2,802.60	X		5,327,604.47
08/27/2002	1897	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Less Loan, plus	12,500.00	X		5,315,104.47
08/27/2002	1898	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	August	3,000.00	X		5,312,104.47
08/29/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		7,922.56	X		5,304,181.91
08/29/2002		ADP	-split-	Federal Express	15,099.53	X		5,289,082.38
08/29/2002		Scanlon Foundation ...	Donation/Charity	Back Packs	60,000.00	X		5,229,082.38
08/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Federal Express	16.83	X		5,229,065.55
08/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping	Federal Express	16.83	X		5,229,048.72
08/29/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	279.00	X		5,228,769.72
08/29/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	Michael Scanlon	286.02	X		5,228,483.70

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08/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.36	X		5,228,460.34
08/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.47	X		5,228,431.87
08/30/2002	1899	John Lynch	Travel:Lodging	DC Lodgings	600.00	X		5,227,831.87
09/03/2002		Rehoboth Pharmacy	Shareholder Draw		175.56	X		5,227,656.31
09/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		30.09	X		5,227,626.22
09/03/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.75	X		5,227,604.47
09/03/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent July	3,868.05	X		5,223,736.42
09/03/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent Au...	3,328.96	X		5,220,407.46
09/03/2002		Verizon	Telephone		698.59	X		5,219,708.87
09/03/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		5,219,504.58
09/03/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.01	X		5,219,447.57
09/04/2002	1900	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	VOID: MI/LA/...		X		5,219,447.57
09/04/2002	1901	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	NM/MI/LA - o...	287,500.00	X		4,931,947.57
09/04/2002	1902	Matthew J. Stetter	Professional Campaign...	EIS Deposit H...	9,623.75	X		4,922,323.82
09/04/2002	1903	Joseph Regan	Legal/Professional		500.00	X		4,921,823.82
09/05/2002	1904	IMC Health Care	Subcontractors	Cobra Health P...	1,500.00	X		4,920,323.82
09/05/2002	1905	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	SCM/CCS	1,000.00	X		4,919,323.82
09/05/2002	1906	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		4,916,323.82
09/05/2002	1907	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Sept.	1,200.00	X		4,915,123.82
09/05/2002	1908	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		346.13	X		4,914,777.69
09/05/2002	1909	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	72,081.00	X		4,842,696.69
09/05/2002	1910	LYM Productions	Advertising	T-Shirts	3,029.39	X		4,839,667.30
09/05/2002	1911	Verizon Wireless	Telephone		179.52	X		4,839,487.78
09/05/2002	1912	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	239.70	X		4,839,248.08
09/05/2002	1913	Verizon Wireless	Telephone		463.18	X		4,838,784.90
09/05/2002	1914	Clear View Services	Shareholder Draw		160.00	X		4,838,624.90
09/05/2002	1915	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		52.75	X		4,838,572.15
09/05/2002	1916	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		112.13	X		4,838,460.02
09/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.56	X		4,838,444.46
09/06/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split		201.50	X		4,838,242.96
09/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.83	X		4,838,219.13
09/06/2002	1917	2200 M Street, LLC	Travel:Lodging	Rent	45,000.00	X		4,793,219.13
09/09/2002	1918	The Moorings Village	Travel:Lodging	Security Deposit	1,300.00	X		4,791,919.13
09/09/2002	1919	Kellogg Collection	Shareholder Draw		31,144.87	X		4,760,774.26
09/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.53	X		4,760,752.73
09/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.98	X		4,760,735.75
09/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.21	X		4,760,719.54
09/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.63	X		4,760,703.91
09/11/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split		101.50	X		4,760,602.41
09/11/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		104.75	X		4,760,497.66

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09/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		4,760,484.23
09/12/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	3,500.00	4,763,984.23
09/12/2002		Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		15.75	X		4,763,968.48
09/12/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.86	X		4,763,953.62
09/12/2002		Pepco	Utilities		355.81	X		4,763,597.81
09/12/2002		Pepco	Utilities		300.10	X		4,763,297.71
09/12/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		15,099.52	X		4,748,198.19
09/12/2002		ADP	-split-		7,922.58	X		4,740,275.61
09/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		4,740,262.18
09/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		4,740,248.75
09/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		37.93	X		4,740,210.82
09/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		54.04	X		4,740,156.78
09/13/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		4,740,146.78
09/16/2002		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		184.00	X		4,739,962.78
09/16/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		4,739,761.28
09/16/2002	1920	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		2,266,250.00	X		2,473,511.28
09/16/2002	1921	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		201,803.04	X		2,271,708.24
09/16/2002	1922	Aaron Stetter	-split-		527.63	X		2,271,180.61
09/16/2002	1923	Aaron Stetter	-split-	VOID: Expense		X		2,271,180.61
09/16/2002	1924	Rachel Murphree	-split-	Reimbursement	2,056.50	X		2,269,124.11
09/16/2002	1925	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractors		500.00	X		2,268,624.11
09/16/2002	1926	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	8,263.41	X		2,260,360.70
09/16/2002	1927	American Express	Miscellaneous	VOID: AmEx ...		X		2,260,360.70
09/16/2002	1928	Robin Axline	-split-	Expenses	94.66	X		2,260,266.04
09/16/2002	1929	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-08	184.00	X		2,260,082.04
09/16/2002	1930	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	1,229.34	X		2,258,852.70
09/16/2002	1931	Washington Gas	Utilities		14.85	X		2,258,837.85
09/16/2002	1932	Washington Gas	Utilities		31.31	X		2,258,806.54
09/16/2002	1933	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	27.79	X		2,258,778.75
09/16/2002	1934	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		126.75	X		2,258,652.00
09/16/2002	1935	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	VOID: 25 Tide...		X		2,258,652.00
09/16/2002	1936	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		2,244,652.00
09/16/2002	1937	Pat Gould	-split-	Reimbursements	4,876.81	X		2,239,775.19
09/16/2002	1938	Buffalo Nite	Miscellaneous	Sponsorship	250.00	X		2,239,525.19
09/16/2002	1939	Connectiv	Utilities	11 Cullen Street BA	838.84	X		2,238,686.35
09/16/2002	1940	Baum Communicatio...	Professional Campaign...	Call ID	17,803.00	X		2,220,883.35
09/16/2002	1941	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		332.81	X		2,230,550.54
09/16/2002	1942	CareFirst BlueCross	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,805.00	X		2,228,745.54
09/16/2002	1943	Harold Grosh	Subcontractors	LA	2,890.13	X		2,225,855.41
09/17/2002			Consulting Fees	Agua		X	935,000.00	3,160,855.41

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09/17/2002		Taj Mahal	Shareholder Draw		500.00	X		3,160,355.41
09/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.19	X		3,160,337.22
09/18/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	44,377.79	X		3,115,959.43
09/18/2002		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	1,443.27	X		3,114,516.16
09/18/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.01	X		3,114,459.15
09/18/2002	1944	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	12,022.57	X		3,102,436.58
09/19/2002		Verizon	Telephone		112.18	X		3,102,324.40
09/19/2002		Cantlers Riverside	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		143.00	X		3,102,181.40
09/19/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		3,102,103.33
09/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.63	X		3,102,087.70
09/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		3,102,074.27
09/23/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		3,101,872.77
09/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.78	X		3,101,853.99
09/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.11	X		3,101,833.88
09/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		12.42	X		3,101,821.46
09/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		3,101,808.03
09/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		3,101,794.60
09/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		30.45	X		3,101,764.15
09/30/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		301.75	X		3,101,462.40
09/30/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		7,922.56	X		3,093,539.84
09/30/2002		ADP	-split-		15,099.33	X		3,078,440.31
09/30/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		71,162.25	X		3,007,278.06
09/30/2002		Areana's	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		148.95	X		3,007,129.11
09/30/2002	1945	Republican Governor...	Shareholder Draw		250,000.00	X		2,757,129.11
09/30/2002	1946	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		161.63	X		2,756,967.48
09/30/2002	1947	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI Patch Thro...	28,700.32	X		2,728,267.16
09/30/2002	1948	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	375.00	X		2,727,892.16
09/30/2002	1949	Southwest Computer ...	Professional Campaign...	Data Key Punc...	297.44	X		2,727,594.72
09/30/2002	1950	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		535.00	X		2,727,059.72
09/30/2002	1951	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	517 Seward/ A...	127.64	X		2,726,932.08
09/30/2002	1952	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-10	368.00	X		2,726,564.08
09/30/2002	1953	Town of Henlopen A...	Tax:Property	VOID:		X		2,726,564.08
09/30/2002	1954	Henlopen Acres Prop...	Shareholder Draw		30.00	X		2,726,534.08
09/30/2002	1955	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional	September	855.00	X		2,725,679.08
09/30/2002	1956	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	SCM/CCS	1,000.00	X		2,724,679.08
09/30/2002	1957	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		2,721,679.08
09/30/2002	1958	Matthew J. Stetter	Professional Campaign...	BIS Huron	5,133.00	X		2,716,546.08
09/30/2002	1959	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		22.75	X		2,716,523.33
09/30/2002	1960	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #6	77.37	X		2,716,445.96
09/30/2002	1961	Aviation Group LLC	Travel:Airfare	ADP	14,068.00	X		2,702,377.96

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09/30/2002	1962	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	107.48	X		2,702,270.48
10/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.43	X		2,702,247.05
10/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.43	X		2,702,229.62
10/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.43	X		2,702,212.19
10/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	3,868.05	X		2,698,344.14
10/01/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	3,328.96	X		2,695,015.18
10/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		2,694,810.89
10/01/2002		Verizon	Telephone		592.71	X		2,694,218.18
10/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		19.22	X		2,694,198.96
10/01/2002	1963	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	August	3,000.00	X		2,691,198.96
10/01/2002	1964	John Lynch	Travel:Lodging	DC Lodgings	600.00	X		2,690,598.96
10/01/2002	1965	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Sub Contract, L...	12,500.00	X		2,678,098.96
10/03/2002			Tax:Licenses	Deposit		X	3.99	2,678,102.95
10/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.00	X		2,678,084.95
10/07/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	16,000.00	2,694,084.95
10/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.21	X		2,694,068.74
10/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.43	X		2,694,055.31
10/07/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,389.96	X		2,692,665.35
10/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.78	X		2,692,650.57
10/08/2002	1966	Michael Chapman	Referral Expense		100,000.00	X		2,592,650.57
10/09/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.01	X		2,592,593.56
10/09/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		48.00	X		2,592,545.56
10/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.52	X		2,592,527.04
10/10/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		200,000.00	X		2,392,527.04
10/10/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		1,392,527.04
10/10/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		392,527.04
10/10/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		3,000.00	X		389,527.04
10/11/2002	1967	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	99,852.31	X		289,674.73
10/11/2002	1968	Gude & Conrad	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater C...	13,745.07	X		275,929.66
10/15/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	800,000.00	1,075,929.66
10/15/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	1,000,000.00	2,075,929.66
10/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.86	X		2,075,914.80
10/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.78	X		2,075,890.02
10/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		27.75	X		2,075,862.27
10/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		87.55	X		2,075,774.72
10/15/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split		201.50	X		2,075,573.22
10/15/2002		Pepco	Utilities		257.95	X		2,075,315.27
10/15/2002		Pepco	Utilities		295.05	X		2,075,020.22
10/15/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,687.56	X		2,066,332.66
10/15/2002		ADP	-split		15,099.53	X		2,051,233.13

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10/15/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	18,497.38	X		2,032,735.75
10/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.97	X		2,032,719.78
10/15/2002	1969	Aaron Stetter	-split-		282.68	X		2,032,437.10
10/15/2002	1970	Rachel Murphree	-split-	VOID: Reimbu...		X		2,032,437.10
10/15/2002	1971	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	23,552.00	X		2,008,885.10
10/15/2002	1972	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI, LA, Electi...	33,211.16	X		1,975,673.94
10/15/2002	1973	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	16.87	X		1,975,657.07
10/15/2002	1974	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	40.67	X		1,975,616.40
10/15/2002	1975	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. [REDACTED]	650.46	X		1,974,965.94
10/15/2002	1976	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,805.00	X		1,973,160.94
10/15/2002	1977	Robin Axline	Telephone	rEIMBURSEM...	50.79	X		1,973,110.15
10/15/2002	1978	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	103.08	X		1,973,007.07
10/15/2002	1979	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street ...	443.89	X		1,972,563.18
10/15/2002	1980	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		14.50	X		1,972,548.68
10/15/2002	1981	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		86.71	X		1,972,461.97
10/15/2002	1982	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		1,958,461.97
10/15/2002	1983	Utility Lines Constr...	Shareholder Draw	Irrigation	75.00	X		1,958,386.97
10/15/2002	1984	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	CA	17,280.00	X		1,941,106.97
10/16/2002			Consulting Fees	Coush-Jena		X	950,000.00	2,891,106.97
10/16/2002			Consulting Fees	Agua		X	1,745,000.00	4,636,106.97
10/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.84	X		4,636,082.13
10/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		27.06	X		4,636,055.07
10/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		29.89	X		4,636,025.18
10/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		10.31	X		4,636,014.87
10/17/2002	1985	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Oct	1,200.00	X		4,634,814.87
10/17/2002	1986	Pat Gould	-split-	Reimbursement	1,719.49	X		4,633,095.38
10/17/2002	1987	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractors		500.00	X		4,632,595.38
10/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		80.60	X		4,632,514.78
10/18/2002	1988	Republican Governor...	Shareholder Draw		250,000.00	X		4,382,514.78
10/21/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.33	X		4,382,486.45
10/21/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		127.02	X		4,382,359.43
10/21/2002		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	282.84	X		4,382,076.59
10/21/2002	1989	Pepco	Utilities		1,059.21	X		4,381,017.38
10/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		36.05	X		4,380,981.33
10/22/2002		American Express	Travel:Meals & Enterta...	AmEx Bill	21,002.26	X		4,359,979.07
10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.84	X		4,359,964.23
10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.71	X		4,359,948.52
10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.29	X		4,359,932.23
10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.00	X		4,359,915.23
10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		48.15	X		4,359,867.08

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10/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		48.15	X		4,359,818.93
10/23/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		66.73	X		4,359,752.20
10/23/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel: Airfare		40,653.00	X		4,319,099.20
10/23/2002	1990	Mike Jones	Subcontractors	Helicopter	2,500.00	X		4,316,599.20
10/24/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		200,000.00	X		4,116,599.20
10/24/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		3,116,599.20
10/24/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		2,116,599.20
10/24/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.49	X		2,116,585.71
10/24/2002	1991	Progress PAC	Shareholder Draw		9,000.00	X		2,107,585.71
10/24/2002	1992	Capital PAC	Shareholder Draw		9,000.00	X		2,098,585.71
10/25/2002	1993	Ayers, MCHenry and...	Professional Campaign...		50,000.00	X		2,048,585.71
10/25/2002	1994	Kellogg Collection	Shareholder Draw		14,052.49	X		2,034,533.22
10/28/2002			Security Deposit	Deposit		X	4,429.00	2,038,962.22
10/28/2002			Consulting Fees	NCPR		X	500,000.00	2,538,962.22
10/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.71	X		2,538,946.51
10/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		22.98	X		2,538,923.53
10/28/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		36.45	X		2,538,887.08
10/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.71	X		2,538,871.37
10/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.49	X		2,538,857.88
10/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		2,538,842.94
10/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		31.93	X		2,538,811.01
10/29/2002	1995	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	VOID:		X		2,538,811.01
10/30/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.84	X		2,538,796.17
10/30/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		348.13	X		2,538,448.04
10/30/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,460.01	X		2,528,988.03
10/30/2002		ADP	-split-		18,944.58	X		2,510,043.45
10/30/2002		Business Council of...	Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		2,460,043.45
10/30/2002		McGuire Woods	Professional Campaign...		125,000.00	X		2,335,043.45
10/30/2002	1996	Rachel Murphree	Miscellaneous	Reimbursement	998.81	X		2,334,044.64
10/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.71	X		2,334,028.93
10/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.84	X		2,334,004.09
10/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		74.73	X		2,333,929.36
10/31/2002	1997	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	47.50	X		2,333,881.86
10/31/2002	1998	Antenna Alternatives	Shareholder Draw		200.81	X		2,333,681.05
10/31/2002	1999	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		205.62	X		2,333,475.43
10/31/2002	2000	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		374.08	X		2,333,101.43
10/31/2002	2001	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment/Service	Service/Equip...	6,914.10	X		2,326,187.33
10/31/2002	2002	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	SCM/CCS	1,000.00	X		2,325,187.33
10/31/2002	2003	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		2,322,187.33
10/31/2002	2004	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Loan Rec - SCM	VOID: SCM/C...		X		2,322,187.33

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10/31/2002	2005	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	1,723.60	X		2,320,463.73
10/31/2002	2006	Pepco	Utilities		256.45	X		2,320,207.28
10/31/2002	2007	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s	331.20	X		2,319,876.08
10/31/2002	2008	Aviation Group, LLC	Travel:Airfare		15,989.50	X		2,303,886.58
10/31/2002	2009	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		390.00	X		2,303,496.58
10/31/2002	2010	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	440.00	X		2,303,056.58
10/31/2002	2011	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	383.75	X		2,302,672.83
10/31/2002	2012	Verizon	Telephone		180.28	X		2,302,492.55
10/31/2002	2013	Verizon	Telephone		75.22	X		2,302,417.33
10/31/2002	2014	Clear View Services	Shareholder Draw		240.00	X		2,302,177.33
10/31/2002	2015	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		73.40	X		2,302,103.93
10/31/2002	2016	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Subcontract	12,500.00	X		2,289,603.93
10/31/2002	2017	Robin Axline	Subcontractors	Subcontract	3,000.00	X		2,286,603.93
11/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-	Michael Scanlon	125,000.00	X		2,161,603.93
11/01/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		74.93	X		2,161,529.00
11/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		298.52	X		2,161,230.48
11/01/2002		Michael Scanlon	-split-		101.50	X		2,161,128.98
11/01/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	3,868.05	X		2,157,260.93
11/01/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	3,328.96	X		2,153,931.97
11/01/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		2,153,727.68
11/01/2002	2018	John Lynch	Travel:Lodging	DC Lodgings	600.00	X		2,153,127.68
11/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.33	X		2,153,099.35
11/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.49	X		2,153,085.86
11/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		10.00	X		2,153,075.86
11/04/2002		Verizon	Telephone		589.46	X		2,152,486.40
11/04/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.94	X		2,152,471.46
11/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.49	X		2,152,457.97
11/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.69	X		2,152,448.28
11/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		47.50	X		2,152,400.78
11/05/2002		1776	Shareholder Draw		126.60	X		2,152,274.18
11/05/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.01	X		2,152,217.17
11/07/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	25,000.00	2,177,217.17
11/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		2,177,202.33
11/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.04	X		2,177,187.29
11/07/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		11.59	X		2,177,175.70
11/07/2002		Faires TV Furniture	Office Equip:Communi...		249.99	X		2,176,925.71
11/08/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		28.33	X		2,176,897.38
11/08/2002		American Express	Supplies	AmEx Bill	57,944.20	X		2,118,953.18
11/08/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		15.13	X		2,118,938.05
11/11/2002	2019	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		1,078,649.00	X		1,040,289.05

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11/11/2002	2020	Michael Smith	Professional Campaign...		20,000.00	X		1,020,289.05
11/11/2002	2021	Wilgus Insurance As...	Insurance:Auto	Auto Ins	727.30	X		1,019,561.75
11/12/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		350.00	X		1,019,211.75
11/13/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		44,000.00	X		975,211.75
11/13/2002		Verizon	Telephone		164.04	X		975,047.71
11/13/2002		Verizon	Telephone		75.22	X		974,972.49
11/13/2002		Pepco	Utilities		218.54	X		974,753.95
11/13/2002		Pepco	Utilities		217.36	X		974,536.59
11/13/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		57.01	X		974,479.58
11/13/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		7,922.58	X		966,557.00
11/13/2002		ADP	-split-		15,099.52	X		951,457.48
11/14/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.80	X		951,436.68
11/15/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	18,000.00	969,436.68
11/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.72	X		969,426.96
11/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.51	X		969,408.45
11/15/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		969,393.48
11/15/2002	2022	Millenium Partners	Travel:Lodging	Ritz Rent	30,000.00	X		939,393.48
11/15/2002	2023	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	CCT	191.90	X		939,201.58
11/15/2002	2024	Wilgus Insurance As...	Shareholder Draw	Flood-25 tidew...	2,203.44	X		936,998.14
11/15/2002	2025	Aviation Group, LLC	Travel:Airfare		15,795.25	X		921,202.89
11/15/2002	2026	Rachel Murphee	-split-	Reimbursement	1,585.16	X		919,617.73
11/15/2002	2027	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractors		-500.00	X		919,117.73
11/15/2002	2028	CharterAuction.com	Travel:Airfare		5,000.00	X		914,117.73
11/15/2002	2029	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		374.00	X		913,743.73
11/15/2002	2030	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		45.00	X		913,698.73
11/15/2002	2031	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		2,535.36	X		911,163.37
11/15/2002	2032	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		209.99	X		910,953.38
11/15/2002	2033	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	4,112.59	X		906,840.79
11/15/2002	2034	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	650.46	X		906,190.33
11/15/2002	2035	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,805.00	X		904,385.33
11/15/2002	2036	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	106.48	X		904,278.85
11/15/2002	2037	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		149.38	X		904,129.47
11/15/2002	2038	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street	225.80	X		903,903.67
11/15/2002	2039	Sussex County Council	Tax		976.90	X		903,806.18
11/15/2002	2040	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		889,806.18
11/15/2002	2041	Aviation Group, LLC	Travel:Airfare	ATP	54,291.06	X		835,515.12
11/15/2002	2042	Dart Courier Service	Shipping	Washington Financial	49.35	X		835,465.77
11/15/2002	2043	Washington Gas	Utilities	Mortgage	27.48	X		835,438.29
11/15/2002	2044	Washington Gas	Utilities		42.28	X		835,396.01
11/15/2002	2045	Aaron Stetter	-split-	Federal Express	247.08	X		835,148.93

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11/15/2002	2046	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-11	322.00	X		834,826.93
11/15/2002	2047	Town of Dewey Beach	Tax	Beach Tax	137.80	X		834,689.13
11/15/2002	2048	Town of Dewey Beach	Tax	Beach Tax	525.20	X		834,163.93
11/15/2002	2049	Harold Grosh	Subcontractors	LA	1,669.22	X		832,494.71
11/15/2002	2050	Howard and Hoffma...	Insurance	Corporate Insur...	2,929.76	X		829,564.95
11/15/2002	2051	Electrical Contracting	Shareholder Draw		3,708.35	X		825,856.60
11/15/2002	2052	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	Cleaning Nov	1,200.00	X		824,656.60
11/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		824,641.63
11/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.21	X		824,624.42
11/19/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.07	X		824,604.35
11/19/2002		Verizon	Telephone		223.80	X		824,380.55
11/19/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	20,019.23	X		804,361.32
11/19/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		192.97	X		804,168.35
11/19/2002	2053	Harold Grosh	Subcontractors	LA	5,000.00	X		799,168.35
11/20/2002			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	40,000.00	839,168.35
11/21/2002	2054	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street ...	63.66	X		839,104.69
11/21/2002	2055	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street ...	74.02	X		839,030.67
11/21/2002	2056	Connectiv	Utilities	VOID: 1 Culle...		X		839,030.67
11/22/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.00	X		839,017.67
11/22/2002		Target	Supplies		704.98	X		838,312.69
11/22/2002	2057	Eastland Screen Prints	Donation/Charity	Scanlon Found...	1,500.00	X		836,812.69
11/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		836,797.72
11/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.07	X		836,777.65
11/26/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		14,300.00	X		822,477.65
11/26/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		51,655.00	X		770,822.65
11/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		8.89	X		770,813.76
11/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.67	X		770,804.09
11/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		24.97	X		770,779.12
11/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.43	X		770,752.69
11/27/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		58.73	X		770,693.96
11/27/2002	2058	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	66,000.00	X		704,693.96
11/27/2002	2059	Jack Abramoff	Miscellaneous	VOID: Expen...		X		704,693.96
11/27/2002	2060	Jack Abramoff	Miscellaneous	VOID:		X		704,693.96
11/29/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.62	X		704,670.34
11/29/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,185.69	X		695,484.65
11/29/2002		ADP	-split-		17,170.90	X		678,313.75
12/02/2002		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		674,313.59
12/02/2002		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	3,328.98	X		670,984.63
12/02/2002		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		670,780.34
12/02/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.12	X		670,764.22

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12/02/2002		BFC St Jean	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		504.06	X		670,260.16
12/02/2002	2061	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	64.00	X		670,196.16
12/02/2002	2062	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	970.83	X		669,225.33
12/02/2002	2063	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		666,225.33
12/02/2002	2064	Wilgus Insurance As...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen	608.00	X		665,617.33
12/02/2002	2065	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	1,013.00	X		664,604.33
12/02/2002	2066	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	1,676.56	X		662,927.77
12/02/2002	2067	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	97.27	X		662,830.50
12/02/2002	2068	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	[REDACTED]	57.75	X		662,772.75
12/02/2002	2069	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		296.27	X		662,476.48
12/02/2002	2070	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	383.75	X		662,092.73
12/02/2002	2071	Sussex County Council	Tax	[REDACTED]	299.26	X		661,793.47
12/02/2002	2072	Sutherland, Asbill an...	Legal/Professional	Real Estate	1,168.00	X		660,625.47
12/02/2002	2073	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Subcontract	12,500.00	X		648,125.47
12/02/2002	2074	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	64.23	X		648,061.24
12/03/2002		Verizon	Telephone		592.74	X		647,468.50
12/03/2002		Caribarth	Miscellaneous		40.39	X		647,428.11
2/03/2002	2075	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		87,907.00	X		559,521.11
12/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.12	X		559,494.99
12/05/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		26.12	X		559,468.87
12/06/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.62	X		559,455.25
12/09/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.67	X		559,445.58
12/09/2002	2076	John Lynch	Travel:Lodging	DC Lodgings	600.00	X		558,845.58
12/10/2002			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	14,000.00	572,845.58
12/10/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	600,000.00	1,172,845.58
12/10/2002		Rehoboth Car Wash	Auto Expense		116.25	X		1,172,729.33
12/11/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	330,000.00	1,502,729.33
12/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		1,502,714.36
12/11/2002		Delux Dairy	Miscellaneous		13.05	X		1,502,701.31
12/11/2002		First Union	Bank Charges		88.00	X		1,502,613.31
12/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		16.12	X		1,502,597.19
12/11/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.62	X		1,502,583.57
12/12/2002		Pepco	Utilities		91.64	X		1,502,491.93
12/12/2002		Pepco	Utilities		90.79	X		1,502,401.14
12/13/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		18.51	X		1,502,382.63
12/13/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,466.19	X		1,493,916.44
12/13/2002		ADP	-split		16,223.15	X		1,477,693.29
1/16/2002		Verizon	Telephone		192.72	X		1,477,500.57
2/16/2002		Verizon	Telephone		75.26	X		1,477,425.31
12/16/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.16	X		1,477,408.15

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12/16/2002		Kmart	Supplies		159.24	X		1,477,248.91
12/16/2002	2077	Rachel Murphree	-split-	Reimbursement	644.50	X		1,476,604.41
12/16/2002	2078	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI	6,357.00	X		1,470,247.41
12/16/2002	2079	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	600.00	X		1,469,647.41
12/16/2002	2080	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	4,279.03	X		1,465,368.38
12/16/2002	2081	Connectiv	Utilities	1 Cullen Street ...	246.06	X		1,465,122.32
12/16/2002	2082	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	108.85	X		1,465,013.47
12/16/2002	2083	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	599.09	X		1,464,414.38
12/16/2002	2084	Igor Communications	Advertising	Cards	139.75	X		1,464,274.63
12/16/2002	2085	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	239.70	X		1,464,034.93
12/16/2002	2086	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	571.32	X		1,463,463.61
12/16/2002	2087	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	137.06	X		1,463,326.55
12/16/2002	2088	Cingular	Telephone		295.75	X		1,463,030.80
12/16/2002	2089	Comcast	Utilities	24 West Street ...	67.27	X		1,462,963.53
12/16/2002	2090	Comcast	Utilities	3 CULLEN	64.10	X		1,462,899.43
12/16/2002	2091	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		52.30	X		1,462,847.13
12/16/2002	2092	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		1,448,847.13
12/16/2002	2093	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		1,448,771.84
12/16/2002	2094	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-12	161.00	X		1,448,610.84
12/16/2002	2095	New World Aviation	Travel:Airfare	International F...	814.15	X		1,447,796.69
12/16/2002	2096	2200 M Street, LLC	Travel:Lodging	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,432,796.69
12/16/2002	2097	Sussex County Council	Tax	[REDACTED]	299.26	X		1,432,497.43
12/16/2002	2098	Clear View Services	Shareholder Draw		240.00	X		1,432,257.43
12/16/2002	2099	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Dec	1,200.00	X		1,431,057.43
12/16/2002	2100	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		475.24	X		1,430,582.19
12/16/2002	2101	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractors		500.00	X		1,430,082.19
12/16/2002	2102	Aaron Stetter	-split-		70.78	X		1,430,011.41
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		27.04	X		1,429,984.37
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		20.54	X		1,429,963.83
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		19.76	X		1,429,944.07
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.94	X		1,429,926.13
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.36	X		1,429,908.77
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		1,429,893.80
12/17/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		1,429,878.83
12/17/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	22,549.25	X		1,407,329.58
12/17/2002		American Express	American Express CC	AmEx Bill	5,132.53	X		1,402,197.05
12/18/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		17.94	X		1,402,179.11
12/18/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		58.73	X		1,402,120.38
12/18/2002	2103	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign		34,150.00	X		1,367,970.38
12/19/2002		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		50,200.00	X		1,317,770.38

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12/20/2002			Consulting Fees	Agua		X	1,795,000.00	3,112,770.38
12/20/2002		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		3,112,692.31
12/20/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		9.67	X		3,112,682.64
12/20/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		17,791.68	X		3,094,890.96
12/20/2002		ADP	-split-		23,606.60	X		3,071,284.36
12/20/2002		Verizon	Telephone		289.10	X		3,070,995.26
12/23/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		25.11	X		3,070,970.15
12/23/2002		Kcoast	Shareholder Draw		314.70	X		3,070,655.45
12/23/2002		Browseabout	Shareholder Draw		120.39	X		3,070,535.06
12/26/2002		Food Lion	Shareholder Draw		21.71	X		3,070,513.35
12/26/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.62	X		3,070,499.73
12/26/2002		Connectiv	Utilities		180.65	X		3,070,319.08
12/26/2002		ADP	Legal/Professional		51.55	X		3,070,267.53
12/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		34.89	X		3,070,232.64
12/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		23.97	X		3,070,208.67
12/30/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,026.99	X		3,062,181.68
12/30/2002		ADP	-split-		16,442.75	X		3,045,738.93
12/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		32.55	X		3,045,706.38
12/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		32.55	X		3,045,673.83
12/31/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.97	X		3,045,658.86
12/31/2002	2108	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		1,000,146.00	X		2,045,512.86
12/31/2002	2109	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		53,000.00	X		1,992,512.86
12/31/2002	2110	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...		175,000.00	X		1,817,512.86
01/02/2003		ADP	Tax:Payroll		14,500.00	X		1,803,012.86
01/02/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		1,799,012.70
01/02/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		1,795,683.74
01/02/2003		Verizon	Telephone		581.34	X		1,795,102.40
01/02/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		58.73	X		1,795,043.67
01/02/2003	2105	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	158,720.00	X		1,636,323.67
01/02/2003	2106	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	13,230.41	X		1,623,093.26
01/02/2003	2111	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Subcontract	12,500.00	X		1,610,593.26
01/02/2003	2112	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	450.00	X		1,610,143.26
01/02/2003	2113	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		70.00	X		1,610,073.26
01/02/2003	2114	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		11.10	X		1,610,062.16
01/02/2003	2115	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		136.19	X		1,609,925.97
01/02/2003	2116	AT&T	Telephone	Telephone Expense	1,013.00	X		1,608,912.97
01/02/2003	2117	Pepco	Utilities		49.41	X		1,608,863.56
01/02/2003	2118	Igor Communications	Advertising	Cards	207.90	X		1,608,655.66
01/02/2003	2119	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		98.40	X		1,608,557.26
01/02/2003	2120	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		2,826.25	X		1,605,731.01

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01/02/2003	2121	Eastland Screen Prints	Donation/Charity	Scanlon Found...	863.50	X		1,604,867.51
01/02/2003	2122	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		1,604,792.22
01/02/2003	2123	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	31.96	X		1,604,760.26
01/02/2003	2124	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	36.46	X		1,604,723.80
01/02/2003	2125	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Aect # [REDACTED]	856.98	X		1,603,866.82
01/02/2003	2126	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	650.46	X		1,603,216.36
01/02/2003	2127	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI	5,138.00	X		1,598,078.36
01/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.81	X		1,598,058.55
01/03/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,597,854.26
01/06/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	211,859.00	1,809,713.26
01/07/2003	2128	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,794,713.26
01/09/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		1,794,666.88
01/09/2003		American Express	Travel:Lodging	AmEx Bill	19,866.38	X		1,774,800.50
01/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		1,774,786.29
01/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.46	X		1,774,765.83
01/09/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		82.00	X		1,774,683.83
01/10/2003	2129	Rachel Murphee	Supplies	Reimbursement	40.34	X		1,774,643.49
01/10/2003	2130	Aaron Stetter	-split-		422.94	X		1,774,220.55
01/10/2003	2131	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	88.14	-X		1,774,132.41
01/10/2003	2132	Delaware Division of..	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	29,503.00	-X		1,744,629.41
01/10/2003	2133	John Lynch	Travel:Lodging	DC Lodgings	600.00	X		1,744,029.41
01/13/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		1,744,015.20
01/13/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	-X		1,744,000.99
01/13/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.09	X		1,743,976.90
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.22	X		1,743,960.68
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.62	X		1,743,943.06
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.32	X		1,743,918.74
01/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		10,350.78	X		1,733,567.96
01/14/2003		ADP	-split-		16,367.34	X		1,717,200.62
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		1,717,186.41
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		35.27	X		1,717,151.14
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		103.73	X		1,717,047.41
01/14/2003		La Tolteca	Shareholder Draw		40.20	X		1,717,007.21
01/14/2003		Pepco	Utilities		93.26	X		1,716,913.95
01/14/2003		Pepco	Utilities		109.61	X		1,716,804.32
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		138.02	X		1,716,666.30
01/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		201.99	X		1,716,464.31
01/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		47.12	X		1,716,417.19
01/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		1,716,402.98
01/20/2003	2134	Ben Shelton	Subcontractors		1,000.00	X		1,715,402.98

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01/20/2003	2135	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Jan	1,200.00	X		1,714,202.98
01/20/2003	2136	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		53.50	X		1,714,149.48
01/20/2003	2137	CharterAuction.com	Travel:Airfare		3,300.98	X		1,710,848.50
01/20/2003	2138	New World Aviation	Travel:Airfare	International F...	844.02	X		1,710,004.48
01/20/2003	2139	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct # [REDACTED]	285.66	X		1,709,718.82
01/20/2003	2140	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		1,709,478.82
01/20/2003	2141	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		356.85	X		1,709,121.97
01/20/2003	2142	Old Guard Insurance	Insurance		552.00	X		1,708,569.97
01/20/2003	2143	Cingular	Telephone		543.94	X		1,708,026.03
01/20/2003	2144	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		1,705,026.03
01/20/2003	2145	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	1,299.41	X		1,703,726.62
01/20/2003	2146	Executive Jet Manag...	Travel:Airfare		248.50	X		1,703,478.12
01/20/2003	2147	Washington Gas	Utilities		196.37	X		1,703,281.75
01/20/2003	2148	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	1,783.00	X		1,701,498.75
01/20/2003	2149	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	1,429.73	X		1,700,069.02
01/20/2003	2150	Connectiv	Utilities		114.32	X		1,699,954.70
01/20/2003	2151	Comcast	Utilities	3 CULLEN	128.20	X		1,699,826.50
01/20/2003	2152	Comcast	Utilities	1 CULLEN	134.54	X		1,699,691.96
01/20/2003	2153	Verizon	Telephone		276.87	X		1,699,415.09
01/20/2003	2154	Verizon	Telephone		210.00	X		1,699,205.09
01/20/2003	2155	Wilgus Insurance As...	Shareholder Draw		2,203.35	X		1,697,001.74
01/20/2003	2156	Brian A. Gould	Subcontractors		500.00	X		1,696,501.74
01/20/2003	2157	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	100.00	X		1,696,401.74
01/20/2003	2158	Solypso, LLC	Professional Campaign...	Database Design	7,500.00	X		1,688,901.74
01/20/2003	2159	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		1,674,901.74
01/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		1,674,887.53
01/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		49.70	X		1,674,837.83
01/21/2003		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		1,674,759.76
01/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		87.69	X		1,674,672.07
01/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		87.69	X		1,674,584.38
01/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		138.02	X		1,674,446.36
01/21/2003		Verizon	Telephone		199.02	X		1,674,247.34
01/21/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		500.00	X		1,673,747.34
01/21/2003		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		1,000.00	X		1,672,747.34
01/21/2003		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		4,657.15	X		1,668,090.19
01/21/2003		American Express	split	AmEx Bill	35,072.11	X		1,633,018.08
01/21/2003	2160	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		500,000.00	X		1,133,018.08
01/21/2003	2161	Josh Tootell	Subcontractors		2,500.00	X		1,130,518.08
01/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		49.70	X		1,130,468.38
01/22/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		64.00	X		1,130,404.38

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01/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		150.62 X		1,130,253.76
01/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		194.55 X		1,130,059.21
01/22/2003		Air Travel Network	Travel: Airfare		28,500.00 X		1,101,559.21
01/23/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		62.18 X		1,101,497.03
01/24/2003		Verizon	Telephone		75.30 X		1,101,421.73
01/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		89.80 X		1,101,331.93
01/24/2003		Verizon	Telephone		212.04 X		1,101,119.89
01/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61 X		1,101,104.28
01/27/2003		Royal Farms	Auto Expense		20.82 X		1,101,083.46
01/27/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		23.46 X		1,101,060.00
01/27/2003		Delux Dairy	Auto Expense		25.48 X		1,101,034.52
01/27/2003		Borders Books	Research/Education		208.41 X		1,100,826.11
01/27/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		224.01 X		1,100,602.10
01/27/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		235.70 X		1,100,366.40
01/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21 X		1,100,352.19
01/28/2003		S & S Liquors	Shareholder Draw		71.99 X		1,100,280.20
01/28/2003		S & S Liquors	Shareholder Draw		331.13 X		1,099,949.07
01/28/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50 X		1,099,747.57
01/29/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		11,045.85	1,110,793.42
01/30/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		302.00 X		1,110,491.42
01/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		10,657.76 X		1,099,833.66
01/30/2003		ADP	-split-		16,598.94 X		1,083,234.72
01/30/2003	2107	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Subcontract	1,197.00 X		1,082,037.72
01/31/2003	2162	Kellogg Collection	Shareholder Draw		951.75 X		1,081,085.97
01/31/2003	2163	Igor Communications	Advertising	Cards	150.00 X		1,080,935.97
01/31/2003	2164	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	2,360.53 X		1,078,575.44
01/31/2003	2165	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29 X		1,078,500.15
01/31/2003	2166	Pepco	Utilities		22.47 X		1,078,477.68
01/31/2003	2167	The Moorings Village	Travel:Lodging	Security Deposit	1,822.00 X		1,076,655.68
01/31/2003	2168	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		499.99 X		1,076,155.69
01/31/2003	2169	Josh Tootell	Subcontractors	Parking	35.00 X		1,076,120.69
01/31/2003	2170	Matt Kasper	Travel:Rental Car	Reimbursement	207.54 X		1,075,913.15
01/31/2003	2171	Harold Grosh	-split-	Reimbursement	150.62 X		1,075,762.53
01/31/2003	2172	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		2,287.25 X		1,073,475.28
01/31/2003	2173	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	1,013.00 X		1,072,462.28
01/31/2003	2174	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	125,000.00 X		947,462.28
01/31/2003	2175	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Subcontract	12,500.00 X		934,962.28
02/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.77 X		934,939.51
02/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.23 X		934,918.28
02/03/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16 X		930,918.12

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02/03/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		927,589.16
02/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		578.27	X		927,010.89
02/03/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		926,806.60
02/03/2003	2176	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Mailer	40,154.96	X		886,651.64
02/03/2003	2177	Phillip Brun	Shareholder Draw	SCM	44,500.00	X		842,151.64
02/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		79.83	X		842,071.81
02/04/2003		Espuma	Shareholder Draw		45.50	X		842,026.31
02/04/2003		Areana's	Shareholder Draw		34.70	X		841,991.61
02/04/2003		Browseabout	Shareholder Draw		28.07	X		841,963.54
02/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.30	X		841,946.24
02/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61	X		841,930.63
02/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		841,916.42
02/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		9.33	X		841,907.09
02/05/2003		Wawa	Auto Expense		41.49	X		841,865.60
02/05/2003		US House of Represe...	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		38.64	X		841,826.96
02/05/2003		Aviation Group, LLC	Travel:Airfare		3,100.00	X		838,726.96
02/05/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		838,666.50
02/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		26.71	X		838,639.79
02/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61	X		838,624.18
02/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61	X		838,608.57
02/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		838,594.36
02/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		838,580.01
02/06/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		205.50	X		838,374.51
02/06/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		197.00	X		838,177.51
02/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		9.77	X		838,167.74
02/06/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		24.00	X		838,143.74
02/07/2003	2178	Sam Robin	Office Equipment;Serv...		450.00	X		837,693.74
02/10/2003	2179	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Professional	CCS	3,000.00	X		834,693.74
02/12/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	2,046.00	836,739.74
02/12/2003			Consulting Fees	Coushatta		X	5,000,000.00	5,836,739.74
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		76.70	X		5,836,663.04
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		71.24	X		5,836,591.80
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.90	X		5,836,557.90
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		32.70	X		5,836,525.20
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		29.61	X		5,836,495.59
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.72	X		5,836,476.87
02/12/2003		Aviation Group, LLC	Shareholder Draw		44,400.00	X		5,792,076.87
02/12/2003		Verizon	Telephone		142.05	X		5,791,934.82
02/12/2003		Verizon	Telephone		78.77	X		5,791,856.05
02/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		5,791,841.70

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02/12/2003	2180	Assurity Life Insuran...	Shareholder Draw		3,049.71	X		5,788,791.99
02/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		10,448.99	X		5,778,343.00
02/14/2003		ADP	-split-		16,598.92	X		5,761,744.08
02/14/2003		Windsors	Shareholder Draw		140.00	X		5,761,604.08
02/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.26	X		5,761,586.82
02/17/2003	2181	Darlene Senko	Office Expense		50.00	X		5,761,536.82
02/17/2003	2182	Laura Caudell	Office Expense		50.00	X		5,761,486.82
02/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.75	X		5,761,471.07
02/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		5,761,456.72
02/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		5,761,442.37
02/18/2003		Pepco	Utilities		107.17	X		5,761,335.20
02/18/2003		Pepco	Utilities		74.39	X		5,761,260.81
02/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		52.98	X		5,761,207.83
02/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.54	X		5,761,187.29
02/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.75	X		5,761,171.54
02/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		12.84	X		5,761,158.70
02/19/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	14,530.52	X		5,746,628.18
02/19/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	11,933.13	X		5,734,695.05
02/19/2003		Verizon	Telephone		156.51	X		5,734,538.54
02/19/2003	2183	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	1,381.94	X		5,733,156.60
02/19/2003	2184	Verizon	Telephone		348.73	X		5,732,807.87
02/19/2003	2185	Comcast	Utilities	1 CULLEN	148.37	X		5,732,659.50
02/19/2003	2186	Comcast	Utilities	3Cullen	142.04	X		5,732,517.46
02/19/2003	2187	Connectiv	Utilities		370.61	X		5,732,146.85
02/19/2003	2188	Verizon	Telephone		280.11	X		5,731,866.74
02/19/2003	2189	Lynch's Services	Shareholder Draw		51.51	X		5,731,815.23
02/19/2003	2190	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		750.00	X		5,731,065.23
02/19/2003	2191	Sussex County Treas...	Shareholder Draw		1,873.85	X		5,729,191.38
02/19/2003	2192	Robin Axline	Insurance:Health	Reimbursement	183.00	X		5,729,008.38
02/19/2003	2193	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		280.72	X		5,728,727.66
02/19/2003	2194	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		2,320.81	X		5,726,406.85
02/19/2003	2195	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	4,166.70	X		5,722,240.15
02/19/2003	2196	Washington Gas	Utilities		267.14	X		5,721,973.01
02/19/2003	2197	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	AC	197.00	X		5,721,776.01
02/19/2003	2198	Cingular	Telephone		225.98	X		5,721,550.03
02/19/2003	2199	Igor Communications	Advertising	Cards	360.25	X		5,721,189.78
02/19/2003	2200	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	88.14	X		5,721,101.64
02/19/2003	2201	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		5,707,101.64
02/19/2003	2202	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	VOID: Acct #...		X		5,707,101.64
02/19/2003	2203	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	CA	15,425.00	X		5,691,676.64

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02/19/2003	2204	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		732.50	X		5,690,944.14
02/19/2003	2205	Sussex County Council	Tax		97.49	X		5,690,846.65
02/19/2003	2206	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		14.50	X		5,690,832.15
02/19/2003	2207	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services		1,615.75	X		5,689,216.40
02/19/2003	2208	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		5,674,216.40
02/19/2003	2209	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		312.00	X		5,673,904.40
02/19/2003	2210	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	Sag Chip	927.52	X		5,672,976.88
02/19/2003	2211	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Feb	1,200.00	X		5,671,776.88
02/19/2003	2212	Aaron Stetter	-split-		611.64	X		5,671,165.24
02/19/2003	2213	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Expenses	251.00	X		5,670,914.24
02/19/2003	2214	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		1,965,000.00	X		3,705,914.24
02/20/2003		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.07	X		3,705,836.17
02/20/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		541.35	X		3,705,294.82
02/20/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		373.90	X		3,704,920.92
02/20/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		3,704,860.46
02/21/2003		Michael Scanlon	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		543.02	X		3,704,317.44
02/21/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		4,014.62	X		3,700,302.82
02/21/2003		ADP	-split-		3,561.38	X		3,696,741.44
02/21/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		259.75	X		3,696,481.69
02/21/2003		Aubin Travel	Shareholder Draw		231.31	X		3,696,250.38
02/26/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		1,000,000.00	X		2,696,250.38
02/26/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		965,000.00	X		1,731,250.38
02/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		43.00	X		1,731,207.38
02/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		43.00	X		1,731,164.38
02/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.75	X		1,731,148.63
02/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		1,731,134.28
02/26/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		10,244.46	X		1,720,889.82
02/26/2003		ADP	-split-		16,598.95	X		1,704,290.87
02/28/2003	2215	Diehl and Co. CPAs	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		1,701,290.87
03/03/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,701,086.58
03/03/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		1,697,757.62
03/03/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		1,693,757.46
03/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		1,693,711.08
03/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		1,693,650.62
03/03/2003		Verizon	Telephones		606.78	X		1,693,043.84
03/03/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		20,000.00	X		1,673,043.84
03/04/2003	2216	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		300.04	X		1,672,743.80
03/04/2003	2218	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	VOID: Rent		X		1,672,743.80
03/04/2003	2219	Town of Dewey Beach	Tax	Beach Tax	33.80	X		1,672,710.00
03/04/2003	2220	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		1,452.92	X		1,671,257.08

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03/04/2003	2221	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,656,257.08
03/04/2003	2222	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	AC	250.00	X		1,656,007.08
03/04/2003	2223	A T & T	Telephone	T-1	1,013.00	X		1,654,994.08
03/04/2003	2224	Pepco	Utilities		20.14	X		1,654,973.94
03/04/2003	2225	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	I Cullen Security	239.70	X		1,654,734.24
03/04/2003	2226	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		195.00	X		1,654,539.24
03/04/2003	2227	Delaware Secretary o...	Tax: Licenses	LLC Fee	100.00	X		1,654,439.24
03/04/2003	2228	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		27.15	X		1,654,412.09
03/04/2003	2229	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		1,654,172.09
03/04/2003	2230	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		58.24	X		1,654,113.85
03/04/2003	2231	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		98.08	X		1,654,015.77
03/04/2003	2232	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning March	1,200.00	X		1,652,815.77
03/04/2003	2233	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		1,660.78	X		1,651,154.99
03/04/2003	2234	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	Feb, less expen...	4,025.02	X		1,647,129.97
03/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		89,537.18	X		1,557,592.79
03/07/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		18.56	X		1,557,574.23
03/07/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		20,000.00	X		1,537,574.23
03/10/2003	2235	Beach Pigs, LLC	Shareholder Draw		20,000.00	X		1,517,574.23
03/11/2003			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	20,000.00	1,437,574.23
03/11/2003			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	20,000.00	1,457,574.23
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,457,559.81
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.78	X		1,457,544.03
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.81	X		1,457,525.22
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.00	X		1,457,498.22
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.27	X		1,457,464.95
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		35.01	X		1,457,429.94
03/12/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		86.00	X		1,457,343.94
03/12/2003			Shareholder Draw		10,000.00	X		1,447,343.94
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.84	X		1,447,321.10
03/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		96.14	X		1,447,224.96
03/12/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		52,922.60	X		1,394,232.36
03/12/2003		ADP	split		54,738.85	X		1,339,493.51
03/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		8.36	X		1,339,485.15
03/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.82	X		1,339,469.33
03/17/2003		Pepco	Utilities		20.07	X		1,339,399.26
03/17/2003		Pepco	Utilities		101.99	X		1,339,297.27
03/17/2003		Fusion	Shareholder Draw		352.00	X		1,338,945.27
03/17/2003		Verizon	Telephone		78.77	X		1,338,866.50
03/17/2003		Cite Retail	Miscellaneous		29.00	X		1,338,787.50

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03/17/2003	2236	Sam Robin	Office Equipment:Serv...		1,782.77	X		1,337,004.73
03/17/2003	2237	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	89.49	X		1,336,915.24
03/17/2003	2238	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	216.24	X		1,336,699.00
03/17/2003	2239	Wilgus Insurance As...	Insurance:Auto		737.33	X		1,335,961.67
03/17/2003	2240	Comcast	Utilities	3Cullen	7.68	X		1,335,953.99
03/17/2003	2241	Verizon	Telephone		159.98	X		1,335,794.01
03/17/2003	2242	Cingular	Telephone		217.25	X		1,335,576.76
03/17/2003	2243	Treasury Division of ...	Shareholder Draw		1,900.37	X		1,333,676.39
03/17/2003	2244	Comcast	Utilities	1 Cullen	7.66	X		1,333,668.73
03/17/2003	2245	City of Rehobeth Bea...	Travel:Parking		100.00	X		1,333,568.73
03/17/2003	2246	Washington Gas	Utilities		292.20	X		1,333,276.53
03/17/2003	2247	Suburban Propane	Utilities		1,159.31	X		1,332,117.22
03/17/2003	2248	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	1,668.54	X		1,330,448.68
03/17/2003	2249	Duane Morris	Legal/Professional		9,110.50	X		1,321,338.18
03/17/2003	2250	Cingular	Telephone		123.41	X		1,321,214.77
03/17/2003	2251	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		117.00	X		1,321,097.77
03/17/2003	2252	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		78.00	X		1,321,019.77
03/17/2003	2253	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,208.00	X		1,318,811.77
03/17/2003	2254	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	647.44	X		1,318,164.33
03/17/2003	2255	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Mailer	1,791.71	X		1,316,372.62
03/17/2003	2256	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		1,316,297.33
03/17/2003	2257	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services		874.00	X		1,315,423.33
03/18/2003		Verizon	Telephone		176.32	X		1,315,247.01
03/18/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		179.00	X		1,315,068.01
03/18/2003		American Express	-split	AmEx Bill	42,082.97	X		1,272,985.04
03/18/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100,000.00	X		1,172,985.04
03/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		9.45	X		1,172,975.59
03/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,172,961.17
03/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,172,946.75
03/19/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	9,000.00	1,181,946.75
03/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.50	X		1,181,929.25
03/19/2003		Delux Dairy	Auto Expense		25.00	X		1,181,904.25
03/19/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		62.18	X		1,181,842.07
03/19/2003		Direct TV	Cable/TV		78.97	X		1,181,764.00
03/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.10	X		1,181,744.90
03/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		42.14	X		1,181,702.76
03/19/2003		Staples	Office Expense		69.15	X		1,181,633.61
03/19/2003	2209		Miscellaneous		312.00	X		1,181,321.61
03/21/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		287.00	X		1,181,034.61
03/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.82	X		1,181,018.79

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03/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.46	X		1,181,002.33
03/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.35	X		1,180,984.98
03/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.74	X		1,180,956.24
03/21/2003	2258	Sam Robin	Office Equipment:Serv...		6,000.00	X		1,174,956.24
03/24/2003		Verizon	Telephone		165.03	X		1,174,791.21
03/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		223.55	X		1,174,567.66
03/24/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		12,500.00	X		1,162,067.66
03/24/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		12,700.00	X		1,149,367.66
03/24/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		58.95	X		1,149,308.71
03/24/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		232.50	X		1,149,076.21
03/25/2003	2259	Allstate Insurance	Insurance:Auto	Car Insurance	934.26	X		1,148,141.95
03/25/2003	2260	Aaron Stetter	-split-		203.17	X		1,147,938.78
03/25/2003	2261	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	19,015.00	X		1,128,923.78
03/25/2003	2262	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	663.00	X		1,128,260.78
03/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,128,246.36
03/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,128,231.94
03/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.82	X		1,128,216.12
3/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.82	X		1,128,200.30
03/28/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,993.99	X		1,118,206.31
03/28/2003		ADP	-split-		17,106.75	X		1,101,099.56
03/31/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,101,085.14
03/31/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.82	X		1,101,069.32
03/31/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		35.87	X		1,101,033.45
03/31/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		620.00	X		1,100,413.45
04/01/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,100,209.16
04/01/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		1,096,880.20
04/01/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		1,092,880.04
04/01/2003		Verizon	Telephone		586.77	X		1,092,293.27
04/01/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		2,600.00	X		1,089,693.27
04/01/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		2,600.00	X		1,087,093.27
04/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.25	X		1,087,060.04
04/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.94	X		1,087,022.10
04/01/2003	2263	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		1,084,022.10
04/01/2003	2264	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,069,022.10
04/01/2003	2265	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		1,068,782.10
04/01/2003	2266	Rachel Murphee	Travel:Parking	Reimbursement	18.00	X		1,068,764.10
04/01/2003	2267	Pepco	Utilities		22.47	X		1,068,741.63
04/01/2003	2268	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	27.34	X		1,068,714.29
04/01/2003	2269	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		1,068,639.00
04/01/2003	2270	AT&T	Telephone	T-I	1,013.00	X		1,067,626.00

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04/01/2003	2271	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	22.72	X		1,067,603.28
04/01/2003	2272	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	Cleaning March	1,200.00	X		1,066,403.28
04/01/2003	2273	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		3,194.75	X		1,063,208.53
04/01/2003	2274	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		9.00	X		1,063,199.53
04/01/2003	2275	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	AC	353.95	X		1,062,845.58
04/02/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	1,873.45	1,064,719.03
04/03/2003	2277	Antique and Contem...	Office Equip:Furniture	Furniture, DE	6,325.00	X		1,058,394.03
04/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		1,058,379.61
04/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.81	X		1,058,356.80
04/07/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		1,058,155.30
04/07/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		1,057,953.80
04/08/2003	2278	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	March	5,000.00	X		1,052,953.80
04/08/2003	2279	Sam Robin	Office Equipment		4,906.26	X		1,048,047.54
04/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.35	X		1,048,030.19
04/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.50	X		1,048,012.69
04/09/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		1,047,952.23
04/09/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		110.00	X		1,047,842.23
04/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,047,827.67
04/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.08	X		1,047,803.59
04/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.47	X		1,047,779.12
04/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,919.79	X		1,037,859.33
04/14/2003		ADP	-split-		17,106.74	X		1,020,752.59
04/14/2003	2280	District of Columbia	Taxes Payable		214,018.00	X		806,734.59
04/15/2003		Verizon	Telephone		78.77	X		806,655.82
04/15/2003		Verizon	Telephone		140.39	X		806,515.43
04/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	76.07	X		806,439.36
04/15/2003	2281	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Ads	13,994.75	X		792,444.61
04/16/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	103.70	X		792,340.91
04/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.57	X		792,320.34
04/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.92	X		792,299.42
04/17/2003	2282	Comcast	Utilities	I Cullen	67.94	X		792,231.48
04/17/2003	2283	Comcast	Utilities	I Cullen	71.10	X		792,160.38
04/17/2003	2284	Connectiv	Utilities		84.02	X		792,076.36
04/17/2003	2285	Penn Mutual Insuran...	Shareholder Draw		1,073.00	X		791,003.36
04/17/2003	2286	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		4,680.00	X		786,323.36
04/17/2003	2287	Williams Insurance ...	Insurance		7,600.00	X		778,723.36
04/17/2003	2288	Williams Insurance ...	Insurance		2,539.00	X		776,184.36
04/17/2003	2289	Chantilly Air	Shareholder Draw		11,063.01	X		765,100.45
04/17/2003	2290	Rachel Murphee	Miscellaneous	Reimbursement	66.78	X		765,033.67
04/17/2003	2291	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,668.00	X		762,365.67

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04/17/2003	2292	Sam Robin	Office Equipment		10,105.48	X		752,260.19
04/17/2003	2293	Sam Robin	Office Equipment		2,500.00	X		749,760.19
04/17/2003	2294	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	648.95	X		749,111.24
04/17/2003	2295	Argonaut Insurance ...	Insurance		598.00	X		748,513.24
04/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.68	X		748,490.56
04/18/2003		American Express	Travel:Lodging	AmEx Bill	267.25	X		748,223.31
04/18/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	49,875.67	X		698,347.64
04/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		25.96	X		698,321.68
04/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.01	X		698,288.67
04/21/2003		Taste	Shareholder Draw		77.50	X		698,211.17
04/21/2003		Direct TV	Cable/TV		82.47	X		698,128.70
04/21/2003		Staples	Office Expense		96.42	X		698,032.28
04/21/2003		Vans	Shareholder Draw		102.46	X		697,929.82
04/21/2003		Verizon	Telephone		237.94	X		697,691.88
04/21/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	160.07	X		697,531.81
04/21/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100,000.00	X		597,531.81
04/22/2003			-split-	Coush/AIC		X	1,300,000.00	1,897,531.81
04/22/2003	2296	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	150.00	X		1,897,381.81
04/22/2003	2297	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	319.26	X		1,897,062.55
04/22/2003	2298	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	7.57	X		1,897,054.98
04/22/2003	2299	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		19.05	X		1,897,035.93
04/22/2003	2300	D & M Contracting Inc.	Shareholder Draw		4,452.70	X		1,892,583.23
04/22/2003	2301	Baswood Research	Professional Campaign...	LA	15,600.00	X		1,876,983.23
04/22/2003	2302	Washington Gas	Utilities	[REDACTED]	76.00	X		1,876,907.23
04/22/2003	2303	Cingular	Telephone		436.63	X		1,876,470.60
04/22/2003	2304	Brooks Business Tra...	Office Expense		1,097.50	X		1,875,373.10
04/22/2003	2305	Verizon Communicat...	Telephone		128.27	X		1,875,244.83
04/22/2003	2306	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		445.85	X		1,874,798.98
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,874,784.42
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,874,769.86
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.62	X		1,874,753.24
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.67	X		1,874,735.57
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.52	X		1,874,716.05
04/23/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		68.46	X		1,874,647.59
04/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	88.29	X		1,874,559.30
04/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		202.50	X		1,874,356.80
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,874,342.24
04/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,874,327.68
04/23/2003	2307	Omaha Property and ...	Shareholder Draw	policy [REDACTED]	326.00	X		1,874,001.68
04/23/2003	2308	Omaha Property and ...	Shareholder Draw	Policy [REDACTED]	326.00	X		1,873,675.68

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04/25/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.96	X		1,873,659.72
04/25/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		34.99	X		1,873,624.73
04/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.96	X		1,873,608.77
04/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.47	X		1,873,584.30
04/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		34.27	X		1,873,550.03
04/28/2003		Kemp Mill	Shareholder Draw		174.91	X		1,873,375.12
04/28/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		293.75	X		1,873,081.37
04/28/2003		S & S Liquors	Shareholder Draw		502.17	X		1,872,579.20
04/28/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		575.00	X		1,872,004.20
04/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		1,871,989.64
04/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.86	X		1,871,970.78
04/29/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,900.47	X		1,862,070.31
04/29/2003		ADP	-split-		17,106.75	X		1,844,963.56
04/29/2003	2309	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	80.68	X		1,844,882.88
05/01/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,844,678.59
05/01/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,328.96	X		1,841,349.63
05/01/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		1,837,349.47
05/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.26	X		1,837,330.21
05/01/2003	2310	Tony Beto, Inc.	Shareholder Draw	25 Tidewater	21,594.00	X		1,815,736.21
05/01/2003	2311	Dockety Design	Shareholder Draw		88,724.00	X		1,727,012.21
05/02/2003	2312	Lin Sang Logistics, L...	Shareholder Draw		150,000.00	X		1,577,012.21
05/05/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	2,931.10	1,579,943.31
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.96	X		1,579,927.35
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		23.47	X		1,579,903.88
05/05/2003		Verizon	Telephone		593.90	X		1,579,309.98
05/05/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		150,000.00	X		1,429,309.98
05/05/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		991,000.00	X		438,309.98
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		438,295.42
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.96	X		438,279.46
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.15	X		438,262.31
05/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.15	X		438,245.16
05/05/2003	2313	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		438,169.87
05/05/2003	2314	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repairs/Maintenance		325.00	X		437,844.87
05/05/2003	2315	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	12.19	X		437,832.68
05/05/2003	2316	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		434,832.68
05/05/2003	2317	BAG-IT, Inc.	Miscellaneous		2,410.17	X		432,422.51
05/05/2003	2318	Peppo	Utilities	[REDACTED]	21.19	X		432,401.32
05/05/2003	2319	AT&T	Telephone	T-INSALTY, Inc.	1,013.00	X		431,388.32
05/05/2003	2320	A. Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning May	1,200.00	X		430,188.32
05/05/2003	2321	Argonaut Insurance ...	Insurance		598.00	X		429,590.32

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05/05/2003	2322	Connectiv	Utilities		209.55	X		429,380.77
05/05/2003	2323	Suburban Propane	Utilities		2,206.06	X		427,174.71
05/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.37	X		427,156.34
05/06/2003		Browseabout	Research/Education		26.15	X		427,130.19
05/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.67	X		427,102.52
05/06/2003		Windsors	Supplies		330.00	X		426,772.52
05/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.56	X		426,757.96
05/06/2003	2324	Pat Gould	Subcontractors	April	2,834.00	X		423,923.96
05/07/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	1,050,000.00	1,473,923.96
05/07/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		1,473,863.50
05/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.06	X		1,473,836.44
05/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.43	X		1,473,819.01
05/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.99	X		1,473,800.02
05/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.89	X		1,473,780.13
05/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		104.80	X		1,473,675.33
05/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		108.40	X		1,473,566.93
05/14/2003		Verizon	Telephone		140.46	X		1,473,426.47
05/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,897.33	X		1,463,529.14
05/14/2003		ADP	-split		17,106.72	X		1,446,422.42
05/14/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		28,615.98	X		1,417,806.44
05/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities		57.96	X		1,417,748.48
05/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities		118.36	X		1,417,630.12
05/15/2003		American Express	Supplies	AmEx Bill	689.50	X		1,416,940.62
05/15/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		582.41	X		1,416,358.21
05/15/2003	2333	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		17.72	X		1,416,340.49
05/15/2003	2334	Washington Gas	Utilities		43.23	X		1,416,297.26
05/15/2003	2335	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		379.22	X		1,415,918.04
05/15/2003	2336	Selective Insurance ...	Shareholder Draw		486.00	X		1,415,432.04
05/15/2003	2337	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	LA	7,786.00	X		1,407,646.04
05/15/2003	2338	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		1,393,646.04
05/15/2003	2339	Sam Robin	Office Equipment		438.00	X		1,393,208.04
05/15/2003	2340	Matt Kasper	Travel/Rental Car	Reimbursement	727.62	X		1,392,480.42
05/15/2003	2341	Igor Communications	Advertising	Golf Balls	1,910.00	X		1,390,570.42
05/15/2003	2342	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		9.00	X		1,390,561.42
05/15/2003	2343	Rachel Murphee	Miscellaneous	Reimbursement	19.38	X		1,390,542.04
05/15/2003	2344	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		12,194.33	X		1,378,347.71
05/15/2003	2345	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	92.00	X		1,378,255.71
05/15/2003	2346	BAG-IT, Inc.	Miscellaneous	ADP	2,175.87	X		1,376,079.84
05/15/2003	2347	Igor Communications	Advertising	Golf Balls	2,844.50	X		1,373,235.34
05/15/2003	2348	Sussex County Council	Tax		97.49	X		1,373,137.85

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05/15/2003	2349	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,358,137.85
05/15/2003	2350	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	TX	35,000.00	X		1,323,137.85
05/15/2003	2356	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	648.95	X		1,322,488.90
05/15/2003	2357	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		376.57	X		1,322,112.33
05/15/2003	2358	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Ads	5,409.26	X		1,316,703.07
05/15/2003	2359	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,668.00	X		1,314,035.07
05/15/2003	2360	Wilgus Insurance As...	Shareholder Draw		1,394.28	X		1,312,640.79
05/15/2003	2361	Bernco Advertising S...	Advertising		1,784.00	X		1,310,856.79
05/15/2003	2362	Aaron Stetter	-split-		410.32	X		1,310,446.47
05/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.88	X		1,310,424.59
05/19/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		1,530.00	X		1,308,894.59
05/19/2003		ADP	-split-		9,235.00	X		1,299,659.59
05/19/2003	2351	North Star Heating a...	Shareholder Draw		12,430.00	X		1,287,229.59
05/19/2003	2352	Crampton Lighting D...	Shareholder Draw		302.11	X		1,286,927.48
05/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		82.47	X		1,286,845.01
05/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		129.67	X		1,286,715.34
05/20/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		200.66	X		1,286,514.68
05/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.49	X		1,286,496.19
05/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		38.33	X		1,286,457.86
05/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		38.33	X		1,286,419.53
05/21/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		1,286,359.07
05/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.49	X		1,286,344.58
05/21/2003	2353	Baptist Christian Sch...	Donation/Charity	Moraino Paten...	500.00	X		1,285,844.58
05/22/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	106.34	X		1,285,738.24
05/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		11.81	X		1,285,726.43
05/22/2003	2354	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	4,800.00	X		1,280,926.43
05/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.49	X		1,280,911.94
05/23/2003	2355	Ben Shelton	Subcontractors		600.00	X		1,280,311.94
05/23/2003	2363	Wilgus Insurance As...	Shareholder Draw		11,881.92	X		1,268,430.02
05/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.80	X		1,268,413.22
05/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.59	X		1,268,395.63
05/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.84	X		1,268,372.79
05/27/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	94.95	X		1,268,277.84
05/27/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	197.86	X		1,268,079.98
05/27/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		170,000.00	X		1,098,079.98
05/28/2003	2364	Solypso, LLC	Professional Campaign...	Full and final P...	6,000.00	X		1,092,079.98
05/29/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		1,092,033.60
05/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		10,216.33	X		1,081,817.27
05/30/2003		ADP	-split-		17,460.50	X		1,064,356.77
05/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.33	X		1,064,323.44

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05/30/2003	2366	Sam Robin	-split-	Retainer+DE S...	9,597.86	X		1,054,725.58
06/02/2003		Bay Road Package	Shareholder Draw		124.95	X		1,054,600.63
06/02/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		1,054,396.34
06/02/2003		Verizon	Telephone		591.56	X		1,053,804.78
06/02/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		710.00	X		1,053,094.78
06/02/2003		Greenpoint Mortgage...	Shareholder Draw		3,617.18	X		1,049,477.60
06/02/2003	2367	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	AC	595.98	X		1,048,881.62
06/02/2003	2368	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning June	1,200.00	X		1,047,681.62
06/02/2003	2369	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		8,138.75	X		1,039,542.87
06/02/2003	2370	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Campaign...		6,000.00	X		1,033,542.87
06/02/2003	2371	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repairs/Maintenance		84.00	X		1,033,458.87
06/02/2003	2372	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		97.53	X		1,033,361.34
06/02/2003	2373	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		57.91	X		1,033,303.43
06/02/2003	2374	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		26.50	X		1,033,276.93
06/02/2003	2375	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		1,033,036.93
06/02/2003	2376	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	7.57	X		1,033,029.36
06/02/2003	2377	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,732.90	X		1,030,296.46
06/02/2003	2378	Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	119.07	X		1,030,177.39
06/02/2003	2380	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		12.61	X		1,030,164.78
06/02/2003	2381	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		1,027,164.78
06/02/2003	2382	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	ACCT [REDACTED]	7.57	X		1,027,157.21
06/02/2003	2383	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	239.70	X		1,026,917.51
06/02/2003	2384	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security- ACC...	75.29	X		1,026,842.22
06/02/2003	2385	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Campaign...		8,000.00	X		1,018,842.22
06/02/2003	2386	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		1,003,842.22
06/02/2003	2387	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	TX	31,395.92	X		972,446.30
06/02/2003	2388	Verizon	Telephone		257.01	X		972,189.29
06/03/2003		Middleton Tavern	Shareholder Draw		94.99	X		972,094.30
06/03/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	31,394.40	X		940,699.90
06/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		940,639.44
06/03/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	4,000.16	X		936,639.28
06/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		936,625.00
06/03/2003	2390	Plaza Lock and Key	Repairs/Maintenance	VOID:		X		936,625.00
06/03/2003	2391	Plaza Lock and Key	Repairs/Maintenance		150.00	X		936,475.00
06/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.12	X		936,456.88
06/06/2003	2392	Omaha Property and ...	Shareholder Draw		1,863.00	X		934,593.88
06/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		934,579.60
06/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.70	X		934,561.90
06/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		25.98	X		934,535.92
06/09/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		10,000.00	X		924,535.92

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06/09/2003	2393	Lin Sang Logistics, L...	Shareholder Draw		150,000.00	X		774,535.92
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		13.04	X		774,522.88
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.65	X		774,508.23
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.99	X		774,488.24
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		30.24	X		774,458.00
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.09	X		774,421.91
06/10/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		104.00	X		774,317.91
06/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		774,303.63
06/10/2003		Verizon	Telephone		82.59	X		774,221.04
06/10/2003		Verizon	Telephone		179.84	X		774,041.20
06/10/2003	2394	Omaha Property and ...	Shareholder Draw		295.00	X		773,746.20
06/10/2003	2395	West Coast Life Insu...	Shareholder Draw		2,800.00	X		770,946.20
06/10/2003	2396	West Coast Life Insu...	Shareholder Draw		3,025.00	X		767,921.20
06/13/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		343.99	X		767,577.21
06/13/2003		ADP	-split-		764.18	X		766,813.03
06/13/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		8,927.37	X		757,885.66
06/13/2003		ADP	-split-		16,865.60	X		741,020.06
06/13/2003	2397	Alan Bullington	Subcontractors		750.00	X		740,270.06
06/16/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.60	X		740,248.46
06/16/2003		Pepco	Utilities		80.40	X		740,168.06
06/16/2003		Pepco	Utilities		109.72	X		740,058.34
06/16/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	3,171.69	X		736,886.65
06/16/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	16,417.86	X		720,468.79
06/16/2003	2398	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		4,961.25	X		715,507.54
06/16/2003	2399	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		43.25	X		715,464.29
06/16/2003	2400	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance	VOID:		X		715,464.29
06/16/2003	2401	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	VOID: Health I...		X		715,464.29
06/16/2003	2402	Express Title company	Shareholder Draw		6,736.52	X		708,727.77
06/16/2003	2403	Express Title company	Shareholder Draw		5,785.38	X		702,942.39
06/16/2003	2404	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		84.00	X		702,858.39
06/16/2003	2405	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,400.00	X		700,458.39
06/16/2003	2406	Comcast	Office Expense		142.22	X		700,316.17
06/16/2003	2407	Comcast	Shareholder Draw	3 Cullen	135.90	X		700,180.27
06/16/2003	2408	Comcast	Utilities	VOID: 3 Cullen		X		700,180.27
06/16/2003	2409	Washington Gas	Utilities	VOID:		X		700,180.27
06/16/2003	2410	Connectiv	Utilities		66.37	X		700,113.90
06/16/2003	2411	Connectiv	Utilities		23.80	X		700,090.10
06/16/2003	2413	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		36.51	X		700,053.59
06/16/2003	2414	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	91.12	X		699,962.47
06/16/2003	2415	The RDB Group Inco...	Professional Campaign...	MS Research	4,634.48	X		695,327.99

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06/16/2003	2416	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		74.78	X		695,253.21
06/16/2003	2417	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		205.28	X		695,047.93
06/16/2003	2418	Washington Gas	Utilities		24.04	X		695,023.89
06/16/2003	2419	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		490.59	X		694,533.30
06/16/2003	2420	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	648.95	X		693,884.35
06/16/2003	2421	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	10,500.00	X		683,384.35
06/16/2003	2422	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent		21,000.00	X		662,384.35
06/16/2003	2423	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment	Service/Equip...	691.22	X		661,693.13
06/16/2003	2424	Argonaut Insurance ...	Insurance		601.00	X		661,092.13
06/16/2003	2425	Mayer, Brown, Rowe...	Professional Campaign...		9,163.00	X		651,929.13
06/16/2003	2426	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	LA	16,025.24	X		635,903.89
06/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		8.59	X		635,895.30
06/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.68	X		635,879.62
06/18/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		58.73	X		635,820.89
06/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		635,806.61
06/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		635,792.33
06/19/2003		Verizon	Telephone		125.20	X		635,667.13
06/19/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		336.00	X		635,331.13
06/19/2003		Direct TV	Cable/TV		82.47	X		635,248.66
06/20/2003			Shareholder Draw	Scanlon		X	461,000.00	1,096,248.66
06/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		62.53	X		1,096,186.13
06/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.89	X		1,096,170.24
06/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.84	X		1,096,150.40
06/24/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		72.90	X		1,096,077.50
06/24/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		144.00	X		1,095,933.50
06/24/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		314.86	X		1,095,618.64
06/24/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		466,000.00	X		629,618.64
06/24/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		629,572.26
06/24/2003		Premier Auto Sales	Shareholder Draw		26,150.00	X		603,422.26
06/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		11.64	X		603,410.62
06/27/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	500,000.00	1,103,410.62
06/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.63	X		1,103,394.99
06/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.41	X		1,103,375.58
06/27/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		9,160.80	X		1,094,214.78
06/27/2003		ADP	-split-		17,379.96	X		1,076,834.82
06/27/2003	2427	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Ads	8,465.00	X		1,068,369.82
06/27/2003	2428	Jeff Norsen Memoria...	Donation/Charity	Golf Tourname...	300.00	X		1,068,069.82
06/27/2003	2429	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	DC Server	5,873.06	X		1,062,196.76
06/27/2003	2430	Alan Bullington	Subcontractors		750.00	X		1,061,446.76
06/30/2003		Kemp Mill	Shareholder Draw		28.98	X		1,061,417.78

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06/30/2003		Jakes Seafood	Shareholder Draw		29.95	X		1,061,387.83
06/30/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		674.95	X		1,060,712.88
06/30/2003	2431	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	VOID: ACCT ...		X		1,060,712.88
06/30/2003	2432	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities	VOID: ACCT ...		X		1,060,712.88
06/30/2003	2433	Comcast	Utilities	VOID: I Cullen		X		1,060,712.88
06/30/2003	2434	Powell Tate/Weber S...	Professional Campaign...		175,000.00	X		885,712.88
06/30/2003	2435	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		10,000.00	X		875,712.88
06/30/2003	2436	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		875,637.59
06/30/2003	2439	Pepco	Utilities		108.71	X		875,528.88
06/30/2003	2440	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,066.00	X		873,462.88
06/30/2003	2441	Citigate Global Inteli...	Professional Campaign...		18,227.76	X		855,235.12
06/30/2003	2442	DC Water and Sewer...	Utilities		12.19	X		855,222.93
06/30/2003	2443	Anton Design	Professional Campaign...	AC	100.00	X		855,122.93
06/30/2003	2444	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		41.65	X		855,081.28
07/01/2003			Payroll Expenses			X	883.18	855,964.46
07/02/2003	2445	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		852,964.46
07/02/2003	2446	Michelle Whitty	Payroll Expenses		883.18	X		852,081.28
07/03/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	3,561.86	855,643.14
07/03/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		855,438.85
07/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		60.46	X		855,378.39
07/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		596.95	X		854,781.44
07/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.77	X		854,758.67
07/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.15	X		854,739.52
07/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.15	X		854,720.37
07/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.70	X		854,702.67
07/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		854,688.39
07/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.34	X		854,671.05
07/07/2003	2447	Pepco	Utilities	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		854,671.05
07/08/2003	2448	Plaza Lock and Key	Repaires/Maintenance		292.00	X		854,379.05
07/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.63	X		854,363.42
07/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		9.94	X		854,353.48
07/09/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		42.00	X		854,311.48
07/11/2003	2450	Great Scott Movers	Shareholder Draw		3,215.00	X		851,096.48
07/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.46	X		851,080.02
07/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		16,772.45	X		834,307.57
07/14/2003		ADP	split		8,972.03	X		825,335.54
07/15/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	3,344.50	828,680.04
07/15/2003		Verizon	Telephone	Connecti...	1,146.55	X		828,533.49
07/15/2003		Verizon	Telephone	WGN	1,278.61	X		828,454.88
07/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		72.62	X		828,382.26

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07/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.96	X		828,342.30
07/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.71	X		828,321.59
07/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	260.91	X		828,060.68
07/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	160.98	X		827,899.70
07/15/2003		57 Wilm Group	Miscellaneous		19.75	X		827,879.95
07/16/2003		American Express	Office Equip	AmEx Bill	11,552.98	X		816,326.97
07/16/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		244.00	X		816,082.97
07/16/2003	2449	Jonathan Carmo	Shareholder Draw		15,000.00	X		801,082.97
07/16/2003	2451	Alan Bullington	Subcontractors		750.00	X		800,332.97
07/16/2003	2452	Mayer, Brown, Rowe...	Professional Campaign...		25,459.38	X		774,873.59
07/16/2003	2453	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	28,000.00	X		746,873.59
07/16/2003	2454	Washington Gas	Utilities	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		746,873.59
07/16/2003	2455	Connectus Communi...	Telephone	VOID:		X		746,873.59
07/16/2003	2456	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		22.59	X		746,851.00
07/16/2003	2457	2200 M Street, LLC	Shareholder Draw	Rent	15,000.00	X		731,851.00
07/16/2003	2458	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		10.05	X		731,840.95
07/16/2003	2459	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		731,600.95
07/16/2003	2460	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	648.95	X		730,952.00
07/16/2003	2461	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning July	1,200.00	X		729,752.00
07/16/2003	2462	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services		1,196.00	X		728,556.00
07/16/2003	2463	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		151.11	X		728,404.89
07/16/2003	2464	Cingular	Telephone		35.84	X		728,369.05
07/16/2003	2465	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. # [REDACTED]	5,771.00	X		722,598.05
07/16/2003	2466	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	3,678.33	X		718,919.72
07/16/2003	2467	Connectiv	Utilities	312945699972	538.64	X		718,381.08
07/16/2003	2468	Clear View Services	Office Expense		775.00	X		717,606.08
07/16/2003	2469	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		263.31	X		717,342.77
07/16/2003	2470	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	91.13	X		717,251.64
07/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.11	X		717,223.53
07/17/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		667,223.53
07/17/2003		Jakes Seafood	Shareholder Draw		46.65	X		667,176.88
07/17/2003	2471	The Capital Club of ...	Advertising	Lobbyist Tix	350.00	X		666,826.88
07/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		666,812.67
07/21/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		300,000.00	X		366,812.67
07/21/2003		Direct TV	Cable TV		82.47	X		366,730.20
07/21/2003		Verizon	Telephone		148.93	X		366,581.27
07/21/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	103.38	X		366,477.89
07/21/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	146.21	X		366,331.68
07/22/2003	2472	Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,333.96	X		363,027.72
07/22/2003	2473	Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	Office Rent	2,795.91	X		360,231.81

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07/22/2003	2474	Mike Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		8,191.13	X		352,040.68
07/23/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	500,000.00	852,040.68
07/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		852,026.47
07/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		11.59	X		852,014.88
07/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		538.64	X		851,476.24
07/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		124.72	X		851,351.52
07/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		77.07	X		851,274.45
07/23/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		66.73	X		851,207.72
07/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.37	X		851,186.35
07/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.37	X		851,164.98
07/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.63	X		851,148.35
07/24/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		275.00	X		850,873.35
07/24/2003		S & S Liquors	Shareholder Draw		86.28	X		850,787.07
07/25/2003	2475	Alan Bullington	Subcontractors		750.00	X		850,037.07
07/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		850,022.86
07/28/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		29.54	X		849,993.32
07/28/2003	2476	Lin Sang Logistics, L...	Travel:Airfare		8,197.50	X		841,795.82
07/29/2003	2477	Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw	VOID: Office ...		X		841,795.82
07/30/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		126.00	X		841,669.82
07/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.09	X		841,630.73
07/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.96	X		841,590.77
07/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		25.24	X		841,565.53
07/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		17.25	X		841,548.28
07/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		12.59	X		841,535.69
07/30/2003		ADP	Payroll:Expenses		14,387.02	X		827,148.67
07/30/2003		ADP	-split-		7,275.68	X		819,872.99
08/01/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		819,668.70
08/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.21	X		819,650.49
08/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.21	X		819,632.28
08/04/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	150.00	819,782.28
08/04/2003	2478	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		5.38	X		819,776.90
08/04/2003	2479	Mayer, Brown, Rowe...	Professional Campaign...		26,115.47	X		793,661.43
08/04/2003	2480	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	104.69	X		793,556.74
08/04/2003	2481	NextiraOne Business	Office Equip:Communi...		195.75	X		793,450.99
08/04/2003	2482	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		779,450.99
08/04/2003	2483	Treasury Division of ...	Tax		1,765.70	X		777,685.29
08/04/2003	2484	Treasury Division of ...	Tax		4,071.67	X		773,613.62
08/04/2003	2485	Treasury Division of ...	Tax		1,107.34	X		772,506.28
08/04/2003	2486	Cingular	Telephone		252.16	X		772,254.12
08/04/2003	2487	Lynch's Services	Shareholder Draw		404.00	X		771,850.12

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08/04/2003	2488	Rehoboth U Store	Shareholder Draw		165.00	X		771,685.12
08/04/2003	2489	Verizon	Telephone		71.76	X		771,613.36
08/04/2003	2490	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	DC Server	2,759.94	X		768,853.42
08/04/2003	2491	Citigate Global Inteli...	Professional Campaign...		4,600.00	X		764,253.42
08/04/2003	2492	Verizon	Telephone		254.46	X		763,998.96
08/04/2003	2493	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		760,998.96
08/04/2003	2494	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		760,923.67
08/04/2003	2495	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		5,910.00	X		755,013.67
08/04/2003	2496	Comcast	Shareholder Draw	3 Cullen	72.95	X		754,940.72
08/04/2003	2497	Delaware Departmen...	Tax:Payroll		37.13	X		754,903.59
08/04/2003	2498	Mark Showell	Shareholder Draw		5,147.00	X		749,756.59
08/04/2003	2499	Wilson, Halbrook an...	Shareholder Draw		426.18	X		749,330.41
08/04/2003	2500	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		84.00	X		749,246.41
08/04/2003	2501	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,066.00	X		747,180.41
08/04/2003	2502	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		5,000.00	X		742,180.41
08/04/2003	2503	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		53.95	X		742,126.46
08/04/2003	2504	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		3,496.00	X		738,630.46
08/04/2003	2505	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		10.43	X		738,620.03
08/06/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		620.00	X		738,000.03
08/06/2003		Verizon	Telephone		632.68	X		737,367.35
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		29.09	X		737,338.26
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.63	X		737,317.63
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.61	X		737,298.02
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		737,283.81
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		737,269.60
08/06/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		737,255.39
08/06/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	10,061.22	X		727,194.17
08/06/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		58.73	X		727,135.44
08/06/2003		Royal Farms	Auto Expense		38.43	X		727,097.01
08/08/2003		Bay Road Package	Shareholder Draw		49.90	X		727,047.11
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.21	X		727,022.90
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.65	X		727,004.25
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		47.04	X		726,987.21
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.64	X		726,971.57
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.64	X		726,955.93
08/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.64	X		726,940.29
08/08/2003	2506	Alan Bullington	Subcontractors		1,500.00	X		725,440.29
08/11/2003		Delux Dairy	Auto Expense	Connective	23.34	X		725,416.95
08/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping	ADP	18.28	X		725,398.67
08/11/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		24.38	X		725,374.29

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08/11/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		12.19	X		725,362.10
08/12/2003		Quiet Storm	Shareholder Draw		151.65	X		725,210.45
08/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.41	X		725,190.04
08/12/2003		Verizon	Telephone		69.96	X		725,120.08
08/13/2003		Verizon	Telephone		179.64	X		724,940.44
08/13/2003		Verizon	Telephone		78.71	X		724,861.73
08/13/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.55	X		724,837.18
08/13/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.68	X		724,817.50
08/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		11,966.67	X		712,850.83
08/14/2003		ADP	-split-		5,361.88	X		707,488.95
08/14/2003		Pepco	Utilities		365.47	X		707,123.48
08/14/2003		Pepco	Utilities		281.83	X		706,841.65
08/14/2003	2507	Remax Allegiance	Shareholder Draw		200,000.00	X		506,841.65
08/15/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	500,000.00	1,006,841.65
08/15/2003	2508	Capitol Hill Super H...	Repaires/Maintenance		75.00	X		1,006,766.65
08/15/2003	2509	Michelle Whitty	Supplies		281.20	X		1,006,485.45
08/15/2003	2510	Williams Insurance ...	Insurance		201.78	X		1,006,283.67
08/15/2003	2513	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,562.00	X		1,003,721.67
08/15/2003	2514	Robin Axline	Telephone	Reimbursement	142.50	X		1,003,579.17
08/15/2003	2515	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		842.03	X		1,002,737.14
08/15/2003	2516	Verizon	Telephone	VOID:		X		1,002,737.14
08/15/2003	2517	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		6,189.50	X		996,547.64
08/15/2003	2518	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		84.00	X		996,463.64
08/15/2003	2519	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	648.95	X		995,814.69
08/15/2003	2520	Cingular	Telephone		178.14	X		995,636.55
08/15/2003	2521	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		42.30	X		995,594.25
08/15/2003	2522	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent		21,000.00	X		974,594.25
08/15/2003	2523	Sussex County Council	Tax		97.49	X		974,496.76
08/15/2003	2524	Chris Cathcart	-split-	Expenses	190.00	X		974,306.76
08/15/2003	2525	Rehoboth U Store	Shareholder Draw		330.00	X		973,976.76
08/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		67.76	X		973,909.00
08/19/2003		Comcast	Shareholder Draw	3 Cullen	140.90	X		973,768.10
08/19/2003		Verizon	Telephone		110.78	X		973,657.32
08/19/2003		Comcast	Shareholder Draw	3 Cullen	71.11	X		973,586.21
08/19/2003	2526	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning August	1,200.00	X		972,386.21
08/20/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	9,038.34	X		963,347.87
08/20/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	9,008.65	X		954,339.22
08/20/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		121.81	X		954,217.41
08/20/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		35.29	X		954,182.12
08/20/2003	2527	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Gross Receipts	Acct. #	1,766.00	X		952,416.12

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08/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		25.68	X		952,370.44
08/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.72	X		952,353.72
08/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		952,339.44
08/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		952,325.16
08/25/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		322.50	X		952,002.66
08/25/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.28	X		951,984.38
08/25/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		102.00	X		951,882.38
08/25/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	243.05	X		951,639.33
08/25/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	118.77	X		951,520.56
08/25/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	100.00	X		951,420.56
08/25/2003	2528	Morrings Village	Shareholder Draw		1,800.00	X		949,620.56
08/26/2003		Atlantic Color	Supplies		37.86	X		949,582.70
08/26/2003		Vavalas	Shareholder Draw		26.45	X		949,556.25
08/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.46	X		949,535.79
08/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		949,521.51
08/26/2003		Connectiv	Utilities	[REDACTED]	115.41	X		949,406.10
08/26/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		23.23	X		949,382.87
08/26/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		2.53	X		949,380.34
08/26/2003	2529	Great Scott Movers	Miscellaneous		450.00	X		948,930.34
08/27/2003			Interest Income	Deposit		X	17.41	948,947.75
08/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		29.76	X		948,917.99
08/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.68	X		948,898.31
08/28/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		11,306.76	X		937,591.55
08/28/2003		ADP	-split-		5,075.43	X		932,516.12
08/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		48.13	X		932,467.99
08/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.34	X		932,446.65
08/28/2003	2530	Apple Electric	Shareholder Draw		238.35	X		932,208.30
08/29/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.68	X		932,192.62
08/29/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,795.91	X		929,396.71
08/31/2003			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...		X	51.80	929,448.51
09/02/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		465.00	X		928,983.51
09/02/2003		Air Travel Network	Insurance:Flight		208.97	X		928,774.54
09/02/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		48.13	X		928,726.41
09/02/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.68	X		928,710.73
09/02/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		928,506.44
09/02/2003	2531	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		925,506.44
09/02/2003	2532	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services		966.00	X		924,540.44
09/02/2003	2533	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		924,300.44
09/02/2003	2534	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC	75.29	X		924,225.15
09/02/2003	2535	Waste Management G...	Shareholder Draw	[REDACTED]	97.56	X		924,127.59

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09/02/2003	2536	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		57.92	X		924,069.67
09/02/2003	2537	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,066.00	X		922,003.67
09/02/2003	2538	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	MI and CA	30,930.00	X		891,073.67
09/02/2003	2539	Verizon	Telephone		86.64	X		890,987.03
09/02/2003	2540	Archer & Greiner	Shareholder Draw		3,295.70	X		887,691.33
09/02/2003	2541	Ritz Carlton	Travel:Lodging		163.83	X		887,527.50
09/02/2003	2542	Ritz Carlton	Travel:Lodging		938.99	X		886,588.51
09/02/2003	2543	Ritz Carlton	Travel:Lodging		390.16	X		886,198.35
09/02/2003	2544	Cingular	Telephone	VOID:		X		886,198.35
09/02/2003	2545	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		5,000.00	X		881,198.35
09/02/2003	2546	Pepco	Utilities		301.04	X		880,897.31
09/02/2003	2547	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		370.34	X		880,526.97
09/02/2003	2548	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equip:Communi...		1,887.65	X		878,639.32
09/02/2003	2549	Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		875,433.55
09/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		634.18	X		874,799.37
09/03/2003		Cite Retail	Office Expense		124.22	X		874,675.15
09/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		53.57	X		874,621.58
09/03/2003		Ritz Carlton	Travel:Lodging		645.81	X		873,975.77
09/05/2003		Ritz Carlton	Travel:Lodging		581.07	X		873,394.70
09/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		873,380.42
09/08/2003			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	145,000.00	1,018,380.42
09/08/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		21.43	X		1,018,358.99
09/08/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		42.19	X		1,018,316.80
09/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		54.82	X		1,018,291.98
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		53.56	X		1,018,238.42
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.68	X		1,018,218.74
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.28	X		1,018,200.46
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.28	X		1,018,182.18
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.72	X		1,018,165.46
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.64	X		1,018,149.82
09/09/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		1,018,135.54
09/09/2003	2550	Great Scott Movers	Shareholder Draw		1,670.00	X		1,016,465.54
09/11/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	500,000.00	1,516,465.54
09/11/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		53,000.00	X		1,463,465.54
09/11/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		30,000.00	X		1,413,465.54
09/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		38.41	X		1,413,427.13
09/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.64	X		1,413,389.49
09/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.64	X		1,413,351.85
09/11/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.60	X		1,413,315.25
09/11/2003	2551	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	GA Ad	22,062.00	X		1,391,253.25

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09/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.60	X		1,391,216.65
09/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.48	X		1,391,195.17
09/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.68	X		1,391,179.49
09/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		1,391,165.21
09/12/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,999.85	X		1,378,165.36
09/12/2003		ADP	-split-		6,002.16	X		1,372,163.20
09/12/2003		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	71.41	X		1,372,091.79
09/12/2003		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	157.08	X		1,371,934.71
09/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		55.30	X		1,371,879.41
09/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	321.32	X		1,371,558.09
09/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	260.86	X		1,371,297.23
09/15/2003			Office Expense		980.00	X		1,370,317.23
09/15/2003	2552	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,860.00	X		1,367,457.23
09/15/2003	2553	Michelle Whitty	Supplies		256.45	X		1,367,200.78
09/15/2003	2554	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	3,500.00	X		1,363,700.78
09/15/2003	2555	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		5,000.00	X		1,358,700.78
09/15/2003	2556	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		210.91	X		1,358,489.87
09/15/2003	2557	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	546.96	X		1,357,942.91
09/15/2003	2558	Robin Axline	-split-	VOID: Reimbu...		X		1,357,942.91
09/15/2003	2559	Sam Robin	Office Equipment:Serv...	DC Server	6,000.00	X		1,351,942.91
09/15/2003	2560	Harris and Associates	Repaires/Maintenance		110.00	X		1,351,832.91
09/15/2003	2561	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equip:Communi...		105.75	X		1,351,727.16
09/15/2003	2562	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MP	675.00	X		1,351,052.16
09/15/2003	2563	Archer & Greiner	Shareholder Draw		500.00	X		1,350,552.16
09/15/2003	2564	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		15.15	X		1,350,537.01
09/15/2003	2565	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Ads	1,368.75	X		1,349,168.26
09/15/2003	2566	Sutherland, Asbill an...	Legal/Professional	Real Estate- S...	409.50	X		1,348,758.76
09/15/2003	2567	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	239.70	X		1,348,519.06
09/15/2003	2568	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	14,000.00	X		1,334,519.06
09/15/2003	2569	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		3,494.50	X		1,331,024.56
09/16/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.68	X		1,331,008.88
09/16/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	9,038.34	X		1,321,970.54
09/16/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	8,522.46	X		1,313,448.08
09/16/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		55.29	X		1,313,392.79
09/16/2003	2570	Wells Fargo Financia...	-split-	Cust. # [REDACTED]	918.99	X		1,312,473.80
09/17/2003		Sushi Taro	Shareholder Draw		238.88	X		1,312,234.92
09/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.64	X		1,312,197.28
09/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		428.00	X		1,312,163.00
09/18/2003	2571	Splaine Security	Repaires/Maintenance	Deerhoff	75.00	X		1,312,108.00
09/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.28	X		1,312,089.72

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09/19/2003		Verizon	Telephone		147.98	X		1,311,941.74
09/19/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		86.36	X		1,311,855.38
09/19/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		88,399.99	X		1,223,455.39
09/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.18	X		1,223,435.21
09/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		1,223,420.93
09/22/2003		Air Travel Network	Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		1,173,420.93
09/22/2003		ADP	-split-		723,200.01	X		450,220.92
09/23/2003			Payroll Expenses	Deposit		X	88,399.99	538,620.91
09/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		740.84	X		537,880.07
09/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		131.73	X		537,748.34
09/23/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		97.09	X		537,651.25
09/23/2003	2572	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	Cleaning Septe...	850.00	X		536,801.25
09/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		536,786.97
09/24/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		88,399.99	X		448,386.98
09/25/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		39.82	X		448,347.16
09/25/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		21.21	X		448,325.95
09/25/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		97,000.00	X		351,325.95
09/25/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		502.50	X		350,823.45
09/25/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		590.00	X		350,233.45
09/25/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		253.50	X		349,979.95
09/25/2003	2573	GECS	Repaires/Maintanence		98.08	X		349,881.87
09/29/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.88	X		349,858.99
09/29/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,283.09	X		337,575.90
09/29/2003		ADP	-split-		5,463.40	X		332,112.50
09/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		99.21	X		332,013.29
09/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.68	X		331,993.61
09/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.63	X		331,974.98
09/30/2003	2574	Delaware Division of...	Tax-Gross Receipts		5,589.33	X		326,385.65
09/30/2003	2575	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MS List	22,000.00	X		304,385.65
10/01/2003		wells Fargo Mortgage	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		301,179.88
10/01/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,795.91	X		298,383.97
10/01/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		298,179.68
10/01/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		55.29	X		298,124.39
10/01/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		298,078.01
10/01/2003	2576	Josh Tootell	Repaires/Maintanence	Phumb	225.00	X		297,853.01
10/01/2003	2577	Mayer, Brown, Rowe...	Professional Campaign...		13,766.40	X		284,086.61
10/01/2003	2578	Synergistic Industry ...	Professional Campaign...	MS Marketing	12,000.00	X		272,086.61
10/01/2003	2579	Security Public Storage...	Shareholder Draw		198.50	X		271,888.11
10/01/2003	2580	Red Top Cab	Travel-Car Services	Acct #	20.70	X		271,867.41
10/01/2003	2581	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		27.45	X		271,840.26

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10/01/2003	2582	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		210.42	X		271,629.84
10/01/2003	2583	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,066.00	X		269,563.84
10/01/2003	2584	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		269,488.55
10/01/2003	2585	Dichl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		266,488.55
10/01/2003	2586	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent		10,500.00	X		255,988.55
10/01/2003	2587	Great Scott Movers	Shareholder Draw		460.00	X		255,528.55
10/01/2003	2588	Allstate Insurance	Shareholder Draw	Car Insurance	4,485.00	X		251,043.55
10/01/2003	2589	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		586.52	X		250,457.03
10/01/2003	2590	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		84.00	X		250,373.03
10/01/2003	2591	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		90.00	X		250,283.03
10/01/2003	2592	Igor Communications	Advertising	Biz Cards	200.00	X		250,083.03
10/01/2003	2593	Chubb	Insurance	Office Insurance	87.00	X		249,996.03
10/03/2003		Weber Company	Professional Campaign...		19,815.00	X		230,181.03
10/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		230,166.75
10/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		612.34	X		229,554.41
10/06/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		374.50	X		229,179.91
10/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		117.99	X		229,061.92
10/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		26.77	X		229,035.15
10/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		22.12	X		229,013.03
10/07/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		242.26	X		228,770.77
10/07/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		182.12	X		228,588.65
10/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.28	X		228,570.37
10/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.46	X		228,553.91
10/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.28	X		228,539.63
10/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.72	X		228,518.91
10/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		26.88	X		228,492.03
10/08/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		130.00	X		228,362.03
10/08/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		2.95	X		228,359.08
10/10/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		21.43	X		228,337.65
10/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.42	X		228,319.23
10/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.82	X		228,299.41
10/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.82	X		228,279.59
10/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.18	X		228,251.41
10/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		5,436.37	X		222,815.04
10/14/2003		ADP	split		12,283.09	X		210,531.95
10/14/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.42	X		210,513.53
10/14/2003		Verizon	Telephone		34.32	X		210,479.21
10/15/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		107.15	X		210,372.08
10/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities		455.96	X		210,136.12
10/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities		290.56	X		209,845.62

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10/15/2003		Air Travel Network	Shareholder Draw		150,000.00	X		59,845.62
10/16/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI/CRM		X	450,000.00	509,845.62
10/16/2003			Shareholder Draw	Scanlon		X	332,900.00	842,745.62
10/16/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	300,000.00	1,142,745.62
10/16/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		332,900.00	X		809,845.62
10/16/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		809,835.62
10/17/2003	2594	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	Ms Polls	15,948.00	X		793,887.62
10/17/2003	2595	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	VOID: MS Calls		X		793,887.62
10/17/2003	2596	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		5,000.00	X		788,887.62
10/17/2003	2597	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		7,533.70	X		781,353.92
10/17/2003	2598	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # [REDACTED]	648.95	X		780,704.97
10/17/2003	2599	Ranstad General Part...	Office Expense		231.00	X		780,473.97
10/17/2003	2600	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	504.61	X		779,969.36
10/17/2003	2601	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	7,000.00	X		772,969.36
10/17/2003	2602	Central Michigan Dis...	Subscription	6 mos subscript...	182.00	X		772,787.36
10/17/2003	2603	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	DC Software	2,658.80	X		770,128.56
10/17/2003	2604	Citigate Global Inteli...	Professional Campaign...		6,966.60	X		763,161.96
10/17/2003	2605	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	October	1,000.00	X		762,161.96
10/17/2003	2606	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #'s [REDACTED]	272.21	X		761,889.75
10/17/2003	2607	Haywood and Associ...	Shareholder Draw	Prospect Street ...	3,021.70	X		758,868.05
10/17/2003	2608	Lynch's Services	Shareholder Draw		1,579.24			757,288.81
10/17/2003	2609	Atlantic Cellular	Office Equipment		50.00	X		757,238.81
10/17/2003	2610	Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	26.76	X		757,212.05
10/17/2003	2611	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	3,282.97	X		753,929.08
10/17/2003	2612	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		9.00	X		753,920.08
10/17/2003	2613	Robin Axline	-split-	VOID: Reimbu...		X		753,920.08
10/17/2003	2614	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		188.14	X		753,731.94
10/20/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		62.95	X		753,668.99
10/20/2003		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	221.46	X		753,447.53
10/20/2003		LL Bean	Shareholder Draw		269.39	X		753,178.14
10/20/2003	2635	Comcast	Office Expense		107.13	X		753,071.01
10/20/2003	2636	LL Bean	Shareholder Draw		269.39	X		752,801.62
10/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		752,787.20
10/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		752,772.78
10/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.42	X		752,754.36
10/22/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		63.79	X		752,690.57
10/22/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		63.79	X		752,626.78
10/22/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		945.00	X		752,532.78
10/22/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		398.01	X		752,134.77
10/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		752,120.35

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10/22/2003	2615	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	230.98	X		751,889.37
10/23/2003			Consulting Fees	ARM		X	2,000,000.00	2,751,889.37
10/23/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.76	X		2,751,849.61
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.42	X		2,751,831.19
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.42	X		2,751,812.77
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.82	X		2,751,792.95
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.88	X		2,751,772.07
10/27/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		22.34	X		2,751,749.73
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.49	X		2,751,713.24
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.49	X		2,751,676.75
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.49	X		2,751,640.26
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.10	X		2,751,601.16
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		60.34	X		2,751,540.82
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		42.10	X		2,751,498.72
10/27/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		51.63	X		2,751,447.09
10/27/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		430.00	X		2,751,017.09
10/27/2003	2616	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		750,000.00	X		2,001,017.09
10/27/2003	2617	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		20,000.00	X		1,981,017.09
10/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		5,436.37	X		1,975,580.72
10/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,283.09	X		1,963,297.63
10/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		891,524.00	X		1,071,773.63
10/30/2003		ADP	-split-		135,150.00	X		936,623.63
10/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.62	X		936,607.01
10/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		5.82	X		936,601.19
10/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		35.36	X		936,565.83
10/30/2003	2618	Wilgus Insurance As...	Insurance		696.90	X		935,868.93
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.46	X		935,841.47
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.46	X		935,814.01
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		27.46	X		935,786.55
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.82	X		935,766.73
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.02	X		935,748.71
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.62	X		935,732.09
11/03/2003		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.72	X		932,526.32
11/03/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,795.91	X		929,730.41
11/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		616.60	X		929,113.81
11/03/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		928,909.52
11/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone		112.63	X		928,796.89
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.19	X		928,759.70
11/03/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.19	X		928,722.51
11/03/2003	2619	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		928,482.51

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11/03/2003	2620	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services		1,495.00	X		926,987.51
11/03/2003	2621	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		923,987.51
11/03/2003	2622	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MS Calls	46,904.66	X		877,082.85
11/03/2003	2623	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw		197.50	X		876,885.35
11/03/2003	2624	Verizon	Telephone		931.37	X		875,953.98
11/03/2003	2625	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	150.58	X		875,803.40
11/03/2003	2626	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		2,588.33	X		873,215.07
11/03/2003	2627	Burlington Insurance...	Insurance		1,258.72	X		871,956.35
11/03/2003	2628	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		12.00	X		871,944.35
11/03/2003	2629	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		404.45	X		871,539.90
11/03/2003	2630	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repairs/Maintenance		84.00	X		871,455.90
11/03/2003	2631	AT&T	Telephone	T-1	2,066.00	X		869,389.90
11/04/2003		American Express	Shareholder Draw	AmEx Bill	3,813.17	X		865,576.73
11/04/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	18,149.40	X		847,427.33
11/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		35.10	X		847,392.23
11/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.74	X		847,363.49
11/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		847,349.07
11/04/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.42	X		847,334.65
11/04/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		50.00	X		847,284.65
11/05/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		55.29	X		847,229.36
11/05/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		48.10	X		847,181.26
11/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		48.99	X		847,132.27
11/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		43.76	X		847,088.51
11/05/2003	2632	National City	Travel:Rental Car	Account #	1,081.98	X		846,006.53
11/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		34.14	X		845,972.39
11/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		31.26	X		845,941.13
11/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		31.26	X		845,909.87
11/07/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		31.26	X		845,878.61
11/10/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		203.00	X		845,675.61
11/10/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		187.54	X		845,488.07
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		26.77	X		845,461.30
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.03	X		845,443.27
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.63	X		845,426.64
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61	X		845,411.03
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		845,396.82
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		21.54	X		845,375.28
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		12.30	X		845,362.98
11/10/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		39.27	X		845,323.71
11/10/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		302.00	X		845,021.71
11/11/2003	2633	Daniel J. Edelman, Inc.	Professional Campaign...		200,000.00	X		645,021.71

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11/12/2003		First Union	Bank Charges		143.00	X		644,878.71
11/13/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		644,868.71
11/13/2003		Pepco	Utilities		238.32	X		644,630.39
11/13/2003		Pepco	Utilities		186.16	X		644,444.23
11/13/2003		Verizon	Telephone		75.96	X		644,368.27
11/13/2003	2634	Howard and Hoffma...	Insurance	Corporate Insur...	1,930.00	X		642,438.27
11/14/2003		ADP	-split-		5,433.34	X		637,004.93
11/14/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,283.07	X		624,721.86
11/14/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		22,458.49	X		602,263.37
11/14/2003		Contact America	Professional Campaign...		32,500.00	X		569,763.37
11/17/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		275.50	X		569,487.87
11/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.19	X		569,450.68
11/17/2003		Taste	Shareholder Draw		17.00	X		569,433.68
11/17/2003		American Express	Travel:Airfare	AmEx Bill	11,893.43	X		557,540.25
11/17/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	18,126.06	X		539,414.19
11/17/2003	2635	Josh Tootell	Repaires/Maintenance	VOID: Plumb		X		539,414.19
11/17/2003	2636	IDT Contact Services	Professional Campaign...	VOID:		X		539,414.19
11/17/2003	2638	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		285.02	X		539,129.17
11/17/2003	2639	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		207.81	X		538,921.36
11/17/2003	2640	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		59.11	X		538,862.25
11/17/2003	2641	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		38.01	X		538,824.24
11/17/2003	2642	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	MS	15,000.00	X		523,824.24
11/17/2003	2643	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent		10,500.00	X		513,324.24
11/17/2003	2644	Westfield Group	Insurance		250.00	X		513,074.24
11/17/2003	2645	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI Patch	12,985.86	X		500,088.38
11/17/2003	2646	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI Grasstops	24,700.00	X		475,388.38
11/17/2003	2647	Sussex County Council	Tax		97.49	X		475,290.89
11/17/2003	2648	Sussex County Council	Tax		92.64	X		475,198.25
11/17/2003	2649	Dart Courier Service	Shipping		18.00	X		475,180.25
11/17/2003	2650	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Database Mont...	12,250.00	X		462,930.25
11/17/2003	2651	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	159.57	X		462,770.68
11/17/2003	2652	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	DC Software	744.36	X		462,026.32
11/17/2003	2653	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	7,000.00	X		455,026.32
11/17/2003	2654	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,860.00	X		452,166.32
11/17/2003	2655	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		168.00	X		451,998.32
11/17/2003	2656	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	648.95	X		451,349.37
11/19/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	300,000.00	751,349.37
11/19/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI		X	150,000.00	901,349.37
11/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		57.42	X		901,291.95
11/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		49.58	X		901,242.37

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11/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.21	X		901,224.16
11/19/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		95.59	X		901,128.57
11/19/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		67.95	X		901,060.62
11/19/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		55.29	X		901,005.33
11/19/2003		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		32,500.00	X		868,505.33
11/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		122.71	X		868,382.62
11/20/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.21	X		868,368.41
11/20/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		201.50	X		868,166.91
11/20/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		198.88	X		867,968.03
11/20/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		83.58	X		867,884.45
11/20/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		41.21	X		867,843.24
11/20/2003		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		13,699.53	X		854,143.71
11/20/2003	2657	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	Ms Polls	12,350.00	X		841,793.71
11/20/2003	2658	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	November	1,000.00	X		840,793.71
11/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		174.77	X		840,618.94
11/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		174.77	X		840,444.17
11/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		77.98	X		840,366.19
11/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		56.51	X		840,309.68
11/21/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		25.37	X		840,284.31
11/21/2003		Big Fish Grill	Shareholder Draw		32.47	X		840,251.84
11/21/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		41.08	X		840,210.76
11/24/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		25.91	X		840,184.85
11/24/2003		South Pacific	Office Expense		72.00	X		840,112.85
11/24/2003		Atlantic Cellular	Office Equipment		51.70	X		840,061.15
11/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.33	X		840,032.82
11/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.03	X		840,014.79
11/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.22	X		839,998.57
11/25/2003	2659	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	Services Retainer	7,500.00	X		832,498.57
11/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.61	X		832,482.96
11/26/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.55	X		832,467.41
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		212.55	X		832,254.86
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		208.55	X		832,046.31
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		125.38	X		831,920.93
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		94.48	X		831,826.45
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		40.68	X		831,785.77
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		38.62	X		831,747.15
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.04	X		831,711.11
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		43.75	X		831,677.38
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		30.89	X		831,646.49
11/28/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.22	X		831,630.27

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11/28/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,283.10	X		819,347.17
11/28/2003		ADP	-split-		5,423.95	X		813,923.22
11/28/2003		Windsors	Office Expense		446.69	X		813,476.53
11/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping	Balance Adjust...	47.50	X		813,429.03
12/01/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.61	X		813,409.42
12/01/2003		Michael Scanlon	-split-		606.40	X		812,803.02
12/01/2003		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		809,597.25
12/01/2003		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		806,749.17
12/01/2003		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		806,544.88
12/01/2003		Verizon	Telephone		164.74	X		806,380.14
12/01/2003	2661	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI Patch Racet...	6,492.22	X		799,887.92
12/01/2003	2662	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	Mississippi Ga...	12,119.88	X		787,768.04
12/01/2003	2663	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #s [REDACTED]	93.15	X		787,674.89
12/01/2003	2664	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	MI Senate Dist...	46,211.00	X		741,463.89
12/01/2003	2665	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	La Senate Distr...	43,295.00	X		698,168.89
12/01/2003	2666	Basswood Research	Professional Campaign...	MS Statewide ...	11,563.00	X		686,605.89
12/01/2003	2667	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit [REDACTED]	197.50	X		686,408.39
2/01/2003	2668	Dart Courier Service	Shipping	Invoice [REDACTED]	18.00	X		686,390.39
2/01/2003	2669	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account [REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		684,324.39
12/01/2003	2670	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services	Invoice [REDACTED]	1,495.00	X		682,829.39
12/01/2003	2671	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		679,829.39
12/01/2003	2673	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	75.29	X		679,754.10
12/01/2003	2674	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit [REDACTED]	204.50	X		679,549.60
12/01/2003	2675	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional	October Services	19,374.49	X		660,175.11
12/01/2003	2676	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	65.12	X		660,109.99
12/02/2003	2677	National City	Travel:Rental Car	Account [REDACTED]	1,248.45	X		658,861.54
12/03/2003		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	600.18	X		658,261.36
12/03/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		55.29	X		658,206.07
12/05/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		28.54	X		658,177.53
12/08/2003		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		186.00	X		657,991.53
12/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		20.80	X		657,970.73
12/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		15.75	X		657,954.98
12/08/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		17.14	X		657,937.84
12/08/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		7.68	X		657,930.16
12/08/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.12	X		657,906.04
12/09/2003		Wachovia	Bank Charges		136.00	X		657,770.04
12/10/2003			Consulting Fees	MBCI [REDACTED]		X	300,000.00	957,770.04
12/12/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.54	X		957,753.50
2/12/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		12,283.08	X		945,470.42
12/12/2003		ADP	-split-		5,403.89	X		940,066.53

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12/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.75	X		940,046.78
12/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.35	X		940,028.43
12/15/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.35	X		940,010.08
12/15/2003		Pepco	Utilities		121.35	X		939,888.73
12/15/2003		Verizon	Telephone		74.68	X		939,814.05
12/15/2003	2679	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	november dev.	7,250.00	X		932,564.05
12/15/2003	2681	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	november dev.	5,000.00	X		927,564.05
12/15/2003	2682	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equip:Communi...		105.75	X		927,458.30
12/15/2003	2683	George Halliday	Repaires/Maintenance	repairs-fix leak	500.00	X		926,958.30
12/15/2003	2687	Town of Dewey Beach	Tax	Beach Tax	525.20	X		926,433.10
12/15/2003	2688	Town of Dewey Beach	Utilities	beach tax	137.80	X		926,295.30
12/15/2003	2689	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	Computer Serv...	2,324.76	X		923,970.54
12/15/2003	2690	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	146.22	X		923,824.32
12/15/2003	2691	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MI Patch Racet...	2,600.00	X		921,224.32
12/15/2003	2692	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,860.00	X		918,364.32
12/15/2003	2693	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services		110.86	X		918,253.46
12/15/2003	2694	Clear View Services	Office Expense		240.00	X		918,013.46
12/15/2003	2695	Dart Courier Service	Shipping	Invoice #	54.15	X		917,959.31
12/15/2003	2696	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Acct #	78.95	X		917,880.36
12/15/2003	2697	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. #	648.95	X		917,231.41
12/15/2003	2698	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	3,500.00	X		913,731.41
12/15/2003	2699	Democracy Data and ...	Professional Campaign...	Databases	3,500.00	X		910,231.41
12/15/2003	2700	J. B. Landscaping	Shareholder Draw		164.88	X		910,066.53
12/15/2003	2701	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		25.19	X		910,041.34
12/15/2003	2702	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct #	119.03	X		909,922.31
12/15/2003	2703	Dart Courier Service	Shipping	Invoice	36.15	X		909,886.16
12/15/2003	2704	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		57.86	X		909,828.30
12/15/2003	2705	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw		97.45	X		909,730.85
12/15/2003	2706	Weber Company	Professional Campaign...	MS Marketing	37,186.99	X		872,543.86
12/15/2003	2707	Security Instrument ...	Shareholder Draw	1 Cullen Security	239.70	X		872,304.16
12/15/2003	2708	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit	197.50	X		872,106.66
12/15/2003	2709	Chubb	Insurance	Insurance	5,279.00	X		866,827.66
12/17/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		23.24	X		866,804.42
12/17/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	35,390.69	X		831,413.73
12/17/2003		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	23,494.29	X		807,919.44
12/17/2003	2710	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	December	1,000.00	X		806,919.44
12/17/2003	2711	Prothonotary	Legal/Professional	DBA Fee	25.00	X		806,894.44
12/18/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		33.92	X		806,860.52
12/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		53.80	X		806,806.72
12/19/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		16.54	X		806,790.18

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12/19/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		95.59	X		806,694.59
12/19/2003		Comcast	Office Expense		67.95	X		806,626.64
12/19/2003		Tunnel & Raysor	Shareholder Draw		216,781.91	X		589,844.73
12/19/2003		Avis	Travel:Rental Car		1,253.73	X		588,591.00
12/19/2003		Avis	Travel:Rental Car		745.98	X		587,845.02
12/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		54.18	X		587,790.84
12/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		19.75	X		587,771.09
12/22/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		18.35	X		587,752.74
12/22/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		35,000.00	X		552,752.74
12/23/2003		ADP	-split-		81,664.50	X		471,088.24
12/23/2003		Brian Mann	Shareholder Draw		8,218.09	X		462,870.15
12/23/2003		ADP	-split-		48,541.00	X		414,329.15
12/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		37.54	X		414,291.61
12/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		14.35	X		414,277.26
12/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		11.75	X		414,265.51
12/24/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		55.29	X		414,210.22
12/24/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		36.92	X		414,173.30
12/26/2003			Shareholder Draw	Scanlon		X	190,000.00	604,173.30
12/26/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		258.07	X		603,915.23
12/26/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		68.26	X		603,846.97
12/26/2003		Connectiv	Utilities		57.57	X		603,789.40
12/26/2003	2712	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Licenses	license fee	75.00	X		603,714.40
12/26/2003	2713	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...		60,000.00	X		543,714.40
12/26/2003	2714	Synergistic Industry ...	Professional Campaign...	MS Marketing	8,400.00	X		535,314.40
12/26/2003	2715	Finkelstein and Horv...	Legal/Professional	2126 Bancroft ...	1,750.00	X		533,564.40
12/26/2003	2716	Paradee Gas Company	Utilities		565.47	X		532,998.93
12/26/2003	2717	Igor Communications	Advertising	Logo Modificat...	250.00	X		532,748.93
12/26/2003	2718	National City	Travel:Rental Car	Account # [REDACTED]	1,248.45	X		531,500.48
12/26/2003	2719	Acquiresoft Interactive	Campaign Expense	MS Marketing	1,841.80	X		529,658.68
12/29/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		70.51	X		529,588.17
12/29/2003		Washington Gas	Utilities		35.26	X		529,552.91
12/30/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		24.54	X		529,528.37
12/30/2003		ADP	Payroll Expenses		13,259.42	X		516,268.95
12/30/2003		ADP	-split-		5,805.68	X		510,463.27
12/31/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		37.04	X		510,406.26
12/31/2003		ADP	Legal/Professional		51.85	X		510,354.41
12/31/2003		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		592.40	X		509,972.22
12/31/2003		Federal Express	Shipping		219.73	X		509,952.49
01/02/2004		Windsors	Office Expense		1,419.00	X		508,833.49
01/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.35	X		508,815.14

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Date	Number	Payee	Account	Memo	Payment	C	Deposit	Balance
01/02/2004		Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. # [REDACTED]	3,205.77	X		505,609.37
01/02/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		502,761.29
01/02/2004		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		502,557.00
01/02/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		509.60	X		502,047.40
01/05/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	102.34	X		501,945.06
01/05/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	596.33	X		501,348.73
01/05/2004		Morgan	Shareholder Draw		89.28	X		501,259.45
01/05/2004		Marche L Oasis	Shareholder Draw		96.96	X		501,162.49
01/05/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.35	X		501,144.14
01/06/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		8.32	X		501,135.82
01/06/2004	2720	Lehman-English-Kell...	Professional Campaign...	California	10,000.00	X		491,135.82
01/06/2004	2721	Mayer, Brown, Rowe...	Professional Campaign...		1,095.30	X		490,040.52
01/06/2004	2722	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional		3,000.00	X		487,040.52
01/06/2004	2723	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account [REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		484,974.52
01/08/2004			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	4,955.30	489,929.82
01/09/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		25.23	X		489,904.59
01/09/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		489,886.64
01/09/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		489,868.69
01/09/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		12.41	X		489,856.28
01/09/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		7.68	X		489,848.60
01/09/2004		Wachovia	Bank Charges		170.00	X		489,678.60
01/13/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	94.14	X		489,584.46
01/13/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		10.00	X		489,574.46
01/13/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.46	X		489,558.00
01/13/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,541.33
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,524.66
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,507.99
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,491.32
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,474.65
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,457.98
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,441.31
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,424.64
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,407.97
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,391.30
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,374.63
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,357.96
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		489,341.29
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		63.49	X		489,277.80
01/14/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		2,704.43	X		486,573.37
01/14/2004		ADP	split		5,372.46	X		480,800.91

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Date	Number	Payee	Account	Memo	Payment	C	Deposit	Balance
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		21.68	X		480,779.23
01/14/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		23.43	X		480,755.80
01/15/2004		Tortilla Coast	Travel:Meals & Enterta...		35.91	X		480,719.89
01/15/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		136.48	X		480,583.41
01/15/2004	2724	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	CCS Website/...	2,639.52	X		477,943.89
01/15/2004	2725	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit [REDACTED]	395.00	X		477,548.89
01/15/2004	2726	Antenna Alternatives	Shareholder Draw	Invoice 391172	1500.00	X		477,398.89
01/15/2004	2727	Acquiresoft Interactive	Campaign Expense	MS Marketing	4,720.00	X		472,678.89
01/15/2004	2728	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services	[REDACTED]	20.70	X		472,658.19
01/15/2004	2729	Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. [REDACTED]	648.95	X		472,009.24
01/15/2004	2730	BMB, Inc.	Travel:Car Services	Invoice [REDACTED]	576.00	X		471,433.24
01/15/2004	2731	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	199.20	X		471,234.04
01/15/2004	2732	Keystone Strategies, ...	Professional Campaign...		10,000.00	X		461,234.04
01/15/2004	2733	Weber Merrit and S...	Professional Campaign...	Michigan Gras...	6,175.00	X		455,059.04
01/15/2004	2734	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	January	1,200.00	X		453,859.04
01/15/2004	2735	Dart Courier Service	Shipping	Invoice [REDACTED]	39.10	X		453,819.94
01/15/2004	2736	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Acct. [REDACTED]	54.62	X		453,765.32
01/15/2004	2737	NextiraOne Business...	Office Equip:Communi...	[REDACTED]	105.75	X		453,659.57
01/15/2004	2738	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	77.29	X		453,582.28
01/15/2004	2739	Xerox Corporation	Supplies	Cust No [REDACTED]	390.22	X		453,192.06
01/15/2004	2745	Red Top Cab	Travel:Car Services	Acct [REDACTED]	240.13	X		452,951.93
01/16/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		300.00	X		452,651.93
01/16/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	4.32	X		452,647.61
01/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		452,629.66
01/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		452,611.71
01/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.70	X		452,592.01
01/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		23.70	X		452,568.31
01/20/2004		Direct TV	Cable/TV		82.47	X		452,485.84
01/20/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		102.00	X		452,383.84
01/20/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	105.47	X		452,278.37
01/20/2004		Comcast	Office Expense		121.99	X		452,156.38
01/20/2004		Staples	Office Expense		301.50	X		451,854.88
01/20/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AMEX Bill	3,356.01	X		448,498.87
01/20/2004		Comcast	Office Expense		114.47	X		448,384.40
01/20/2004	2744	Delaware Division of...	Accounts Payable	Gross Receipt...	17,645.00	X		430,739.40
01/21/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		86.75	X		430,652.65
01/21/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		23.25	X		430,629.40
01/21/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional	Travelers Identity...	53.27	X		430,576.13
01/21/2004	2741	Weber Company	Miscellaneous	MS Marketing...	23,291.90	X		407,284.23
01/21/2004	2742	Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw	VOID		X		407,284.23

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01/23/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		13.95	X		407,270.28
01/23/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		62.00	X		407,208.28
01/23/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		102.00	X		407,106.28
01/23/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		101.40	X		407,004.88
01/26/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		102.60	X		406,902.28
01/26/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		248.77	X		406,653.51
01/26/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		13.95	X		406,639.56
01/26/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		15.70	X		406,623.86
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		406,607.19
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		406,590.52
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		406,573.85
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.67	X		406,557.18
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		406,539.23
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		406,521.28
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.95	X		406,503.33
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.25	X		406,484.08
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		23.33	X		406,460.75
01/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		24.38	X		406,436.37
01/27/2004	2743	Delaware Division of...	Tax:Income	VOID: Income ...		X		406,436.37
01/27/2004	2746	Delaware Division of...	Shareholder Draw	4th Qtr 2003 E...	130,000.00	X		276,436.37
01/27/2004	2747	National City	Rent	VOID: Accoun...		X		276,436.37
01/28/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		116.64	X		276,319.73
01/28/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		125.86	X		276,193.87
01/28/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	17,181.51	X		259,012.36
01/28/2004		Windsors	Shareholder Draw		145.00	X		258,867.36
01/28/2004	2748	DC Office of Tax Re...	Accounts Payable	2003 Franchise...	55,000.00	X		203,867.36
01/28/2004	2752	National City	Rent	Account [REDACTED]	1,248.45	X		202,618.91
01/28/2004	2753	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent		21,000.00	X		181,618.91
01/28/2004	2754	BMB Transportation	Travel:Car Services		2,352.00	X		179,266.91
01/28/2004	2755	Great Scott Movers	Shareholder Draw		1,700.00	X		177,566.91
01/28/2004	2756	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	155.58	X		177,411.33
01/28/2004	2757	Igor Communications	Advertising	Revised Station...	1,200.00	X		176,211.33
01/28/2004	2758	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account [REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		174,145.33
01/28/2004	2759	Moorings Village	Travel		1,597.50	X		172,547.83
01/28/2004	2760	washington Courier	Shipping		72.37	X		172,475.46
01/28/2004	2761	Williams Insurance ...	Insurance	DE Office Comp	797.00	X		171,678.46
01/28/2004	2762	Traveles Indemnity a...	Insurance	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		171,678.46
01/28/2004	2763	Travelers Indemnity ...	Insurance	[REDACTED]	1,462.00	X		170,216.46
01/28/2004	2764	Red Top Exec. Sedan	Travel:Car Services	VOID: [REDACTED]		X		170,216.46
01/28/2004	2770	Bob Watson	Repairs/Maintenance	Plumbing	100.00	X		170,116.46

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01/28/2004	2771	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	Reimbursement	391.14	X		169,725.32
01/31/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		2,704.37	X		167,020.95
01/31/2004		ADP	-split		5,772.49	X		161,248.46
01/31/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		10,000.00	X		151,248.46
01/31/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Balance Adjust...	17.95	X		151,230.51
02/02/2004		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		148,024.74
02/02/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		145,176.66
02/02/2004		Verizon	Telephone		583.30	X		144,593.36
02/02/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		378.29	X		144,215.07
02/02/2004		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		144,010.78
02/02/2004		Verizon	Telephone		81.86	X		143,928.92
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		47.44	X		143,881.48
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		32.20	X		143,849.28
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		23.70	X		143,825.58
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.70	X		143,805.88
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.25	X		143,786.63
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.95	X		143,767.68
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.21	X		143,749.47
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.45	X		143,732.02
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.46	X		143,715.56
02/02/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		15.70	X		143,699.86
02/03/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		378.29	X		143,321.57
02/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		34.93	X		143,286.64
02/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		25.61	X		143,261.03
02/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.95	X		143,242.08
02/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		13.95	X		143,228.13
02/04/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		53.27	X		143,174.86
02/04/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		1,801.96	X		141,372.90
02/04/2004		ADP	-split		950.29	X		140,422.61
02/06/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.79	X		140,402.82
02/06/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.02	X		140,384.80
02/06/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		33.79	X		140,351.01
02/06/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		21.52	X		140,329.49
02/06/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		7.68	X		140,321.81
02/06/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		2.95	X		140,318.86
02/06/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		46.38	X		140,272.48
02/11/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	900.00	141,172.48
02/12/2004		Wachovia	Bank Charges		13.50	X		141,158.98
02/12/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		3,790.50	X		137,368.48
02/12/2004		ADP	-split		1,750.14	X		135,618.34

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02/13/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		389.23	X		135,229.11
02/13/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		110.56	X		135,118.55
02/13/2004	2765	Josh Tootell	Research/Education	Reimbursement	50.00	X		135,068.55
02/13/2004	2766	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Pearl River Pre...	923.00	X		134,145.55
02/13/2004	2767	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Web Applicati...	10,000.00	X		124,145.55
02/13/2004	2768	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Stand Alone A...	7,288.88	X		116,856.67
02/13/2004	2769	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional	January	3,000.00	X		113,856.67
02/13/2004	2772	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Acct. [REDACTED]	575.95	X		113,280.72
02/13/2004	2773	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	233.80	X		113,046.92
02/13/2004	2774	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	Services	7,500.00	X		105,546.92
02/13/2004	2775	BMB Transportation	Travel:Car Services		864.00	X		104,682.92
02/13/2004	2776	PIP Printing	Office Expense		1,621.20	X		103,061.72
02/13/2004	2777	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	February	1,200.00	X		101,861.72
02/13/2004	2778	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,860.00	X		99,001.72
02/13/2004	2779	washington Courier	Shipping		48.39	X		98,953.33
02/13/2004	2780	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services	[REDACTED]	24.15	X		98,929.18
02/13/2004	2781	Hartford Insurance	Insurance	Acct. [REDACTED]	1,181.00	X		97,748.18
02/13/2004	2782	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Acct. [REDACTED]	109.32	X		97,638.86
02/13/2004	2783	Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. [REDACTED]	648.95	X		96,989.91
02/13/2004	2784	Igor Communications	Advertising	Mike rush busi...	31.98	X		96,957.93
02/17/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	47,500.00	144,457.93
02/17/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	122.23	X		144,335.70
02/17/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	80.76	X		144,254.94
02/17/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		500.00	X		143,754.94
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		75.67	X		143,679.27
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		35.50	X		143,643.77
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		25.54	X		143,618.23
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.02	X		143,600.21
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.59	X		143,582.62
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.59	X		143,565.03
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		15.02	X		143,550.01
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.02	X		143,535.99
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.02	X		143,521.97
02/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		8.40	X		143,513.57
02/17/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill [REDACTED]	71,139.90	X		72,373.67
02/18/2004	2785	Keystone Strategies	Professional Campaign...		10,000.00	X		62,373.67
02/19/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit [REDACTED]		X	94,000.00	156,373.67
02/19/2004		Comcast	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	142.23	X		156,231.44
02/19/2004		Comcast	Office Expense	[REDACTED]	114.47	X		156,116.97
02/19/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional	[REDACTED]	51.55	X		156,065.42

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02/19/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		29.66	X		156,035.76
02/19/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		15.02	X		156,020.74
02/20/2004		Direct TV	Cable/TV		83.22	X		155,937.52
02/20/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		251.05	X		155,686.47
02/23/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		132.47	X		155,554.00
02/23/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		90.85	X		155,463.15
02/23/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		26.93	X		155,436.22
02/23/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.02	X		155,418.20
02/23/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.02	X		155,400.18
02/23/2004	2786	Patton Boggs, LLP	Legal/Professional		18,082.39	X		137,317.79
02/24/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		381.22	X		136,936.57
02/24/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		254.15	X		136,682.42
02/25/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.02	X		136,668.40
02/25/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.02	X		136,654.38
02/27/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		7,534.37	X		129,120.01
02/27/2004		ADP	-split-		3,586.74	X		125,533.27
02/27/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		299.02	X		125,234.25
02/27/2004	2787	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Website Printo...	850.00	X		124,384.25
02/27/2004	2788	Weber Company	Miscellaneous	MS Marketing...	12,317.50	X		112,066.75
02/27/2004	2789	Legislative Demogra...	Office Equipment		10,248.00	X		101,818.75
02/27/2004	2790	Lehman-English-Kell...	Professional Campaign...	California	10,000.00	X		91,818.75
02/27/2004	2791	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account# [REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		89,752.75
02/27/2004	2792	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit [REDACTED]	197.50	X		89,555.25
02/27/2004	2793	washington Courier	Shipping		32.03	X		89,523.22
02/27/2004	2794	Gonzaga College Hig...	Donation/Charity	Patrick T. McC...	500.00	X		89,023.22
02/27/2004	2795	PIP Printing	Office Expense		183.75	X		88,839.47
02/27/2004	2796	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		16.21	X		88,823.26
02/27/2004	2797	PIP Printing	Office Expense	VOID:		X		88,823.26
02/27/2004	2798	CT Sports	Miscellaneous	Shirt Printing	256.00	X		88,567.26
02/27/2004	2799	Connectus Communi...	Telephone		14.33	X		88,552.93
02/29/2004			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...	0.47	X		88,552.46
03/01/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	17,635.74	X		70,916.72
03/01/2004		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		67,710.95
03/01/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		64,862.87
03/01/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		360.47	X		64,502.40
03/01/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		327.35	X		64,175.05
03/01/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		210.43	X		63,964.62
03/01/2004		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		63,760.33
03/01/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		82.00	X		63,678.33
03/01/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.59	X		63,659.74

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Date	Number	Payee	Account	Memo	Payment	C	Deposit	Balance
03/01/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.90	X		63,642.84
03/02/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		226.60	X		63,416.24
03/02/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		187.58	X		63,228.66
03/02/2004		Verizon	Telephone		82.61	X		63,146.05
03/02/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		53.27	X		63,092.78
03/02/2004	2800	Sam Robin	Office Equipment	Services	7,500.00	X		55,592.78
03/04/2004		Verizon	Telephone		590.05	X		55,002.73
03/08/2004	2801	Diehl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional	February	3,000.00	X		52,002.73
03/09/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		50.25	X		51,952.48
03/09/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		7.68	X		51,944.80
03/09/2004		Wachovia	Bank Charges		8.00	X		51,936.80
03/09/2004	2802	Baker Botts	Legal/Professional		50,000.00	X		1,936.80
03/09/2004	2803	Baker McKenzie	Legal/Professional		50,000.00	X		-48,063.20
03/13/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	100,000.00	51,936.80
03/13/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		3,970.50	X		47,966.30
03/13/2004		ADP	-split-		1,746.14	X		46,220.16
03/13/2004		Michael Scanlon	-split-		101.50	X		46,118.66
03/13/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100.00	X		46,018.66
03/15/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		15,000.00	X		31,018.66
03/15/2004		Sole	Shareholder Draw		387.50	X		30,631.16
03/15/2004		atlantic Liquores	Shareholder Draw		156.25	X		30,474.91
03/15/2004		Brouseabout	Shareholder Draw		22.95	X		30,451.96
03/15/2004		Rehoboth Pharmacy	Shareholder Draw		20.91	X		30,431.05
03/15/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.22	X		30,411.83
03/15/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		15.70	X		30,396.13
03/15/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		9.30	X		30,386.83
03/15/2004		Cultured Pearl	Shareholder Draw		253.50	X		30,133.33
03/15/2004		Pepco	Utilities		116.94	X		30,016.39
03/15/2004		Pepco	Utilities		93.12	X		29,923.27
03/15/2004		Verizon	Telephone		75.78	X		29,847.49
03/15/2004	2804	Yellow Cab	Travel/Car Services		85.50	X		29,761.99
03/15/2004	2805	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	5,883.41	X		23,878.58
03/15/2004	2806	Lehman-English-Kell...	Professional Campaign...	California	10,000.00	X		13,878.58
03/15/2004	2807	Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. #	905.49	X		12,973.09
03/15/2004	2808	washington Courier	Shipping		59.70	X		12,913.39
03/15/2004	2809	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	February	1,200.00	X		11,713.39
03/15/2004	2810	Capitol Termite and ...	Repairs/Maintenance		412.43	X		11,300.96
03/15/2004	2811	BMB Transportation	Travel/Car Services	Sam Robin	1,296.00	X		10,004.96
03/15/2004	2812	Adam Zee	Campaign Expense	Reimbursement	120.00	X		9,884.96
03/15/2004	2813	National City	Rent	Account #	1,248.45	X		8,636.51

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03/15/2004	2814	Delaware Secretary o...	Tax:Licenses	LLC Tax	200.00	X		8,445.51
03/16/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.22	X		8,426.29
03/16/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.22	X		8,412.07
03/16/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		14.22	X		8,397.85
03/16/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		51.55	X		8,346.30
03/17/2004		Shareholder Draw		Deposit		X	320,000.00	328,346.30
03/17/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		34.39	X		328,311.91
03/19/2004		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		187,500.00	X		140,811.91
03/19/2004		Air Travel Network	Travel:Airfare		129,944.00	X		10,867.91
03/19/2004		Comcast	Office Expense		132.63	X		10,735.28
03/19/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		100.30	X		10,634.98
03/19/2004		Direct TV	Cable/TV		86.55	X		10,548.43
03/22/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		19.22	X		10,529.21
03/22/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		16.19	X		10,513.02
03/22/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		176.59	X		10,336.43
03/23/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		136.96	X		10,199.47
03/23/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		69.37	X		10,130.10
03/29/2004		Superfresh	Shareholder Draw		182.60	X		9,947.50
03/29/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		17.84	X		9,929.66
03/29/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		7,251.40	X		2,678.26
03/29/2004		ADP	-split		3,831.69	X		-1,153.43
03/30/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		172.17	X		-1,325.60
03/30/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		100.51	X		-1,426.11
03/30/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		64.10	X		-1,490.21
03/30/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		34.62	X		-1,524.83
03/30/2004		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		-1,729.12
03/31/2004	2817	Michelle Whitty	Supplies	Reimbursement	98.42	X		-1,827.54
03/31/2004	2827	Michelle Whitty	Supplies	VOID: Reimbu...		X		-1,827.54
03/31/2004			Miscellaneous	Balance Adjust...	2.00	X		-1,829.54
04/01/2004		Verizon	Telephone	903742287-00...	109.70	X		-1,939.24
04/01/2004		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		-5,145.01
04/01/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		-7,993.09
04/02/2004		Money Market		Deposit		X	4,251.00	-3,742.09
04/02/2004		Money Market		Deposit		X	39,072.87	35,330.78
04/02/2004		Shareholder Draw		Deposit		X	150,000.00	185,330.78
04/02/2004		Shareholder Draw		Deposit		X	102,000.00	287,330.78
04/02/2004		Verizon	Telephone		641.37	X		286,689.41
04/02/2004	2818	Sam Robin	Supplies	Services/Reimb...	8,040.29	X		278,649.12
04/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping		18.22	X		278,630.90
04/05/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	32,153.22	X		226,477.68

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04/05/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	32,975.34	X		193,502.34
04/05/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		53.27	X		193,449.07
04/06/2004			Money Market	Deposit		X	8,698.92	202,147.99
04/06/2004	2820	Dichl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional	March	3,000.00	X		199,147.99
04/06/2004	2821	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Acct. # [REDACTED]	839.54	X		198,308.45
04/06/2004	2822	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Acct.# [REDACTED]	54.78	X		198,253.67
04/06/2004	2823	National City	Rent	Account # [REDACTED]	2,496.90	X		195,756.77
04/06/2004	2824	DC Office of Tax Re...	Accounts Payable	Real Property ...	3,210.67	X		192,546.10
04/06/2004	2825	DC Office of Tax Re...	Accounts Payable	Real Property ...	3,271.07	X		189,275.03
04/06/2004	2827	Josh Tootell	Research/Education	VOID: Reimbu...		X		189,275.03
04/06/2004	2828	Verizon Wireless	Telephone	Acct. # [REDACTED]	839.54	X		188,435.49
04/06/2004	2830	Chubb	Insurance	ACCT# [REDACTED]	1,168.00	X		187,267.49
04/06/2004	2831	A Cleaning Service, I...	Office Expense	APRIL	1,200.00	X		186,067.49
04/06/2004	2832	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	78.29	X		185,989.20
04/06/2004	2833	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	621.02	X		185,368.18
04/06/2004	2834	washington Courier	Shipping		123.82	X		185,244.36
04/06/2004	2835	washington Courier	Shipping	VOID:		X		185,244.36
04/06/2004	2836	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit # [REDACTED]	177.50	X		185,066.86
04/06/2004	2837	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account#[REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		183,000.86
04/06/2004	2838	Todd Shockro	Office Expense	Reimbursement...	75.00	X		182,925.86
04/06/2004	2839	Nexteria One	Office Equipment:Serv...		100.00	X		182,825.86
04/06/2004	2840	Citrix Systems	Office Equipment:Serv...	Citrix Renewal	211.50	X		182,614.36
04/06/2004	2841	Travelers Indemnity ...	Insurance	Policy # [REDACTED]	41.00	X		182,573.36
04/06/2004	2842	Xerox Corporation	Supplies	Cust No. [REDACTED]	475.88	X		182,097.48
04/06/2004	2843	Xerox Corporation	Supplies	Cust No. [REDACTED]	489.77	X		181,607.71
04/06/2004	2847	Visual Impact Produ...	Professional Campaign...	Updates/Screen...	14,949.00	X		166,658.71
04/09/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	7.68	X		166,651.03
04/09/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		2.95	X		166,648.08
04/09/2004		Wachovia	Bank Charges		153.50	X		166,494.58
04/09/2004		Windsors	Shareholder Draw		145.00	X		166,349.58
04/13/2004			Consulting Fees	Deposit		X	18,096.00	184,445.58
04/13/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	14.08	X		184,431.50
04/13/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		13,970.50	X		180,461.00
04/13/2004		ADP	-split-		1,659.30	X		178,801.70
04/13/2004	2853	Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	18.37	X		178,783.33
04/15/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	122.27	X		178,661.06
04/15/2004		Pepco	Utilities	[REDACTED]	122.27	X		178,538.79
04/15/2004		Comcast	Office Expense	Wired network...	32,066.00	X		178,506.73
04/15/2004	2844	Lehman-English-Kelli...	Professional Campaign...	California-April	10,000.00	X		168,506.73
04/15/2004	2845	Security Public Storage	Shareholder Draw	Unit # [REDACTED]	217.50	X		168,289.23

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04/15/2004	2846	Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	154.50	X		168,134.73
04/15/2004	2848	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Account: [REDACTED]	0.08	X		168,134.65
04/15/2004	2849	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,860.00	X		165,274.65
04/15/2004	2850	Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. # [REDACTED]	648.95	X		164,625.70
04/15/2004	2851	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	295.21	X		164,330.49
04/15/2004	2852	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent	March	10,500.00	X		153,830.49
04/19/2004	2853	Baker Botts	Legal/Professional		50,000.00	X		103,830.49
04/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	11.87	X		103,818.62
04/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	19.08	X		103,799.54
04/20/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	25.89	X		103,773.65
04/20/2004		Direct TV	Cable/TV		86.55	X		103,687.10
04/20/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		59.55	X		103,627.55
04/20/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		181.72	X		103,445.83
04/20/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		36.67	X		103,409.16
04/22/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	57.24	X		103,351.92
04/22/2004	2854	A Cleaning Service, L...	Office Expense	May	1,200.00	X		102,151.92
04/22/2004	2855	Legislative Demogra...	Office Equipment		1,163.25	X		100,988.67
04/22/2004	2856	Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	154.50	X		100,834.17
04/22/2004	2857	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	78.30	X		100,755.87
04/23/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	3,684.92	X		97,070.95
04/23/2004		Michael Scanlon	Shareholder Draw		34.99	X		97,035.96
04/23/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	28.00	X		97,007.96
04/23/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		71.52	X		96,936.44
04/27/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		121.60	X		96,814.84
04/27/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		3,593.01	X		93,221.83
04/27/2004		ADP	-split-		7,001.82	X		86,220.01
04/30/2004	2858	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account [REDACTED]	2,066.00	X		84,154.01
04/30/2004	2860		Insurance	Policy # [REDACTED]		X		84,154.01
04/30/2004	2861	Westfield Group	Insurance		250.00	X		83,904.01
04/30/2004	2867	Red Sea	Professional Campaign...	CA Ads	300.00	X		83,604.01
04/30/2004	2868	washington Courier	Shipping		79.68	X		83,524.33
04/30/2004			Shipping	Balance Adjust...	42.26	X		83,482.07
05/03/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	39.27	X		83,442.80
05/03/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	80.36	X		83,362.44
05/03/2004		Dell Computers	Computer Lease		204.29	X		83,158.15
05/03/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	612.30	X		82,545.85
05/03/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08	X		79,697.77
05/03/2004		Wells Fargo Home	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77	X		76,492.00
05/05/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		53.27	X		76,438.73
05/10/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		2.95	X		76,435.78

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05/10/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		140.12	X		76,295.66
05/10/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	17.76	X		76,277.90
05/10/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	34.20	X		76,243.70
05/10/2004		Wachovia	Bank Charges		36.00	X		76,207.70
05/10/2004		Verizon	Telephone		72.67	X		76,135.03
05/14/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		1,222.48	X		74,912.55
05/14/2004		ADP	-split-		2,944.18	X		71,968.37
05/14/2004		Pepco	Utilities		99.32	X		71,869.05
05/14/2004		Pepco	Utilities		117.86	X		71,751.19
05/17/2004	2862	Hubert Puckett	Repaires/Maintenance		6,500.00	X		65,251.19
05/17/2004	2863	Huber Puckett	Repaires/Maintenance	VOID:		X		65,251.19
05/17/2004	2864	Sussex County Council	Tax	0105139	196.92	X		65,054.27
05/17/2004	2865	Sussex County Council	Tax	0105139	196.92	X		64,857.35
05/17/2004	2866	National City	Rent	Account #	1,246.84	X		63,610.51
05/17/2004	2869	Robin Axline	-split-	Reimbursement	170.22	X		63,440.29
05/17/2004	2870	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	2,264.00	X		61,176.29
05/17/2004	2871	Yellow Cab	Travel:Car Services	000237	45.54	X		61,130.75
05/17/2004	2872	AT&T	Telephone	T-1 account#	185.88	X		60,944.87
05/17/2004	2873	Wells Fargo Financia...	Shareholder Draw	Cust. #	622.77	X		60,322.10
05/17/2004	2874	W.F. Bowman Lands...	Repaires/Maintenance		559.00	X		59,763.10
05/17/2004	2875	washington Courier	Shipping		363.47	X		59,399.63
05/17/2004	2877	AT&T Wireless	Telephone	Account #	54.62	X		59,345.01
05/17/2004	2878	Scanlon Capital Man...	Rent	APril	10,500.00	X		48,845.01
05/17/2004	2879	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	77.80	X		48,767.21
05/17/2004	2880	Dichl and Co. CPA's	Legal/Professional	March	3,000.00	X		45,767.21
05/17/2004	2881	Offit, Kurman, Yunk...	Insurance		1,744.00	X		44,023.21
05/18/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	35.33	X		43,987.88
05/18/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	35.33	X		43,952.55
05/18/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	35.33	X		43,917.22
05/18/2004		Comcast	Office Expense		18.98	X		43,898.24
05/18/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		49.82	X		43,848.42
05/18/2004		Comcast	Office Expense		132.65	X		43,715.77
05/18/2004		Direct TV	Cable/TV		86.55	X		43,629.22
05/21/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit		X	154.50	43,783.72
05/21/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	7,676.19	X		36,107.53
05/21/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		48.79	X		36,058.74
05/24/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		57.40	X		36,001.34
05/24/2004		Windsors	Shareholder Draw		70.00	X		35,931.34
05/24/2004		Connectiv	Utilities		168.24	X		35,763.10
05/24/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	28.40	X		35,734.70

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Date	Number	Payee	Account	Memo	Payment	C	Deposit	Balance
05/24/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		59.92	X		35,674.78
05/26/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		72.32	X		35,602.46
05/26/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	14.15	X		35,588.31
05/27/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	15.15	X		35,573.16
05/27/2004		Staples	Office Expense		61.97	X		35,511.19
05/27/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		3,324.09	X		32,187.10
05/27/2004		ADP	-split-		6,275.06	X		25,912.04
05/31/2004			Shipping	Balance Adjust...	50.00	X		25,862.04
06/01/2004		Wells Fargo Home ...	Shareholder Draw		3,205.77			22,656.27
06/01/2004		Washington Mutual	Shareholder Draw		2,848.08			19,808.19
06/01/2004		Federal Express	Shipping	Invoice Numbe...	18.15			19,790.04
06/01/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	90.89			19,699.15
06/03/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	620.00			19,079.15
06/03/2004		ADP	Legal/Professional		51.55			19,027.60
06/03/2004		American Express	Miscellaneous	AmEx Bill	1,585.41			17,442.19
06/14/2004			Shareholder Draw	Deposit			250,000.00	267,442.19
06/14/2004		ADP	Payroll Expenses		1,222.46			266,219.73
06/14/2004		ADP	-split-		2,994.19			263,225.54
06/14/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		116.47			263,109.07
06/14/2004		Washington Gas	Utilities		7.68			263,101.39
06/14/2004		Verizon	Telephone	[REDACTED]	7.14			263,094.25

PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT CLEARLY

\$450K
\$650K - 111

DATE: _____

BRANCH NO.: _____

BRANCH RC.: _____

Chevy Chase Bank, ("CCB") is at

U.S. DOLLAR AMOUNT

AMOUNT (printed)

CCB CUSTOMER NAME

CCB CUSTOMER ADDRESS

BOB ADIZNILOFF

[REDACTED]

CLOSEOUT? YES NO

SEND MONEY TO: _____ DOLLAR

CCB CUSTOMER ACCOUNT#: _____

RECEIVING BANK INFORMATION

ABA#

BANKING NAME & ADDRESS:

CITY NATIONAL BANK

CITY, STATE, COUNTRY:

INTERMEDIARY BANK:

(INCLUDE CITY, STATE, COUNTRY)

BENEFICIARY INFORMATION (FOR CREDIT TO)

BENEFICIARY NAME:

AENEAS ENTERPRISES, INC

BENEFICIARY'S ADDRESS:

BENEFICIARY'S ACCOUNT#:

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

CUSTOMER ACKNOWLEDGES THAT:

1. This request is governed by the provisions concerning wire transfers contained in CCB's current Rules and Regulations Brochure.
2. Any wire request received after 1:00 P.M. will not be processed until the following business day.
3. CCB cannot guarantee that the receiving bank will actually receive and/or act upon any wire transfer in a timely manner. Action on special instructions cannot be guaranteed.
4. CCB is authorized by the customer to debit his/her account for the amount of this wire transfer and any fees and expenses incurred in connection with the execution of this request.
5. The information above is correct and complete.
6. International Wire Transfers: A) In general, international wires will be processed and transmitted in the home currency of the receiving bank unless you designate the beneficiary's account as a U.S. dollar designated account below. B) Due to bank fees and currency market fluctuations, wires which are returned to CCB for any reason may reflect a greater or lesser amount than the original wire.

U.S. Dollar Designated Account: Yes OR No
(Initial) (Initial)

[Signature]

Customer Authorization

Customer Authorization

Daytime Phone Number

Selected Transactions
 Federal Program Services
 Chevy Chase A/C

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF TRANSACTION	TO/FROM	AMOUNT
8/1/2003	Opening Balance		\$0.00
8/26/2003	Customer Deposit; \$10,000 on 8/1/03; \$20,000 on 7/31/03	Greenberg Traurig	\$30,000.00
9/1/2003	Opening Balance		\$29,986.97
9/5/2003	Check 1002; Consulting Services	TCG Systems	(\$20,000.00)
10/1/2003	Opening Balance		\$7,423.84
10/3/2003	customer deposit; 0001872786	Greenberg Traurig	\$20,000.00
10/16/2003	Check 1004; September Consulting	TCG Systems	(\$10,000.00)
11/1/2003	Opening Balance		\$16,913.30
11/21/2003	customer deposit; 0001679340	Greenberg Traurig	\$10,000.00
12/1/2003	Opening Balance		\$26,902.71
12/3/2003	Check 1005; Salary	Sam Hook	(\$2,500.00)
12/3/2003	Check 1006; Consulting Services	TCG Systems	(\$7,500.00)
1/1/2004	Opening Balance		\$16,892.91
1/23/2004	customer deposit; 0001358229	Greenberg Traurig	\$20,000.00
1/26/2004	Check 1009; January Draw; 01584344	Sam Hook	(\$10,000.00)
2/1/2004	Opening Balance		\$25,295.45
3/1/2004	Opening Balance		\$28,795.45
3/16/2004	check 1011	Sam Hook	(\$5,000.00)
4/1/2004	Opening Balance		\$22,297.24
4/5/2004	Check 1012; Consulting Services	TCG Systems	(\$7,500.00)
5/1/2004	Opening Balance		\$14,797.24
6/30/2004	Ending Balance		\$14,797.24

Selected Transactions

Shana E. Tesler/Samuel A. Hook

Citibank A/C [REDACTED]

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF TRANSACTION	TO/FROM	AMOUNT
7/17/2002	Previous Balance		\$3,670.15
8/1/2002	Deposit		\$5,000.00
8/6/2002	Withdrawal		(\$5,120.00)
8/14/2002	Incoming Wire Transfer from Hal J Epstein		\$32,369.87
8/15/2002	Transfer to IMMA Direct Access Reference [REDACTED]		(\$10,000.00)
8/15/2002	Transfer to IMMA Direct Access Reference [REDACTED]		(\$10,000.00)
8/16/2002	Previous Balance		\$12,435.79
8/19/2002	Check 694		(\$10,266.00)
8/29/2002	Deposit		\$8,000.00
9/12/2002	Check 701		(\$8,400.00)
9/13/2002	Authorized Transfer GREENBERG TRAUER PAYROLL [REDACTED]		\$3,129.57
9/13/2002	Deposit		\$4,461.29
9/18/2002	Previous Balance		\$8,096.65
9/26/2002	Transfer to IMMA Direct Access Reference [REDACTED]		\$5,000.00
10/17/2002	Previous Balance		\$1,134.25
10/30/2002	Deposit		\$8,769.88
11/13/2002	Check 726		(\$5,000.00)
11/19/2002	Previous Balance		\$7,797.42
12/17/2002	Previous Balance		\$6,616.73
12/24/2002	Deposit		\$8,610.27
1/17/2003	Previous Balance		\$19,364.55
2/19/2003	Previous Balance		\$8,525.27
2/25/2003	Deposit		\$6,204.46
3/12/2003	Deposit		\$20,353.13
3/18/2003	Previous Balance		\$28,566.66
4/16/2003	Previous Balance		\$21,116.72
4/29/2003	Check 793		(\$6,581.00)
5/16/2003	Previous Balance		\$11,780.45
5/23/2003	Authorized Transfer VGI-TTL IX INV INVESTMENT [REDACTED]		(\$6,000.00)
6/17/2003	Previous Balance		\$9,061.35
7/17/2003	Previous Balance		\$10,201.81
8/18/2003	Previous Balance		\$7,155.39
9/17/2003	Previous Balance		\$5,660.96
10/17/2003	Previous Balance		\$8,944.86

11/19/2003	Previous Balance		\$13,226.79
11/17/2003	Deposit		\$5,237.51
11/26/2003	Authorized Transfer VGI-ST TE INV INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
11/26/2003	Authorized Transfer VGI-TAX- EX MM INVESTMENT		(\$15,000.00)
12/3/2003	Deposit		\$7,500.00
12/11/2003	Authorized Transfer VGI-TAX- EX MM INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
12/15/2003	Deposit		\$2,000.00
12/16/2003	Previous Balance		\$11,304.83
12/22/2003	Deposit		\$9,891.76
12/31/2003	Check 953		(\$5,000.00)
12/31/2003	Check 955		(\$10,000.00)
1/6/2004	Transfer from IMMA Direct Access Reference		\$5,000.00
1/7/2004	Deposit		\$5,000.00
1/14/2004	Check 812		(\$10,000.00)
1/20/2004	Previous Balance		\$1,791.96
1/23/2004	Deposit on 01/22 at CBC		\$62,050.00
1/27/2004	Deposit at CBC		\$36,250.00
1/28/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI-500 IX INV INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
1/28/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI-TAX- EX MM INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
1/28/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI-TTL IX INV INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
1/29/2004	Check 857		(\$30,000.00)
2/2/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI-TTL INT IX INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
2/2/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI- EMERG MKTS INVESTMENT		(\$5,000.00)
2/2/2004	Authorized Transfer VGI-TAX- EX MM INVESTMENT		(\$20,000.00)
2/6/2004	Deposit at CBC 90795		\$6,541.66
2/18/2004	Previous Balance		\$15,334.24
3/8/2004	Transfer from IMMA Direct Access Reference		\$1,900.00
3/8/2004	Transfer on 03/06 from IMMA Direct Access Reference		\$5,000.00

3/15/2004	Deposit	\$5,000.00
3/16/2004	Previous Balance	\$3,185.44
3/24/2004	Deposit	\$6,250.00
3/24/2004	Deposit	17,000.00
3/31/2004	Deposit	\$6,195.92
3/31/2004	Deposit	\$79,000.00
4/1/2004	Check 862	(\$10,000.00)
4/15/2004	Authorized Transfer INTERPUBLIC GROU DIR DEP [REDACTED]	\$6,195.92
4/16/2004	Previous Balance	\$91,059.40
4/21/2004	Check 821	(\$79,584.00)
4/30/2004	Authorized Transfer INTERPUBLIC GROU DIR DEP [REDACTED]	\$6,195.93
5/12/2004	Deposit	\$2,584.03
5/14/2004	Authorized Transfer INTERPUBLIC GROU DIR DEP [REDACTED]	\$5,878.30
5/14/2004	Withdrawal	(\$5,000.00)
5/18/2004	Previous Balance	\$6,496.42
6/2/2004	Check 871	(\$1,400.00)
6/3/2004	Transfer from IMMA Direct Access Reference [REDACTED]	\$2,000.00
6/3/2004	Payment Bernabel & Katz [REDACTED]	(\$1,500.00)
6/15/2004	Authorized Transfer INTERPUBLIC GROU DIR DEP [REDACTED]	\$5,825.06

Scanlon Personal Nets Projections

Merrill Lynch	\$	1,000,000.00
Balance in operational account	\$	300,000.00
Choctaw 2	\$	500,000.00
Coushatta One	\$	300,000.00
Choctaw 3	\$	500,000.00
Coushatta 2	\$	200,000.00
Coushatta PR	\$	80,000.00
September Retainers	\$	40,000.00
October Retainers	\$	25,000.00
November Retainers	\$	25,000.00
December Retainers	\$	25,000.00
AIC Balance	\$	25,000.00
	\$	3,020,000.00
Possible		
Kickapoo	\$	750,000.00
Puerto Rico	\$	50,000.00
Coushatta LA 1	\$	300,000.00
Random	\$	100,000.00
	\$	4,220,000.00

September
\$ 1,000,000.00
\$ 300,000.00
\$ 300,000.00

0
40,000.00

1,640,000.00

West
Louisiana Parish

West
Louisiana Parish

West Louisiana Parish

Scanlon Personal Nets Projections

Merrill Lynch	\$	1,000,000.00
Balance in operational account	\$	300,000.00
Choctaw 2	\$	500,000.00
Coushatta One	\$	300,000.00
Choctaw 3	\$	800,000.00
Coushatta 2	\$	400,000.00
Coushatta PR	\$	-
September Retainers	\$	40,000.00
October Retainers	\$	30,000.00
November Retainers	\$	30,000.00
December Retainers	\$	25,000.00
AIC Balance	\$	25,000.00
Bama one	\$	107,000.00
Bama Two	\$	500,000.00
	\$	4,057,000.00
Possible		
Kickapoo	\$	-
Puerto Rico	\$	-
Coushatta LA 1	\$	300,000.00
Random	\$	100,000.00
	\$	4,457,000.00

Updated ON BOARD

Balance Ops - net		500,000
Coush TX 2		400,000
Choctaw Three		800,000
Bama One		105,000
Bama Two statewide		1,000,000
AIC Balance		25,000
October Retainers		30,000
November Retainers		30,000
December Retainers		30,000
B & L		20,000
24 West		25,000
112 West		25,000
Coush Louisiana Program		1,000,000
	\$	3,990,000

September
\$ 1,000,000.00
\$ 300,000.00
\$ 500,000.00
450,000

0
40,000.00

106,000

2,290,000.00

\$ 500,000.00
\$ 400,000.00

\$ 106,000.00

\$ 50,000.00
\$ 40,000.00

\$ 1,000,000.00

\$ 2,096,000.00

Political Nets Jan 2-15

	Amount	Mode	Date
Coushatta Initial Project	\$ 2,000,000.00	Wire	1/17/2002
Saginaw Initial Payment	\$ 787,500.00	Check	2/15/2002
Coush Add On - Jena	\$ 200,000.00	Wire	2/15/2002
Total In	\$ 2,987,500.00		
Yakamoto	\$ 120,000.00	CCheck	2/21/2002
Plane Shares - JA Expenses	\$ 48,199.46	Deducted	
GRT Share	\$ 39,375.00	Check	Due 4-15-02
Total Paid JA 2-15	\$2,779,925.69		2/22/2002
Cosuhatta Follow up	\$ 1,600,000.00		
Sandia	\$ 800,000.00		
Tigua	\$ 950,000.00		
Choc [REDACTED]	\$ 700,000.00		
Choc Bama	\$ 400,000.00		
Gross Due JA 3-20-02	\$ 4,450,000.00		
AC Race Share	\$ 15,753.00	Various Checks	
DE GRT Share	\$ 69,500.00	TBA	
DC Franchise Tax Share 01	\$ 100,000.00	1286	3/15/2002
DC Franchise Tax Share 02	\$ 150,000.00	TBA	
Total Due JA	\$ 4,114,747.00		

Ref #

1000400578

149727

20206020830

1496

.008 of 17.4 mil

.09 of Agregate

Coushatta Project Nets - JA

Coushatta Initial Project	\$	62,500.00	
Coushatta Accountability Campaign	\$	265,000.00	
Coushatta Victory Lap	\$	17,500.00	
	\$	345,000.00	
Rodney Lane	\$	16,739.54	Check
RDB Group	\$	10,000.00	Check
Jack Abramoff	\$	100,000.00	Cahiers Check
Total Amount Due	\$	218,261.00	
Operation Orange Wave	\$	350,000.00	
Operation Orange Wave 2	\$	350,000.00	
	\$	918,261.00	

Political Nets - JA

	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref #
Coushatta Initial Project	\$ 62,500.00	Check	May	
Coushatta Accountability Campaign	\$ 257,500.00	2 Wires	June/July 01	1410443
Coushatta Victory Lap	\$ 17,500.00	Wire	August	109044285
	\$ 337,500.00			
<i>Rodney Lane</i>	\$ 16,739.54	Check	July , 7 2001	1119
<i>RDB Group</i>	\$ 10,000.00	Check	August, 15 2001	1170
<i>Jack Abramoff</i>	\$ 100,000.00	Check	October, 4 2001	Debit Memo
Balance Pre- Choctaw / Cough	\$ 210,760.46			
Operation Orange Wave One	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 5 2001	1090501524
Operation Orange Wave Two	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 27 2001	10927025929
Coushatta Texas Wave One	\$ 300,000.00	Wire	October , 5 2001	11005022064
<i>Jack Abramoff</i>	\$ 428,000.00	Check	October , 16 2001	1247
	\$ 782,760.00			
Bama ██████████	\$ 101,000.00	Check	October , 18 2001	195886
Due JA 10-18	\$ 883,760.00			
Coush Texas Wave Two	\$ 300,000.00	wire	31-Oct-01	11031010485
Operation Orange Wave Three	\$ 400,000.00	wire	5-Nov-01	11105014565
Returned Check RDB Group	\$ 10,000.00	Check	5-Nov-02	1170
Total Due	\$ 1,593,760.00			
1/2 Share Saginaw Race Exeprnses	\$ 9,635.00	checks	Nov-01	1280/cc trans
Balance pre Bama Statewide	\$ 1,584,125.00			
Alabama Statewide Project	\$ 984,000.00	wire	11/14/2001	11114026834
Projected Totals due from CCS*	\$ 2,568,125.00			
MCBI Refund	\$ 500,000.00	Ccheck	12/18/2001	
Jack Abramoff	\$ 300,000.00	check	12/19/2001	1396
Mail House Share	\$ 50,000.00	HOLD	12/19/2001	
Total Amount Due JA	\$ 1,718,125.00	check	12/20/2001	1398

* 1million was paid directly to GT LLP La. Program

Political Project Nets - JA

	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref #
Coushatta Initial Project	\$ 62,500.00	Check	May	
Coushatta Accountability Campaign	\$ 257,500.00	2 Wires	June/July 01	1410443
Coushatta Victory Lap	\$ 17,500.00	Wire	August	109044285
	\$ 337,500.00			
<i>Rodney Lane</i>	\$ 16,739.54	Check	July , 7 2001	1119
<i>RDB Group</i>	\$ 10,000.00	Check	August, 15 2001	1170
<i>Jack Abramoff</i>	\$ 100,000.00	Check	October, 4 2001	Debit Memo
Balance Pre- Choctaw / Coush	\$ 210,760.46			
Operation Orange Wave One	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 5 2001	1090501524
Operation Orange Wave Two	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 27 2001	10927025929
Coushatta Texas Wave One	\$ 300,000.00	Wire	October , 5 2001	11005022064
<i>Jack Abramoff</i>	\$ 428,000.00	Check	October , 16 2001	1247
	\$ 782,760.00			
Bama ██████████	\$ 101,000.00	Check	October , 18 2001	195886
Current Balance Due JA	\$ 883,760.00			
Projected Due from Approved Projects				
Operation Orange Wave Three	\$ 400,000.00			
Coush Texas Wave Two	\$ 300,000.00			
Alabama Statewide Project	\$ 1,000,000.00			
Louisiana Battle Ground Program	\$ 1,000,000.00			
Projected Totals	\$ 3,583,760.00			

Political Project Nets - JA	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref #
Coushatta Initial Project	\$ 62,500.00	Check	May	
Coushatta Accountability Campaign	\$ 257,500.00	2 Wires	June/July 01	1410443
Coushatta Victory Lap	\$ 17,500.00	Wire	August	109044285
	\$ 337,500.00			
Rodney Lane	\$ 16,739.54	Check	July , 7 2001	1119
RDB Group	\$ 10,000.00	Check	August, 15 2001	1170
Jack Abramoff	\$ 100,000.00	Check	October, 4 2001	Debit Memo
Balance Pre- Choctaw / Coush	\$ 210,760.46			
Operation Orange Wave One	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 5 2001	1090501524
Operation Orange Wave Two	\$ 350,000.00	Wire	September , 27 2001	10927025929
Coushatta Texas Wave One	\$ 300,000.00	Wire	October , 5 2001	11005022064
Current Balance Due JA	\$ 1,210,760.46			
Projected Due from Approved Projects				
Operation Orange Wave Three	\$ 400,000.00			
Coush Texas Wave Two	\$ 300,000.00			
Projected Totals	\$ 1,910,760.46			

Political Nets - JA

	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref #
Coushatta DD - Jena Project	\$ 2,000,000.00	wires	4 total in January 02	20118025409
Saginaw - Initial Payment	\$ 787,500.00	Check	2/15/2002	149727
Coushatta add on - Jena	\$ 200,000.00	Wire	Feb 15 - 02	20206020830
	\$ 2,987,500.00			
ASG	\$ 120,000.00	C Check	February 21, 2002	?
GRT Share	\$ 39,375.00	Check	To be paid 4-15	.005 of 7875mil
Abramoff Plane/ Expense Share	\$ 48,199.46		Deducted from total	
Total Due JA 2-22-01	\$ 2,779,925.60	CCS		
DUE IN By 3-01				
Choctaw 1st Phase	\$ 1,300,000.00			
Choctaw Phase 2 - 3-01	\$ 200,000.00			
Total projected due by March, 5 02	\$ 4,279,000.00			

GT	\$	120,000.00
AIC	\$	60,000.00
GOP	\$	100,000.00
Taxable	\$	280,000.00
Net	\$	151,000.00
Walhalla	\$	100,000.00
Munis	\$	150,000.00
K loan	\$	10,000.00
Non taxable Net	\$	260,000.00
Double Net	\$	411,000.00

Political Project Nets - JA	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref #
Coushatta Jena Aug	\$ 866,250.00	Wire		6-Aug
Augua Calinete Wave One	\$1,117,500	Wire		28-Aug 1410443
Saginaw Wave 2	\$ 225,000.00	Wire	August	109044285
NO DEDUCTIONS THIS PERIOD	\$ -			
Current Balance Due JA	\$ 2,266,250.00			

02 Fee Projections

	January	February	March	April
GT	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
AIC	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
BNP	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00
Synacor	\$ 5,000.00			
Integamnet	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 2,500.00	
USCOC		\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00
Bama Net	\$ 1,500,000.00		\$ 1,000,000.00	
Coush DD JB Net	\$ 2,000,000.00			
	\$ 3,525,500.00	\$ 30,500.00	\$ 1,030,500.00	\$ 28,000.00

May	June	July	August	September	October	November
\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00
\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00
					\$ 1,000,000.00	
\$ 28,000.00	\$ 28,000.00	\$ 28,000.00	\$ 28,000.00	\$ 28,000.00	\$ 1,028,000.00	\$ 28,000.00

December Surplus

\$ 10,000.00	\$ 120,000.00
\$ 10,000.00	\$ 115,000.00
\$ 3,000.00	\$ 36,000.00
	\$ 5,000.00
	\$ 7,500.00
\$ 5,000.00	\$ 55,000.00

\$ 338,500.00

\$28,000.00 \$ 150,000.00 \$ 5,988,500.00

SGPA Retainer Projections '01

	September	October
Check.com	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
WTC Bufoia	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 5,000.00
Buffalo Niagra Partnership	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 2,000.00
U.S. Chamber	\$ 3,500.00	\$ 3,500.00
AIC	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
GT	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
NewsCorp	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
	\$ 50,500.00	\$ 50,500.00
Project Fees		
Buffalo Economic Project	\$ 15,000.00	
Choctaw Net		\$ 100,000.00
Coushatta Political		\$ 100,000.00
Projected Revenues	\$ 65,500.00	\$ 250,500.00
Projected Expenses	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 60,000.00
Operating Funds 9/01		

November		December		
\$	10,000.00	\$	10,000.00	
\$	5,000.00	\$	5,000.00	
\$	2,000.00	\$	2,000.00	
\$	3,500.00	\$	3,500.00	
\$	10,000.00	\$	10,000.00	
\$	10,000.00	\$	10,000.00	
\$	10,000.00	\$	10,000.00	
\$	50,500.00	\$	50,500.00	
\$	100,000.00	\$	25,000.00	
\$	150,500.00	\$	75,500.00	\$ 542,000.00
\$	60,000.00	\$	60,000.00	\$ 240,000.00
				302,000
				\$ 531,000.00
				\$ 833,000.00

02 Retainer Projections

	January				
GT	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
AIC	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 10,000.00
BNP	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00
Synacor		\$ 5,000.00			
Integamnet	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 2,500.00		
GT	\$ 5,000.00				

\$ 120,000.00
\$ 115,000.00
\$ 36,000.00
\$ 5,000.00
\$ 7,500.00

5000

\$ 288,500.00

Monthly (Annual) Salaries: bonuses to the best of my knowledge:

Gould: 12,500 (150k)
 Biederman: 5,000 (60k), bonus: 2500
 Yeatman: 5,000 (60k), bonus: 7500 (2500, 5000)
 Flaherty: 7,000 (84k), bonus: 2500
 Stetter: 3,333 (40k), bonus: 12,500
 Axline: 3,000 (36k)
 Murphree: 3,500 (42k), bonus: 5000

Houses (monthly):

517: P&I, 3360
 Taxes, 375(est.) . . . annual 4500
 Insurance, 135

309: P&I, 2825
 Taxes, 375 . . . annual 4500
 Insurance, 127

Total Utilities (monthly):

Gas: 60
 H2O: 50
 Electric: 500

Pat:

	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Total</u>
1) Integument	2500-3500	Jan.-August	24,000
2) Buff Niagara Part.	2000-2750	Jan-June	16,650
3) Synacor	5000	January	5,000
4) City of Buff (BERC)	4000	July-December	16,000 (8k)
5) EE Plan	2500	September-Dec.	0 (10k)

Total: 61,650 (18k outstanding)

SG FY 02 Salaries	Monthly	Annual	Payroll Tax	HC Cost	Ins	Total
Scanlon	\$ 12,500.00	\$ 150,000.00				\$ 150,000.00
Gould	\$ 12,500.00	\$ 150,000.00	\$ -	\$ -		\$ 150,000.00
Cathcart	\$ 7,500.00	\$ 90,000.00	\$ 6,300.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 100,400.00
Biederman	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 4,200.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 68,300.00
Yeatman	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 5,850.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 69,950.00
Flaherty 2	\$ 7,000.00	\$ 85,000.00	\$ 5,850.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 94,950.00
Stetter	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 30,000.00	\$ 2,100.00	\$ 3,600.00	200	\$ 35,900.00
Axline	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 36,000.00	\$ -	\$ 3,600.00		\$ 36,000.00
			\$ -			
	\$ 55,000.00	\$ 661,000.00	\$ 24,300.00	\$ 21,600.00		\$ 705,500.00

705500

SG FY 02 Salaries	Monthly	Annual	Payroll Tax	HC Cost	Ins	Total
Scanlon	\$ 12,500.00	\$ 150,000.00				\$ 150,000.00
Gould	\$ 12,500.00	\$ 150,000.00	\$ -	\$ -		\$ 150,000.00
Cathcart	\$ 7,500.00	\$ 90,000.00	\$ 6,300.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 100,400.00
Biederman	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 4,200.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 68,300.00
Yeatman	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 5,850.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 69,950.00
Flaherty 2	\$ 7,000.00	\$ 85,000.00	\$ 5,850.00	\$ 3,600.00	500	\$ 94,950.00
Stetter	\$ 2,500.00	\$ 30,000.00	\$ 2,100.00	\$ 3,600.00	200	\$ 35,900.00
Axline	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 36,000.00	\$ -	\$ 3,600.00		\$ 36,000.00
Marty	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 36,000.00	\$ -			
Chick	\$ 4,000.00	\$ 44,000.00	\$ 24,300.00	\$ 21,600.00		\$ 705,500.00
	\$ 62,000.00	\$ 741,000.00				

705500

Scanlon Draws 02

	Amount	Tax Liability	Taxes paid Set Aside
Sandaway Purcahse	\$ 4,753,000.00	\$ 2,186,000.00	
Transfers to Joint	\$ 200,000.00	\$ 92,000.00	
Renter Payoff	\$ 20,000.00	\$ 20,700.00	
Tony Beto	\$ 20,000.00	\$ 9,200.00	
Designer Kitchens	\$ 20,000.00	\$ 9,200.00	
Scanlon Cash	\$ 9,000.00	\$ 4,140.00	
Mark Showell Int	\$ 9,000.00	\$ 4,140.00	
	\$ 5,031,000.00	\$ 2,325,380.00	
Draw 3-20-02	\$ 1,300,000.00	\$ 598,000.00	0
Draw 4-2-00	\$ 4,350,000.00	\$ 2,231,000.00	
Draw 4-02-00	\$ 500,000.00	\$ 230,000.00	
		\$ 5,384,380.00	
	\$11,181,000.00	\$ 5,144,000.00	\$ 3,063,000.00

Sortfall

\$ 1,300,000.00

Scanlon NW 02

ML Account	\$ 1,600,000.00	
LM Account	\$ 50,000.00	
Nets Current Pros	\$ 1,750,000.00	Post Tax
25 Tidewaters	\$ 1,600,000.00	
319 6th St	\$ 250,000.00	
517 Seward Square	\$ 150,000.00	
112 West St	\$ 30,000.00	
24 West St	\$ 30,000.00	

\$ 5,460,000.00

On Board

Final Barna Net	\$ 750,000.00	Post Tax of 1.5 out of 3 balance
SG Retainers	\$ 250,000.00	
Random Proj Net	\$ 750,000.00	Post tax share of yet realized projects in 02
Investment return	\$ 300,000.00	15% return on 2m invested

\$ 7,510,000.00

Breakdown

Cash /CE	3,400,000.00	Jan 02 - not year end figure
Real Estate	2,060,000.00	Jan values - 25 renovations wash

Saginaw Wave Two

	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref Number
Wave two total	\$500,000.00	Check		
Program Set Aside	\$50,000.00			
Total Net	\$ 450,000.00			
Total Partner Share	\$ 225,000.00			

JA Nets - Coush Jena Aug

	Amount	Mode	Date	Number
Total	\$ 2,100,000.00	Wire		
Program Set Aside	\$ 350,000.00		6-Aug	████████
GRT	\$ 17,500.00			
Total Net	\$ 1,732,000.00			
Partner Share	\$ 866,250.00			

AC Wave One	Amount	Mode	Date	Ref Number
Wave One Total	\$ 2,700,000.00	Wire	8/28/2002	1044006
Program Set aside	\$ 400,000.00			
GRT	\$ 27,000.00			
Plane Expesne	\$ 38,000.00			
Total Net	\$ 2,235,000.00			
Total Partner Share	\$ 1,117,500.00			

Operation Orange

Abramoff	\$	1,200,000.00	
Scanlon	\$	1,200,000.00	
B&L	\$	250,000.00	1187 ccheck
Qorvis	\$	100,000.00	
Riley	\$	75,000.00	1291 per check nrcc104
BJM	\$	10,000.00	
Webber Co	\$	250,000.00	
Axline	\$	12,000.00	1193
DiRocco	\$	6,500.00	1206
Ccath	\$	15,000.00	1207
Pgould	\$	75,000.00	
B&L	\$	25,000.00	1278
B&L	\$	60,000.00	
Red Sea LLC	\$	100,000.00	
RDB Group	\$	45,000.00	
FAM International	\$	10,000.00	1184
DDC	\$	39,253.07	1225
RDB Group	\$	4,800.00	1231
IRS	\$	6,000.00	1229
Whatley & Assoc	\$	3,463.00	1232
Robert Rankin	\$	1,250.00	1245
IRS Gross RT	\$	42,000.00	15-Apr
B&L	\$	50,000.00	WB TBA
Mark Dial CPS - 1/3	\$	3,000.00	1230 1/3 share
Regus Bis Serv	\$	2,287.00	1239
Weber CO TX calls	\$	21,647.00	1249
BJM	\$	7,500.00	1257
	\$	3,614,700.07	

Name of organization

Employer identification number

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.

[REDACTED]

Part I. Contributors (See Specific Instructions)

(a) No.	(b) Name, address and ZIP + 4	(c) Aggregate contributions	(d) Type of contribution
1	JACK ABRAMOFF [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 177,415.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part III if there is a noncash contribution.)
2	GBK ASSOCIATES [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 5,500.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
3	[REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 5,400.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
4	[REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 6,300.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
5	COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 1,000,000.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)
6	FOXCOM WIRELESS [REDACTED] [REDACTED]	\$ 50,000.	Person <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Payroll <input type="checkbox"/> Noncash <input type="checkbox"/> (Complete Part II if there is a noncash contribution.)

CCAGE

MISSION

The mission of CCAGE is to stomp out and curb the expansion of gaming.

WHO WE ARE

- CCAGE is a national organization based outside of Washington in Potomac, Maryland.
- CCAGE was formed in November last year.
- CCAGE is a small group made up of a few part-time staff members
- CCAGE is a watchdog for illegal gaming efforts in the United States. At the grassroots level, CCAGE draws attention to such efforts while educating the public on the dangers of gambling to families and communities.
- The organization does not profit from this – we have no financial stake – we are focused our mission to stop gaming expansion.

WHY LOUISIANA

- Our research led us to this hotbed of gaming.
- There has been more gaming expansion in Louisiana than anywhere else in the country.
- Three casinos in three months – enough already.
- This is an affordable media market – our dollars stretch further and we felt we have a better shot at being effective, really making a difference. Larger media markets are just unaffordable.
- Frankly, we were dumbfounded as to how anyone in Louisiana's leadership should support such a shady. Just look at the people running it.
 - The Chairman, R.D. Hubbard is tied to organized crime. And, Punky Torguson was convicted overseas of fraud and tax evasion.
- Calcasieu Parish already has 4 casinos – they don't need another.
- Since the casinos opened neighborhoods are just not as safe.
- **CRIME IS ON THE RISE**

- BURGLARY UP 17%
- CAR THEFT UP 27%
- TOTAL CRIME RATE IS AT ITS HIGHEST IN 15 YEARS

MONEY

- We receive funding from private individual and corporate gifts.
- We do not accept contributions from casinos.
- We do are not representing their competitors like Harrahs or Isle of Capri.
- We are not a tax-exempt organization nor do we have 501(c)3 status. But that is something we may consider in the future.
- We have a corporate structure.
- I will have to check with our part-time attorney to see how we are filed.
- To date we have raised about \$120K – nearly all of which has been spent on these ad buys
- All our money is invested in stopping the expansion of gaming

ADDITIONAL TARGETS

We are looking to begin a major offensive in Maryland to stop slot machines from being allowed in the state

MAIN POINTS

- 1) 3 casinos have opened in 3 months
- 2) This is a market where we can make a difference
- 3) We cannot afford to put a person on the ground, which is why we are running the ads
- 4) No money from Harrahs, Isle of Capri or any other casinos
- 5) We expect to get into several fights
- 6) These ads are truthful
- 7) All public information

POSITIVE SPIN

- Don't forget to vote on Saturday.
- This is such a very important vote and we applaud the people of Louisiana who will participate and have the opportunity to make a difference.
- We really hope that people turn out.
- We intend to fight and hope that people vote NO against gaming on APRIL 6th.
- This casino will cause an increase crime and promote an unhealthy and addictive lifestyle of gambling that leads good people to despair.
- At what cost does it make it worthwhile to open another casino? Unsafe neighborhoods for our children?

CRITICISM

CCAGE is by no means bogus – even though we are a small group we are working to gain national attention (like in Louisiana) and raise awareness.

Crime goes up
Destroys families

I can send you a justification package.

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 RECEIPT

Please Make payable to:
Greenburg Traurig

[REDACTED]

ATTN: Courtney Roseman

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM WOERFUL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LOUISIANA 2002 POLITICAL PROGRAM
DATE: [REDACTED]
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.

I'll 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

SLATE OF 8

Maynard GIGIBO Jr.	David Otto	Robert Pego
Diana Mahego	Jim Bob Davis	Jim Homon
Fred Snotball	Janet Bongo	

Dear Friends,

The upcoming election may be the only chance for the disenfranchised, and beaten down members of this tribe to voice their disapproval with the way people on the council like XXXX Jackson have run our tribal government.

From trying to disenroll members, to corrupt politics, we need to clean out the current council and put in new leadership. That's why we are asking you to vote for The Slate of 8! The Slate of 8 represents wholesale change. We believe the tribe needs to chart a new course, we need a new future - but we can't get that unless you for all of us on the Slate of 8.

8 votes is what we need to put the scandal plagued past behind us.

8 votes is what we need to turn the tide on the dis-enrollment movement.

Voting for The Slate of 8 is way for the tribe to bring honesty, integrity and vision to our government. The eight of us give you our solemn vow that we will empower the people of this tribe - not try to strip the people of their rights. We will do this if you vote for us. But we need you to vote for all 8 of us to make it reality.

We humbly ask for you vote on November 6th. We will bring honesty, integrity and vision to our tribal government, and we will also immediately end the politics of exclusion practiced by the members of the current council.

Sincerely

David Otto
Slate of 8 Member

Tribal Council Members Otto and Maynard Announce
Formation of New Slate of Candidates to run in Chippewa
Elections

Slate of 8 will run on platform of Reform

For Immediate Release

Mt. Pleasant – Current Saginaw Chippewa Council Members David otto and Maynard OHHHHHHHH, today announced that they have organized and will lead a slate of candidates in the upcoming elections. The New group of candidates are called the “Slate of 8” and will focus their campaign on the message of reform.

“The Slate of 8 represents honesty, integrity and vision – something that the Committee for Responsible Government unfortunately completely lacks. We organized the Slate of 8 ourselves and asking the tribal members to vote for us so that we can put the scandal plagued politics of this tribe in the past.”

The Slate of 8 contains two current council members as well as the following other candidates:

Robert Pego	KKKKK
Dianan yad ayad	LLLLL
BLAH BLAh,	LLLLL

The Slate of 8 will run on an over all platform of reform, but will stress specific issues, such as developing a VVVVVV, providing more VVVVVV, diversifying business interests, and developing stronger ties in Washington D.C. to advance tribal concerns

“We ware launching our campaign immediately and we plan to talk, meet and communicate with every voter in this tribe before Election Day at least two times. This tribe needs a new beginning and in order to do that the tribe needs new leadership. The Slate of 8 represents a brighter tomorrow, and in tribal language we need to burn some sage to smoke out the wrongdoing of our opposition”

[LOGO]

DATE

Mr. Jon Doe
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Doe:

A new council leadership is in place and I wanted to personally contact you and the entire tribal membership to let you know the focus of this council's first order of business: **enrollment**.

I am writing to assure you that we, the council leadership, consider this to be one of the most divisive issues within the tribe and plan to treat it with the attention and seriousness it requires.

I know you are well aware of the bitter fighting among tribal leadership over this issue in the past. However, that is changing. The new council leadership is united and agrees that the enrollment question will be a defining issue of our term.

We will approach this sensitive issue with integrity and fair-mindedness. We will protect the best interests of the Saginaw Chippewa people. We will end these intertribal power struggles and work with you to build a foundation of unity and respect among our people.

I chose to write to you now so that you can be an integral part of this transformation. As the council, we want to handle this responsibly and in an open forum where everyone has an opportunity to voice their opinion. Without your support, change will not happen and the current environment of division will continue to harm the Saginaw Chippewa people.

I will continue to update you in the coming weeks. In the meantime, please give serious thought to this very important issue.

Yours truly,

Chief Maynard Kaghegab, Jr.

Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan



Chief's Report

That was then...

Unfocused

No plan

No clear direction

No strong leadership

THIS IS NOW...

**New Course!
Brighter Future!
Every Tribal Member has a Voice!
New Programs!**

Why is a presence in Washington,
DC so important???

The ANSWER is in the

R-E-S-U-L-T-S!!!

Results such as:

The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe is earmarked for \$5 million to build a:

- New School
- New Residential Treatment Center
- New Elders' Complex

KEEPING Tribal housing grant \$\$\$\$'s

The issues important to YOU
are the issues we, the Tribal

Council, focus on!

Education

Care of elders

Economic Prosperity

Sovereignty

In conclusion,

Thank you for your support!

This is only the beginning, more good things are to come!

Miigwetch!!!!

7:00 PM – CHIEF'S REPORT

While preparing my remarks for this evening I glanced through my calendar from the past eight months and I was overtaken with an enormous sense of pride as I realized all the amazing changes taking place in our Tribe.

I am very excited to share my report with you this evening for two principle reasons: 1) there is a lot of positive activity taking place that benefits this tribe and 2) I am proud of the immense work this Tribal Council has been able to accomplish for you in such a short period of time.

Let me just share a few examples with you, next slide (2) please:

Less than one year ago, this tribe was unfocused and without a plan to secure our children's future, care for our elders and protect our sovereignty. This tribe had no direction, leadership or mission to guide us.

Since taking office all of that has changed, next slide (3):

- In December of last year, Tribal Council set this Tribe on a NEW course, one that would bring more prosperity and assistance to this tribe than EVER seen before. This can be seen in the form of new social programs introduced to the community as well as our re-commitment to building up our social infrastructure and communications so that every tribal member has a voice.

- As part of our effort to bring new programs into our community as well as funding, the Tribe has met with over 100 officials in Washington, DC. We have met with congressional leaders, White House staff and Department Secretaries to educate them about our history, culture and programming needs. Next slide (4).

You may wonder why or how this could be so important. The answer is in the results. Next slide (5).

- I am **THRILLED** to announce that the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe is currently earmarked for more than **\$5 MILLION** to build a new school, new residential treatment and domestic violence center and new elders' complex.
- Furthermore, we successfully identified ways to **KEEP** Tribal housing grant monies **WITHOUT** having to return them to HUD saving this tribe **\$3 MILLION** while maintaining our ability to offer our members housing-related program services. Next slide (6).

The programs I am speaking about are the programs **YOU** said were most important prior to our taking office. And according to the recent community surveys you completed, which Joe Sowmick will report on in more detail, these are **STILL** the most important programs to you. As you listen to Joe's report you will see that this Tribal Council listens to what you say and focuses on the issues that you are most concerned about like education and care for our elders.

It will be clear to you when hearing the results that our work is already in line with your own priorities! And, our work does not stop there! Efforts to reduce the regulatory burdens placed on our Tribe and its operations are underway so that we may bring independence to our Tribal free-market economy.

During the last session of congress this Council worked tirelessly to defeat anti-Tribal legislation such as a proposal to create a commission to investigate Tribal nations with gaming facilities and a proposal to deny the Tribe access to federal housing funds because of our economic success.

As you can see the fight to preserve our sovereignty is always prone to attack and that is why we are so diligent in fighting any proposal that may threaten our social and economic freedoms as a Tribal Nation. Next slide (7).

Summing up, all of the work and projects and goals I have spoken of today come from you. The most important point I am trying to relay is that it is you who set the agenda of this Tribal Council. It is your voice that we hear and what we base our decisions upon. Only eight months in office and look at all we have accomplished in programming for this tribe.

What a long way we have already come in securing a strong future for our children and elders! This same dedication to the prosperity of this tribe is what you can

expect to continue. THANK YOU all for working with this Tribal Council to achieve these successes.

Via Telefacsimile

[TimeField]

Mr. Jim Lucier, Jr.
Director of Economic Research
Americans for Tax Reform



Dear Jim:

I have had an opportunity to review the independent expenditure campaign memo regarding the effort in New Jersey and while it is most impressive, I would like to have a discussion on the telephone regarding re-focusing this memo on expenditures which can be properly made by a 501 (C) (4). Unfortunately most of our money would be coming from very few large grants. Therefore any need to file the independent expenditure campaign as a political action committee will obviate our ability to impact the race. The memorandum regarding the New Jersey race really needs to focus on only the activities which are possible as a consequence 501 (C) (4) expenditure activities.

Please discuss this with Grover. I had an opportunity to discuss this with him last evening. I look forward to talking with you soon.

Kindest regards,

Jack Abramoff
Government Affairs Counselor

JA:jas

GTG-E000031388

MEMORANDUM

TO: JACK ABRAMOFF
 FROM: JIM LUCIER
 SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REP. BOB TORRICELLI
 DATE: [TIMEFIELD]

cc: grover Norquist

Congressman Bob Torricelli will run this fall as the Democratic candidate for the New Jersey Senate seat left open by Sen. Bill Bradley's retirement. Torricelli could be a difficult candidate for Republicans to defeat unaided. He is an entrenched incumbent with powerful support among the ethnic voters in his district, notably Cubans and Jews. His strong support among Cubans generally in northern New Jersey could assist him greatly in running statewide.

Further, the contrast between Torricelli and his most likely Republican opponent, central New Jersey and Princeton Congressman Dick Zimmer, is not as strong as many Republicans would like. Both are pro-choice in a state with strong Catholic and pro-life voting blocks. Both are also bad on guns, in a state which is actually surprisingly strong for the NRA and home to the Coalition of New Jersey Sportsmen, which boasts a membership of 250,000. Zimmer has signed the Americans for Tax Reform Taxpayer Protection Pledge and has a strong conservative voting record on most economic issues - though he voted against the Contract with America Medicare Reforms. Torricelli has a generally liberal voting record on taxes and spending. But Torricelli did vote for the Contract with America budget reconciliation package, and he has been given political cover on taxes by Jude Wanniski, who has praised Torricelli as a reasonable Democrat and hosted a dinner for Torricelli with Wall Street supply-siders.

An anti-Torricelli independent expenditure (IE) campaign is not necessarily an easy thing either. New Jersey is an expensive media state, dominated by both the New York and the Philadelphia media markets. Campaigning effectively in a conventional IE here could require substantial sums. The money, message, and media buying will also have to be carefully targeted to avoid wasting precious resources. It is possible that a tightly focused effort using direct mail and telemarketing on a narrow segment of independent voters could be enough to ensure Torricelli's defeat. But concentration on too small a voting population entails the risk that not enough anti-Torricelli voters will be mobilized, and the inherently "stealthy" nature of direct media means the campaign would not have the effect of publicly inflicting punishment on Torricelli, if that is the desired result.

This memorandum outlines an IE to be conducted against Torricelli in highly visible fashion. As a supplement to the IE, we recommend a grassroots issues campaign to systematically activate all constituencies in the "Leave Us Alone" coalition which makes up the current Republican party base. Not all Republican voters will enthusiastically support Zimmer, should he be the Republican nominee. Therefore, it will be necessary to stimulate the turnout of anti-Torricelli voters through other means. The defeat of Torricelli could very depend on whether

1) Polling and Research

GTG-E000031381

Given the need to develop an effective message and target media wisely, polling and research will be an important part of the IE. We recommend that you retain The Polling Company to conduct statewide polls and focus group research as needed, to assist in message development, and to monitor sentiment in each constituency of the broad coalition to be activated. Tracking the race in its final days will also be essential. We recommend The Polling Company for its very substantial expertise in New Jersey politics.

For initial opposition research on Tomicelli's voting record, we recommend commissioning a report by Gordon Jones.

2) The Independent Expenditure

An IE is subject to the same FEC election rules that govern a campaign. The IE must be organized as a PAC, individual contributions are limited, corporate contributions are forbidden, all activities must be reported on the FEC's Schedule E, and all advertisements must bear a disclaimer naming the PAC and its Treasurer. Your clients may wish to retain an FEC lawyer to determine the optimum structure for their campaign.

The basic media available are Philadelphia TV, statewide radio, direct mail, and telephone banks. Some combination of these is probably optimum, depending on the message selected and the constituencies to be mobilized.

For \$600,000, one could buy enough Philadelphia TV to effectively communicate two messages (one major and one minor) in the southern part of the state, or one could saturate statewide radio for a month, which is probably the better option. Purchasing New York City television would not be cost effective. Some detailed suggestions from the Murphy, Pintak, Gautier Agency present the available options. Please find them attached to this memo. The suggestions are based on experience from the 1992 Whitman for Governor campaign, which the firm directed.

Timing of the media buys will be an issue of vital concern. Television stations may not wish to sell time to an IE in the final weeks of the campaign, making it necessary to buy time on TV or radio in the summer instead. But running spots well in advance of the election means they must effectively frame the entire race and have lasting impact. Otherwise their effect will be lost.

To coordinate the IE, you will need a management team comprised of your PAC, the Polling Company, Murphy, Pintak, Gautier, and any other outside advisers you require.

3) Grassroots Issues

Taxes were central to the successful Whitman for Governor campaign in 1992. They should be so again. An excellent way to energize the taxpayer movement in New Jersey would be to conduct statewide rallies on Tax Day (April 15), New Jersey Tax Freedom Day (mid-May), New Jersey Cost of Government Day (mid-July), Taxpayer Action Day (TAD), and Get the Government Off Our Backs Day (October 10, the anniversary of repealing Prohibition). A drive to enlist all state legislators as signers of the state-level New Jersey Taxpayer Protection Pledge is worth considering.

School choice and home schooling. The school choice movement led by Mayor Bret Schundler of Jersey City expected school choice legislation from the Republican-controlled state assembly but have been disappointed in receiving it. Home schoolers are an extremely well-organized group everywhere.

Property rights are an especially significant issue in the coastal areas of New Jersey. Organized property rights activists would most likely oppose Torricelli and support a Republican opponent. Crime and quality of life. These are issues on which Torricelli may be vulnerable.

Social welfare spending. Torricelli may be vulnerable on votes such as for midnight basketball.

Commuters in Torricelli's home district would be sensitive to his vote on a gasoline tax.

Cuba. Advertising may possibly tie Torricelli to President Clinton, who could be portrayed as soft on Castro.

Collapse of the welfare state. This would be a major issue in New Jersey's depressed urban areas. Research and communications materials promoting the achievements of Governor Whitman, Mayor Schundler, New York Governor George Pataki, and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani might help frame the election as a referendum on "pro-tax" candidates "anti-tax" candidates. Zimmer, possible alternative Republican challenger Richard DuFaine, or another Republican challenger could run as a team slate of Tax Pledge signers vs. non-Pledge signers.

4) Other Considerations

Toricelli's antagonism to Indian gaming is well-known throughout the state. A strong IE has the upside potential of throwing Torricelli's campaign off its stride and forcing it to squander resources. But Toricelli could also run against the campaign and cite the IE as a sign of his opposition to "special interests." This is yet another reason for exercising extreme care in the development of the message and in developing as much of an issue-based anti-Toricelli GOIV as possible.

BUDGET FOR ANTI-TORRICELLI EFFORT

The Polling Company	\$75,000.
Opposition Research by Gordon Jones	\$6,000.
Independent Expenditure	\$600,000.
Taxpayer Coalition Activities	\$300,000.
Total	\$981,000.

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: RE: ██████████
 Date: Tuesday, October 24, 1995 12:40AM

Yes, he would do everything they need for him to do to win. He would be very active. what is most important, however, is that this matter is kept discreet. We do not want the opponents to think that we are trying to buy the tax payer movement. This approach should be kept as close to the vest as possible and, in any event, might be best achieved by doing it indirectly. Let's discuss if they are interested to move forward.

→

REDACTED

GTG-E000106492

 From: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Cc: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 7:00PM

I talked to Kerry about this. \$50,000 would be a big hit for her, but may be able to sell it to [REDACTED]. The big question is how active would he be on the issue, especially with everything else he is doing now. For example, would he send letters, make calls, do meetings, and offer advice?

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: FW: [REDACTED]
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 8:40AM

Pamela:

Would you please raise this with Kerry?

Mark

 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 To: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 9:32PM

I spoke this evening with Grover. He said that, if they want the taxpayer movement, including Lisa, involved on this issue and anything else which will come up over the course of the year, so they need to become a major player with ATR. He recommended that they make a \$50,000 contribution to ATR. It seems that, on another [REDACTED] matter, he is getting a similarly large contribution to get involved.

It is possible that we could get away with less -- possibly even half -- but I'll have to push, which, of course, I am happy to do. He does not want to do any additional personal representations. He would prefer donations to ATR. Please let me know what you want to do on this. Thanks.

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: [REDACTED]
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 11:26AM

Here's the deal:

Grover was very helpful last week in sending the [REDACTED] letter to [REDACTED]. Now we urgently need Grover to get even more involved as this issue goes to conference. The onerous provision is in the Senate bill; it is not in the House bill. So it will be a conference issue.

Ideally, we'd like Grover to make this a threshold issue as this [REDACTED] is hashed out. We'd like him to send the same

REDACTED

GTG-E000106493

letter to Republicans on the [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED]. Most importantly, we'd like him to weigh in with [REDACTED] and the rest of the Leadership.

Please tell Grover that [REDACTED] is more than willing to make this a paid representation. It strikes me as a perfect match since opposing this change to [REDACTED] is entirely consistent with Grover's personal philosophy and represents the longstanding position of Americans for Tax Reform. We need a decision soon -- the conference battle is right around the corner and we are already working it.

We need you to get this on Grover's priority list and get him to decide on a level of commitment on his (or ATR's) part.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
To: Skinner, Kimmie (DC)
Subject: RE: Gordon Smith Meet and Greet.
Date: Tuesday, October 24, 1995 12:41AM

I'll be there, since there are three or four of my invitees on the list. thanks.

From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 1996 6:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Kurt call from Saipan

I just spoke with Kurt--we are on target. Two issues outstanding:

1. I told him about plan to award grant to National Center for Public Policy Research---he made some statement about telling folks these people are coming down at their own expense. That's when I told him about Amy's group and why I think it is better to just tell people upfront how this is being paid for. He agreed and then started talking about paperwork for a grant etc...I said we can cover that later. He obviously will be checking with Brenda etc...

2. He asked that you test his system by sending him an e-mail at: kurtburkhart@██████████

I plan to show you briefing book Wednesday AM. We are on track.

GTG-E000034034

From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
Sent: Monday, July 01, 1996 12:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Senft, Jennifer (DC)
Subject: CNMI trip payment issue

Jack, the airplane tickets were paid by PG; the hotel bills were paid by CNMI (each traveler just signed bill--no credit card requested); that leaves basically the fees for Bandow's services and report; and the reimbursement for the bills he accumulated (mostly hotel and food) in Guam and Samoa. That should come to about \$10,000. That is the amount CNMI should provide as a grant to NCPFR. Then they can cut check to Bandow. I do not see need for us to send airplane bills to NCPFR and then CNMI sending money (\$30,000) to cover those--do you?

Let me check further with Doug to nail down amount of bills he accumulated. I would like to finish up the \$\$ aspect of this as soon as possible--it will impress Doug and Amy--both of who we will want to call on again in the future. Thanks.

GTG-E000034035

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 07, 1999 4:01 PM
To: Ritter, Daniel (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: Yet more work for poor Daniel!

Lou Sheldon has agreed to really help us with the conservatives on the Labor Committee for the c1 hearing. Can you prepare some materials for him, focusing on the conservative take on this? I will forward to you Ralph Reed's draft letter he wants Lou to sign. Perhaps we could get them to do something like this (with some modifications) to the conservatives on the committee.

GTG-E000021592

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, August 23, 1999 1:45 PM
 To: 'Ed Buckham'
 Subject: RE: Richard Scaife funding

Great. I am not sure if the grants have to go to c3's or can go to c4's as well. I'll find out.

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

From: Ed Buckham [SMTP:ed@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, August 23, 1999 2:33 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Richard Scaife funding

Curt Anderson with RMIC. Without help and this group we will probably lose the majority.

Bob Mills with US Family Network. DeLay's favorite C-4. In a half million dollar pr campaign to defeat prescription drug entitlement.

Jim Ellis--Americans for Economic Growth. DeLay's second favorite C-4 that is pushing for tax cuts and energy deregulation .

Americans For Tax Reform. Grover Norquist. Helping our tax cut strategy with White House.

Toward tradition- You know who should be there and why.

Ed

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jack@██████████]
 > Sent: Sunday, August 22, 1999 9:46 AM
 > To: Ed Buckham
 > Subject: Richard Scaife funding

- >
- > He has brought on a new guy to handle his giving and they are working
- > with
- > my friend John Rees. They are going to come to town to meet a half
- > dozen or
- > so heads of organizations whom they will want to consider for funding.
- > John
- > would like me to create a list.
- >
- > Can you give me a list (no more than six) of folks you think should be
- > at
- > this meeting? Please give their group name and a one line
- > justification for
- > their being included.
- >
- > I know I don't have to tell you that Scaife funding is a major deal.
- >
- > Thanks so much.

GTG-E000032674

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, September 24, 1999 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

GTG-E000079255

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, October 03, 1999 8:42 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); 'aa-Abramoff, Jack (Sky)'

Grover and Ralph, we need a check to Ralph by Wednesday

GTG-E000079264

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 11:10 PM
 To: 'Peter Ferrara'
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

Peter, I just got a call from Grover and it is in no way sorted out. Please call me tomorrow on this. Grover wants the money which is to be paid to you to be paid to ATR. We need to have a conference call with him to sort this out.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 11:20 PM
 To: 'Peter Ferrara'
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

That's very good to hear. Thanks Peter.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Peter Ferrara [mailto:peterferrara@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, November 12, 1999 12:19 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Re: Reply to test

Boy you are tough, I'll be checking this line for lucrative opportunities every day, I promise. I think we're safe on the Grover front.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@██████████>
 To: 'Peter Ferrara' <peterferrara@██████████>
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 4:13 AM
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

> Thanks Peter. Are you planning on checking this more than once every four days? If not, then it is probably not a useful means of communication.

If
 > you check it daily, then I think we can use it. Please let me know. I
 > guess I'll see the answer for myself quite soon (I hope)! :-). Thanks.

>
 > -----Original Message-----
 > From: Peter Ferrara [mailto:peterferrara@██████████]
 > Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 4:13 AM
 > To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 > Subject: Reply to test

>
 >
 > ----- Original Message -----
 > From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@██████████>
 > To: <Peterferrara@██████████>
 > Sent: Monday, November 08, 1999 11:08 AM

>
 >
 > > test
 >
 > Sorry I didn't reply earlier, but I have gotten your
 > message. Keep in
 > touch, particularly with highly lucrative, overpaying
 > projects.

>
 > Peter Ferrara

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 2:28 PM
To: 'Amy Moritz Ridenour'
Subject: FW: NCPFR wiring information

Hi Amy. Thanks for this information. You will be getting a wire of approximately \$25K, which I will discuss with you next week. Hope you are well. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 2:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: NCPFR wiring information

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [SMTP:ARidenour@██████████]
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 5:03 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Chief Martin's address

Thank you for the address, Susan. Here is the bank wiring information you requested:

Bank:
The National Capital Bank of Washington
██████████
██████████

Our account:
The National Center for Public Policy Research
██████████

Our address and phone number are ██████████ and the contact name, although one should not be needed, should be Amy Ridenour.

Happy Holidays!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 2:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Ed's trip cost

reply

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 3:26 PM
To: 'Willie Tan'
Subject: Ed's trip cost

Per my previous email, the cost of Ed's and Mike's trip was as follows

Airfare \$17,448
hotels (Saipan and Tinian) \$4878
Mike loss of wages \$3250
Total \$25,577

As I indicated, this should be wired to the National Center for Public Policy Research so they can pay it. Here is their wiring information. Please confirm to me when this has been sent so I can coordinate it on this side, which will be a bit tricky.

Bank:

The National Capital Bank of Washington

[REDACTED]

Our account:

The National Center for Public Policy Research

[REDACTED]

Our address and phone number are [REDACTED] and the contact name, although one should not be needed, should be Amy Ridenour.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 1999 5:51 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: Call Nell Rogers

Please make sure this is on the call sheet in Nell's entry.

—Original Message—
From: Tamburello, Andrea (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, December 21, 1999 4:51 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Call Nell Rogers

re: National Center for Public Policy Research

GTG-E000034477

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 4:10 PM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC); Tamburello, Andrea (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Very important re travel to Saipan

Please let's make sure there are no problems with the kosher meals!

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 12:20 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Tamburello, Andrea (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Very important re travel to Saipan

Ok. A total of 6 tickets have been bought on the Visa...3 tickets for the 3 gentlemen to Saipan: Scanton, Voltz & Lope 2 tickets for Ed Buckham: 1 ticket travelling with you and 1 ticket traveling with the 3. The last ticket is for you, travel on ANA. I have stipulated and reminded her that no mention of PGE or Jack Abramoff should show on the tickets. T should, if possible, say "National Center for Public Policy Research". All tickets are fully refundable.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 7:49 AM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC); Tamburello, Andrea (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: Very important re travel to Saipan

There is a chance, albeit it slight right now, that I will not be going on this trip. If I don't get the meetings in the Philippines confirmed, and the Redskins game (which will be an important fund raiser for [REDACTED] is on the first weekend, then I might opt out. We'll see.

In any event, as a backup, today please make a reservation for Ed Buckham to go with the three travelers to Saipan. Actually go ahead and buy his ticket, assuming we can get it refunded if I do indeed go to Saipan et al.

I assume that my ticket (as well as Ed's on the other routing) is fully refundable.

Please confirm that this has been done. Thanks.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 7:44 AM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC); Tamburello, Andrea (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: please buy the tickets for the three Congressional travelers today

The tickets should not in any way say my name or our firm's name. They should, if possible, say "National Center for Public Policy Research". We should pay using my visa (not my American Express card!). Please confirm when this is done. Please make sure their seats are together. Finally, please confirm my itinerary with Ed is set.

GTG-E000034470

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Saturday, December 18, 1999 6:46 PM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: FW: NCPPR wiring information

Thanks Amy. Just landed back. Hope you are well and will be in touch next week. Regards.

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

From: Amy Ridenour (mailto:ARidenour@████████████████████)
Sent: Friday, December 17, 1999 7:00 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: FW: NCPPR wiring information

OK regarding the reimbursables. I'll do what you want, of course.

If you are in the South Pacific, have a safe trip back and thanks for the nice words.

Amy

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, January 04, 2000 6:26 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: Wire transfer

Please prepare an invoice from me (personally) to National Center for Public Policy Research for the cost of the plane tickets, and from Alexander Strategy Group for the rest of the money for travel expenses. Email them to me and I'll forward to Amy. Thanks.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, January 04, 2000 6:15 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Re: Wire transfer

Sorry for my delay in replying. I have been out sick for a couple of days and just read my e-mail. We'll call the bank first thing in the am, and confirm that the money has arrived, and then I will get checks out to you and Ed. Yes, we should get invoices for these. This is not only good for us, but if the IRS should later inquire, it is proof for you and Ed that you do not owe income tax on this money. The invoices need not be fancy.

Thanks,

Amy

>I am informed that a wire in the amount of \$25,577 has been sent to you.
>When you receive it, please let me know. Once it is received, please draw
>two checks:
>
>One payable to me in the amount of \$17,448 (for airfare) and one in the
>amount of \$8,129 to Alexander Strategy Group (for hotel and other associated
>costs). Please let me know if you want invoices for these payments. If so,
>no problem at all.
>
>Thanks Amy.

GTG-E000034353

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 1:18 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Invoice #1 for Amy Ridenour

fine

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, January 05, 2000 7:22 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Invoice #1 for Amy Ridenour

JACK ABRAMOFF
[REDACTED]

INVOICE

TO: Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Description: Travel Expenses

TOTAL Payment Due \$17,448.00

Please remit payment to:
Jack Abramoff
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000034351

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, January 21, 2000 12:46 PM
 To: Ed Buckham
 Subject: RE: Scotland

Ha ha ha

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

From: Ed Buckham [mailto:ed@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, January 21, 2000 12:21 PM
 To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Scotland

You and Tony would make a cute couple and you could play golf together.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, January 21, 2000 10:42 AM
 To: Ed Buckham
 Subject: RE: Scotland

OK, now I have to get Pam to go! Otherwise, people will think I'm married to Tony!

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

From: Ed Buckham [mailto:ed@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, January 21, 2000 9:57 AM
 To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Scotland

I would like to go and so would Wendy. I will pay her way if need be. Ed

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, January 20, 2000 10:50 PM
 To: Ed Buckham
 Subject: Scotland

As you recall, we are trying to put together a trip to Scotland for Memorial Day week. I would like to chat with you about this. So far, Terry Martin (and wife) is coming. So are you (right?), Tony and I. I thought it would be nice to have Willie and his wife there as well. Terry wants to have Tauzin and his wife come and is discussing this with them. I expect Adam Kidan might want to come. I want to go through this with you to make sure we are on the right track. Please give me your thoughts on whether this sounds right. The ladies would shop and tour during the day, while we played golf. We would have two foursomes at this rate, though I guess it is possible we could wind up with three by the time this is sorted out. Terry and Willie would be the sponsors/hosts, though we would use National Center for Public Policy Research as the organization. Anyway, let me know if this sounds like it works.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, January 30, 2000 9:42 AM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4?

The part which depresses is the fact that this was so stupid and unnecessary. At least I am now forever cured of being a kid (at least as far as physicality goes)!/

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

From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@██████████]
Sent: Sunday, January 30, 2000 8:20 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4? ..

Oh dear, this is terrible. We simply can't manage with you drifting in to and out of commission like this, Jack. Refua shleimah. I may have to come over there and straighten things out. Did either medical opinion suggest heavy doses of sushi instead of operations? If not, they're quacks. I'm in New York.
Best wishes and cheer up; this must be a real downer.
Dante!

Rabbi Daniel Lapin

██████████
██████████

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@██████████]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 12:47 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4?

Unfortunately, all too true. Like a complete fool, thinking myself 20 again, I ventured out during the snow storm on Tuesday to play tackle football with my kids and the neighborhood toughs. As you can imagine, shortly after taking the field, I was carried off with a torn ACL and MCL in my knee.

The doctors (I got a second opinion) said I need an operation, which cannot take place until the knee is less swollen, in approximately three weeks. Then, I'll have another painful rehab. All in all, this was the stupidest physical thing I have done in my entire life. The risk/reward ratio was astronomical and I lost! Oh well. At least I don't have to suffer through long davening at shul for a number of weeks.

Unfortunately, of course, I am grounded and can't fly so you'll have to cover the Chicago meeting without me. I am so sorry. Anyway, look forward to chatting perhaps after Shabbos.

Good Shabbos.

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

From: Daniel Lapin [SMTP:dlapin@██████████]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 3:42 PM
To: .. Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4?

Jack,
I have just heard that you have had another foot problem; is this true?
RDL

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 4:43 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4?

Not by a long shot. More coming Sunday. Where's global warming when you need it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 9:43 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Do we have a 501c4?

At the moment only a c3, Jack. Too bad. Thanks anyway.
Snow gone?

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 6:05 AM
To: 'Rabbi Daniel Lapin'
Subject: Do we have a 501c4?

Or do we only have a c3? The reason I ask is that I have some funding and want to see if I can get you some, but it has to be c4. Please let me know. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 4:45 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: amy Ridenour

She does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only. I have to go out, but let's chat later tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.

GTG-E000032184

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:21 AM
 To: 'ralph@[REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Yes. I need to give Grover something for helping, so the first transfer will be a bit lighter. No fear, though, since I have already started the next transfer.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:16 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Remember radio goes up today and the first mail piece in [REDACTED] dropped on Friday. So we are off to the races.

I assume we are all still go on the contributions from the DC anti-tax groups to [REDACTED] reaching them when--tomorrow or Wednesday?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:12 AM
 To: 'ralph@[REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Just want Pam hopes for More kids! ;)

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[REDACTED]] <mailto:ralph@[REDACTED]>
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:10 AM
 To: jacka@[REDACTED] <mailto:jacka@[REDACTED]>
 Subject: FW: Be Prepared

I figured you could use this.

-----Original Message-----
 From: yvette2@[REDACTED] [mailto:yvette2@[REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 5:08 AM
 To: friend@[REDACTED]
 Subject: Be Prepared

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 9:50 AM
To: 'ralph@██████████'
Subject: RE: update

Thanks. Keep me posted. ATR will be sending a second \$300K today. How much more do we need? We can't lose this. Thanks.

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

From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@██████████)
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 10:49 AM
To: jack@██████████
Subject: update

The ██████████ pro-gambling forces went up yesterday with a statewide saturation radio buy, matching our buy through March 3. Spot is high quality, says ██████████ casinos trying to buy up high-price lobbyists to deny people their right to vote on video poker. We are getting a script.

They are now introducing a different local bill each day, trying to keep us on the defensive.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 11:32 AM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ukraine

Of course.,

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

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 9:58 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ukraine

Will NCPFR be assisting on this client...? Or other think tanks?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Saturday, February 19, 2000 8:51 PM
 To: *Everyone (DC)
 Subject: Ukraine

I want to take this opportunity to let everyone know about our new client, Ukraine. Thanks to our Russian clients Alexander Koulakovskiy and Marina Nevskaya, I was able to visit Kiev and meet with President Kuchma the week before last. This meeting, as well as two meetings with their Minister of Economy Sergei Tigipko resulted in a significant representation for our firm.

Our responsibilities will focus on helping Ukraine shape a positive image in the United States. We will work to organize politically the 1.2 million Ukrainian Americans, counter the attacks of that nation's detractors, and assist them in their attempts to get financial and other support from the Congress and Administration.

The President indicated to me that, assuming the relationship blooms properly, we will be with them at least through the remainder of his current term in office (four years). The retainer for the firm is \$1 million per year.

In addition to our government affairs activities, we shall also try to assist Ukraine in developing incentives to create new industries and employment opportunities. I am told that their unemployment is shockingly high, over 80 percent.

Minister Tigipko will probably be the member of their government who visits Washington, DC the most. In addition to being a highly presentable and articulate statesman, he is an outstanding tennis player.

It is our hope that, once we have been able to build an infrastructure of support for Ukraine, the President will visit Washington with our active assistance.

Ukraine has a most fascinating history and will make a wonderful destination for Congressional and policy trips. There are many people involved in the policy community who have Ukrainian roots. In fact, as I noted to the President when he asked whether I had visited before, my father's family is from the port city Odessa, where his father was the manager of the opera house (pre-communist days).

One note of importance, Ukrainians do not approve of their nation being referred to as "the Ukraine", which is what most of us were raised to say. As John Longstreth has kindly pointed out:

The philological basis of the sensitivity is that "Ukraine" means "border." If you call it "The Ukraine" you are referring to their country not as an independent country, but as "the border" of Russia, i.e. rightfully part of Russia.

Anyway, I hope everyone gets a chance to participate in this wonderful new opportunity. Thanks to everyone how made it possible through their hard work.

GTG-E000034356

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K!

GTG-E000078903

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:50 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: grover kept another \$25K1

Please put Grover on the call sheet re choctaw contribution. [REDACTED] updated call sheet. thanks.

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 9:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K1

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 6:28 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] 17-17-1

Yes, but last time they sent \$275K, so I want to make sure that, before we send it to ATR I speak with Grover to confirm.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 7:28 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED] 17-17-1

Once ATR gets their check, should the entire \$300k be sent to the [REDACTED] again?

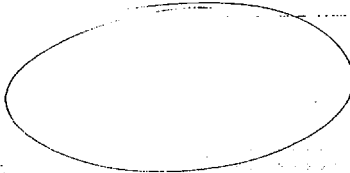
-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 9:48 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] 17-17-1

Please see if you can track down Nell to ask if she got this one. If not, offer to fax it to her. Tell her it's important and about [REDACTED].

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 6:52 PM
To: Nell Rogers
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] 17-17-1

We have to get him more money asap, but he thinks that, after this transfer we should be OK for a while. Can you get me a check for \$300K for Americans for Tax Reform asap?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@ [REDACTED]] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@ [REDACTED]]>
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 10:23 AM
To: jacka@ [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: [REDACTED] 17-17-1



Eshkol Academy - CAF Payments
CAF PAYMENTS

RD. - \$100/month - \$1200/Year (\$4,029 rent-personage &
\$4,881 salary from CAF)

Date	Amount	Notes
31-Mar	3,500	Salary (\$18,500)
15-Apr	3,500	Salary (\$18,500)
15-May	3,500	Salary (\$18,500)
30-May	3,500	Salary (\$18,500)
1-May	1,000	The Board (rent/Amq)
1-May	3,500	Balance of percentage for May
15-May	2,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-May	2,500	Salary (\$18,500)
1-Jun	4,000	The Board (rent/Amq)
15-Jun	4,000	Salary (\$18,500)
30-Jun	2,500	Salary (\$18,500)
1-Jul	4,000	The Board (rent/Amq)
15-Jul	2,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-Jul	2,500	Salary (\$18,500)
1-Aug	4,000	The Board (rent/Amq)
15-Aug	2,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-Aug	2,500	Salary (\$18,500)
1-Sep	4,000	The Board (rent/Amq)
1-Sep	4,881	The Board (rent/Amq)
1-Sep	6,739.00	

CS - \$100/Year (\$100/Year from Eshkol)

Date	Amount	Notes
25-Mar	7,000	Spring Bonus
15-Apr	1,500	Salary for 3 wks (\$28,416 @ 1,200/23 per wk)
30-Apr	1,500	Salary (\$1,500)
15-May	1,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-May	1,500	Salary (\$18,500)
30-Jun	1,500	Salary (\$18,500)
15-Jul	1,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-Jul	1,500	Salary (\$18,500)
15-Aug	1,500	Salary (\$1,500)
31-Aug	1,500	Salary (\$18,500)
31-Aug	20,000	

Updated (Paid) by L. Lipoy

CAF Investment - Eshkol Academy						
Date	Bank Check #	Wire	Amount	Payee	Method	
11-Apr HONB		X	50,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
13-Apr HONB		X	50,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
23-May HONB		X	100,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
30-Jun HONB		X	100,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
23-Jul ST		X	50,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
8-Aug ST		X	25,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
15-Aug ST		X	25,000.00	Eshkol	Transfer	
12-Aug HONB			318,000.00	TOTAL Transfers		
13-Feb NLE	814		3,875.00	Ban Harel	Withdrawal	
25-Feb HONB	1006		40,000.00	Ruba, Liora	Special Livelihood account	
13-Mar HONB	1010		465.00	Madigan County (Eshkol tax for Dov Liman)		
4-Apr HONB	1012		1,000.00	Bredly Investigative	Background check for C. Stewins	
15-Apr HONB	1014		290.00	Bredly Investigative	Background check for C. Stewins	
15-May HONB	1014		4,917.28	EGOROVITZ & GIVNY	Legal fees	
23-May HONB	1031		1,100.00	COHEN & BERG	Consulting services	
23-May HONB	1031		2,162.00	COHEN & BERG	Consulting services	
24-Jun HONB	1036		15,000.00	JP Maslany	Israeli treatment #1	
24-Jun ST	1015		15,000.00	JP Maslany	Israeli treatment #2	
1-Aug ST	1015		1,820.70	JA	Reimburse for 2 computers for Eshkol offices	
4-Sep ST	1038		10,000.00	JP Maslany	Israeli treatment #3	
			110,841.00			

Ethical Academy - CAF Payments
CAF PAYMENTS

ROL - \$106/month - \$1200/Year (\$4,032 rent/percentage & \$4,881 salary from CAF)

Date	Amount	Notes
31-May	3,500	SALARY (07-05-23)
1-May	\$3,500	The Stover (rent-4-21)
15-Apr	3,500	SALARY (4/15)
15-Mar	3,500	SALARY (4/15)
1-Mar	1,560	The Stover (rent-2)
1-Mar	3,040	Balance of payments for May
15-Feb	2,840.50	SALARY (01-5-15)
31-Jan	2,840.50	SALARY (01-05-23)
1-Jan	4,032	The Stover (rent-June)
15-Dec	2,840.50	SALARY (01-2-15)
30-Nov	4,881	The Stover (rent-2023)
15-Nov	2,840.50	SALARY (11-5-23)
31-Oct	2,840.50	SALARY (11-5-23)
1-Oct	4,032.00	The Stover (rent-August)
15-Aug	2,840.50	SALARY (09-1-21)
31-Jul	2,828.50	SALARY (09-23)
1-Jul	4,281.00	The Stover (rent-September)
15-Jun	4,281.00	

CS - \$400/Year (\$100/Year from Ethical)

Date	Amount	Notes
25-Mar	7,000	Spring bonus
15-Apr	1,803.84	SALARY for 3 wks (02-07-15 @ 1,369.20 per wk)
30-Mar	1,269.23	SALARY (4/16-4/30)
15-Mar	1,269.23	SALARY (01-5-15)
15-Feb	1,269.23	SALARY (01-5-15)
15-Jan	1,269.23	SALARY (01-5-15)
30-Dec	1,269.23	SALARY (01-5-20)
15-Dec	1,269.23	SALARY (11-5-23)
31-Jul	1,269.23	SALARY (11-5-23)
15-Jul	1,269.23	SALARY (09-1-21)
31-Aug	1,269.23	SALARY (09-1-21)
31-Aug	1,269.23	SALARY (09-1-21)
31-Aug	20,374.91	

CAF Investment - Ethical Academy						
Date	Bank	Check #	Wire	Amount	Payee	Notes
11-Apr HONS	Bank of America		X	50,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
16-Apr HONS	Bank of America		X	60,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
23-May HONS	Bank of America		X	100,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
20-Jun HONS	Bank of America		X	100,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
23-Jul ST	Bank of America		X	50,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
18-Aug ST	Bank of America		X	25,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
12-Sep HONS	Bank of America		X	10,000.00	Ethical Academy	Transfer
13-Sep M/L	Bank of America	814		3,875.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
25-Sep HONS	Bank of America	2		40,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
13-Mar HONS	Bank of America	1005		496.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
4-Apr HONS	Bank of America	1012		1,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
15-Apr HONS	Bank of America	1012		250.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
17-Apr HONS	Bank of America	1012		4,200.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
23-May HONS	Bank of America	1034		6,724.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
23-May HONS	Bank of America	1039		2,106.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
24-Jun HONS	Bank of America	1058		15,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
24-Jul ST	Bank of America	1009		15,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
1-Aug ST	Bank of America	1015		15,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
4-Sep ST	Bank of America	1039		10,000.00	Bank of America	Wire transfer
				119,441.00		

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dc.gov] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 17, 2002 10:33 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@dc.gov'
Subject: RE: Tax Projection on CCS check of \$2.2M

Home, 301-681-7626

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@dc.gov [mailto:GRHalpern@dc.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, September 17, 2002 11:09 PM
To: abramoffj@dc.gov
Subject: Re: Tax Projection on CCS check of \$2.2M

is it too late to call you to discuss this? which number should I call you on?

In a message dated 8/13/2002 5:16:23 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@dc.gov writes:

Yes, I do mean CAF. yes, call me whenever. Sat night, Sunday, next week.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@dc.gov [mailto:GRHalpern@dc.gov]
Sent: Friday, September 13, 2002 2:49 PM
To: abramoffj@dc.gov
Subject: Re: Tax Projection on CCS check of \$2.2M

I think you mean CAF. I will chat with you briefly on the phone. it is not something I can email. can I call you one evening next week after yom kippur?

In a message dated 9/13/2002 6:52:17 AM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@dc.gov writes:

Gila, I really want us to find a way to get this issued directly to CCS so I don't lose this amount in taxes. If I were to donate it, what would be the write off? I am really unhappy about this and want you to please find a way to make it work.

5/8/2004

5/7/2004

GTG-E000011795

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 9:45 PM
To: GRHalpern@
Subject: RE: FW: transfers to Eshkol

Wednesday is fine. I am most interested in where these funds went. Can you also let me know of wires/checks to CAF from Choctaw or other Indian tribes?

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

From: GRHalpern@ [mailto:GRHalpern@]
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 9:12 PM
To: abramoff@
Cc: ghalpern@
Subject: Re: FW: transfers to Eshkol

actually, we can now track it to the penny. the May and Barnhard bookkeeper has put KayGold on Quickbooks as of Jan 2002 and we are up to date as of 6/30/02. she will be working on July and Aug. over the next week or so.

the bookkeeping file is at May and Barnhard. I will be there Wednesday and can send you an email with the breakdown. can you wait until Wednesday?

To date (not counting the 2M that is forthcoming), I show CCS income of \$10,012,847.60.

In a message dated 9/9/2002 3:49:05 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoff@ writes:

I am about to get another \$2.2M from CCS. Mike claims they have sent me over \$10M this year. Can you track where all that money has gone?

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

Email: grhalpern@

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 11:23 AM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Delay Foundation for Kids

It's a good idea for them to be seen as sponsoring something for DeLay and, since Tom does not take gaming money now for any of his committees, his foundation is the best way to do this. They should do every event they can do for DeLay.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 11:22 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: Delay Foundation for Kids

Jack??

-----Original Message-----
 From: Candace Patencio (mailto:cpate@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 11:14 AM
 To: gibsond@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: Delay Foundation for Kids

Do you think it is necessary??
 Candace

----- Original Message -----
 From: <gibsond@ [REDACTED]>
 To: <cpate@ [REDACTED]> <moraino@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Sunday, September 29, 2002 4:38 PM
 Subject: Delay Foundation for Kids

> Jack asked that I ask you if the Tribes might be interested in a
 > \$7,500 Founder level sponsorship to the Delay Foundation For Kids golf
 > tournament on Monday, Oct. 21 at the Westfields Golf Club in Clifton,
 > Virginia. I wanted to bounce this off of you before submitting a
 > letter to the Tribe.

>
 >
 >

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 > person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are
 > hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or
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 > 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]
 >

GTG-E000057490

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 8:28 AM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Per your request

Probably best to use something like the National Center for Public Policy Research. They are a C4 and can direct money at our discretion, anywhere if you know what I mean. Does that work?

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 9:01 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Per your request

Jack:
We need to provide Casini an entity to pay the \$500,000 provided we are successful. Please let me know what entity you would like to use.
Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 10:45 AM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR

Great. I am working it out now.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@██████████]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 11:45 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR

Yes, we would love to do it. We are a (c)(3).

Thanks!

> Is this still something you want to do? is NCPPR a c3 or c4?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 6:47 PM
To: 'Jennifer Kuhn'
Subject: RE: thank you

Pleasure . I still have checks to collect, but I'll get 'em for you as soon as possible.
Did you get the Choctaw check?

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 5:30 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: thank you

Jack

I just wanted to drop a quick note to thank you for all of your help and support with the resolution project. I really appreciate it. Thanks! Jen

Jennifer Kuhn
Americans for Tax Reform
██
██
██

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:07 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: grover/pac stuff

Right now everyone is tapped out having given directly to the campaigns. After the election we'll be able to get this moving.

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: grover/pac stuff

Jack,

A few months ago you said you could get each of your indian tribes to make a contribution to ATR's pac. Jane Zysk of my office sent over the material and letters your office requested.

Is this still possible?

grover norquist

GTG-E000031956

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 11:38 AM
 To: 'Numberberger, Ralph (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Good to see you

Thanks Ralph. If I were to get you \$50K from the National Center for Public Policy Research, would that square things on the movie investments?

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

From: Numberberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 10:20 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@redacted'
 Subject: Good to see you

Jack:

As always, it was good to see you. I am so pleased that everything seems to be working out so well for you--family, personal, life at Greenberg, lobbying, career, restaurants, SUPER! We really look forward to the next Bar Mitzvah (I assume you know the Bar Mitzvah safari story? If not, I will share it next time).

She asked me to mention that she hopes we might be able to get together -- probably after our move. The new house will be a fun adventure, but somehow moving is not part of the enjoyment.

In terms of the past investments, we could always try another movie--I have this screenplay (we could change it from an apartment to opening restaurants??) (just kidding, but I am sure you had some interesting experiences)

I checked and found two items.

The first was \$50,000 make to "Cyclone" on December 1, 1987. Of that, \$10,800 was repaid on May 6, 1994, leaving a principle of \$39,200.

I recorded the second with the comment "I lent Jack \$10,000 for start-up costs for Red Scorpion 2 and finishing costs for 1" I don't remember any other specifics.

Those funds were transferred on March 28, 1992.

Again, thanks so much for looking into these matters.

I was also very pleased to hear that Gateway may (finally) be sold. Your father must be thrilled at the prospect. I will try to call him soon, probably when I return from Israel. I am leaving this afternoon and will be back on October 28.

Warmest regards to the family,

Ralph

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 7:35 AM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: funds

No problem at all Amy, thanks. I'll get you an invoice for Nurnberger Assoc as a research grant, and CAF for a project regarding sports and politics or something like that. does that work?

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Hi Jack,

I cut the checks myself this evening and they will be couriered to your office on Monday.

It would be extremely useful to have written invoices from these folks for our records. Basic info is enough: their name and address, amount and a basic statement of what the invoice is for. I regret the hassles involved in careful recordkeeping, but at the end of the day it is worthwhile to have perfect books.

Emailed or faxed invoices are fine if that is more convenient, or mail, of course. I put my contact info below to make it easier for you to pass it along.

Thanks as always, & let me know if this poses any problems,

Amy

Amy Ridenour
National Center for Public Policy Research

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
E-mail aridenour@redacted

> Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet,
> but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me
> at the office.
>
> Capital Athletic Foundation: \$450,000
> Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: \$50,000
> Thanks so much Amy!

GTG-E000034228

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 8:17 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: funds

Can you make up two invoices for transmission to her? I would like to see them before they go out, so they probably can't go out today to her. The invoices should be generic as follows:

1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for "Sports and Politics" project for \$450K 2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for "research grant" for \$50K. Thanks.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Hi Jack,

I cut the checks myself this evening and they will be couriered to your office on Monday. It would be extremely useful to have written invoices from these folks for our records. Basic info is enough: their name and address, amount and a basic statement of what the invoice is for. I regret the hassles involved in careful recordkeeping, but at the end of the day it is worthwhile to have perfect books. Emailed or faxed invoices are fine if that is more convenient, or mail, of course. I put my contact info below to make it easier for you to pass it along. Thanks as always, & let me know if this poses any problems, Amy

Amy Ridenour
National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

E-mail aridenour@REDACTED

- > Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet,
- > but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me
- > at the office.
- >
- > Capital Athletic Foundation: \$450,000
- > Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: \$50,000
- > Thanks so much Amy!

GTG-E000034227

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:21 PM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: funds

Thanks. please fed ex the check to Ralph Nurnberger, and have the CAF check deposited by Laura.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: funds

These two checks came in today via courier. I have faxed copies of the invoices to the house for you to review as Joseph left with the packet before I finished them. Let me know how you would like me to proceed.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: funds

Can you make up two invoices for transmission to her? I would like to see them before they go out, so they probably can't go out today to her. The invoices should be generic as follows:

1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for "Sports and Politics" project for \$450K 2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for "research grant" for \$50K. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Hi Jack,

I cut the checks myself this evening and they will be couriered to your office on Monday. It would be extremely useful to have written invoices from these folks for our records. Basic info is enough: their name and address, amount and a basic statement of what the invoice is for. I regret the hassles involved in careful recordkeeping, but at the end of the day it is worthwhile to have perfect books. Emailed or faxed invoices are fine if that is more convenient, or mail, of course. I put my contact info below to make it easier for you to pass it along. Thanks as always, & let me know if this poses any problems, Amy

Amy Ridenour
National Center for Public Policy Research

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
E-mail aridenour@redacted

> Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet,
> but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me
> at the office.
>
> Capital Athletic Foundation: \$450,000
> Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: \$50,000
> Thanks so much Amy!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:28 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: NCPPR \$

Super. I already had her send to CAF so just get me the info for the other \$500K. how much is on the way for Kaygold? Gotta buy monaa a new coat!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:22 AM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: RE: NCPPR \$

Chris should have sent this over to you. Do you want any of that money to go to your foundation? Otherwise we will have her send the whole thing to us - but if you want a non-taxable event - You may want Amy to send that money to Cap athletic foundation directly

We have the balance of the money in our accounts now - so we are going to cut a check to Kaygold for that.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: NCPPR \$

Don't forget to get me the wire info or payee on a check for the money sitting there. how are we doing on the rest of the funds due to us?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:35 PM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: funds

Please call Amy to get done precisely what she needs done. tell her we need three: CAF, Nurnberger and CCS. Just organize with her whatever we need. Thanks.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:41 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Here's a thought. If possible, why don't you tell me very briefly what they really are doing, and I'll write back with a great-sounding phrase for each. I'll promise not to tell anyone about the projects, save if the IRS ever audits us, in which case, what I say will match exactly with what the recipients say if the IRS asks them, and everything would be on the up and up. In the meantime, we'd have nice-sounding by vague phrases in the written files in the (very unlikely) event anyone reads them. I took the liberty of sticking Nurnberger & Associates in Google and saw that one of the things Mr. Nurnberger does is teach skills in influencing the policy process to American Indians. If this is what this project is it will be very easy to write up-it is like what Morton Blackwell does for young people. By the way, if that is what it is it is really a neat idea to do minority training for Indians. I'm sitting here thinking of a lot of possible implications of a (pardon the expression) "new minority" group becoming more prominent. The grievances of the non-representative black civil rights leadership have dominated the national conversation about minorities for too long, and its bitterness poisons the atmosphere. Indians are the one group that had it worse than blacks in the U.S. Possibly if that community were a little more prominent it would help depolarize the rest of the country by putting other groups' grievances in more perspective-while helping the Indians as well. I'm not expert on the Indian community, but it strikes me that young Indians would benefit from seeing a few more nationally-prominent successful Indian role models. There are obvious benefits to everyone, but in a depolarized atmosphere conservatives would be in a much better position to make inroads within formerly hostile populations. But I digress. This e-mail is supposed to be about accounting. Amy

> No problem at all Amy, thanks. I'll get you an invoice for Nurnberger
> Assoc as a research grant, and CAF for a project regarding sports and
> politics or something like that. does that work?

GTG-E000011850

Capitol Campaign Strategies**INVOICE**

DATE: October 22, 2002

To:
National Center for Public Policy Research

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-22-02	Professional Services	\$1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	\$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

████████████████████
████████████████████
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

GTG-E000011849

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 6:12 PM
 To: 'Numberberger, Ralph (DC)'
 Cc: 'Ralph Numberberger'
 Subject: RE: Good to see you

We are sending over the check today or tomorrow.

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

From: Nurnberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN [redacted]]
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 12:35 PM
 To: 'abramoffj [redacted]'; Nurnberger, Ralph (DC)
 Cc: 'rnurnberge [redacted]'
 Subject: RE: Good to see you

This would be fine--I think. I can always work something through the firm.

I am in Israel now and not in good control of email. I fear that none of the messages I have sent today are getting through.

Ralph

I will get back to you on Monday

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

From: abramoffj [redacted]
 To: RalphN [redacted]
 Sent: 10/20/2002 2:02 PM
 Subject: RE: Good to see you

The only free funds I have right now are some which are due to me from NCPFR. I don't know whether they will file a 1099, but just in case, it is possible. Let me know if you don't want this to be the method of getting you back what I can on this.

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

From: Nurnberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN [redacted]]
 Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 4:09 PM
 To: 'abramoffj [redacted]'
 Subject: RE: Good to see you

Jack:

I am curious about how you plan to do this, but anyway---the firm is Nurnberger & Associates, INC .

[redacted]

I would assume this should have no tax consequences since it is a virtual return and no profit.

I had a wonderful talk with your dad this afternoon.

Again, many thanks.

I am rushing to the airport, as we speak

Regards,

Ralph

> -----Original Message-----

> From: abramoffj@ [SMTP:abramoffj@]
 > Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 2:15 PM
 > To: RalphN@ []
 > Subject: RE: Good to see you

> Give me the name of your company again, and your EIN, which might be
 > your
 > social security number. thanks Ralph.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Nurnberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN@]
 > Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 12:50 PM
 > To: 'abramoffj@ []'
 > Subject: RE: Good to see you

> That would be twoderful--which is twice as good as wonderful!
 > What a lovely piece of news before I take off. Thanks

> -----Original Message-----

> From: abramoffj@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 > Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 12:47 PM
 > To: RalphN@ []
 > Subject: RE: Good to see you

> Thanks Ralph. If I were to get you \$50K from the National Center for
 > Public Policy Research, would that square things on the movie
 > investments?

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Nurnberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN@]
 > Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 10:20 AM
 > To: 'abramoffj@ []'
 > Subject: Good to see you

> Jack:

> As always, it was good to see you. I am so pleased that everything
 > seems

> to
 > be working out so well for you--family, personal, life at Greenberg,
 > lobbying, career, restaurants, SUPER! We really look forward to the
 > next
 > Bar Mitzvah (I assume you know the Bar Mitzvah safari story? If not,
 > I
 > will
 > share it next time).

> Sue asked me to mention that she hopes we might be able to get
 > together

> --
 > probably after our move. The new house will be a fun adventure, but
 > somehow moving is not part of the enjoyment.

> In terms of the past investments, we could always try another
 > movie--I

> have
 > this screenplay (we could change it from an apartment to
 > opening
 > restaurants??) (just kidding, but I am sure you had some interesting
 > experiences)

>
 > I checked and found two items.
 >
 > The first was \$50,000 make to "Cyclone" on December 1, 1987. Of that,
 > \$10,800 was repaid on May 6, 1994, leaving a principle of \$39,200.
 >
 > I recorded the second with the comment "I lent Jack \$10,000 for
 > start-up
 > costs for Red Scorpion 2 and finishing costs for 1" I don't remember
 > any
 > other specifics.
 >
 > Those funds were transferred on March 28, 1992.
 >
 > Again, thanks so much for looking into these matters.
 >
 > I was also very pleased to hear that Gateway may (finally) be sold.
 > Your
 > father must be thrilled at the prospect. I will try to call him soon,
 > probably when I return from Israel. I am leaving this afternoon and
 > will
 > be
 > back on October 28.
 >
 > Warmest regards to the family,
 >
 > Ralph
 >
 >
 >

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 > email to postmaster@██████████
 >
 >
 >

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 > email to postmaster@██████████
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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 9:51 PM
To: 'Laura Lippy'
Subject: RE: CAF check received

Sure, whatever.

-----Original Message-----
From: Laura Lippy (mailto:lauralippy@ [redacted])
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 3:18 PM
To: Jack Allan Abramoff
Subject: FW: CAF check received

Gail is asking if these funds should be listed as program revenue for the Scotland fundraiser?

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@ [redacted] (mailto:GRHalpern@ [redacted])
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 2:46 PM
To: lauralippy@ [redacted]
Subject: Re: CAF check received

thanks: pls write them a thank you letter, pls photocopy check, for the 2002 tax return let's just give the May and B guys a photocopy of the check and copy of thank you letter (so they will have the address) for each contribution.

thanks.

do you know if this is a program revenue for the Scotland fundraiser? if it is, we might need to book it that way on your spreadsheet.

In a message dated 10/23/2002 11:36:09 AM Eastern Daylight Time, lauralippy@ [redacted] writes:

\$450K from The National Center for Public Policy Research.
I will deposit today.

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

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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5/8/2004

EX-104

GTG-E000034265

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 5:35 PM
To: GRHalpern@
Subject: RE: caf

I just cannot understand what happened here. I told you to give that money to CAF in September, and we would take the \$40K hit. I just forwarded you the email. What happened????

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@mailto:GRHalpern@
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj@
Cc: rodneylane@
Subject: Re: caf

.450K from National Pub Pol came in a couple of weeks ago, since then Eshkol got 200K and then from your email today I see they got another 100K.

you did not make a 2M contribution to CAF, hopefully, you can do a 1M. I just need to work out the finances with Rodney re the restaurants.

In a message dated 11/6/2002 8:49:49 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@ writes:

I am really disturbed about hearing that there is only \$750K at CAF. are you sure about that? did the deposits I listed before (the \$500K from National Center for Public Policy Research and the \$2.7M which I gave over a few weeks ago) disappear? Please let me know asap.

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

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5/8/2004

GTG-E000034299

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 5:36 PM
 To: 'GRHalpern@aol.com'
 Subject: RE: Important but a bit long-my comments

OK, we better meet. Rodney should be there too.

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

From: GRHalpern@ [mailto:GRHalpern@]
 Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 6:23 PM
 To: abramoffj@ []
 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 simuel 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 Simuel 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@ [] writes:

Comments below in ALL CAPS

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

From: GRHalpern@ [mailto:GRHalpern@]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 05, 2002 11:38 PM
 To: abramoffj@ []
 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.

5/7/2004

GTG-E00011885

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, Rabb 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 restaurants b/t now and 6/30/03. I would like you to sock away another 200K to savings (so we can call R 1M to savings, and I won't bother you about savings until next year! I'm hoping if we have a little extra in the tax account, this can go to savings). In 2003 I would like for you to be able to give the kids trusts \$110K. there is the life insurance expense of 10K or so, plus if we get you more life ins. there is that as well. disability ins. is a problem. so far I have been told you have the max. and we can't get you any more. so you basically need to self insure yourself (ie savings).

please don't get to upset w/me asking you this, but is it at all possible for you to suspend your kindness and 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]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 1:43 PM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Requests

You're great. thanks.

—Original Message—

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 2:27 PM
To: abramoff@redacted
Subject: Requests

I was just informed that the CAF and ATR checks will be ready by 3:00 PM tomorrow. I will overnight them to you for Thursday delivery. I am still waiting on the status of the new requests. I spoke with both the Chief and Sub-chief. I also prepared a memo on the requests and their importance. They no this is time-sensitive material. [redacted]

[redacted] Take care.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@dir.dcgov] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 7:44 AM
 To: GRHalpern@ [redacted]
 Subject: RE: Kaygold Balance-Correction

ok

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

From: GRHalpern@ [redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@ [redacted]]
 Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 8:37 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [redacted]
 Cc: rodneylane@ [redacted]; lauraippy@ [redacted]
 Subject: Re: Kaygold Balance-Correction

My apologies for confusing all of you last night.

KG balance is 500K before the new CCS check. The new check which is about 1M, should Jack decide to give it to CAF, would basically come in to the account and then go out. There is not a total wash for tax purposes, and we still need about 40K in taxes.

Therefore, Jack, your balances would still be about KG 500K and JA personal about 300K (Laura pls. check this one).

But CAF would have about \$1.5M. (the old 500K balance plus the new donation of 1M).

And just to reiterate an email from a few days ago, you did NOT give the 2.2M to CAF back in Sept. This money basically went for taxes, and then 1M to the restaurants and other KG expenses.

My suggestion is, don't give this 1M to CAF yet. You have until 12/31 or when Eshkol has depleted the CAF account, whatever happens first.

Let's just make sure you have enough cash to cover any restaurant expenses and other living until you fork over the 1M to CAF.

If by 12/31 this new 1M does not end up going to CAF, then we need to make a tax withholding on the money.

In a message dated 11/11/2002 10:38:18 PM Eastern Standard Time, GRHalpern writes:

Please ignore the part about needing 600K of the 1M. I did not take into account that it is not a total wash for taxes. that's wrong.

I goofed.

I will correct this tomorrow after a good night's sleep.

In a message dated 11/11/2002 10:33:46 PM Eastern Standard Time, GRHalpern writes:

5/7/2004

GTG-E000011880

Update:

the 1.5M KayGokj balance that I told you about a few days ago in an email, that was for Oct, did not take into account the recent transfers that happened.

1M went out to the 2 restaurants over the course of the last few weeks.

So your balance (before the new check you just received) is only about 500K.

You will need about 600K of the 1M you just got in order to make that Char. Cont. to CAF. that should leave you with 900K (400 new money+500 current bal.) in KG and about 300K in JA personal. (Laura, can you pls. double check the JA personal balance for us?).

you will also get the GT year end bonus on 12/31.

Rodney, please let me know if you will be needing any more funds bt now and year end, so we can plan. thanks.

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

[Redacted contact information]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 29, 2002 9:20 AM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: CCS check has arrived

Either way is fine

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

From: GRHalpern@[redacted]mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, December 29, 2002 8:42 AM
To: lauralippy@[redacted]; abramoffj@[redacted]; rodneyciano@[redacted]
Subject: Re: CCS check has arrived

check is dated 12/31, so we might as well just wait until 1/2, Thursday and deposit it then. (subject to Jack's approval), we defer tax payment.

what I would like to do, however, if Jack doesn't mind, is on 12/31 when the GT bonus check comes in, transfer 200K to CAF, so we get the total 1M deduction for 2002. the accounts will be replenished somewhat on 1/2, so we should be okay.

Later today I will do a tax projection so we can see how much of the 1M is left, before Jack decides if he does or does not want to do the additional 200K to CAF. I will also put together the CAF cash needs/budget so we see how long it's money will last.

In a message dated 12/27/2002 5:22:20 PM Eastern Standard Time, lauralippy@[redacted] writes:

Chris from Scanlon's office just hand delivered to me.

\$1,000,146

Gail, I have faxed you a copy. Please advise on what day to deposit.
Thanks

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

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@jagob.com] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 30, 2002 12:40 AM
To: 'GRHalpern@ [redacted]'; rodneylane@ [redacted]'; lauralippy@ [redacted]
Subject: RE: tax projection for CCS check

ok

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

From: GRHalpern@ [redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@ [redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, December 29, 2002 9:38 PM
To: abramoffj@ [redacted]'; rodneylane@ [redacted]'; lauralippy@ [redacted]
Subject: tax projection for CCS check

Amount: \$1,000,146

Rodney, please deposit this check on Thursday 1/2/02. Please save the deposit slip so Laura can fax me a copy.

The tax projection is \$460,000. This includes a deduction to Jack's keogh of \$40,000.

Laura, Subject to Jack's approval, please send to me on Friday when you return, 2 checks both made out to Legg Mason. One for \$460,000 and one for \$40,000.

Rodney: When Jack's GT bonus comes in either on Monday or Tuesday, please let me know the amount. There should be enough to make a 200K year end contribution from JA personal to CAF. After we confirm the GT bonus amount, please ask David to make the transfer.

thanks.

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

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 24, 2003 6:24 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (SHld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Check per your request

It's fine to come from whomever, but it is not a tax deductible donation: they are ca. it's Americans for Tax Reform.

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (SHld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, February 24, 2003 6:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Check per your request

I spoke to Steve -- \$50,000 is doable within a week to ten days and possibly sooner. Please provide the name of the group and I will turn it around ASAP.

One question he asked -- would it be acceptable to come from one of the investors directly? There is an African American Republican investor who he believes may like the opportunity to donate to this group and would certainly appreciate the benefit of the charitable donation in his name. If it is not possible, he does understand and it can come from the tribe.

Please advise. Thanks.

GTG-E000033092

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 26, 2003 11:40 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Americans for Tax

Super!

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, February 26, 2003 9:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Americans for Tax

Reform check will be here by a week from tomorrow, \$50,000.00 Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
[REDACTED]

15

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 3:00 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

sure

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

From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 3:45 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Grant Applications

Its an option. Can we discuss on mon?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <hookss@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Fri Mar 14 15:29:10 2003
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

So we should just take \$10K off the retainer and move it to the foundation?

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

From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Grant Applications

He is saying that it was never communicated to the grant administrator about only doing two grants on the retainer. Of course, I have not since I do not discuss money or things like that with the clients. Saginaw has a big retainer, I do not know the amount of work that is being done on the retainer. We can just pull 10k from the retainer.

There are two benefits to moving to the non-profit. 1. It removes the grant work from gt, allowing for a cheaper infrastructure. 2. Agencies do not like lobbying regarding grants. Therefore, it is beneficial to have the grant administration and application done at a different entity than the lobbying work, if nothing more, for appearances.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <hookss@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Fri Mar 14 14:23:28 2003
Subject: FW: Grant Applications

What is he asking? I want to jump in here. How should I do so?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@ [REDACTED]]
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 2:12 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: Grant Applications

Sam, I need clarification on this. You indicate the retainer calls for certain actions regarding the grants, however, I am getting word from the Grant Administrator that this

GTG-E000027699

was never mentioned. Did you inform her about these items before starting the grants for SCIT? I need to get this straight.

----- Original Message -----
 From: "Chris" <cpetrasc@██████████>
 To: <chooks@██████████>
 Cc: <cabramoffj@██████████> <boulangerT@██████████>
 Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 7:04 AM
 Subject: Re: Grant Applications

> Do not proceed with any other grants than the first two until Council
 > approval is obtained. I have not seen the documentation about two free
 > under
 > the current agreement so I am uninformed about this policy. Does Dawn
 > have this information?

> ----- Original Message -----
 > From: <chooks@██████████>
 > To: <cpetrasc@██████████>
 > Cc: <cabramoffj@██████████> <boulangerT@██████████>
 > 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
> > ██████████
> >
> >
> >
> >
> >
> >
> > _____
> > The information contained in this transmission may contain
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> > the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended
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> >
> > To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email
> > to postmaster@█████████
> >
> >

3

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) / [REDACTED] behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:13 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[REDACTED]'
Subject: RE: \$ planning

Righ. Thanks.

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

From: GRHalpern@[REDACTED] (mailto:GRHalpern@[REDACTED])
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:47 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: \$ planning

okay, that's what I thought you meant, the KG check we need to do a tax withholding on it.

the Coushatta check, no withholding if it goes straight to CAF.

Rodney is working on a projection for the restaurants.

In a message dated 3/30/2003 11:28:47 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[REDACTED] writes:

You mean the CCS check to Kaygok? Yes, that would be taxed on a 1099, right? The CAF check will come directly from Coushatta. I was mistaken about that one coming from CCS.

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

From: GRHalpern@[REDACTED] (mailto:GRHalpern@[REDACTED])
Sent: Saturday, March 29, 2003 11:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: \$ planning

last time we discussed this, Mike was not willing to give you a check from CCS unless you were taxed on it on your 1099. is that not still the case?

In a message dated 3/28/2003 4:37:07 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[REDACTED] writes:

I have \$1M coming in (I hope directly to CAF or Eshkol) probably next week, and \$1M due within the next 2 weeks to Kaygok. Both from CCS. How long will this money last both for the school and the restaurants?

5/9/2004

GTG-F100012166

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:25 AM
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: \$ planning

I understand.

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

From: GRHalpern@[redacted] mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, March 29, 2003 11:19 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: \$ planning

the money from CCS goes straight to KG. I wasn't referring to that money in terms of what goes to CAF/Eshkol
sorry if I confused you. my long shpeel that I emailed you about a few minutes ago was just for the Charitable
money. not KG money.

In a message dated 3/28/2003 4:37:07 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

I have \$1M coming in (I hope directly to CAF or Eshkol) probably next week,
and \$1M due withn the next 2 weeks to Kaygold. Both from CCS. How long
will this money last both for the school and the restaurants?

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

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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5/9/2004

5/9/2004

GTG-E000012169

From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, July 02, 2003 2:10 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: NCPPR - CCS

Attached is the letter Chris Cathcart sent to Army.

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

From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:ccathcart@██████████]
Sent: Wednesday, July 02, 2003 3:08 PM
To: bowersh@██████████
Subject: RE: NCPPR - CCS

5/8/2004

GTG-E000010955

Capitol Campaign Strategies

June 24, 2003

Ms. Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Ms. Ridenour:

I want to take this time to thank you for payment to Capitol Campaign Strategies. As you know, we provide issue education on a host of important and timely issues, in jurisdictions across the nation. Our tactics include using telephone, e-mail and mail marketing, polling, focus groups and other methods of education. We hope to participate with you in future campaigns related to issues of importance to The National Center.

Sincerely yours,

Mike Scanlon

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000010956

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2003 10:01 AM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: Budget

Forget my brother. Your call as to who to use, but we need to conserve money.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2003 11:00 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Budget

So, would you prefer I use Cantor (who is an expert in charities) or your brother (who will be cheaper)? If Duane gets another quote from this Nevada attorney today, we really need to move forward with one of them. Each day that passes pushes us back. This will likely take weeks to set up and is probably the longest lead-time issue.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 15, 2003 10:37 PM
 To: Rodney Lane
 Subject: RE: Budget

Ok, thanks.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 15, 2003 2:20 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Budget

Yes. I believe that's all Mac does. I spoke to Duane on this and he's already made contact with another attorney in Nevada. Because of the laws, he wants to set up the trust in Delaware or Nevada. He's going to get with you on alternate pricing. Also, the price he gave you had some maintenance fees in it that are not really applicable to setting it up (passive v. active trust). The actual cost will probably be somewhere between 7.5k-10k with the first guy. Mac Cantor may also be too expensive. I'll look into another option and see how it compares. I simply don't know enough about this to make an objective call yet.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 15, 2003 9:17 AM
 To: Rodney Lane
 Subject: RE: Budget

No, bob is not an expert. He is just a lawyer who does incorporations. Is Mac Cantor an expert in charities? For the trust, get a comparison price from another person, since Duane's guy seems expensive.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, July 15, 2003 10:32 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Budget

Okay. I'll contact your brother about this. Is he an expert in the field of charities? If so, I should've been talking to him first about all of this. Can I discuss the restaurant idea(s) with him? As far as the trust, I'm a little confused. Do you want to

use Duane's guy or your brother or have Duane find someone else?

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

From: "Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)" <cabramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: 7/15/03 12:20:08 AM
To: "Rodney Lane" <rodneylane@ [REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Budget

That trust number is bull. My brother should be setting up our companies from now on. He does that for a living. Forget Mac Canter. I want to use my brother. Please make it so. Regarding the trust, though, we might need to use someone else. Anyway, please respond to Duane for me.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane@ [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, July 14, 2003 7:55 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Budget

My comments are below in CAPS

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, July 14, 2003 4:02 PM
To: rodneylane@ [REDACTED]
Subject: Fw: Budget

This is all very high, no? Pls redo based on better pricing. I am getting sick of people spending my money!
Jack Abramoff

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <gibsond@ [REDACTED]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <cabramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
Cc: Rodney Lane (E-mail) <rodneylane@ [REDACTED]>, Rodney Lane (E-mail 2) <rejlane126@ [REDACTED]>, Rodney Lane (E-mail 2) <rodneylane@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Mon Jul 14 17:59:15 2003
Subject: Budget

OK--Here is our best estimate at a total budget for the Creative Fundraising Solutions project. Rodney and I have discussed them.

1. Getting Enrollees

Trip to Guam for 2 \$15K THIS
IS A LITTLE HIGH. WE CAN TONE DOWN THE EXPENSES ON THE GROUND (DUANE HAD ESTIMATED \$500/DAY PER PERSON WHICH SEEMED HIGH AND WE CAN USE MILES TO PAY FOR THE TIX)

Domestic Enrollments \$ 9K
AGAIN, THIS NUMBER IS PROBABLY A LITTLE HIGH. WE CAN DO THESE ON THE CHEAP AND USE MILES
Black Americans
Cherokee
Tigua
Others?

2. Creating the Trust \$15K (rough estimate, + or - 25%) THIS IS A NUMBER THAT DUANE GAVE ME AND I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO DISPUTE IT. SINCE MAC CANTOR CHARGES UPWARDS OF \$5K TO SET UP A FOUNDATION, THIS MAY NOT BE OUT OF LINE. HOWEVER, THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT NUMBER TO APPROVE BECAUSE HE NEEDS TO GET THIS ROLLING NOW SO THAT IT CAN BE COMPLETED BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH.

3. Legal review/opinion re trust/tax as required by lender/equity \$20K THIS
MAY BE A NECESSARY EVIL. WE NEED THE LEGAL OPINIONS FOR, IF NOTHING ELSE, TO SERVE AS

COMPELLING EVIDENCE TO THE POTENTIAL LENDERS THAT THIS IS A SOUND DEAL.

4. Signup Material for participants \$0
(but it will take me 15 hours to create it) HE JUST NEEDS TO FOCUS ALL OF HIS TIME TO GET THIS DONE. NO REAL \$\$ INVOLVED. BUT, HE REALLY NEEDS TO DROP EVERYTHING.

5. Contracts between-- SAME AS ABOVE

Charity and Creative Fundraising \$0
(but it will take me 10 hours to create it)

Charity and Trust \$0 (but it
will take me 20 hours to create it)

Elder and Charity \$0 (but it
will take me 30+ hours to create it)

6. Review of Contracts \$10K (maybe
not needed) AS HE SAID, IT MAY NOT BE NEEDED

7. Create Foundation \$4K (per
Rodney) THIS COULD ACTUALLY BE UPWARDS OF \$5K.

8. Expenses to get the Funds \$5K (maybe
less) NOT SURE WHAT THIS IS

TOTAL \$78K PROBABLY CLOSER TO \$55K-60K IF WE WATCH OUR P'S AND Q'S. WITH THE MONEY REMAINING IN THE ACCOUNT, THE ACTUAL NUMBER IS PROBABLY AROUND 45K. I THINK THAT DUANE PADDED THE NUMBERS TO BE ON THE SAFE SIDE. I DON'T GET THE SENSE HE'S A SPENDER (BASED ON THE SWIDLER BERLIN FIGHT OVER THE FEES).

We have about \$15 K in Creative Fundraising Solutions now. We spent \$15-K on Steve already. We know that the trust is a viable vehicle for the transaction and it gives us considerable flexibility when adding groups. Trust could be done in 2 weeks (maybe less) if we start right away.

Do you want to go forward with this this? AT THE VERY LEAST, YOU NEED TO APPROVE THE TRUST STUFF AS THIS WILL TAKE A COUPLE OF WEEKS TO COMPLETE.

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 9:27 AM
To: Reiston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: [REDACTED]

Please check to see if we get the check for Atr today and if not, let me know asap.
Thanks.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 10:19 AM
To: jacka [REDACTED]
Subject: [REDACTED]

Do you know if the [REDACTED] has received additional contributions and when?

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 16, 2000 9:31 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: groups

When Ralph next needs money, it is going to this group instead of ATR. Please remind me at the appropriate time. Thanks.

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

From: EAHoback@ [redacted] (mailto:EAHoback@ [redacted])
Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2000 4:24 PM
To: jacka@ [redacted]
Subject: Re: groups

The address for National Conservative Alliance is

[redacted]

Contact: Chairman, Timothy Fisher

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2000 9:07 AM
To: Plocki, Julie (DC)
Subject: RE: URGENT: Check from Elot

Pls call me on this asap. Cell

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Plocki, Julie (DC) <JulieP@...>
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@...>
Sent: Fri May 26 10:04:02 2000
Subject: RE: URGENT: Check from Elot

the only fedex that came in for you today is from Dave Parcells & ELottery.

Viola is not in yet, said she was going to call your cell to let you know that she is just now going to the bank.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, May 25, 2000 5:25 PM
To: Plocki, Julie (DC); Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: URGENT: Check from Elot
Importance: High

Did we receive in Federal Express today a check from elot for National Center for Public Policy Research? If we did not, please immediately page me with Bob Daum's office and cell phone numbers. If we did, please let me know, and then send the check over to David Ridenour at the National Center and collect from him a check post dated to Tuesday (or Wednesday if he wants) of next week for \$25K (the amount of the check we are sending to him. Thanks.

GTG-E000034603

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 30, 2000 5:42 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Jim Ellis - AEG contribution

Tell him that it is not going to AEG and I have chatted with Ed about this. Don't tell him where it went, though.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 30, 2000 3:51 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Jim Ellis - AEG contribution

Do you remember the \$25K contribution the Choctaws issued to AEG which we returned and then asked them to reissue to NCPFR? Well, Jim Ellis called to find out the status of the contribution because he's expecting the money to go to AEG still. What should I say?

GTG-E000034600

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 31, 2000 5:56 PM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Revised invoice for NCPPR

Fine, but leave off the wire info and please (Susan) call Amy to tell her that this invoice is only for records and they owe me nothing more than the funds which come in. Tell her we are happy to put that in writing if they want, but I didn't think she would want to have that kind of document around. Her call, though.

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 31, 2000 6:13 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Revised invoice for NCPPR

Jack - here is the invoice that you asked for. Let me know if it is ok.

JACK ABRAMOFF
 [REDACTED]

INVOICE

May 31, 2000

TO: National Center for Public Policy Research
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

Description:

Airfares for the Scotland Trip:

8 plane tickets	\$49,579.20
Hotel	\$8,300.00
Transportation	\$2,200.00

TOTAL \$60,079.20

Payment due: \$60,079.20

Please remit payment to:
 Jack Abramoff
 [REDACTED]

GTG-E000034598

If you prefer to wire the funds, please refer to the instructions below:

Wiring Instructions

Beneficiary Bank: Nations Bank

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Beneficiary Account: [REDACTED]
Jack and Pam Abramoff

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000034599

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 6:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Bob Daum

Have checks come in for this?

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 12:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Bob Daum

(212) 980-5172
ATR \$80K
Ralph fee \$20K
Radio campaign
TVC \$25K

GTG-E000032235

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 1:21 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

They do not want credit.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 2:16 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Do you know if elot wants credit for making a contribution to ATR?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 11:13 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Copy all. Send TVC check to Lou. Call Grover, tell him I am in Michigan and that I have two checks for him totaling 160 and need a check back for Faith and Family for \$150K. If that is OK, send over to him via courier. If you don't get him or there are any problems, try to get me on the cell constantly.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 10:45 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Give a check from Grover (1) 2 checks for \$80K payable to ATR and (2) 1 check to TVC for \$25K. Let me know exactly what to do next. Send to Grover? Send to Rev. Lou?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 21, 2000 5:30 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Prob receive 2 more fed ex 2 checks for atr for \$80k each. If no let me know. If yes, I have to call grover first be4 u send over to get atr checks for faith and family

Jack Abramoff

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC) <SusanR@██████████>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@██████████>
 Sent: Wed Jun 21 17:27:49 2000
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

What's the status of this? Ralph was checking.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 07, 2000 7:54 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

22
 GTG-E000078954

Thanks. We are going to get a check from elot to ATR and then a check from ATR to Faith and Family. We'll get it from ATR and fed ex it from our office. Keep this address handy. Thanks.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 07, 2000 7:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Faith & Family Alliance

Ralph gave me this address:

Faith & Family Alliance

[REDACTED]

Attn: Robin Vanderwall

[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, June 26, 2000 4:44 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: NCPPR request

Please call [REDACTED] to make sure this is processed.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Monday, June 26, 2000 12:45 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: NCPPR request
Importance: High

[REDACTED] received my sports suite invoice and my request for \$40K to NCPPR. The sports suites check is going out tomorrow. She told Neff that they've already sent \$25K to NCPPR in May and she wanted to know if this request was absolutely necessary because they pool of funds is running low.

GTG-E000047196

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 3:41 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Prepare an email I can send to her. We still have that choctaw check right?

 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC) <SusanR@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC) <ViolaL@ [REDACTED]>; Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Fri Jun 30 16:38:25 2000
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

I talked w/ Tony who talked w/ Susan H. He said we're OK. She just wants to make sure that if someone starts asking questions that Amy Ridenour knows about these #s. Jack, are you going to let Amy know?

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 4:37 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

I ended up speaking to Susan Hirschmann. I told her we had technical difficulties and I could not email the information and that I couldn't fax them in time for their deadline. I confirmed that the figures pertained only to the Hirschmanns, the DeLays and Tony. The hotel, meals and travel were multiplied by 8 days and the grand total figure that I gave to her was \$75,600. I told her these figures came from the final bookkeeping efforts at NCPFR. She asked me for a name and I said I would get back to her.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 4:22 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Tony said:
 \$6800 for flights per person
 \$300 per night for hotel
 \$120 per day per person for meals
 \$500 per day for transportation

Viola - make sure Morgan knows that this is from NCPFR - not PGERM!

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 11:12 PM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC); Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Let's discuss in the morning. We should give them the most minimal numbers for cost of the hotel (do not include golf), food and plays. Susan, please call Ed (or Tony if you can't get him) to get guidance as to how much we should report to them. Let me know what they say. Thanks.

22
 GTG-E000034370

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 5:12 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Financial Disclosure
 Importance: High

Please see below. Can we talk about this so that I know how to handle this. Thanks

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

From: Middlemas, Morgan [SMTP:Morgan.Middlemas@██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 5:10 PM
 To: 'Llewellyn, Viola (DC)'
 Subject: Financial Disclosure
 Importance: High

Viola,

Hope you are doing well! If you will recall, our financial disclosure forms from the England/Scotland trip are due tomorrow afternoon. I will have everything together on my end by lunchtime and will forward all the numbers to you. I would appreciate if you would send me your information as well.

Forgive me if this is repetitive, I just want to make sure that you have all the details. The information needs to be broken down into 4 categories for each couple:

- Transportation
- Food
- Lodging
- Other (plays, etc)

Please call if you have any questions. Thank you for your assistance!

Morgan

GTG-E000034371

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 3:58 PM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Amy Ridenour, but tell her that Amy just had twins and is not back at it yet.

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 4:37 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

I ended up speaking to Susan Hirschmann. I told her we had technical difficulties and I could not email the information and that I couldn't fax them in time for their deadline. I confirmed that the figures pertained only to the Hirschmanns, the DeLays and Tony. The hotel, meals and travel were multiplied by 8 days and the grand total figure that I gave to her was \$75,600. I told her these figures came from the final bookkeeping efforts at NCPPR. She asked me for a name and I said I would get back to her.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Friday, June 30, 2000 4:22 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Tony said:
 \$8800 for flights per person
 \$300 per night for hotel
 \$120 per day per person for meals
 \$500 per day for transportation

Viola - make sure Morgan knows that this is from NCPPR - not PGERM!

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 11:12 PM
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC); Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Financial Disclosure

Let's discuss in the morning. We should give them the most minimal numbers for cost of the hotel (do not include golf, food and plays. Susan, please call Ed (or Tony if you can't get him) to get guidance as to how much we should report to them. Let me know what they say. Thanks.

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

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 5:12 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Financial Disclosure
 Importance: High

Please see below. Can we talk about this so that I know how to handle this. Thanks

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

From: Middemas, Morgan [SMTP:Morgan.Middemas@████████████████████]
 Sent: Thursday, June 29, 2000 5:10 PM

To: 'Llewellyn, Viola (DC)'
Subject: Financial Disclosure
Importance: High

Viola,

Hope you are doing well! If you will recall, our financial disclosure forms from the England/Scotland trip are due tomorrow afternoon. I will have everything together on my end by lunchtime and will forward all the numbers to you. I would appreciate if you would send me your information as well.

Forgive me if this is repetitive, I just want to make sure that you have all the details. The information needs to be broken down into 4 categories for each couple:

Transportation
Food
Lodging
Other (plays, etc)

Please call if you have any questions. Thank you for your assistance!

Morgan

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, July 10, 2000 1:01 PM
To: 'ralph@[REDACTED]'
Subject: Re: spot

Perfect

Jack Abramoff

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

From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[REDACTED]>
To: 'jacka[REDACTED]' <jacka[REDACTED]>
Sent: Mon Jul 10 13:26:34 2000
Subject: spot

Here is the script:

Teaching children to do the right thing in today's dangerous culture is hard enough.

Now a new study has found that 68 percent of U.S. teens on the Internet are being exposed to pornography and gambling web sites.

Congress could fix this by outlawing gambling on the Internet altogether. But instead it may pass a bill that legalizes Internet gambling on horse and dog race tracks...from your child's computer.

Call your Congressman today. Tell him to close the Internet loophole for gambling on horse and dog racing. Tell him to stand up for our children and to say "no" to the powerful gambling lobby.

Call your Congressman at [REDACTED]. That's [REDACTED]. Tell him that if he legalizes any Internet gambling, he's gambling with his election in November.

Paid for by the Traditional Values Coalition

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, July 10, 2000 8:26 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: spot

Please let me know when we are up and running.

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

From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@██████████)
Sent: Monday, July 10, 2000 1:27 PM
To: 'jacka@██████████'
Subject: spot

Here is the script:

Teaching children to do the right thing in today's dangerous culture is hard enough.

Now a new study has found that 68 percent of U.S. teens on the Internet are being exposed to pornography and gambling web sites.

Congress could fix this by outlawing gambling on the Internet altogether. But instead it may pass a bill that legalizes Internet gambling on horse and dog race tracks...from your child's computer.

Call your Congressman today. Tell him to close the Internet loophole for gambling on horse and dog racing. Tell him to stand up for our children and to say "no" to the powerful gambling lobby.

Call your Congressman at ██████████. That's ██████████. Tell him that if he legalizes any Internet gambling, he's gambling with his election in November.

Paid for by the Traditional Values Coalition

LOTTERY, INC.

2465

REFERENCE NO.	DESCRIPTION	INVOICE DATE	INVOICE AMOUNT	DISCOUNT TAKEN	AMOUNT PAID
AUG Contribut		8/24/00	25,000.00		25,000.00
CHECK DATE	CHECK NO.	PAYEE		DISCOUNTS TAKEN	CHECK AMOUNT
8/24/00	2465	Toward Tradition			\$25,000.00

Lottery LOTTERY, INC.

NET
NEW HAVEN CT 06510
51-57/119

2465

Memo:
 2465 AUG 24, 2000 *****\$25,000.00
 CHECK NO. DATE AMOUNT

PAY TO THE ORDER OF
 Twenty-Five Thousand and 0/100 Dollars
 Toward Tradition
 Preston Gates - J. Abramoff

James Abramoff
 AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

IF SECURITY FEATURES INCLUDED, DETAILS ON BACK B

GTG008397-JA-P

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2000 3:40 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: help

Response from Amy?

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour@████████████████████]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2000 6:43 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Re: help

I want to talk with David and he is out right now (he is very imaginative about things like this), but NCPFR has in the past given out a "Winston Churchill Memorial Award." It has been since the Cold War that we've awarded it, but it is a real award, not a fake one. The purpose of the award is to honor people who have taken steps to protect freedom, even if they could not gain personally from their efforts. Past awardees included Senator Bill Armstrong (R-CO) and Rep. Bill Carney (R-NY) for their work against the nuclear freeze when the freeze was politically-popular. We could legitimately give you this award for not only your long-standing dedication to promoting freedom abroad, but you work against oppressive regulations at home (a current preoccupation of ours), and your work for democracy in Russia (hence us giving it to you in '97). And you could legitimately tell the Cosmos folks that you had won an award that a Senator and a Congressman had also received, should that be helpful.

And it comes with a handsome plaque.... <g>

GTG-E000034388

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 16, 2000 7:53 PM
 To: Ed Buckham
 Subject: RE: crane/ravens

Sorry about this Ed. How much is it again? Would it be alright to get the payment from somewhere other than Amy's group?

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

From: Ed Buckham [mailto:ed@████████████████████]
 Sent: Monday, October 16, 2000 7:21 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: crane/ravens

Jack, I hate to bother you on this note, but I am still carrying the DeLay/Hirschmann etc. bills on my American Express Sign and Travel and the interest keeps adding up. Any hope on reimbursement by Amy's group? Susan R. has the receipts. Thanks Ed

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@████████████████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 5:10 PM
 To: Ed Buckham
 Subject: RE: crane/ravens

You have the good (lower) box. No word yet from the tribes, but I'll push. I am not sure Terry realizes what I have asked for, based on an email I sent to him. Anyway, I'll push.

We were honored Wendy and you came on Saturday night. I thought Rabbi Lapin and Rabbi Lipman were both wonderful. Levi was relieved not to have to give his speech, but it was too late, I thought. He had some wonderful things to say, but since the first commandment of the Torah is "don't be a fool", I was confident this superceded the desire to have him give a long speech on Biblical analysis at 11 PM.

Let's chat whenever you want on Paul.

Regards.

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

From: Ed Buckham [mailto:ed@████████████████████]
 Sent: Tuesday, October 10, 2000 4:59 PM
 To: 'jack@████████████████████'
 Subject: crane/ravens

Jack, two questions. Which box do we have for the Crane event. Is it the good one or the other one. Also, any word from Terry or Choctaws on giving to his state pac and if so, when can we expect it. I am bugging you because Crane's guy keeps calling me every day. Thanks Ed

PS We had a great time the other night. You should be proud! Also, Paul Erickson wants to get together. Can you give me a call and let's talk about his idea.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 10:53 AM
To: Jennifer Kuhn
Subject: RE: may 9th

Thanks Jennifer.

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@██████████]
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 10:19 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: may 9th

<< File: Choctaw.doc >> Jack-

I received Choctaw's check yesterday and sent out this thank you to Chief Martin.

Thanks!

Jen

<<Choctaw.doc>>

Jennifer Kuhn
Vice President, Finance
Americans for Tax Reform
██

ph: ██████████
fax: ██████████
www.atr.org

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5/4/01

GTG-E000033391

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2001 11:32 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: question

I am just going to have CCS donate the money directly to the Torah School. I want the deductions for other income.

—Original Message—

From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2001 7:01 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: question

The bottom line is no, you won't owe taxes on most of the income.

The \$100K goes into your gross income. The deduction is not dollar for dollar because high income tax payers' deductions are limited somewhat (for the next few years until the President's new tax law fixes that up).

Now that you have consulting income from CCS, we will be setting up a schedule C for you where you get to deduct certain business expenses dollar for dollar (non GT expenses). for example your home computer, and other unreimbursed expenses. so the 100K won't even show up in gross income as 100K, but rather a reduced amount. that should take care of any deductions you lost due to the current tax law for high earners.

I am also going to look into setting up a self employed retirement plan where you put roughly 30K. that 30k would offset the Consulting income as well.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 12:25 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

Not if we are going to a large sum to taxes.

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

From: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 1:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

Gail, who you aptly pegged as conservative, is definitely leaning toward having the money invoiced from you personally rather than through Livsar. She thinks that if we sit down and examine all of your non-reimbursable expenses that you will fair better on this one.

If that be the case, I could invoice Mike immediately and get the money into your account (which we would then presumably transfer into Livsar).

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 12:47 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

Correlation?

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

From: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 12:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

Let me just clarify a few points:

- (1) Is the check for 100k being made out to the Torah School to avoid taxes on your end?
- (2) If you want to have Livsar invoice CCS for expenses/goods, I believe that there needs to be a correlation between the two in order for that to be legitimate right?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 8:44 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: torah school loan

Let's have CCS write a check for \$100K to the Torah School and then have them pay off that loan at Harbor. Mike is in Texas today, but let's have him do it when he returns. Can you remind him and get it done? That will clear some credit lines if we need it.

Also, in terms of Gail's great scheme to have me take all the CCS money and pay taxes, I really have to stress strongly that we must work this out so that this tranche of money is not dissipated by taxes. She loves to be super conservative, but we need to work this out right and not pay more than we should. Some of that money should be a payment from CCS to Livsar for services/goods, and not taxable. We need to really focus on this, since this is the money we will have to open this restaurant.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 3:49 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

It's a tax deductible donation.

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

From: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 4:31 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: torah school loan

How does Mike accomplish writing a check to the Torah School without taking a hit on taxes?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 24, 2001 8:44 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: torah school loan

Let's have CCS write a check for \$100K to the Torah School and then have them pay off that loan at Harbor. Mike is in Texas today, but let's have him do it when he returns. Can you remind him and get it done? That will clear some credit lines if we need it.

Also, in terms of Gail's great scheme to have me take all the CCS money and pay taxes, I really have to stress strongly that we must work this out so that this tranche of money is not dissipated by taxes. She loves to be super conservative, but we need to work this out right and not pay more than we should. Some of that money should be a payment from CCS to Lixsar for services/goods, and not taxable. We need to really focus on this, since this is the money we will have to open this restaurant.

GTG-E000012227

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 9:55 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Ohio Tribes - Initiative Info.

Great. this is super. Thanks.

—Original Message—
From: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, March 21, 2002 9:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Ohio Tribes - Initiative Info.

Per our conversation, Here is some info. on Ohio tribes and getting an initiative on the ballot in the state. So you know, I will be having lunch (at Sigs of course) next Wednesday with Tom Whatman, former Executive Director of the Ohio Republican Party, and new Ohio lobbyist who wants to talk about potential business deals with the firm (as well as creation of some sort of 501(c)4 to raise soft money for GOTV in a post McCain-Feingold world). I mention this because I believe he has helped run an initiative or two in Ohio and I can (generically of course) pick his brain on the process - I'll tell him Ney is thinking of putting an initiative on the ballot to get rid of some of the statewide testing mandates on schools which he is. Anyway, I'll let you know what I find out.

—Original Message—
From: Litwack, Maury (Intern-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:14 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Tribes and Initiative Info

Ohio Tribes (None are federally recognized)

1. Allegheny Nation (Ohio Band)
2. Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band, petitioned 3/13/79
3. Piqua Sept of Ohio Shawnees, petitioned 4/16/91
4. N.E. Miami Inter- Tribal Council, petitioned 4/9/79

<< File: The basic steps to do an initiative petition in Ohio.doc >>

GTG-E000036069

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] 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: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 7:53 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: our friend

Asked if we could help (as in cover) a Scotland golf trip for him and some staff (his committee chief of staff) and members for August. The trip will be quite expensive (we did this for another member - you know who) 2 years ago. I anticipate that the total cost - if he brings 3-4 members and wives - would be around \$100K or more. I can probably get another one of my tribes to cover some of it. Let me know if you guys could do \$50K and I'll get them to do the other \$50K, though I'll have to get him to bring someone who has relevance to their matters - our friend does not as you can imagine. They would probably do the trip through the Capital Athletic Foundation as an educational mission. I have to start planning this now to make sure they can get tee times. Can you let me know if this would be OK, and possibly start to process it as a donation to Capital Athletic Foundation? Thanks.

GTG-E000076582

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:13 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Ouch on Ralph, right?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:56 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Ouch

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:54 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

I got a call from Ralph yesterday telling me that there is a 50% chance that he will join us. I grimaced, but said that he has to let us know fast. He said he would. I think he won't come, but frankly, I think we should make some additional slots anyway, in case we can get a few more folks. I am going to arrange.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Capital Athletic Foundation

Nice work if you can get it
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudy@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Fri Jun 07 08:44:37 2002
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Yahoo!!!! That's \$50K, assuming Sag Chip comes through, which it will. I would imagine I could get \$50K from Tigua for this. I'll hit Choctaw for \$25K. that should cover us, but now let's run up the score!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 8:36 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: Capital Athletic Foundation

Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Edlin, Richard A. (Shld-NY-CR) <EDLINR@ [REDACTED]>

To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudytc@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Fri Jun 07 07:15:14 2002
 Subject: Re: Capital Athletic Foundation

Approved, hope it will do us some real good!

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

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

From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudytc@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Edlin, Richard A. (Shld-NY-CP) <EDLINRR@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Jun 06 13:39:07 2002
 Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

is \$25k too much to ask for?

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

From: Edlin, Richard A. (Shld-NY-CP)
 Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 12:06 PM
 To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Capital Athletic Foundation

Sure, how much?

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

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

From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudytc@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Edlin, Richard A. (Shld-NY-CP) <EDLINRR@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Thu Jun 06 11:49:17 2002
 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) <rudytc@ [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: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 1:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Stoli and Sag Chip

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 17, 2002 8:10 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Stoli and Sag Chip

Please hit them both to get checks for the Capital Athletic Foundation asap. we need to get this cash in hand. I am pushing Tigua and Choclaw. We are still short of full cost coverage (which is around \$115K.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 11:29 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Try Sag, but don't push it. better that we get the money smoothly.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 19, 2002 10:09 AM
To: abramoffj@abramoff.com
Subject: RE: Saginaw

I'll take care of it. I don't think we can swing that from Sag - but I will at least try - their lawyer is kind of a pin headed type.

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

From: abramoffj@abramoff.com [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 18, 2002 7:51 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Great. can you get to [redacted] and get that \$ for CAF? I really need it. also, might need you to direct one of the \$500K's coming to CAF. can you do that?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlon.com]
Sent: Tuesday, June 18, 2002 4:06 PM
To: abramoffj@abramoff.com
Subject: Saginaw

Hey - I am working out the paperwork with Saginaw's lawyers right now. I'm going to give him a break and let them pay 1.9 up front then 500k and 500k. He is really feeling the heat and they have been pretty good about payment in the past. Just an FYI.

We should have the cash by the end of the week.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
mike@scanlon.com

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REDACTED

GTG-E000011737

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 8:33 AM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: another possible attendee tonight

I think Holly from my office has been in touch with Jennifer about another possible attendee tonight. I am not sure we can pull it off on our end, but if we can, it will be a representative of the Congo. I have asked them for \$100K for ATR. If they come, I think we'll get it. If he is there, please go up to him (he'll be African) and welcome him. It will probably not be the person with whom I have been dealing (their Special Ambassador), but will probably have heard my name from him. If you could introduce him to Karl and make sure he gets a picture, that would be great. I am in California. Please email me tonight if you can as to whether he does come and if it goes smoothly, since I want to hit them fast on the ATR \$. Thanks Grover.

GTG-E000031865

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 6:02 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: thanks so much!

Grover, thanks so much for accommodating Scott Hamilton and Ambassador Nkashama last night. I am only sorry I was unable to attend. I spoke with the Ambassador today and he is moving my ATR request forward. Hope to see you soon.

GTG-E000031864

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, July 19, 2002 11:57 AM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE: CREA year end report

Wow, this is great. my pleasure!

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

From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Monday, July 15, 2002 11:15 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: CREA year end report

Hi Jack:

Just an FYI - we are filing our annual report for the IRS and we use the same accounting firm that ATR does. This is the first time that CREA has had to do this b/c we used to be a 527 before the law changed and we reorganized. Anyway, the report to the IRS shows that 71.5% of the money we took in went to "fostering environmental education through grassroots education and research - program services." That's a good number. We are also on track to show growth for our next report - thanks to you - which is the type of thing that the IRS looks for.

Thanks for everything Jack!
--Italia

GTG-E000031867

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack.abramoff@dcgov.gov] 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.

GTG-E000026653

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:45 AM
To: Chris
Subject: RE: ATR

Thanks.

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@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: <cpetrasc@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.
>
>
>

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> To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to
> postmaster@redacted

GTG-E000057439

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 2:46 PM
To: 'Gail Halpern'
Subject: FW: transfers to Eshkol

 
 Eshkol CAF Investment -
 Payments.xls (21 KB, Eshkol Academ...)

I am about to get another \$2.2M from CCS. Mike claims they have sent me over \$10M this year. Can you track where all that money has gone?

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

From: Laura Lippy (mailto:lauralippy@[REDACTED])
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 2:13 PM
To: GRHalpern@[REDACTED]
Cc: Rodney Lane; abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: transfers to Eshkol

Please see the attached two spreadsheets for details. This is what I have calculated:

Wire Transfers from CAF to Eshkol	\$395,000.00	\$110,641.00 (this includes the \$40K to Rifkin,
Checks		
Livingston for the Laytonville prop)		
Rabbi David Lapin	\$57,299.00 (including his rent)	
Colin Stevens	\$20,326.91	
Total to date	\$583,266.91	

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

From: GRHalpern@[REDACTED] (mailto:GRHalpern@[REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, September 05, 2002 10:14 PM
To: lauralippy@[REDACTED]
Cc: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: transfers to Eshkol

Laura, can you please tell us how much money to date went from CAF to Eshkol. please include the costs that CAF paid directly, like the gym floor.

also, just checking, but JA personal account never gave money to Eshkol. right?

thanks.

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

Business: [REDACTED]
 Fax: [REDACTED]
 Email: gshalpern@[REDACTED]

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