

109TH CONGRESS }
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COMMITTEE PRINT

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MINORITY STAFF REPORT
INVESTIGATION OF JACK ABRAMOFF'S USE OF
TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS

PREPARED BY THE MINORITY STAFF OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE

CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, *Chairman*
MAX BAUCUS, *Ranking Member*



OCTOBER 2006

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INVESTIGATION OF JACK ABRAMOFF'S USE OF TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION

In September 2005, the United States Senate Committee on Finance (“the Committee”) began an investigation into the actions of tax-exempt organizations relating to the lobbying operations of Jack Abramoff. The role tax-exempt organizations played in Mr. Abramoff’s client relationships first came to light during an investigation by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. In that investigation, e-mails from and to Mr. Abramoff showed that he furthered his lobbying enterprise with the help of several tax-exempt organizations, which took contributions arranged by Mr. Abramoff and undertook actions on Mr. Abramoff’s clients’ behalf. In the final report on its investigation, the Committee on Indian Affairs observed that tax-exempt organizations were apparently “serving or being used as extensions of for-profit lobbying operations.”¹

The Senate rules give the Committee on Finance jurisdiction over revenue matters, and thus the Committee is responsible for conducting oversight of the administration of the federal tax system, including matters involving abusive acts by tax-exempt organizations. The Committee takes particular interest in ensuring that tax laws affecting donors and exempt organizations operate in a manner that benefits the American public. This investigation has been conducted not only to inform the Committee and the public about the specific organizations connected to Mr. Abramoff, but also to provide a broader picture of issues to be considered by Congress and the public with regard to tax-exempt organizations, including charitable organizations.

On September 22, 2005, Senator Charles Grassley and Senator Max Baucus, Chairman and Ranking Democratic Member of the Committee, authorized, on behalf of the Committee, the issuance of subpoenas to Mr. Abramoff’s former employers, Greenberg Traurig LLP and Preston Gates LLP. The subpoenas sought any and all communications of Jack Abramoff as well as financial records.

Along with the e-mails and other documents provided to the Committee in response to the subpoenas, Committee Minority staff reviewed e-mails made public by the Committee on Indian Affairs. The Committee on Indian Affairs also shared with the Committee e-mails within the jurisdiction of the Committee that the Committee on Indian Affairs had not previously made public.

¹“Gimme Five”—*Investigation of Tribal Lobbying Matters*, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, June 22, 2006, hereinafter referred to as the “Gimme Five” report.

In its review of the materials, the Committee's Minority staff discovered actions taken by several tax-exempt organizations that raise serious legal and policy questions. The Minority staff focused on five organizations that appeared, in the context of the reviewed material, to be willing to provide certain services for Mr. Abramoff's clients in exchange for payments. They are:

- Americans for Tax Reform,
- National Center for Public Policy Research,
- Toward Tradition,
- Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, and
- Citizens Against Government Waste.

FINDINGS

The Minority staff found that some officers of these organizations were generally available to carry out Mr. Abramoff's requests for help with his clients in exchange for cash payments. The help they provided varied from organization to organization, but included:

- helping to hide sources of funds by laundering payments and then disbursing funds at Mr. Abramoff's direction,
- taking payments in exchange for writing newspaper columns or press releases that put Mr. Abramoff's clients in a favorable light,
- introducing Mr. Abramoff's clients to government officials in exchange for payment, and
- agreeing to act as a front organization for congressional trips paid for by Mr. Abramoff's clients.

Media reports indicate that employees of other organizations have resigned when similar allegations came to light. In December 2005, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, Doug Bandow, resigned after admitting that Mr. Abramoff paid him for op-ed articles that were favorable to Mr. Abramoff's clients. Mr. Bandow admitted to taking money for writing between 12 and 24 articles over a period of years, beginning in the mid 1990s. Mr. Bandow called his actions a "lapse in judgment" and resigned.²

E-mails subpoenaed by the Committee do not implicate the Cato Institute. The correspondence clearly shows, however, that the tax-exempt organizations listed above—not just the individuals directly involved—took payments when their employees agreed to write such articles favorable to Mr. Abramoff's clients.

This type of activity indicates that these tax-exempt organizations engaged in what amounted to profit-seeking and private benefit behavior inconsistent with their tax-exempt status. And by virtue of the tax benefits, other taxpayers implicitly subsidized this behavior. Thus, these tax-exempt organizations appear to have perpetrated a fraud on other taxpayers.

² Eamon Javers, *Op Eds for Sale*, BusinessWeek Online, Dec. 16, 2005. See Appendix.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE INVESTIGATION

All the groups in question are organized under sections 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (IRC). Unless otherwise specified, all sections referenced in this report are found in the IRC. The 501(c)(3) organizations are the National Center for Public Policy Research (NCPFR), Toward Tradition and Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW).³ The 501(c)(4) organizations are Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) and Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (CREA).⁴

In conducting its investigation, the Committee Minority staff:

- reviewed e-mails provided to the Committee in response to subpoenas issued in September 2005,
- reviewed e-mails provided to the Committee by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs,
- reviewed e-mails that the Committee on Indian Affairs released to the public,
- reviewed publicly available Forms 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax, for the organizations in question,
- reviewed publicly available information relating to the organizations in question, including reports, financial statements and press releases,
- interviewed representatives of the organizations, both in person and through written questions,⁵
- reviewed media accounts published since the *The Washington Post* first reported on Mr. Abramoff's financial relationships with Indian tribes in February 2004,
- obtained the assistance of the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation, with respect to technical explanations of present law pertaining to tax-exempt organizations and charitable contributions, and
- obtained the assistance of Senate legal counsel in seeking documents.

LIMITATIONS

The reviewed materials describe scenarios in which current tax law may have been violated. The Minority staff notes, however, that additional information may be required to make such determinations.

³Citizens Against Government Waste is affiliated with a 501(c)(4) organization called Council of Citizens Against Government Waste, but the reviewed materials do not mention Council of Citizens Against Government Waste.

⁴Americans for Tax Reform is affiliated with a 501(c)(3) organization, Americans for Tax Reform Foundation.

⁵Committee staff invited Italia Federici, president of CREA, to be interviewed by staff. Her attorney declined the request on Ms. Federici's behalf, stating that she would plead her Fifth Amendment rights rather than answer staff questions.

CURRENT LAW

Organizations described in IRC section 501(c)(3) generally are exempt from federal income tax and are eligible to receive tax-deductible contributions. A section 501(c)(3) organization must be organized and operated exclusively for one or more tax-exempt purposes constituting the basis of its tax exemption. A section 501(c)(3) organization is not operated exclusively for exempt purposes if more than an insubstantial part of its activities are not in furtherance of an exempt purpose.⁶

The Supreme Court has held that the “presence of a single [non-exempt] purpose, if substantial in nature, will destroy the exemption regardless of the number or importance of truly [exempt] purposes.”⁷ Applying this test, the Court held that an organization with an “important” nonexempt purpose was subject to tax.

An organization described in section 501(c)(4) must be organized primarily for the promotion of social welfare. This “primary purpose” test is satisfied if an organization is primarily engaged in promoting in some way the common good and general welfare of the people of the community. If an activity that does not promote the social welfare, alone or taken together with other activities that do not promote the social welfare, constitute the primary activities of an organization described in section 501(c)(4), the organization would not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4). Some courts have held that a section 501(c)(4) organization is not entitled to continued exempt status if its non-exempt activities are “substantial”. See, e.g., *Vision Service Plan v. United States*, 2006–1 U.S.T.C. (CCH) paragraph 50, 173.

Similarly, if a section 501(c)(4) organization’s activities are merely incidental to, or secondary to, benefits provided to private persons, the organization generally would not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4).

Private Inurement and Private Benefit

Organizations described in section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) are subject to the prohibition against private inurement, under which no part of the net earnings of the organization may inure to the benefit of insiders of the organization, such as officers, directors and key employees. An organization that violates this prohibition may have its exemption revoked. As an alternative, or in addition, to revocation, a violation of the inurement prohibition may give rise to intermediate sanctions under IRC section 4958 against the disqualified person who receives an excess benefit and an organization

⁶Treas. Reg sec. 1.501(c)(3)–1(c)(1).

⁷*Better Business Bureau of Washington, D.C. v. United States*, 326 U.S. 279, 283 (1945).

manager who participates in an “excess benefit transaction” (essentially an inurement transaction) knowing that it is an excess benefit transaction.

In general, section 501(c)(3) (but not section 501(c)(4)) organizations also are prohibited from conferring more than an incidental private benefit on any individual or entity. This private benefit prohibition is broader than the private inurement proscription, in that the private benefit prohibition is not limited to benefits provided to insiders of the organization. If private benefit exists, it must be incidental in both a qualitative and quantitative sense to the public benefit. To be qualitatively incidental, a private benefit must occur as a necessary concomitant of the activity that benefits the public at large; in other words, the benefit to the public cannot be achieved without necessarily benefiting private individuals.⁸ Such benefits might also be characterized as indirect or unintentional. To be qualitatively incidental, a benefit must be insubstantial when viewed in relation to the public benefit conferred by the activity.⁹ If an activity provides a direct benefit to private interests, however, it does not matter if the benefit is qualitatively insubstantial—“the direct benefit is ‘deemed repugnant to the idea of an exclusively public purpose’ and the organization cannot be exempt under section 501(c)(3).”¹⁰

Unrelated Business Income Tax

The unrelated business income tax generally applies to (1) income derived from a trade or business, (2) that is regularly carried on by the organization and (3) that is not substantially related to the performance of the organization’s tax-exempt purposes. In very general terms, to be a trade or business, an activity must be carried on with the intent to earn a profit. To determine whether a trade or business is “regularly carried on,” one generally must compare the activity to similar activities conducted by taxable organizations.¹¹ In general, to be substantially related to an exempt purpose for purposes of unrelated business income tax, there must be a causal relationship, and the activity must contribute importantly to the achievement of the purpose.¹²

Lobbying and Campaign Activities

Organizations described in section 501(c)(4) generally may engage in an unlimited amount of lobbying, provided the lobbying is related to the organization’s exempt purposes. A section 501(c)(4) organization, however, may only engage in lobbying that is unrelated to its exempt purposes provided that such lobbying, together with other “unrelated” activities, are not the primary activities of the organization.

As indicated above, some courts have held that a “substantial” amount of nonexempt activity will defeat exemption as an organization described in section 501(c)(4). Unlike section 501(c)(3) organizations, section 501(c)(4) organizations are not subject to speci-

⁸ See *American Campaign Academy v. Commissioner*, 92 T.C. at 1076.

⁹ Bruce R. Hopkins, *The Law of Tax-Exempt Organizations*, sec. 19.10 (8th ed. 2003).

¹⁰ G.C.M. 37789 (Dec. 18, 1978).

¹¹ See, e.g., Treas. Reg. sec. 1.513-1(c)(2)(i).

¹² Treas. Reg. sec. 1.513-1(d)(2).

fied limits on the amount of lobbying activity that they may undertake; rather, the organization's lobbying activities (like its other activities) are examined to determine whether they are exempt or non-exempt activities for purposes of the section 501(c)(4) primary purpose test.

Other Relevant Tax Penalty Provisions

IRC Section 6701 generally imposes a monetary penalty against any person (1) who aids or assists in, procures, or advises with respect to, the preparation or presentation of any portion of a return, affidavit, claim or other document, (2) who knows (or has reason to believe) that such portion will be used in connection with any material matter arising under the internal revenue laws and (3) who knows that such portion (if so used) would result in an understatement of the liability for tax of another person. If, for example, it were established that an exempt organization had unrelated business taxable income, but did not report such income, persons involved in the failure to report the income could be liable for aiding and abetting the understatement of tax liability, provided that the specific requirements of section 6701 are met with respect to the assistance or advice provided in connection with the preparation of Form 990 or Form 990-T.

IRC Section 7206 imposes substantial criminal penalties (including monetary fines and/or imprisonment) in the event that a person (among other things) (1) makes and subscribes any return, statement or other document, that contains or is verified by a written declaration that is made under the penalties of perjury, and which he does not believe to be true and correct as to every material matter; or (2) willfully aids or assists in, or procures, counsels, or advises the preparation or presentation under, or in connection with any matter arising under, the internal revenue laws, of a return, affidavit, claim or other document, that is fraudulent or is false as to any material matter, whether or not such falsity or fraud is with the knowledge or consent of the person authorized or required to present such return, affidavit, claim or document. If, for example, an exempt organization had, but did not report, unrelated business taxable income, and the person who signed the organization's return under penalty of perjury knew that such income improperly was excluded from the return, then that person potentially could be subject to criminal penalties under section 7206. Also, any person who did not sign the return, but willfully aided in or advised regarding the preparation of a false or fraudulent return, arguably could be subject to penalties under section 7206.¹³

IRC Section 7201 imposes substantial criminal penalties (including fines and/or imprisonment) for tax evasion. Specifically, section 7201 provides that any person who willfully attempts in any manner to evade or defeat any federal tax or the payment of tax shall, in addition to other penalties under law, be guilty of a felony.

Charitable Contribution (and Other) Deductions

Under certain circumstances, a contribution to a membership organization (whether or not a section 501(c)(3) organization) that

¹³See also section 7207 (regarding fraudulent returns, statements or other documents).

would not be deductible as a charitable contribution may be deductible as a business expense under section 162. However, such a deduction generally is disallowed under IRC section 162(e) if the contribution is made for the purposes of facilitating lobbying. In addition, a charitable deduction for a contribution to a section 501(c)(3) organization generally will be denied in situations where the donee organization conducts lobbying activities on a matter of direct financial interest to the donor's trade or business, where a principal purpose of making the contribution is to avoid the lobbying expense disallowance rule under section 162(e).¹⁴

The definition of lobbying under section 162(e) is broader than the definition that is used, for example, for purposes of determining whether a section 501(c)(3) organization exceeded its lobbying limits. For example, under section 162(e), the term "lobbying" includes certain communications with the general public or with executive branch officials.

In general, a section 501(c)(4) organization that incurs lobbying and political expenditures (as described in section 162(e)) must provide notice to its members of the portion of dues allocable to such expenditures and must report such expenditures to the IRS.¹⁵ If a membership organization does not provide the requisite notices to its members, the organization must pay a tax at the highest corporate income tax rate on the amount of such expenditures.¹⁶

¹⁴ Sec. 170(f)(9).

¹⁵ Sec. 6033(e).

¹⁶ Sec. 6033(e)(2).

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

Americans for Tax Reform (“ATR”) describes itself as an organization that advocates for a system in which taxes are “simpler, fairer, flatter, more visible, and lower than they are today.”¹⁷ It states that government’s power to control one’s life derives from its power to tax and that such power should be minimized. On its IRS Form 990, the section 501(c)(4) organization lists its primary exempt purpose as increasing public awareness about the size and regulations of government and rallying support for lower taxes and smaller government.

ATR was founded in 1985 by Grover Norquist, who is its current president. According to media reports, he and Mr. Abramoff have been friends since they were college students in Massachusetts, where they organized support for Ronald Reagan’s presidential candidacy in 1980. When Mr. Abramoff became national chairman of the College Republicans, he made Mr. Norquist his executive director. The two later worked together at the conservative advocacy group Citizens for America (before Mr. Norquist founded ATR).

After Mr. Abramoff became a lobbyist in the mid-1990s, the two corresponded by e-mail, occasionally discussing proposed payments from Mr. Abramoff’s clients and what those clients wanted from ATR. Other ATR employees corresponded with Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues, as well.

Those e-mails from and to Mr. Abramoff, his colleagues and ATR officials indicate that ATR:

- accepted payments from clients of Mr. Abramoff with the agreement to write checks to third parties as Mr. Abramoff directed, with ATR retaining a portion of the funds on at least one occasion,
- accepted payments from clients of Mr. Abramoff with tacit or explicit agreements to perform services such as writing newspaper columns favorable to the clients, and
- accepted payments from clients of Mr. Abramoff while agreeing to introduce them to government officials, including then-White House Senior Advisor Karl Rove.

In the organization’s response to Minority staff questions, ATR’s attorney responded that as long as ATR spends its funds in keeping with its general purpose and permissible activities under the law, “there is no ‘abuse’ of ATR’s tax status by virtue of ATR’s involvement in state level, grassroots campaigns on issues.” ATR declined to respond to questions regarding the identity of, or contributions from, any donor.¹⁸

In an e-mail to Jeffrey Ballabon, then executive vice president of public affairs for Primedia Inc.’s Channel One Network, Mr.

¹⁷ ATR website, <http://www.atr.org/home/about/index.html>.

¹⁸ Letter from Cleta Mitchell, attorney for ATR, July 24, 2006.

Abramoff indicated how much he valued his relationship with Mr. Norquist. Mr. Abramoff told Mr. Ballabon that he strongly opposed putting another lobbyist in contact with Mr. Norquist: “We should not fully (or perhaps even partially) trust this guy and certainly we should not be giving our hard won assets or contacts. The quickest way to lose the interest of Sheldon, Grover et al is to ‘hand them over’ to another lobbyist.” Mr. Ballabon responded, “ABSOLUTELY! We are not sharing our friends.”

A. DISGUIISING THE SOURCE OF FUNDS

According to statements Mr. Abramoff and others made in their e-mail correspondence, ATR received payments from Mr. Abramoff’s clients¹⁹ and then wrote checks for similar amounts to organizations working with Ralph Reed, the president of Century Strategies. Mr. Reed worked with Mr. Abramoff fighting gambling initiatives that could potentially provide competition for Mr. Abramoff’s clients. In e-mails from Mr. Abramoff to his colleagues, Mr. Reed, Mr. Norquist and to himself, Mr. Abramoff discussed initiating and completing “pass through” financial arrangements in which contributions would flow through tax-exempt organizations to disguise the original source of the funds.

Last year Mr. Norquist told the *Boston Globe* that ATR passed along \$1.15 million of the \$1.5 million that ATR received from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians to anti-gambling groups trying to block a casino in Alabama.²⁰ E-mails indicate how those financial arrangements were made.²¹

On September 24, 1999, Mr. Abramoff sent himself a reminder:

Call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

On October 3, 1999, Mr. Abramoff sent another reminder to himself:

Grover and Ralph, we need a check to Ralph by Wednesday

On January 28, 2000, Mr. Abramoff asked Mr. Reed for names of groups through which to pay Mr. Reed:

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.

On February 2, 2000, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Reed regarding Amy Ridenour, president of the National Center for Public Policy Research:

She does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only. . . . Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.

¹⁹Lobbying disclosure reports for eLottery Inc. and Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians indicate that Abramoff represented them at the time of the payments described in the e-mails.

²⁰Michael Kranish, *Antitax activist says he got \$1.5 million from tribes*, *The Boston Globe*, May 13, 2005. See Appendix.

²¹The text of the e-mails included in this report appears as written in the original e-mails. In most cases, only excerpts are included. All e-mails cited in this report are included in the Appendix.

Mr. Reed wrote back:

Yes, it will.

On February 7, 2000, Mr. Abramoff told Mr. Reed:

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.

In her interview with the Committee on Indian Affairs, Nell Rogers with the Choctaw Tribe said she remembered discussing this idea with Mr. Abramoff. The Committee reported that Ms. Rogers said she discussed a vehicle for a 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 the time."²²

On February 17, 2000, Mr. Reed told Mr. Abramoff that pro-gambling forces were saturating the radio waves and aggressively lobbying the legislation:

They are now introducing a different local bill each day, trying to keep us on the defensive.

Mr. Abramoff responded by telling Mr. Reed to keep him posted on the anti-gambling initiative they were financing:

ATR will be sending a second \$300K today. How much more do we need? We can't lose this. Thanks.

On February 22, 2000, Mr. Abramoff sent himself a message with the subject line:

grover kept another \$25K!

On March 2, 2000, Mr. Abramoff asked Nell Rogers of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians for a \$300,000 check to Americans for Tax Reform. Someone in his office [redacted]²³ wrote back the following day:

Once ATR gets their check, should the entire \$300k be sent to the Alabama Christian Coalition again?

Mr. Abramoff replied:

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

On June 22, 2000, Susan Ralston, Mr. Abramoff's assistant, told Mr. Abramoff that she had checks from eLottery Inc., an Abramoff client. She asked about sending money to ATR and to Rev. Louis Sheldon, chairman of Traditional Values Coalition ("TVC"):

(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?

Mr. Abramoff responded:

²²"Gimme Five" report, p. 27.

²³Redacted by Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

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.

Tax Issues

The documents reviewed by the Minority staff raise several issues with respect to ATR's compliance with current tax laws. As a threshold issue, many of the activities alleged in the e-mails reviewed by the Minority staff indicate that ATR may not be primarily operating to further social welfare purposes, which is a necessary condition of tax-exempt status as a section 501(c)(4) organization. In addition, the documents raise questions whether ATR should have reported income from some of its activities as taxable income. Finally, the e-mails raise questions as to whether insiders at ATR, including Mr. Norquist, used ATR primarily for their own or Mr. Abramoff's private benefit. Violations such as these could, under certain circumstances, result in penalties under current law, including excise taxes on officers of ATR, revocation of ATR's exempt status, and even criminal tax fraud penalties.

First, if it were established that the transfers through ATR were undertaken for the sole purpose of concealing the identity of the transferors (pro-gambling interests) from the ultimate transferees (anti-gambling interests), ATR's facilitation of such transfers would not further ATR's tax-exempt purposes (or any legitimate social welfare purpose). Second, Ralph Reed told Abramoff that pro-gambling forces were engaging in aggressive lobbying and "introducing a different local bill each day, trying to keep us on the defensive." Abramoff responded, "ATR will be sending a second \$300K today." If it were established that ATR used the \$300,000 for lobbying relating to gambling issues, arguably such activity could be considered as unrelated to ATR's tax-exempt purposes.

If these transactions, together with any other activities that are unrelated to ATR's exempt purposes, constituted the primary activities of ATR, then ATR's primary purpose would not be a social welfare purpose and ATR would not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4).

In addition, if it were established that the benefits to the community resulting from ATR's activities were merely incidental to, or secondary to, benefits provided to Mr. Norquist and other private persons, ATR might not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4).

A strong case can be made that the "pass through" of anti-gambling funds was not related to ATR's exempt purposes, and that it constituted a trade or business regularly carried on by ATR. To the extent ATR recognized revenue as a result of the transactions, such revenue would be taxable as unrelated business taxable income. Whether the activity is a trade or business and is regularly carried on would require an inquiry into, among other issues, whether the activity was undertaken for a profit and whether the activity was undertaken with the frequency with which similar activities are undertaken by for-profit organizations.

The e-mails do not contain facts sufficient to show whether Mr. Norquist received more than fair market value compensation for the services he provided to the organization. In one e-mail, Mr. Abramoff states that he “need[s] to give Grover something from helping” with a “pass through” transaction. If it were established that this fee were in fact paid to Mr. Norquist by ATR (or if it were paid directly by Mr. Abramoff to Mr. Norquist for services that ATR provided to Mr. Abramoff or his clients) and Mr. Norquist did not earn the compensation by providing services to ATR with a value equal to or greater than the fee, the payment potentially could have resulted in an excess benefit to Mr. Norquist, who is an insider (or “disqualified person”). Under such circumstances, private inurement arguably also would have occurred, ATR could face revocation of its exempt status, and Mr. Norquist (in his capacity as a disqualified person and also possibly as an organization manager) could face penalty excise taxes (“intermediate sanctions”) under section 4958.

If it were established that contributions by an Abramoff corporate client to ATR were for lobbying within the meaning of section 162(e), then a business expense deduction should not have been claimed for such a contribution.

B. LOBBYING

According to e-mail correspondence, Mr. Norquist and others at ATR appear to have accepted payments to the organization in exchange for taking up the causes of Mr. Abramoff’s clients. There was even a discussion about whether such payments should become public on lobbying disclosure reports. In a January 30, 1996, e-mail, Bruce Heiman, a colleague at Preston Gates, wrote that he “thought that if it would be more than 10K and they were asking ATR to get involved on issues that their contributions to ATR would have to be disclosed.”

In written answers to Minority staff questions, Mr. Norquist and ATR officials declined to disclose information about donors to ATR, whether Mr. Abramoff’s clients contributed and when.

Brown-Forman

On October 22, 1995, one of Mr. Abramoff’s colleagues at Preston Gates suggested that they solicit help from Mr. Norquist as tax reconciliation legislation proceeded to conference. Mr. Abramoff responded by saying that Mr. Norquist did not want to personally represent Brown-Forman; instead, Mr. Norquist wanted a payment to ATR. Of Mr. Norquist, Mr. Abramoff wrote:

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, of course. . . . 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.

The next day, a colleague of Mr. Abramoff's responded, asking what Mr. Norquist would do in exchange for a payment of that amount to ATR. Pamela Garvie at Preston Gates wrote:

For example, would he send letters, make calls, do meetings, and offer advice?

Mr. Abramoff responded on October 24:

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 taxpayer 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.

Microsoft

On January 30, 1996, Bruce Heiman, a colleague of Mr. Abramoff at Preston Gates, discussed the fact that Microsoft had retained Mr. Norquist as a lobbyist and mentioned that under the then-new Lobbying Disclosure Act, Mr. Norquist would have to register:

That raises other issues (publicity). So one question occurs whether they could instead contribute to ATR. However, I thought that if it would be more than 10K and they were asking ATR to get involved on issues that their contributions to ATR would have to be disclosed.

Business Software Alliance

On May 10, 1998, James Lucier with ATR wrote to Mr. Abramoff asking for help getting money he thought was owed to him from an Abramoff client, Business Software Alliance ("BSA").²⁴ Mr. Lucier complained that the contribution to ATR was meant for him but that he had not received it.

What's more, there is a real risk that I will not get the staff support and resources I need to do the work on encryption that we are committed to do and which BSA, Heiman et al are expecting from us. I am also not getting the staff support I need to help Heiman in his postal issues, despite a \$20,000 contribution to ATR. I think I have a good relationship with Heiman, but sooner or later he is going to be very frustrated and disappointed that he is not getting better results for the inputs he supplies.

Channel One Network

In 1999, as a coalition of opponents sought to remove Channel One from public school classrooms, Mr. Abramoff and his clients looked in part to tax-exempt organizations to provide public sup-

²⁴Lobbying disclosure reports from the period covered in the e-mails indicate that Mr. Abramoff represented Business Software Alliance.

port for Channel One. One argument was that Channel One offered tax savings for state and federal governments.

Mr. Ballabon with Channel One wrote to one of the Preston Gates lobbyists, Amy Berger, on January 12, 1999:

I think that next I want to get credit from the Pentagon public affairs dept & then from ONDCP (office of drug policy) & then from minority groups, &c &c . . . & Grover & CAGW & Rabbi Lapin . . . we should get these guys crazy! & lots & lots of interviews w/members of Congress! At least one press release every week or two

Mr. Ballabon wrote to Mr. Abramoff on January 18, 1999:

The only thing I think Paul really needs before he gets on C-SPAN on Thursday is a statement he can attribute somehow to Grover or CAGW that rebuts Molnar's charge that we are a waste of tax dollars. Can you help us get something somehow (between now and then) that Paul can refer to which argues that we are, in fact, a huge and creative tax savings?

Ms. Berger wrote to Abramoff the next day as a reminder:

Call Council Nedd and/or Tom Schatz or even Grover to get a statement hat Ch 1 is a huge and creative tax savings!!!!

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Ballabon on January 20, 1999:

I set in motion today a piece by Peter Ferrara (the chief tax counsel of ATR and former fellow of Heritage and Cato) which deals with the cost to taxpayers issue. He'll have a draft real fast for us. It'll run in the Investors Business Daily, and probably reprinted in Human Events.

Mr. Ballabon replied:

Excellent. Thanks, Jack. ALSO—tell Grover he can redeem himself by blasting the coalition in a letter to the NYT responding to today's story.

Mr. Abramoff wrote back and included Ms. Berger:

Good idea. Amy, hold on getting this to Ferrara. Let's draft something from Grover to respond to this and I'll get it to him. Have Daniel draft it up fast. I'll run it by Grover. We'll send it him and voila, it should work. Thanks Jeff.

Ten days later, Mr. Norquist published an op-ed in the *Washington Times* titled "Tuning in to Channel One."²⁵

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Ballabon on February 3, 1999, regarding providing money to ATR for a dinner series.

. . . especially in light of the huge hit Grover delivered, I think this would be a very nice gesture on your part.

²⁵Grover Norquist, *Tuning in to Channel One*, *Washington Times*, Jan. 30 1999. See Appendix.

On April 20, 1999, Mr. Abramoff wrote that they needed to agree on the price to pay Peter Ferrara at ATR for an economic analysis related to Channel One.

Jeff, we need to agree on the price we are going to pay him. I think he wants \$5K, but we have offered him \$3K. We can put this on our bill as a subcontract, but the firm will not want to have to pay for this out of our fees. Give me some guidance. He is, meanwhile, working on it. . . .

Ms. Berger then wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

i have offered him \$2000 and he said ok!!! I am calling right now to make the appointment.

Mr. Abramoff replied:

You're a bargain shopper! Tell him we'll give him \$3K, but we want him to do press and talk radio on this. That way I don't look like an idiot with Jeff. Wait till I tell Glen what a bargain you can drive!

Dennis Stephens (a government affairs counselor at Preston Gates) wrote to Mr. Abramoff on May 17, 1999, that "Peter with ATR is in," referring to Peter Ferrara at ATR:

When I talked with Peter this morning, he was planning to draft a press release hammering the "anti technology" crowd per Jeff B's request and will also be distributing Grovers nice piece on Channel One. A nice balance, a positive piece on the good guys and a hit piece on the bad guys. Sound good?

On May 19, 1999, ATR published a policy brief authored by Mr. Ferrara entitled "The Clear Benefits of Channel One."²⁶ On May 20, 1999, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Norquist to say "thanks Grover" after receiving a copy of an ATR press release defending Channel One.

On April 24, 2000, ATR was included in a list of organizations to contact on Channel One:

Grover Norquist (ATR)—Damon in his office is revising K. Ring Draft letter and intends to send out this Friday . . . to all GOP senators and maybe to Dems also—

The same day, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Norquist to say a need for "a hard-hitting op-ed has arisen" regarding Channel One. Mr. Abramoff asked whether Mr. Norquist would be willing to do it himself:

Ariana Huffington has now joined Ralph Nader and George Miller in attacking Channel One. . . . We want to do an oped which smacks her big time, and also swipes at Nader's guy and the other loonies on this. We have \$1,500 to do this piece and get it placed. Are you interested (we can write it for you)? If not, let me know if I can approach Peter [Ferrara].

²⁶Peter Ferrara, *The Clear Benefits of Channel One*, Americans for Tax Reform policy brief, May 19, 1999. See Appendix.

Mr. Norquist wrote back to Mr. Abramoff the next day:

Jack, yes, go ahead and draft a copy for me. I have just spoken with the head of the Washington Times op-ed about a piece for Bruce Heinman. They said they are full for a while due to Elian article. I will talk to Helle Wed morning and make a case for this piece. yes, ATR will do this piece and push to have it in the Washington Times and the Investors Business Daily. Also I will share it with all our state groups. Grover

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

In its “Gimme Five” report, the Committee on Indian Affairs concluded that Mr. Abramoff reached out to ATR in making the case for the Choctaw tribe to help contact members of the House Ways and Means Committee. Nell Rogers, the tribe’s planner, told the Committee on Indian Affairs that the money was not to support the “general work” of ATR but for specific tax issues important to the tribe. According to the report, the Choctaw paid ATR \$60,000 in 1995 and \$25,000 in 1999.

On May 20, 1999, Mr. Norquist wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

What is the status of the Choctaw stuff. I have a \$75K hole in my budget from last year. ouch.

In its response to Minority staff questions, ATR maintained that it had a long history of working with the Mississippi Choctaw tribe and its representatives.

Magazine Publishers of America

On March 13, 2000, Mr. Heiman of Preston Gates informed colleagues that the lobbying team won a new client, Magazine Publishers of America (MPA). The organization opposed a proposed postal increase. Mr. Heiman’s lobbying budget included a \$20,000 contribution to ATR. On March 15, 2000, Mr. Abramoff sent Mr. Heiman a message with the subject line “Grover”:

Spoke with him this evening and he is very happy. Said he spoke to Gloria. He wants you to be in direct touch with him when we need an op-ed.²⁷

On March 30, 2000, Mr. Heiman told Mr. Abramoff that he met with Mr. Norquist and Damon Ansell at ATR:

Rev’d up and ready to go. Will do ATR fact sheet, letter to leadership and gov reform committee R’s, and oped for Investors Business Daily. Grover outlined his substantive thoughts/approach. sounded good. Damon will draft. Hopefully we can look at/review before it goes out.

DH2 Inc.

In late 2003 and early 2004, e-mails show there was an effort to obtain funds from DH2, Inc., a mutual fund firm and a client of Mr. Abramoff’s, for ATR to publish a newspaper column favorable

²⁷Mr. Norquist published two *Washington Times* op-eds on the subject of postal increases during this time period: *Marvin Runyon: Former postmaster makes a killing*, March 31, 2000; and *Harry Potter Goes Postal*, July 25, 2000. See Appendix.

to DH2's stance on mutual fund legislation pending in Congress. On November 18, 2003, Michael E. Williams with Greenberg Traurig wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

We need to get our notes together on their goals per yesterday's conversation. He discussed it again today with me. Can you get an e-mail with the items and then we'll come up with a list and a strategy? We should also amend the retainer to reflect the next couple of months. He is also going to do a contribution to ATR.

On December 12, 2003, Peter Ferrara with ATR wrote to Mr. Williams to say that he did not feel comfortable signing a newspaper column he had written regarding mutual funds because of his efforts on a separate issue. Mr. Williams wrote back:

Peter, the deal was for ou to place this. If you feel you are conflicted, do you think you can get Grover to put his name on it. Our client read your bio and thought having you author it would add a little punch.

Mr. Ferrara said he would try to get Mr. Norquist to appear as the author of the already-drafted column. Mr. Williams then wrote to Mr. Abramoff, presumably referring to Robert Rubin with DH2:

We will see if he can get Grover to do it. Can you talk to Grover? If Grover signs, we can demand the \$\$\$ from Rubin!!

On December 14, 2003, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Norquist:

. . . can we take his op-ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know. Thanks.

Mr. Norquist responded the same day:

Almost certainly yes. Dan Clifton of my office will organize this. he is our mutual fund person.

On January 7, 2004, Mr. Williams told Mr. Abramoff that they finalized the op-ed piece:

I told Rubin he needs to round up some \$\$\$ for ATR

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Williams:

Get the money from Rubin in hand, and then we'll call Grover.

Mr. Williams asked how much. Mr. Abramoff responded:

50K

The next day, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Williams:

I spoke with Grover tonight and I think we can really start making use of him after we get some money over there. any updates on that? As for the issues, this is fine, but please get me an email going over our party line on all of this. what should we be doing, in your view? Give me a starting point and I'll be able to sound fine. Thanks.

On January 15, 2004, Mr. Williams wrote to administrative assistants at Greenberg Traurig asking for the tax identification number for Americans for Tax Reform:

A client wants to write them a check. Who do they make it out to?? ATR??

On February 10, 2004, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Norquist:

. . . I have sent over a \$50K contribution from DH2 (the mutual fund client). Any sense as to where we are on the op-ed placement?

Mr. Norquist wrote back:

The Wash Times told me they were running the piece. This is ms. Forbes. I will nudge again. Grover

Investment Banking Coalition

On February 18, 2004, Dan Clifton at ATR apparently was trying to solicit contributions from an investment-banking coalition. Kenneth Newton, a senior director for Commonwealth Capital Advisors, told Mr. Clifton in an e-mail that his coalition was unsure about the arrangement.

The sense of our coalition right now is that we are still unsure whether to try to get ATR directly involved in the fight on economic substance since it has already passed the Senate . . .

Mr. Clifton wrote back:

Thx for the update. We were anxious to get involved in this effort on your behalf.

Mr. Newton responded the next day:

We appreciate very much your interest in our issue and your patience as we develop our strategy. We have determined, however, that we will not ask ATR to step into this on our behalf at this point. Instead, we will wait to see what develops with the Treasury proposals that we expect will be picked up in both houses . . .

Kevin Ring, a Greenberg Traurig lobbyist who received copies of the e-mails, wrote to Mr. Newton that he was surprised to hear the group would not be interested in ATR's help. Mr. Newton responded:

Kevin, we just couldn't reach a consensus on getting Grover on board given what the expected donation would be.

Tax Issues

The activities illustrated by the e-mails in the above section mark a troubling practice by ATR—the use of tax-exempt dollars to further a lobbying agenda through paid advocacy that appears indistinguishable from lobbying undertaken by for-profit, taxable firms. However, to the Committee staff's knowledge ATR did not report any income from these numerous activities as unrelated business taxable income. Further, the quantum of such activities

and the possible benefits to insiders of ATR raise questions about whether excise taxes should apply to such transactions and whether ATR is a bonafide tax-exempt organization.

Actions taken by ATR were arguably not consistent with the organization's exempt purposes, and, if such activities together with other "unrelated" activities described in this report constituted the "primary" activities of ATR, it could be determined that ATR should not qualify for continued exempt status under section 501(c)(4).

Another issue relates to retaining a fee for purposes of publishing articles. If it were determined that the articles were not substantially related to an exempt purpose of ATR, and the activity was a trade or business regularly carried on, then the income from the activity should be taxable as unrelated business taxable income. This would require an inquiry into, among other issues, whether the activity was undertaken for a profit and whether the activity was undertaken with the frequency with which similar activities are undertaken by for-profit organizations.

The e-mails do not appear to contain facts sufficient to indicate whether any officers, directors or other "insiders" of ATR may have received more than fair market value compensation for the services provided to the organization.

Further, if contributions by a corporate client of Mr. Abramoff to ATR were for lobbying within the meaning of section 162(e), a business expense deduction should not have been claimed for such a contribution.

C. INTRODUCING LOBBYING CLIENTS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Mr. Norquist told *The Boston Globe* last year²⁸ that Indian tribes were invited to meetings at the White House from 2001 through 2004 because the tribes supported President Bush's tax policies. E-mails show that the tribes were asked to make a donation to ATR in order to be invited; after the donation and invitation the tribes went on record as being in support of the tax policies.

E-mails indicate that ATR invited Mr. Abramoff's tribal clients to take part in the dinners with President Bush and state legislative officials and even arranged a meeting with Karl Rove after Mr. Abramoff promised a donation from an African nation.

White House Meetings

In an April 27, 2001, e-mail to Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Norquist wrote:

Jack, can we get these tribes to endorse the tax bill and pass a resolution like the states did. Then I can insist that the tribal leaders be in the meeting not just as financial supporters of the effort, but as republican leaning governments that endores the bush tax legislation. I intend to get all seven in. . . .

In a September 27, 2002, e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Terry Martin, a representative of the Chitimacha tribe:

²⁸Michael Kranish, *Antitax activist says he got \$1.5 million from tribes*, *The Boston Globe*, May 13, 2005. See Appendix.

Do you recall last year when Al and you came to that meeting in the White House with Bush, and speakers of the house from across the country, and got pictures with Bush? Grover is hosting a similar meeting this year and has asked me to see if four of the tribes were interested in sponsoring the costs, at \$25K each.

It is not normal practice to charge people or organizations for meetings with the President.

Introductions for Congo Representative

On July 9, 2002, Mr. Abramoff told Mr. Norquist that he needed his help with regard to someone who would be attending a function that night:

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 him fast on the ATR \$. Thanks Grover.

Mr. Norquist wrote back:

Jack. I am assuming this is very important and therefore we are making it happen. It is tough. Remind me: who is the British guy. When I introduce him to Karl Rove, what is the connection I should stress. I will be sure and introduce Chris Petras to Karl. How do I introduce the Congo guy. Which Congo . . . Brazaville or Kinshasa? Grover Norquist.

Mr. Abramoff responded:

The British guy is very friendly with Karl. He has known him for 2 yrs, so no need to intro them. He is however someone I want you to meet since he could be the source of some UK funding for ATR. The intro to Karl of Petras with the connection to my name is important as is the Congo guy. No need for more than a quick intro and pic for either. It is Kinshasa Congo. Thanks Grover.

The next day, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Norquist:

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.

Department of the Interior

On November 7, 2003, Michael Smith, a lobbyist at Greenberg Traurig, wrote to Todd Boulanger at Greenberg Traurig:

. . . ATR has done nothing to this point. If there is a way to get Grover to call [Secretary Gale] Norton, I can get the cash gates back open.

Tax Issues

Mr. Norquist's introduction of a client of Mr. Abramoff's to Mr. Rove should be weighed with the other activities that do not further ATR's stated social welfare purposes in order to determine whether these activities constituted the primary activities of ATR. If the primary purpose test is not met, then ATR would not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4).

If it were established that any payment by Mr. Abramoff's client to ATR was a payment for the service of introducing the client to Mr. Rove, and such service was a trade or business not substantially related to ATR's exempt purposes and was regularly carried on, the payment could be unrelated business taxable income.

NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

The National Center for Public Policy Research (“NCPPr”), which represents itself as a “conservative think tank,” is organized under IRC section 501(c)(3).²⁹ The organization, founded in 1981, describes its primary exempt purpose as educating Americans about the free market solutions to today’s public policy problems. On its website, NCPPr is described as a research organization dedicated to a strong national defense and to providing free-market solutions to today’s public policy problems. The website states: “We believe that the principles of a free market, individual liberty and personal responsibility provide the greatest hope for meeting the challenges facing America in the 21st century.”

Amy Ridenour, NCPPr’s president and a founder of the organization, first met Mr. Abramoff when they were members of the College Republicans. In testimony before the Committee on Indian Affairs and in an interview with Finance Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour said that her organization accepted donations from Mr. Abramoff’s clients and routed money as Mr. Abramoff directed. Mr. Abramoff served on NCPPr’s board of directors.

E-mail exchanges among Ms. Ridenour, Mr. Abramoff, and Mr. Abramoff’s colleagues and clients indicate that CREA/Ms. Ridenour:

- accepted payments from Mr. Abramoff’s clients and then acted as the front organization to pay for trips by members of Congress, their staff members and others,
- accepted payments from Mr. Abramoff’s clients and then wrote checks as Mr. Abramoff directed, and
- accepted contributions from Mr. Abramoff’s clients and then performed services such as writing favorable newspaper columns and speaking in favor of clients’ causes.

A. ACTING AS A FRONT ORGANIZATION FOR TRAVEL

Mr. Abramoff arranged for Members of Congress and others to travel extensively at the expense of clients, while funneling the money through NCPPr, which would then be named as sponsor of the trips on official disclosure forms. Nell Rogers with the Choctaw tribe told the Committee on Indian Affairs that the tribe paid NCPPr \$65,000 in 2000, which apparently was used to help finance a golf trip to Scotland for members of Congress and others. Ms. Rogers told staff of the Committee on Indian Affairs that the money was intended for anti-tax and other work and not for a Scotland trip.³⁰

²⁹National Center for Public Policy Research website, <http://www.nationalcenter.org/>.

³⁰“Gimme Five” report, p. 36.

U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Ms. Ridenour said Mr. Abramoff believed that the “full story” on the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (“CNMI”) was not getting out, so he arranged “fact-finding” trips for employees of think tanks, Members of Congress, congressional staff, and others. She said Mr. Abramoff asked that NCPPR become a sponsor so that Members of Congress and their staffs could attend and abide by the rules. She said she had no objections because she had gone on such a trip and it had been truly educational. “As far as I knew for years, he, they went, sat in a room like I did, talked about OSHA violations, I don’t know,” Ms. Ridenour told Committee staff.

Patrick Pizzella, a colleague of Mr. Abramoff’s at Preston Gates, wrote to Mr. Abramoff on July 1, 1996, to explain how they planned to funnel money to NCPPR to pay expenses related to a trip to the CNMI. Mr. Pizzella is referring to Doug Bandow, who went on the trip:

Jack, the airplane tickets were paid by PG [Preston Gates]; the hotel bills were paid by CNMI (each traveler just signed bill—no credit 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 NCPPR. Then they can cut check to Bandow. I do not see need for us to send airplane bills to NCPPR 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.

On December 17, 1999, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Willie Tan, a Saipan garment manufacturer who was a client. Mr. Abramoff said that Mr. Tan needed to wire \$25,577 to NCPPR to pay for a trip to Saipan and Tinian.

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.

The same day, Ms. Ridenour wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

OK regarding the reimbursables. I’ll do what you want, of course.

On December 29, 1999, Mr. Abramoff told Ms. Ridenour that a wire for \$25,577 was coming her way:

. . . When you receive it, please let me know. Once it is received, please draw two checks: One payable to me in the amount of \$17,488 (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.

On December 30, 1999, Mr. Abramoff wrote to an associate in his office, Viola Llewellyn, asking her to buy plane tickets for three congressional travelers:

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". . . .

Ms. Llewellyn wrote back:

. . . I have stipulated and reminded her that no mention of PGE or Jack Abramoff should show on the tickets. They should, if possible, say "National Center for Public Policy Research."

On January 4, 2000, Ms. Ridenour wrote to Mr. Abramoff to confirm that she would write the checks:

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.

Scotland

On January 20, 2000, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ed Buckham at Alexander Strategy Group to say that he was planning a golf trip to Scotland that clients would sponsor:

Terry and Willie would be the sponsors/hosts, though we would use National Center for Public Policy Research as the organization.

On May 31, 2000, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Llewellyn asking her to call Ms. Ridenour with information about an invoice for the trip to Scotland:

. . . 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.

In July 2003, Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues were planning another Scotland trip. Michael E. Williams at Greenberg Traurig asked if there was any information about the trip he could provide to Representative Chocola, a Member of Congress.

He may be able to do it and he's a 2 handicap. What "official" events do we have?

Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

We don't have paper but the national center for public policy research is hosting a meeting with scottish parliamentarians.

Mr. Williams responded:

What else can I tell him? How is the trip reported?

Mr. Abramoff said it was a trip for an educational meeting with legislators, and Mr. Williams asked:

Who should I tell them is funding the trip?

Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

NCPPR

Tax Issues

The e-mails between Mr. Abramoff and NCPPR indicate that NCPPR functioned as an appendage of Mr. Abramoff's lobbying operation.

A section 501(c)(3) organization must be organized and operated exclusively for exempt purposes. If it could be determined that congressional trips financed through NCPPR, taken alone or together with any other activities that are unrelated to NCPPR's exempt purposes, comprised more than an insubstantial part of NCPPR's activities, this could result in revocation of NCPPR's tax-exempt status. In addition, if it were established that facilitating transfers for private parties became an important purpose of NCPPR, a compelling argument could be made that NCPPR has a substantial nonexempt purpose and is not entitled to tax exemption under section 501(c)(3).

If it were established that NCPPR's financing of congressional trips was not substantially related to NCPPR's exempt purposes and that the activity was a trade or business that was regularly carried on, the income from that activity would be taxable as unrelated business taxable income. This would require an inquiry into, among other issues, whether NCPPR undertook the activity for a profit and whether NCPPR undertook the activity with the frequency with which similar activities are undertaken by for-profit organizations.

With significant additional factual development, it may be possible to show that legislators who participated in trips that were not of an educational nature (but were instead merely golf trips) and those who financed such trips might have received a more than incidental private benefit from NCPPR. The penalty for providing a more than incidental private benefit would be revocation of NCPPR's tax-exempt status.

If it were established that the trips coordinated by NCPPR were undertaken for the purpose of contacting Members of Congress or their staffs about specific legislation, the trips could have constituted lobbying activity for purposes of determining whether NCPPR has exceeded applicable section 501(c)(3) lobbying limits.

If it were established that an Abramoff client received a substantial return benefit for a contribution to NCPPR, the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. If NCPPR engaged in lobbying (within the meaning of section 162(e)) on matters of direct financial interest to an Abramoff client and the contributions were made with a principal purpose of avoiding non-deductibility as a business expense under section 162(e), then the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. Further, if contributions by a corporate client of Mr. Abramoff to NCPPR were for lobbying within the meaning of sec-

tion 162(e), a business expense should not have been claimed for such a contribution.

B. LOBBYING AND PUBLIC RELATIONS WORK FOR ABRAMOFF CLIENTS

In her interview with Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour said that she thought that Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues would tell clients “that you know, that if you were making donations to think tanks, it’s more likely they’re going to pay attention to you and take you seriously.” E-mails indicate, however, that the lobbyists expected to direct the actions of employees of tax-exempt organizations.

Slate reported on an April 16, 1999, e-mail from Ms. Ridenour to Mr. Abramoff in which Ms. Ridenour stated that she sent a letter to *Insight* magazine regarding labor practices in the CNMI. She states that she sent the letter “at Shawn and Dennis’s request,” referring to members of Mr. Abramoff’s lobbying team.³¹ Twelve days later, she sent the lobbying team a copy of a news release that she wrote on the same subject. “I will mail you some paper copies to Dennis’s attention in case you want pretty ones for the client or circulation anywhere else,” Ms. Ridenour wrote in the e-mail included in the *Slate* article.³²

Channel One Network

E-mails indicate that Ms. Ridenour wrote newspaper columns at the direction of Mr. Abramoff’s client Primedia Inc. She maintains that she did such work “independent of” and “without regard to” Primedia’s contributions.³³

In 1999, Mr. Abramoff and his associates discussed with Jeff Ballabon, who at the time was executive vice president of public affairs for Primedia’s Channel One Network, the best way to fend off a coalition seeking the network’s ouster from public school classrooms.

Mr. Abramoff’s colleague, Amy Berger, wrote on April 12, 1999:

In preparation for hearings on Channel One, it would be extremely useful to have a white paper issued by a conservative think tank group like Heritage or CATO. I know that you have excellent contacts with these think tanks. Would you be able to work with a think tank to produce this type of a paper?

Patrick Pizzella, another colleague, wrote back:

my guess is it would cost about \$5000 and we would want them to promote it. . . . and we ought to use a smaller outfit . . . maybe Amy R., maybe CEI. . . .

Mr. Abramoff replied to Mr. Pizzella:

I think Amy is the way to go. I am meeting with her this week. I’ll raise it with her.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Ballabon on May 19, 1999:

³¹ Dennis Stephens and Shawn Vassell were lobbyists at Preston Gates.

³² Timothy Noah, *Think Tanks for Sale*, *Slate*, March 28, 2006. See Appendix.

³³ Committee staff interview with Amy Ridenour, June 26, 2006.

When we are through the hearing, we have to discuss getting Amy a contribution as we discussed. She was going to do 5 pieces for \$10K. We can chat on this next week.

Mr. Ballabon responded:

yup—I have not forgotten (was it \$10?—I wrote it down—whatever it was, she'll get it.)

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Ridenour the same day:

I just want to thank you again for all you to do help us. Jeff is so grateful and, as soon as the dust clears, is going to make his gratitude tangible. Thanks for all you do!

On May 23, 1999, Mr. Ballabon wrote to Mr. Abramoff saying that Ms. Ridenour “really does deliver.” Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

We should get her a check as soon as we can. She can really help us with the Approps battle (we have used her before for this kind of battle before).

The next day, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Ridenour:

Amy, can you get me an invoice for a contribution for \$10,000 which I can push through Channel One? Jeff has asked for this so we can get something to you asap. Thanks.

On March 13, 2000, Dennis Stephens forwarded a commentary from R.D. Davis, a member of NCPPR's Project 21, a national leadership network of black conservatives:

I note for the files, that Amy Ridenour has a member of Project 21 who is a writer and radio talk show host in Huntsville, Alabama. With the proper education, etc, he might be recruitable for Channel One support and Metrock bashing. Thoughts?

Mr. Abramoff forwarded the message to Ms. Berger, who responded:

worth keeping in mind—esp. if we get a contract with [Channel One]!

In an interview with Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour denied that NCPPR was engaged in any “Metrock bashing.”

On October 29, 2001, Mr. Ballabon at Primedia wrote to Mr. Abramoff regarding Ms. Ridenour:

Any way to get some paperwork from her on the 50k asap so I can get a check cut?

Mr. Abramoff wrote back with an attached NCPPR invoice requesting a contribution of \$49,000 from Primedia “to support public programs.”

I used one of their other invoices for another project and made it work. Let me know the next step. Please get the check directly to me. Thanks.

Mr. Ballabon wrote back on November 8, 2001, to say that a check had been cut and that he was sending it to Ms. Ridenour. Mr. Abramoff objected:

No! Send it to me. I have to work this through with her carefully.

Magazine Publishers of America

On March 17, 2000, Bruce Heiman at Preston Gates told Mr. Abramoff that a \$10,000 contribution to NCPPR would be part of the lobbying budget for their new client, Magazine Publishers of America:

Would like to get . . . Ridenour to distribute op-ed through Knight Ridder and her National Policy Analysis. . . . Something along the lines of abuse of power—supposed to cover costs but here going way beyond and in fact seem to have ignored identified cost savings.

Ms. Ridenour did write such a column, distributed through Knight-Ridder.³⁴ In her interview with Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour said she would not necessarily have taken Mr. Abramoff's advice on what to write: "So even if they had said, 'Could you write on this,' I would have said, 'Sure, thanks for the advice.' And then I would have wrote what I thought best."

Ukraine

Mr. Abramoff wrote to his colleagues on February 19, 2000, to inform them that they had a new client: Ukraine. Dennis Stephens, a colleague, wrote to Abramoff on February 22:

Will NCPPR be assisting on this client . . . ? Or other think tanks?

Mr. Abramoff responded:

Of course.

In her interview with Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour said that she could not recall anything about Ukraine and had no record of NCPPR doing any work for Ukraine.

Tax Issues

The e-mails cited above show a pattern of NCPPR producing public relations materials favorable to Mr. Abramoff's clients. Actions taken by the organization potentially were not consistent with the organization's exempt purposes, and, if such activities taken alone or together with other unrelated activities including those described in this report, were substantial in relation to exempt activities, or if such activities amount to a substantial nonexempt purpose, it could be argued that the organization should not qualify for continued exempt status under section 501(c)(3).

Another issue is whether one or more private persons received a more than incidental private benefit as a result of the actions of NCPPR. For example it could be argued that Mr. Abramoff or his

³⁴ Amy Ridenour, *Postal Service's exorbitant price increases may stamp cancel on your favorite magazine*, Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service, May 13, 2000. See Appendix.

clients received a substantial private benefit from NCPPR's publication of an article favorable to them. Such an approach would be supported by the finding of additional facts that demonstrate that the organization undertook the activity primarily to benefit Mr. Abramoff or his clients and only secondarily to further exempt purposes.

If it were established that a client of Mr. Abramoff received a substantial return benefit from a contribution to NCPPR, then the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. If NCPPR engaged in lobbying (within the meaning of section 162(e)) on matters of direct financial interest to an Abramoff client and the contributions were made to avoid non-deductibility under section 162(e), then the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. Further, if contributions by a client of Mr. Abramoff to NCPPR were for lobbying within the meaning of section 162(e), a business expense deduction should not have been claimed for such a contribution.

C. DISGUIISING THE SOURCE OF FUNDS

The e-mails to and from NCPPR indicate that, as with ATR, officers at NCPPR took contributions from Abramoff clients and in turn distributed the money as Mr. Abramoff directed. The money in one example went from Mr. Abramoff's clients through NCPPR and then to Mr. Abramoff's own foundation, to a company operated by a partner in his scheme, Michael Scanlon, and to Ralph Nurnberger, to whom Mr. Abramoff appears to have owed a personal debt. In her interview with Committee staff, Ms. Ridenour said that she did not know why the Choctaw tribe, the source of funds, could not simply write its own checks to those entities. At the time, she said she thought it was possible that the Choctaw tribe did not want to become known as a big donor "because every time you're known as a big donor, people hit you up for money."³⁵

On May 25, 2000, Mr. Abramoff wrote to associates in his office:

Did we receive in Federal Express today a check from eLottery for National Center for Public Policy Research? . . . If we did, please let me know, and then send the check over to David Ridenour at the National Center for Public Policy Research 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.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Ralston on July 11, 2000, saying he had just spoken to Ms. Ridenour:

We should prepare the receipts so that there is \$7K and change left over from the \$40K contribution (I think we now have it that there is just \$5K left over for the National Center). . . .

Ms. Ridenour also apparently asked for such "pass through" arrangements. In an e-mail dated October 1, 2002, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Michael Scanlon:

³⁵ Interview with Ms. Ridenour, June 26, 2006.

Amy Ridenour has asked if we can run any funds through them to pump up their non e-mail donations (they will give us back 100%). Let's run some of the non CAF money through them to the camans.

Michael D. Smith at Greenberg Traurig wrote to Mr. Abramoff on October 9, 2002:

Jack: We need to provide Casini an entity to pay the \$500,000 provided we are succesful. Please let me know what entity you would like to use.

Mr. Abramoff responded:

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?

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Ridenour on October 9, 2002, with the subject line "I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR":

Is this still something you want to do? Is NCPPR a c3 or c4?

Ms. Ridenour wrote back:

Yes, we would love to do it. We are a (c)(3).

Mr. Abramoff then asked her to make out an invoice for \$1 million to the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, one of his clients. Ms. Ridenour responded:

A sum of that size **very** definitely will assist us in having better ratios. So I am grateful for the opportunity you have given us here (and very happy to entertain any other similar projects).

Ms. Ridenour told Mr. Abramoff that the money could not be for influencing specific pieces of legislation, and Mr. Abramoff responded:

No problem. It will be payments either to companies for research or to other c3's.

On October 21, 2002, Ms. Ridenour asked for descriptions for her records:

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.

In January 2003, Mr. Abramoff asked Ms. Ridenour if she still needed "transactions like the one we did last year." Ms. Ridenour responded:

Sure, they are always helpful and appreciated. By the way, you and I still need to chat briefly about the past transactions we did because I need to have information about the educational activities we supported through last year's transactions, in case we are ever audited.

Tax Issues

Disguising the source of funds is not a tax-exempt purpose. As Marcus Owens, the former head of the IRS Tax Exempt Organizations Division, recently stated, "It's not a tax-exempt activity to act as a bag man for Jack Abramoff."³⁶ A section 501(c)(3) organization must be organized and operated exclusively for exempt purposes. If it were established that the transfers through NCPPR were undertaken for the sole purpose of concealing the identity of the transferors from the ultimate transferees or from other third parties and/or to enhance NCPPR's financial ratios, the transactions would not further a legitimate section 501(c)(3) tax-exempt purpose. Therefore, if such transfers, taken alone or together with any other activities that are unrelated to NCPPR's exempt purposes, comprise more than an insubstantial part of NCPPR's activities, then NCPPR potentially would not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3). In addition, if it were established that facilitating transfers for private parties became an important purpose of NCPPR, it could be argued that NCPPR has a substantial nonexempt purpose and is not entitled to tax exemption under section 501(c)(3).

If it were established that NCPPR retained a fee for purposes of facilitating transactions designed solely to disguise the identity of the transferor, and that the activity was a trade or business regularly carried on, then the income from the activity would be taxable as unrelated business taxable income. This would require an inquiry into, among other issues, whether the activity was undertaken for a profit and whether the activity was undertaken with the frequency with which similar activities are undertaken by for-profit organizations.

With additional factual development, it may be possible to show that NCPPR directly provided a more than incidental private benefit to Mr. Abramoff. As mentioned above, certain e-mails suggest that Mr. Abramoff may have owed a personal debt to Ralph Nurnberger and that he satisfied this personal debt by directing that a portion of a \$1 million contribution made by his client to NCPPR be disbursed by NCPPR to Mr. Nurnberger's company. If the use of NCPPR's charitable assets to satisfy Mr. Abramoff's personal debt constituted a prohibited private benefit, then the penalty could be revocation of NCPPR's tax-exempt status.

With additional factual development, it might be determined that the NCPPR transactions conferred a prohibited private benefit on: (1) Ralph Nurnberger or his company; (2) any Abramoff client who benefited from a "pass through" transaction; and/or (3) other recipients of grants from NCPPR that resulted from a pass through

³⁶Susan Schmidt and James Grimaldi, *Non Profit Groups Funneled Money for Abramoff*, Washington Post, June 25, 2006. See Appendix.

transaction designed to conceal the identity of the original contributor.

If it were established that an Abramoff client received a substantial return benefit for a contribution to NCPPR, then the contribution should not be deductible as a charitable contribution. If it were established that NCPPR engaged in lobbying (within the meaning of section 162(e)) on matters of direct financial interest to an Abramoff client and the contributions were made to avoid non-deductibility under section 162(e), then the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution.

Certain e-mails suggest that Ms. Ridenour undertook certain pass through transactions with the intent of “pumping up” certain of NCPPR’s “ratios.” The e-mails do not make clear what ratios Ms. Ridenour was attempting to inflate. If it were established that such ratios comprised part of NCPPR’s Form 990 or another filing with the IRS (such as a computation of NCPPR’s public support for purposes of its non-private foundation status), then it could be argued that Ms. Ridenour or others at NCPPR could be liable for aiding and abetting the understatement of NCPPR’s tax liability.

In testimony by Ms. Ridenour before the Committee on Indian Affairs (“Gimme Five” report, page 302), she indicated that \$450,000 was to be disbursed by NCPRR to the Capital Athletic Foundation, Mr. Abramoff’s private foundation. If it were established that Mr. Abramoff had contributed such funds to NCPPR and earmarked the funds for distribution to Capital Athletic foundation and obtained a greater charitable deduction than he would have received if he had contributed the money directly to the foundation, it could be argued that Mr. Abramoff should be liable for tax evasion under section 7201. In addition, if it were established that persons affiliated with NCPPR knowingly facilitated the arrangement, it is possible that such persons aided and abetted the understatement of Mr. Abramoff’s income tax liability.

Mr. Abramoff pleaded guilty to conspiracy, mail fraud and tax evasion on January 3, 2006. In pleading guilty to tax evasion, Mr. Abramoff admitted to using a public policy organization (unnamed in the plea agreement) for which he served as director to receive income and to make expenditures for his own personal benefit. “Through these activities, Abramoff and others intended to and did benefit Abramoff, the entities he controlled or financially supported, and the public policy organization.”³⁷

³⁷ Abramoff plea agreement, Jan. 3, 2006. See Appendix.

CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE

Citizens Against Government Waste (“CAGW”) reports that its mission is “to eliminate waste, mismanagement and inefficiency in the federal government.”³⁸ It was established in 1984, following the release of the Grace Commission report, a private-sector effort established by President Reagan with an aim of highlighting waste in government spending.

CAGW’s primary exempt purpose, as listed on its IRS Form 990, is “to perform nonpartisan research and analysis on waste and inefficiency in the government and to conduct educational programs to eliminate government waste.” It is organized under section 501(c)(3).

The group is listed in e-mails as one that Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues thought they could turn to for a friendly op-ed piece or letter to the editor in exchange for a payment to the organization. In his response to staff questions, CAGW’s president, Tom Schatz, stated that the organization is independent and nonpartisan and that it was not “affiliated” with Mr. Abramoff and therefore did not play a role in Mr. Abramoff’s client relationships.

Nevertheless, Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues appear in their correspondence to have assumed such a relationship existed. When Mr. Abramoff’s client Magazine Publishers of America (“MPA”) opposed a proposed postal-rate tax increase, and Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues sought public relations help to make the case against the increase to Congress, they turned to CAGW.

Magazine Publishers of America

On March 13, 2000, Bruce Heiman at Preston Gates informed his colleagues that the firm had won a contract to represent MPA. Mr. Heiman suggested that \$80,000 of the budget be used for “think tanks,” with the \$80,000 to be allocated among several groups, including \$10,000 to CAGW. On March 17, 2000, Mr. Heiman wrote to Mr. Abramoff to ask him to approach Tom Schatz, president of CAGW:

would like to get CAGW to put it in their next monthly “Waste Watcher Monthly” . . . I have in mind some angles for each—CAGW would be a cross subsidy argument—[U.S. Postal Service] is zapping magazines (and books and rural newspapers) to pay for ecommerce forays—Leslie Page did a letter to ed of W. Post criticizing USPS ecommerce in February so this is a good follow on. . . . Would also like to make each available to do talk radio (grover too).³⁹

³⁸The Citizens Against Government Waste website is at www.cagw.org.

³⁹Leslie K. Paige, *Mail Monopoly*, CAGW Wastewatcher, May 2000. See Appendix.

In May, Leslie K. Paige, then senior vice president of CAGW, wrote a commentary called "Mail Monopoly" that made the arguments suggested by Mr. Heiman regarding subsidies to pay for the Postal Service "venture" into e-commerce. That same month, the Postal Service was declared the CAGW "Porker of the Month."

Mr. Schatz, in his response to Committee staff's questions, said that CAGW did receive a donation from MPA but would not say how much, other than that it was less than one-half of 1 percent of CAGW's total revenue in 2000. Mr. Schatz said CAGW had a history of working on issues related to perceived waste at the Postal Service and that MPA never required that CAGW undertake a specific activity. He said CAGW did exchange information with representatives of MPA but only as part of its use of a broad array of sources. "However, final decisions to write, edit, and produce specific documents are made exclusively by CAGW staff," Mr. Schatz stated in his written response.

Mr. Schatz said further that magazine publishers may have incidentally benefited but that the primary purpose of CAGW's involvement was to save Americans money.

Channel One Network

In 1999, Mr. Abramoff and his associates solicited help from several tax-exempt organizations, including CAGW, for help serving their client, Channel One Network. In a written response to Minority staff questions, Mr. Schatz said CAGW has never received a contribution from Channel One. He reiterated in a telephone interview that the organization also never received a contribution from Channel One's parent company, Primedia Inc.

On January 25, 1999, Amy Berger wrote to Mr. Abramoff about Council Nedd, at the time a CAGW employee:

Just heard from Council Nedd. He is getting calls from his members about the press release on Channel One including an Alabama member (not Metrock). I faxed him the release and offered to be of help answering questions raised by his members about Channel One. He asked that we keep all of this quiet.

Mr. Abramoff replied:

Is he OK? Which members? Please let me know as soon as possible.

Ms. Berger wrote back later that day:

I just talked to Council. He's ok—at least for now. It turns out that a member of CAGW from Alabama and Jim Metrock called. The message is the usual Metrock stuff. Council was concerned that Tom Schatz would be upset but Schatz is completely fine on this. Council asked me to reassure you that they are fine on their position and I said if there's a problem and/or they need bolstering, we are here!

Mr. Nedd wrote to Mr. Abramoff on March 3, 1999:

I just talked to Tom. He is also going to be on Washington Journal on C-SPAN this morning, and he going to try to get in a plug about Channel One.

Mr. Abramoff forwarded the e-mail to his staff, saying, "Let's run a tape on this one!" But Ms. Berger wrote later that day to Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Ballabon at Channel One:

I talked to Tom Schatz this morning. Just as he was about to mention Channel One on CSpan he was cut off by the House of Representatives! He said that he will mention Channel One in his press conference today on the CAGW pig book. Also, Channel One is in the pig book as an example of an antidote to government waste. I am sending over a messenger to pick up copies and will distribute them.

On May 13, 1999, Ms. Berger wrote to colleague Dennis Stephens with the subject line, "one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC):

You may recall that Jack asked you yesterday to arrange for these groups to hand out one pagers following the hearing. With Jack's approval, would you please coordinate this? Thanks.

The next day, Mr. Stephens wrote back to Ms. Berger and Mr. Abramoff:

. . . Council with CAGW is in . . . Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

In an e-mail to Mr. Abramoff on July 28, 1999, Mr. Schatz asked Mr. Abramoff a favor:

First, Shawn McBurney is now on board at CAGW. We are coming over on Monday for the Channel One event and I will make sure to introduce you to him at that time. Second, would you happen to have two or three tickets in your box to see Bruce Springsteen at the MCI Center, either Aug. 31 or Sept. 3? That would be greatly appreciated!!

Mr. Abramoff replied:

Look forward to seeing you Monday. We are oversubscribed at the box at this time for all the concerts, but let me see what I can do. Since we are definitely tight, would two work, or do you need three? Please let me know.

On October 14, 1999, Ms. Berger informed Mr. Abramoff that another lobbyist had discussed soliciting help from CAGW and other organizations. Mr. Abramoff replied:

We should not hand over our friends to this guy. In fact, we should tell our friends to stand clear of him . . .

An October 18, 1999, e-mail from Ms. Berger to Mr. Abramoff indicates that several organizations, including CAGW, had agreed to sign letters to the editor in support of Mr. Abramoff's client Channel One after an article appeared in New Republic. The subject line is "Ok to send these to Jeff [Ballabon?]"

Daniel has drafted these letters to respond to the New Republic piece. Can you review these asap so we can get them to Jeff for his approval? We also may need your help getting Rabbi Lapin and CAGW to submit these letters to the New Republic. Is there anyone else who you think should write a response to the New Republic?

On November 3, 1999, Mr. Abramoff wrote to his assistant regarding Crosby Stills Nash and Young tickets that cost \$211 each:

I would like four tickets and a parking pass. Attending would be Tom Schatz (Pres. Of CAGW and his wife), myself and Carie . . .

Tax Issues

The e-mails show a pattern of CAGW producing public relations materials favorable to Mr. Abramoff's clients. A case can be made that such actions were not consistent with the organization's exempt purposes, and, if it were established that such activities taken alone or together with other unrelated activities were substantial, it could be determined that the organization should not qualify for continued exempt status under section 501(c)(3). In addition, if the articles produced by CAGW were found not to be consistent with the organization's exempt purposes, and it were established that publication of articles was a quid pro quo for contributions or favors by Mr. Abramoff or his clients, it could be argued that the organization had as a substantial nonexempt purpose to help carry out a public relations strategy devised by Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues on behalf of a client.

Another issue is whether one or more private persons who are not insiders of the organization directly received a more than incidental private benefit as a result of the actions of CAGW. For example, depending on the facts, it is possible that Mr. Abramoff or his clients received more than incidental private benefit as a result of CAGW's publication of an article favorable to them. Such an approach might be bolstered by any facts that demonstrated that the organization undertook the activity primarily to benefit Mr. Abramoff or his clients and only secondarily to further exempt purposes.

If it were established that a client of Mr. Abramoff's received a substantial return benefit from a contribution to CAGW, the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. If it were established that CAGW engaged in lobbying (within the meaning of section 162(e)) on matters of direct financial interest to a client of Mr. Abramoff and the contributions were made to avoid nondeductibility under section 162(e), the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution.

COUNCIL OF REPUBLICANS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCACY

Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (“CREA”) was founded in 1997 by Italia Federici, with Gale Norton and Grover Norquist as honorary co-chairpersons.⁴⁰ CREA is organized under section 501(c)(4). It lists as its mission “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.”⁴¹

After Ms. Norton became Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Abramoff arranged to meet Ms. Federici⁴² and, e-mails show, directed his clients to make payments to CREA. Later, he referenced those payments when encouraging Ms. Federici to make his clients’ arguments with senior officials at the Department of Interior. In her responses, Ms. Federici seemed eager to comply.

Ms. Federici raised funds from Mr. Abramoff’s clients, and then contributors were given a chance to speak one-on-one with Interior Department officials.

Through her attorney, Ms. Federici declined an interview request by Committee staff investigators.

The Committee on Indian Affairs reported that from 2001 to 2003, Mr. Abramoff arranged for Indian tribes to contribute at least \$250,000 to CREA, sometimes under false pretenses. Ms. Federici told staff of the Committee on Indian Affairs that Mr. Abramoff or his clients contributed about \$500,000 to CREA. The Committee on Indian Affairs’ report concluded that, with the exception of the Choctaw tribe, there is “no evidence that the tribes gave to CREA because of any interest in CREA’s mission. . . . Ample evidence indicates that she [Ms. Federici] 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.”⁴³ Indeed, the Committee on Indian Affairs concluded that documents suggest that Mr. Abramoff helped CREA “because, or in exchange for, special favors that Federici had promised to do for him or his tribal clients at Interior.”⁴⁴

Hiring at the Department of the Interior

On January 30, 2001, Ms. Federici wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

⁴⁰“Gimme Five” report, p. 323.

⁴¹The CREA website is at www.crea-online.org.

⁴²According to the “Gimme Five” report, p. 323, Ms. Federici told staff of the Committee on Indian Affairs that she met Mr. Abramoff at a football game with Mr. Norquist.

⁴³“Gimme Five” report, pages 13 and 14.

⁴⁴*Id.*

I very much appreciate your generous offers regarding CREA and I've been working on the document you requested regarding grassroots and strategy. . . .

Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

Thanks so much Italia. Please let me know what I can do to help Dennis Stephens, Mark Zachares (Office of Insular Affairs) and Tim Martin (Bureau of Indian Affairs) be placed. . . .

Coushatta Tribe

On March 22, 2001, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Kathy Van Hoof, Coushatta attorney:

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

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on April 19, 2001, regarding the chief of the Coushattas:

Do you think we could get him a meeting with Secretary Norton and Steve? I'd also like him to meet you, since I want to go back to the well and get more \$ from them soon for CREA.

Ms. Federici told him the money from last month went to briefings with government officials:

I think you'll be very pleased with the fresh slant on things.

On April 25, 2001, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici, asking if she could arrange a meeting between Secretary Norton and Coushatta Chairman Lovelin Poncho:

Can you attend the meeting as well? It would be so nice if she could thank him for the contribution. He is in town May 9 and 10 and will see the President as well, as part of Grover's group meeting. They also contributed (less, so don't tell Grover!) to ATR.

Ms. Federici wrote to Mr. Abramoff on May 7, 2001, regarding Poncho:

In the hubbub of trying to get Gale's schedulers to get their act together and getting Steve's endorsements, I didn't even ask . . . is there anything else that I can do for the chief's visit? Is there something else that I can do to say thank you for his support for CREA—besides the time with Secretary Norton?

On June 29, 2001, Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici:

I just want to thank you for all you do for me. I hope to continue to merit your kind friendship. Please do not for-

get to send me the letter for [redacted]⁴⁵ so I can get that \$ for you. . . .

On July 17, 2001, Tony Rudy, a colleague of Mr. Abramoff's, said he needed Amy Ridenour to send a letter on behalf of the Coushatta and asked if they had offered her any money lately. Mr. Abramoff suggested CREA as well:

Italia Federicci from CREA might also be willing to do something. Coushatta gave her some money. Call her if you think she could help with this.

Trustees Circle

In 2001, CREA put together a Trustees Circle that provided contributors one-on-one access to Interior Department officials for a \$50,000 contribution. On August 7, 2001, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Kevin Ring at Greenberg Traurig:

CREA is putting together a trustees circle which will participate in small dinners throughout the year. The first one will be in September and will include Norton, Griles, McCaleb and a number of other assist secs, including Bennett Raley, asst sec Water and Science, or something like that. Coushatta and Choctaw are already members of the group (\$50K/year). Do you think Hoppi wants to join?

Mr. Ring replied:

The hopi aren't good republicans, but I will check it out.

Mr. Abramoff wrote back on August 8, 2001:

Whether they are good Republicans or not, they need clout with the Interior Dept, I would imagine.

Mr. Ring responded:

Again, I will ask. But my sense is that they will say that's why they hired us. I am not sure they have an extra \$50K lying around. Let me ask this: Besides the September meeting with Norton, Griles, etc, what other events are planned?

Mr. Abramoff stated:

Other dinners will be Senators, Congressmen and White House folks (including Rove).

On August 9, 2001, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Terry Martin of the Chitimacha tribe with suggestions for political contributions:

The CREA contribution helps those inside DOI who helped us on insurance.

Mr. Martin asked for additional information on CREA, and Mr. Abramoff wrote back on August 16, 2001:

This is a 501c4 group which used to be chaired by Gail Norton. They are the unofficial outside advocacy group for DoI and are going to be holding a series of dinner meet-

⁴⁵ Redacted by Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

ings, the first of which is with Norton, McCaleb, Griles and others. . . . CREA does advocacy for environmental issues and has been incredibly helpful on the insurance issue⁴⁶ (its current head is Italia Federici who is very close to Griles).

Mr. Abramoff served as a fundraiser of sorts for CREA, soliciting funds for the group from his tribal clients. He wrote to Ms. Federici on October 23, 2001, with the subject line “guess what I’m holding”:

I am in Mississippi, returning tonight. I have the \$50K CREA check in hand. You’ll have it tomorrow.

Ms. Federici wrote back:

That’s great news! Thanks you, Thanks you!

Mr. Abramoff replied:

My great pleasure! Now on to Kickapoo, and then to reload for Coshatta!

Acting as a Liaison to Various Federal Agencies

On January 3, 2002, Todd Boulanger at Greenberg Traurig wrote to Mr. Abramoff regarding Ms. Federici:

Can she get some general requests into the President’s budget? Funding for the Choctaw [redacted],⁴⁷ For Homes in Fossil Energy, etc. . . .

Mr. Abramoff replied later:

Put together an email which I can send to her and I’ll see what we can do.

On January 17, 2002, Kevin Ring wrote to Mr. Abramoff asking if Thomas Sansonetti, then an associate attorney general, “might be able to help at Justice.” Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

Yes! Good idea. Call Italia and ask her to help us with this. Choctaw gave them \$50K.

Jena Choctaw issue

On January 27, 2002, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici:

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 Coshatta. The Interior Department BIA has sent a letter out (I will fax this to you right now . . .) We have to quash this very, very hard and fast. . . .

⁴⁶“Gimme Five” report indicated, p. 331, that Mr. Abramoff wanted help with the Bureau of Indian Affairs’ tribal insurance policy.

⁴⁷Redacted by Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on January 30, 2002, with an update:

Just wanted to let you know that I had a great discussion today with the Choctaws and they are moving their next \$50K contribution very quickly. I hope we'll have it very soon. Also, [redacted]⁴⁸ and we expect they will approve it (also \$50K) with this week. Just thought I'd give you some happy news. Regards.

On January 31, 2002, Mr. Abramoff suggested that a \$50,000 contribution be added to list of clients' political contributions:

Please add in \$50,000 for CREA and put a note in the candidate column as follows: Sec. Norton.

On February 12, 2002, Mr. Abramoff discussed a list of political contributions with Todd Boulanger at Greenberg Traurig:

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. . . .

Mr. Boulanger wrote back, asking in part what CREA stands for. Mr. Abramoff replies:

CREA is Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy [sic]. The trustees group (which the other tribes do) is \$50K. this is the group which Norton was chairman of before she went to DoI and which she supports still. Asking him [Chris Petras at Saginaw Chippewa tribe] for another \$50 is going to knock his socks off. Call him and tell him 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.

On February 20, 2002, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici:

Gale is meeting with Louisiana Governor Foster next week. He is going to lobby her to approve the compact he signed in the dead of the night. She needs to tell him no. how can we get in there?

On December 2, 2002, Mr. Abramoff asked about the Jena issue again:

It seems that the Jena are on the march again. if you can, can you make sure Steve squelches this again? thanks!!

Ms. Federici replied:

Thanks for the update. I'll bring it up asap!

Gun Lake Band of Pottawatomi Indians

Mr. Abramoff solicited Ms. Federici's help in helping his client, the Saginaw Chippewa tribe, fight a casino project proposed by the Gun Lake tribe. Mr. Abramoff called the project a "disaster in the making."

⁴⁸ Redacted by Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

On December 4, 2002, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici:

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 him to stop this one asap? they are moving fast. Thanks Italia. This is a direct assault on our guys, Saginaw Chippewa.

Ms. Federici replied, including updates on other projects they were working on:

I will call him asap. Also, Aurene . . . 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 thank you to you!

Mr. Abramoff wrote back:

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.
...

Two days later, Mr. Abramoff forwarded Ms. Federici a news article about the Gun Lake tribe:

This is what we have to stop.

Ms. Federici replied:

Seeing him at 4pm today

Use of Signatures Restaurant

CREA began hosting dinners at Mr. Abramoff's restaurant, Signatures, and Mr. Abramoff picked up the tab.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on April 5, 2002:

Thank you for going to Signatures with Steve and Tom. Wish you had let me know, though, since I want to host you there! I am getting you a Club Card for the place, which will have a private discount for you (don't tell others!). Regards.

In a July 10, 2002 e-mail with "RE: CREA" in the subject line, Rodney Lane at Signatures wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

It looks like the bill was slightly over \$300 plus \$50 tip. What do you want me to do in the future?

Abramoff wrote back:

I might have to cover this if it is not more than once every couple of months.

Federici wrote to Mr. Abramoff on July 19, 2002, to say that CREA planned to file its annual report for the IRS and that it used the same accounting firm that ATR did:

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!

Ms. Federici continued hosting events at Signatures at no charge to CREA. Mr. Lane at Signatures wrote to Abramoff on March 17, 2003, to say that CREA planned a party that Thursday that would amount “to a few thousand bucks.” Abramoff replied to Lane:

We have to comp it, but submit the receipt to me and we’ll put it on the SagChip bill . . .

Meeting with Stephen Griles

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on September 24, 2002:

The chief of the Cherokees 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. It would really help Thanks so much!!!

Access to the White House

On December 16, 2002, Mr. Abramoff wrote to his former assistant, Susan Ralston, suggesting that her new employer, Karl Rove, meet with Ms. Federici:

They are getting ready to launch a huge effort in some key target states and wants to give a 10 minute briefing to Karl on it. I am raising/have raised a bunch of \$ for them. might be worth his hearing her. They know each other. Can I have her contact you directly? I will not be in this meeting. thanks.

Requesting Assistance for Tribes

On January 6, 2003, Mr. Abramoff asked Ms. Federici for a favor regarding the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe:

Hi Italia. Is there any way you might be able to discreetly find out whether this recognition is being held by one of our guys, or one of the bureaucrats? They want me to help, but I don’t want to get into something which might cause any problems for Steve or the Secretary . . .

Ms. Federici wrote back the same day:

Hi Jack: I will find out asap . . .

On January 9, 2003, Ms. Federici asked Mr. Abramoff for a favor:

I hate to bother you with this right now, but I was hoping to ask about a possible contribution to 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!)

Mr. Abramoff wrote to himself, "get her money," and then replied to her later:

Absolutely. We'll get that moving asap. The Coushattas are coming to DC next Thursday so I'll hit them immediately. By the way Gov. Foster (Louisiana) just sent Gale another letter pushing a new compact he signed for jena. Can you make sure Steve knows about this and puts the kibosh on it?

On February 6, 2003, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici with the subject line "Jena emergency":

[Redacted] just returned from Interior where he was told by the BIA . . . that they were going to approve the Jena compact and land in trust!!! This is a total disaster as you can imagine. Can you call Steve asap and try to get him to stop this. The land these Jena are trying to game on was historical [redacted] (our client) [redacted] land!!!! Please call me as soon as you can.⁴⁹

One of Mr. Abramoff's colleagues, Stephanie Short, wrote to Mr. Abramoff on March 7, 2003:

Can we find out anything from inside BIA on timing?

Mr. Abramoff forwarded the message to Ms. Federici on March 9:

I am not sure what more you can do on this, but it seems it's crunch time on Jena.

Ms. Federici replied:

Hi Jack: I will call you on Monday with whatever I can find out . . .

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on March 17, 2003, asking for help getting federal recognition for the Mashpee tribe.

Can you read this and let me know if you think this is something we can raise urgently with Steve? It seems like an incredibly reasonable approach and would benefit Interior, but we have to get to him. can we?

Ms. Federici replied the next day:

Hi Jack: I will call Steve tonight—not a problem. . . . Re: Jena—can you get me the most complete list of Congressional opposition to Jena that you have? I heard that there was at least one congressman in support . . . Need to make

⁴⁹Redactions by Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

sure that congressional opposition—the most update info and their activities—is seen by all. By the way . . . CREA event at Signatures on Thursday evening!

Meanwhile, Ms. Federici was helping make the case to Mr. Griles that the Saginaw Chippewa should get funding for a school even though staff inside the Bureau of Indian Affairs (“BIA”) disagreed. Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on March 24, 2003:

Italia, what’s going on? Is Steve buying the line from the BIA?

Ms. Federici wrote back:

Don’t worry. He just came back with what their line was and I got him the right info. He knew they would say something we disagreed with.

Mr. Abramoff replied:

Phew! Thanks!

On April 28, 2003, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici with news:

Are you around on cell to chat? We were just handed a major screw job from DoI, totally opposite of what Steve told me on the phone. Saginaw does not know yet, but might even terminate our contract over this. I am dumb-founded. Don’t do anything until we chat.

On May 6, 2003, Mr. Abramoff suggested that the Agua Caliente tribe contribute \$50,000 to CREA. His colleague, Duane R. Gibson, said that was “a lot of dough.” Mr. Abramoff responded:

Since CREA is Norton/Griles . . . I would say that it’s probably worth it, no?

Ms. Federici appeared to be helping Mr. Abramoff with many projects for his clients. He wrote to her on June 2, 2003:

Want to see if we can get a sense as to where we are on the following:

1. Sac and Fox (very important and urgent—they are now in town)
 2. Saginaw and Chippewa school cost share program (he got a big time letter from the chairmen of the House and Senate Interior Approps committee; no reaction)
 3. moving the Inspector General from Choctaw Mississippi to Coushatta election (too late since Coushatta election was Saturday, but we need to get that guy (Larry Gill) out of Choctaw.
 4. Mashpee (probably nothing up there)
 5. Jena (just to reconfirm that that is not moving)
- Thanks.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Ms. Federici on July 31, 2003, regarding the Saginaw Chippewa’s school cost-share:

This is that tribe’s key issue for the year. You might recall that Lynn Scarlett sent that letter, to which the chairmen of House and Senate Interior Approps responded strongly.

Now we have heard nothing. I can't chat with Steve, as you know. what can we do? they are really pissed at me. anything possible?

Tax Issues

It is apparent from e-mail communication that CREA became an extension of Mr. Abramoff's lobbying operation. Mr. Abramoff arranged for his clients to donate to CREA; then he called in favors for those clients through Ms. Federici's connections at the Department of the Interior. Through e-mail correspondence, she appears willing to do Mr. Abramoff's bidding, even asking what else she can do for his clients that she has not done yet.

The "contributions" to CREA described above should be characterized as fees paid by Mr. Abramoff or his clients in exchange for CREA's services in lobbying individuals at the Department of the Interior. Lobbying for a fee should be viewed as inconsistent with CREA's (or any other nonprofit's) tax-exempt purpose. It could be argued that CREA was acting on behalf of Mr. Abramoff's firm for purposes of lobbying the government, which should not be an exempt purpose for CREA. If these activities, taken alone or together with any other activities that are unrelated to CREA's exempt purposes, constituted the primary activities of CREA, CREA arguably should not be eligible for continued exemption from tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(4).

In addition, issues outlined in the Committee on Indian Affairs report raise questions of private inurement. In her deposition to the Committee on Indian Affairs staff, Ms. Federici said she could not recall having drawn a salary from CREA from 1997–2000. "It is noteworthy that Federici's salary from the CREA appears to have spiked during the period that Abramoff's tribal clients contributed to the CREA," the Committee on Indian Affairs concluded.⁵⁰

If, as suggested by the e-mails above, CREA retained a fee in exchange for taking actions that were unrelated to CREA's exempt purposes on behalf of an Abramoff client, the fee income arguably is not derived from an activity that is substantially related to the performance of the organization's tax-exempt purpose. Under such circumstances, if the activity also constitutes a trade or business and is regularly carried on, arguably the income from the activity should be taxable as unrelated business taxable income. This would require an inquiry into, among other issues, whether the activity was undertaken for a profit and whether the activity was undertaken with the frequency with which similar activities are undertaken by for-profit organizations.

If it were established that contributions by a corporate client of Mr. Abramoff's to CREA were for lobbying within the meaning of section 162(e), a business expense deduction should not have been claimed for such contributions.

⁵⁰"Gimme Five" report, p. 323.

TOWARD TRADITION

Toward Tradition describes itself as “working to restore America’s respect for the dignity and morality of business.” Rabbi Daniel Lapin, its director and founder, described Toward Tradition in an e-mail as “essentially an anti-defamation organization defending the institution of business against unfair attack.” A second area of work, he stated, is “building an alliance of Jews, Christians and other Americans to help restore America’s founding ethic of limited government, centrality of the family, and a strong defense.”⁵¹ Toward Tradition is organized under section 501(c)(3).

Mr. Abramoff served on the organization’s board of directors until 2004. He served two terms as its chairman. E-mails show that Mr. Abramoff could turn to Rabbi Lapin for a friendly newspaper column that put a client in a positive light. Indeed, the e-mail communication indicates that Mr. Abramoff planned how best to use Rabbi Lapin as a resource.

For example, in an e-mail exchange with Amy Berger, an associate at Preston Gates, Mr. Abramoff suggested that they avoid having Lapin write a letter on behalf of a client, Channel One Network. Ms. Berger already had a copy of such a letter and wanted to “get them to Jeff [Ballabon, with Channel One] for his approval.” Mr. Abramoff’s response indicates that he needed to use Lapin for another purpose to benefit the same client: “I don’t want Rabbi Lapin to do this. We are going to need him to discreetly call [James] Dobson to get Jeff a meeting, so I don’t want to put him out publicly again yet.”⁵²

In a telephone call with Minority staff, Rabbi Lapin said Toward Tradition is in the process of shutting down as a result of negative publicity related to the investigation of Mr. Abramoff. He said the corporation had not “folded” yet but that legal steps were being taken to do so.⁵³

Channel One Network

On March 11, 1999, Rabbi Lapin sent a copy of a proposed newspaper column to Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Ballabon of Channel One. The op-ed piece⁵⁴ was titled, “Is Making an Honest Living Immoral? Your Children Think So.” Mr. Ballabon wrote back to Lapin and Mr. Abramoff:

First of all, let me say that this is a terrific piece (I’m not surprised, just grateful). . . . I have just one lingering concern: It is important to realize that 10,000 of our 12,000

⁵¹ E-mail from Rabbi Lapin to Susan Ralston, Abramoff’s assistant, May 10, 2000.

⁵² E-mail from Mr. Abramoff to Amy Berger, Oct. 18, 1999.

⁵³ Telephone call with Minority staff, July 17, 2006.

⁵⁴ Rabbi Daniel Lapin, *Channel One and its generosity under attack from those who would prefer to use tax dollars for same equipment*, Knight Ridder/Tribune News Service, April 15, 1999. See Appendix.

schools are, indeed, public schools. There are two places (see my notations in the document itself) where you attack the schools themselves. . . . I think it might be more fruitful to direct your criticism at our real detractors: none of them are educators at all. They are just radical anti-business political operatives and academics who argue against Channel One despite our support from teachers of all kinds of schools with all kinds of philosophies. . . . Rather than drive in a wedge, I'd like to bring them together to attack these outside commie agitators. Once again, I think it is only an issue raised by two comments in the piece, which is magnificent. Jeff

On July 11, 1999, Amy Berger with Preston Gates wrote to Mr. Abramoff:

At last week's meeting with Jeff you suggested getting groups like TVC [Traditional Values Coalition] and Toward Tradition to give awards to Channel One. Is there anything I can do to help facilitate this? For example, there may be some Channel One specials that Toward Tradition would like (but I need to know what Toward Tradition cares about). Your thoughts?

In an August 11, 2006 letter to the Minority staff Rabbi Lapin stated that "I have no recollection of any donations that Toward Tradition received from Channel One Network and/or Primedia." He also stated that "I do not believe that Toward Tradition ever gave any award to Channel One", and that the article on Channel One "never saw the light of day."

Magazine Publishers of America

Toward Tradition is one of the organizations that Mr. Abramoff and his colleagues turned to in 2000 when it needed public-relations help for its client, Magazine Publishers of America.

Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Heiman on May 9, 2000, with the subject line "replacement for Americans for Economic Growth":

As soon as I hear back from you that this is OK, I'll see if I can get Lapin to do a piece for us for free so we have two-fer.

Mr. Heiman wrote back to Mr. Abramoff, discussing the issue of a donation with James Cregan of MPA:

terrific. I don't see a problem. I'll raise with Cregan. Will need something on the group. Is it 501c3? Maybe the theme should be its immoral to keep other people's money—when you know you can save money and won't.

On May 13, 2000, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Susan Ralston on the same subject:

Yes, MPA is going to give to Toward Tradition. Choctaw and elot will give to National Center. Can you call Betty to see how we are doing on turning that check around?

“Awards” for Mr. Abramoff

On September 15, 2000, Mr. Abramoff asked Rabbi Lapin for a list of awards they could say he won to help him get into the Cosmos Club in Washington.

. . . most prospective members have received awards and I have received none. I was wondering if you thought it possible that I could put that I have received an award from Toward Tradition with a sufficiently academic title, perhaps something like Scholar of Talmudic Studies? . . . It would be even better if it were possible that I received these in years past, if you know what I mean. Anyway, I think you see what I am trying to finagle here! . . .

Rabbi Lapin wrote back on September 19, 2000:

Yes, I just need to know what needs to be produced . . . letters? Plaques? Neither?

Mr. Abramoff replied:

Probably just a few clever titles of awards, dates and that’s it. As long as you can be the person to verify them (or we can have someone else verify one and you the other), we should be set. Do you have any creative titles, or should I dip into my bag of tricks?

Mr. Lapin later wrote a column saying that on no occasion did Toward Tradition or any organization he was affiliated with create an award or present one to Mr. Abramoff.⁵⁵ However, in an e-mail Mr. Lapin sent on October 5, 2000, Lapin wrote to Mr. Abramoff saying he had found records of awards at three organizations and that he understood Mr. Abramoff may have trouble finding the “long forgotten (but well deserved)” awards in movers’ boxes:

Pacific Jewish Center, Los Angeles, California.

President: Michael Medved. Rabbi: Daniel Lapin.

In February 1988 you were honored with the award that recognized you as PJC Distinguished Professor of Talmudic Law in recognition of the lectures you delivered during 1987. Very pretty blue granite looking type of plaque if I recall correctly.

Toward Tradition, Mercer Island, Washington.

President: Daniel Lapin. National Director: Yarden Weidenfeld

In the summer of 1994 you were given the award that identified you as Toward Tradition’s Scholar of Biblical and American History.

Canadian Business Institute, Seattle and New York City

President: Lewis Kaufman. Director: Julian Hurst

⁵⁵“Jack Abramoff and Toward Tradition,” by Rabbi Daniel Lapin, www.towardtradition.org/jack_abramoff_and_TT.htm. See Appendix.

In October 1999 you accepted the award that recognized your service in establishing CBI's course in Biblical Mercantile Law in which you served as adjunct professor.

Hope that helps

In the August 11, 2006 letter to the Minority staff Rabbi Lapin stated that Mr. Abramoff had "humorously inquired as to whether I could create an award for him to which I responded equally frivolously along the lines of filling a wall of awards for him."

On December 13, 2000, Mr. Abramoff sent an e-mail to Ms. Ralston:

I told R'Lapin that I probably need to step down as chairman of Toward Tradition.

Tax Issues

If it were established that actions described above taken by Toward Tradition were not consistent with the organization's exempt purposes, and that such activities taken alone or together with other unrelated activities were substantial in relation to exempt activities, or if such activities amount to a substantial nonexempt purpose, it is possible that the organization would not qualify for continued exempt status under section 501(c)(3).

With additional factual development, it may be possible to show that one or more private persons who are not insiders of the organization directly received a more than incidental private benefit as a result of the actions of Toward Tradition. For example, depending on the facts, it may be possible to show that Mr. Abramoff or his clients received a substantial private benefit from Toward Tradition's publication of an article favorable them. Such an argument might be bolstered by any facts that demonstrated that the organization undertook the activity primarily to benefit Mr. Abramoff or his clients and only secondarily to further exempt purposes.

If it were established that an Abramoff client received a substantial return benefit from a contribution to Toward Tradition, the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution. If it were established that such organizations engaged in lobbying (within the meaning of section 162(e)) on matters of direct financial interest to an Abramoff client and the contributions were made to avoid nondeductibility under section 162(e), the contribution should not have been deductible as a charitable contribution.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Sufficiently serious issues have been raised about the behavior of nonprofit organizations, based on the materials reviewed by the Senate Finance Committee's Minority staff, to justify referral of this report to the Department of Treasury, the Internal Revenue Service and the Department of Justice for further review. Final judgments will be reached by those Federal Departments, which have the ultimate responsibility to enforce the law and regulations relating to nonprofits, the personnel to conduct full investigations, and full subpoena power.

The Minority staff found a large number of questionable activities by the nonprofits named in Mr. Abramoff's and other's e-mails. It appears that lobbying, public relations work and, in some cases, disguising the source of funds was conducted by the nonprofits examined in this report. A variety of tax-law standards for the operation of nonprofits may have been violated.

In general, a substantial part of a tax-exempt entity's activities cannot be for the benefit of a for-profit entity. Mr. Abramoff used nonprofit organizations for his lobbying practice. These organizations clearly acted to benefit Mr. Abramoff and his lobbying interests. If it is found that these activities were a substantial or a primary activity of these organizations, then the exemption from taxes for these nonprofit entities could be revoked.

The private inurement and private benefit prohibitions also are at issue. Although the staff did not find direct evidence of violations of these two prohibitions, there are significant indications that such violations occurred.

Substantial issues related to the unrelated business income tax are raised by the e-mails. In general, charities and social welfare organizations are subject to tax on income from for-profit activities that are not substantially related to exempt purposes. Based on the information contained in this report, there is a strong likelihood that lobbying, public relations work and disguising the source of funds for a specific "client" for a fee are not charitable or a social welfare purpose and income from such activities may be subject to the unrelated business income tax.

IRC Section 162(e) provides that business expenses can be deducted, including contributions to nonprofit organizations. However, if a contribution to a section 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4) organization is made in connection with lobbying by such organizations, then that payment *cannot be deducted*. Did companies or organizations deduct as a business expense payments to nonprofit organizations involved with Mr. Abramoff that were then used to advance a lobbying agenda?

At least three additional provisions of the tax code should be analyzed in light of the materials described in this report:

- Section 6701 generally imposes a monetary penalty against any person who assists in the preparation of a document that understates the liability for tax of another person.
- Section 7206 imposes substantial criminal penalties on a person who produces a tax return made under penalty of perjury which that person does not believe to be true. If it were established that the exempt organization had, but did not report, unrelated business taxable income, and the person who signed the organization's return under penalty of perjury knew that such income improperly was excluded from the return, such person arguably could be subject to criminal penalties under Section 7206.
- Section 7201 imposes substantial criminal penalties for tax evasion—any person who willfully attempts in any manner to evade or defeat any federal tax on the payment of such tax could be guilty of a felony.

Again, law enforcement entities with greater resources should make a final determination on these issues.

Regardless of the outcome of additional investigations, what should not be tolerated are tax breaks given to so-called nonprofit organizations that perform lobbying, public relations and/or disguising the source of funds for a fee. These activities cannot be defended because they violate the principle that these section 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations are to be organized for charitable or social welfare purposes.

Activity that is no different from the operations of lobbying and public relations firms—who are paid by clients to lobby and do public relations on a specific issue—should not be treated as a social welfare activity and granted tax-favored status. What is the rationale for allowing tax-favored entities, organized as nonprofits, to engage in the same behavior as lobbying and public relations firms? If this activity is permitted, then should not lobbying firms and public relations firms enjoy the same tax-exempt status?

We recommend the Committee consider legislation clearly addressing the practices exposed in this report. The Minority staff has developed the following options for discussion with the Majority staff and Members of the Finance Committee.

REFORMS RELATING TO SECTION 501(c)(3) ORGANIZATIONS

The following are potential reforms that should be examined in light of the findings of this report:

1. Provide that, for purposes of section 501(c)(3), “lobbying” includes payment of travel, meals, and similar expenses of a government official by a section 501(c)(3) organization if a registered lobbyist (or person related to the lobbyist, including the lobbying firm) is a disqualified person or substantial contributor of the section 501(c)(3) organization.

2. Require section 501(c)(3) organizations that pay the travel, meal, and similar expenses of a government official publicly to disclose (1) their corporate donors, and (2) contributions of a registered lobbyist above a certain amount.

3. Increase the rate of tax on excess lobbying expenses imposed on the organization and on the organization manager under section 4912.

4. Expand the definition of lobbying activity under section 501(c)(3) to cover the lobbying of the Executive branch (including administrative agencies) and lobbying with respect to federal appointments.

5. Provide that, in general, the present law proxy tax (section 6033) would apply to section 501(c)(3) organizations. Under such an approach, a section 501(c)(3) organization would have to calculate the percentage of expenses of the organization that go to lobbying. The 501(c)(3) organization then would either have to inform donors that such percentage of their contribution would not be deductible, or otherwise the organization would have to pay a proxy tax.

6. Consider whether to provide for special rules for section 501(c)(3) organizations with respect to which a Member of Congress is a founder or exercises control (alone or together with related parties and paid staff of the Member). For example, section 501(c)(3) organizations could be required to disclose any contributions made by a corporation or a registered lobbyist.

**REFORMS RELATING TO SECTION 501(c)(4) AND OTHER
501(c) ORGANIZATIONS**

1. Provide that corporate contributions to section 501(c)(4) organizations that engage in lobbying either are not deductible under section 162 as business expenses or are subject to an excise tax or treated as income from an unrelated trade or business.

2. Alternatively, provide that if a contribution is accepted by a section 501(c)(4) organization (whether or not it engages in lobbying activity) with any expectation of a quid pro quo, then the contribution income is treated as income from an unrelated trade or business (and thus is subject to unrelated business income tax).

3. Require that section 501(c)(4) organizations that engage in lobbying publicly disclose all corporate donors.

4. Impose an excise tax on section 501(c) organization managers that knowingly accept and disburse contributions for the primary purpose of facilitating a transaction for the benefit of the contributor if the transaction does not directly further exempt purposes.

APPENDIX

ARTICLES

BusinessWeek online

TOP NEWS | BW MAGAZINE | INVESTING | ASIA | EUROPE | TECHNOLOGY | AUTOS | INNOVATION | SMALL BIZ | B-SCHOOL

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Op-Eds for Sale

A columnist from a libertarian think tank admits accepting payments to promote an indicted lobbyist's clients. Will more examples follow?

A senior fellow at the Cato Institute resigned from the libertarian think tank on Dec. 15 after admitting that he had accepted payments from indicted Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff for writing op-ed articles favorable to the positions of some of Abramoff's clients. Doug Bandow, who writes a syndicated column for Copley News Service, told BusinessWeek Online that he had accepted money from Abramoff for writing between 12 and 24 articles over a period of years, beginning in the mid '90s.

"It was a lapse of judgment on my part, and I take full responsibility for it," Bandow said from a California hospital, where he's recovering from recent knee surgery.

After receiving BusinessWeek Online's inquiries about the possibility of payments, Cato Communications Director Jamie Dettmer said the think-tank determined that Bandow "engaged in what we consider to be inappropriate behavior and he considers to be a lapse in judgment" and accepted his resignation. "Cato has an excellent reputation for integrity, and we're zealous in guarding that," Dettmer said.

Bandow has written more than 150 editorials and columns over the past five years, each identifying his Cato affiliation. His syndicated column for Copley News Service is featured in several hundred newspapers across the country. Bandow's biography on the Cato Institute Web site says he has also appeared as a commentator on all the major television broadcast networks and the cable news channels.

MULTIPLE TRAVAILS. A former Abramoff associate says Bandow and at least one other think-tank expert were typically paid \$2,000 per column to address specific topics of interest to Abramoff's clients. Bandow's standing as a columnist and think-tank analyst provided a seemingly independent validation of the arguments the Abramoff team were using to try to sway Congressional action.

Bandow confirms that he received \$2,000 for some pieces, but says it was "usually less than that amount." He says he wrote all the pieces himself, though with topics and information provided by Abramoff. He adds that he wouldn't write about subjects that didn't interest him.

Abramoff was indicted in Florida in August on wire-fraud charges in relation to his purchase of a Florida casino-boat company. He faces trial in January in that case.

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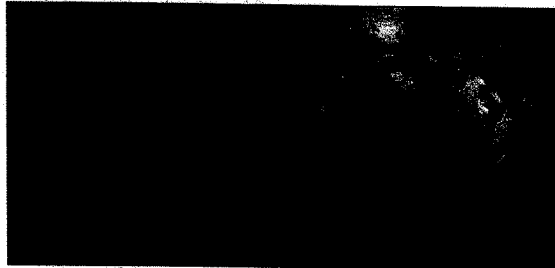
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Philanthropy	Separately, a Senate committee and a Justice Dept. task force are investigating allegations that Abramoff defrauded some of his clients -- a handful of American Indian tribes that had gotten wealth from running casino-gaming operations on their reservations. Abramoff's business partner, Michael Scanlon, pleaded guilty in November to conspiring to corrupt public officials with gifts, including political contributions, and defrauding clients, and is cooperating with the ongoing probe.
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Stock Screeners	
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	<p>ATTITUDE SWING. A review of Bandow's columns and other written work shows that he wrote favorably about Abramoff's Indian tribal clients -- as well as another Abramoff client, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands -- as far back as 1997. One column, syndicated by the Copley News Service, saluted one Abramoff client tribe, the Mississippi Choctaws, for their entrepreneurial spirit, hard work, and commitment to free enterprise. "The Choctaws offer a model for other tribes," Bandow wrote.</p> <p>Bandow wrote a column earlier this year -- well after the disclosure that Abramoff was under federal investigation -- saying that wealthy Indian tribes had become yet another "well-funded special interest seeking political favors." In response to BusinessWeek Online's inquiry, Bandow said his views of Indian gambling have shifted over the years. "It's gone well beyond what it once was," he said.</p> <p>In none of Bandow's op-eds were any Abramoff payments disclosed, however -- nor were they disclosed to the Cato Institute. On Dec. 16, Copley News Service announced it is suspending Bandow pending its own review. In a statement, Glenda Winders, Copley News Service editor and vice-president, said: "We want to make sure we have all the facts before we take final action. But it had never been our policy to distribute work paid for by third parties whose role is not disclosed by the columnist."</p> <p>For years, rumors have swirled of an underground opinion "pay-for-play" industry in Washington in which think-tank employees and pundits trade their ability to shape public perception for cash.</p> <p>"NAIVE PURITY STANDARD." Bandow isn't the only think-tanker to have received payments from Abramoff for writing articles. Peter Ferrara, a senior policy adviser at the conservative Institute for Policy Innovation, says he, too, took money from Abramoff to write op-ed pieces boosting the lobbyist's clients. "I do that all the time," Ferrara says. "I've done that in the past, and I'll do it in the future."</p> <p>Ferrara, who has been an influential conservative voice on Social Security reform, among other issues, says he doesn't see a conflict of interest in taking undisclosed money to write op-ed pieces because his columns never violated his ideological principles.</p> <p>"It's a matter of general support," Ferrara says. "These are my views, and if you want to support them, then that's good." But he adds that at some point over the years, Abramoff stopped working with him: "Jack lost interest in me and felt he had other writers who were writing in more prominent publications," Ferrara says.</p> <p>"SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS." Ferrara's boss has a very different take on the Abramoff op-ed writing than did his peers at Cato. "If somebody pinned me down and said, 'Do you think this is wrong or unethical?' I'd say no," says Tom Giovanetti, president of the Institute for Policy Innovation. Giovanetti says critics are applying a "naive purity standard" to the op-ed business. "I have a sense that there are a lot of people at think tanks who have similar arrangements."</p> <p>Ferrara began working at the Institute for Policy Innovation after the period during which he wrote the op-ed pieces for Abramoff. Earlier, he worked at the activist anti-tax organization Americans for Tax Reform.</p>

Undergrad Programs	Ferrara wouldn't say which publications have published pieces for which Abramoff paid him. But a review of his work shows that he wrote articles for <i>The Washington Times</i> that were favorable to the Choctaw Indians and the Mariana Islands. He also wrote a 1998 book called <i>The Choctaw Revolution: Lessons for Federal Indian Policy</i> . Ferrara says the tribe paid him directly for his work on the book, which was published by the Americans for Tax Reform Foundation and is still available for sale on Amazon.com (AMZN).
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Grover Norquist said gambling interests were not what prompted him to arrange White House meetings for the tribes. (Globe Staff File Photo / Dina Rudick)

Antitax activist says he got \$1.5m from tribes Set up policy talks with president

The Boston Globe

By Michael Kranish, Globe Staff | May 13, 2005

WASHINGTON -- Antitax activist Grover Norquist said yesterday that his organization has received nearly \$1.5 million from Indian tribes in the past five years and that he arranged for tribal leaders to attend meetings to discuss tax policy with President Bush every year for the past four years.

Indian tribes have opposed longstanding proposals to impose a federal tax on their gaming revenues. A White House official said Bush did meet with tribal leaders in small groups that also included state legislators but said that federal policy on Indian casinos was not discussed.

Norquist, who has never before revealed the extent of the money he received from Indians, said he invited the tribes to meet with Bush because they supported the president's tax cut policies, not to lobby for casino interests.

Norquist also said for the first time that his group, Americans for Tax Reform, sent \$1.15 million, which came from a single Indian tribe that runs a casino in Mississippi, to two antigambling groups who were opposing rival gaming operations in next-door Alabama.

The Alabama Christian Coalition, which has a strict policy against receiving money tied to gambling interests, received \$850,000, and Citizens Against Legalized Lottery received \$300,000, Norquist said.

Norquist said he sent money to the two antigambling groups in Alabama because the tribe wanted to block gambling competition in that state. He said he and his staff never informed the Alabama Christian Coalition about the original source of the funds.

John Giles, president of the Alabama Christian Coalition, confirmed that he received a contribution from Americans for Tax Reform in 2000 and was never told the money originated from a tribe with gambling interests. "I confirm to you that ATR was a donor, and we do not accept gambling money directly or indirectly, period," Giles said.

Jim Cooper, the former chairman of Citizens Against Legalized Lottery, said he recalled receiving a large donation but didn't have his records available to confirm that it was \$300,000. But he said that "to the best of our knowledge we received no money from sources related to gambling."

Norquist's role in helping the Indian tribes has been examined during investigations into his longtime friend, Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who consulted for Indian tribes with gaming interests and advised them to donate large sums to organizations with ties to top Republicans. Two Senate committees and the Justice

Department are all probing allegations that Abramoff took advantage of the tribes and used them to funnel money to his friends.

Norquist agreed to be interviewed this week to respond to questions from the Globe about his role in helping Indian tribes with casino interests and his connection to Abramoff, a friend from his days organizing college Republicans in Massachusetts.

A native of Weston, Mass., Norquist, 48, has become one of the most influential figures in Washington, bringing together White House officials and leading conservatives in weekly meetings to promote policies that cut taxes. He has always refused to reveal the names of donors to his group – a refusal he said he recently repeated to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, which is investigating groups lobbying for Indian tribes.

Norquist said his group's role in setting up White House meetings for tribal leaders, and his role in funneling money to antigambling groups in Alabama, were consistent with his longstanding positions against new taxation and state lotteries.

"This is all completely legit," Norquist said during one of three interviews this week. "The only reason someone would try to make it sound bad is they don't like Indians or Abramoff."

Norquist told the Globe that meetings with Bush happened on an annual basis between 2001 and 2004, with several tribal leaders involved in each meeting.

Erin Healy, a White House spokesman, confirmed that tribal leaders met with Bush on numerous occasions and that the meetings included discussions of tax policy. "The president does meet with local and community and tribal leaders . . . to talk about his priorities and issues he is focusing on," Healy said.

During a congressional hearing last year, Bernie Sprague, subchief of the Saginaw Chippewa tribe, said that he was told by Abramoff to contribute \$25,000 to Norquist's group. When Sprague was asked why his tribe contributed the money to Norquist, he responded: "It was because Mr. Abramoff suggested that we make these donations to these various groups and organizations . . . because they help us."

Norquist, however, is taking pains to demonstrate that his efforts to introduce the tribal leaders to Bush were unrelated to their contributions to his group.

On May 6, his group sent letters to the leaders of the Saginaw Chippewa tribe of Michigan and the Coushatta Indian tribe of Louisiana. In the letters, which he provided to the Globe, a Norquist aide wrote that the meeting with the president took place because of the tribe's involvement in a group that supported Bush's tax cuts.

"There may be some confusion on behalf of a previous administration of your tribe. . . . Recent press reports appeared to suggest that some staff of your tribe's previous leadership thought that they were making a contribution to ATR in order to be invited to a White House event," wrote Norquist's associate, Amanda K. Hydro. She wrote that the meeting was "an effort to involve Indian nations and state legislatures in federal policy."

Norquist, asked if he was aware that Abramoff was telling tribes to contribute to Americans for Tax Reform, said he wasn't aware of a specific instance, but he said: "If Jack said to tribes, 'You don't want to be taxed, you should support ATR,' that makes sense that he would do that."

Abramoff declined comment, a spokesman said.

Norquist declined to name the tribe that gave his group the \$1.15 million that was turned over to the Alabama antigambling groups. He did say he has worked closely with the Choctaws, who have a casino in Mississippi. Norquist said his donor list is secret and it would be up to tribes to acknowledge any role as a funder. A Choctaw spokesman declined to comment.

Norquist's \$850,000 contribution to the Alabama Christian Coalition has not been previously made public. Asked why he didn't tell the coalition that the money originated with an Indian tribe that runs a casino, Norquist

said his group said nothing to the coalition to "suggest it was a contribution anything other than from ATR. There is not anything more to the story."

Norquist said he was not aware of the coalition's policy against accepting gambling-related money, and he said he couldn't say whether the tribe's contribution came from gambling profits or other revenues, although he acknowledged it ran a casino.

The Alabama Christian Coalition says on its website that it has a strict policy against taking gambling-related money.

"While there is nothing illegal about taking gambling money, for the [coalition] to willingly do so would be abhorrently unethical," the website reads.

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The Washington Times

January 30, 1999, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART C; COMMENTARY; Pg. C3

LENGTH: 877 words

HEADLINE: Tuning in to Channel One

BYLINE: Grover Norquist

BODY:

An independent news media outlet not controlled by liberals has seeped into the public schools. The liberals are hysterical in trying to stop it.

Channel One Network provides a daily 12 minute news program for middle and high school students in 12,000 public, private and parochial schools across the country. Its daily audience of 8.5 million is quite close to the daily audience of the major network evening news shows. Indeed, Channel One reaches 5 times as many teen-agers each day as the news shows on ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN combined.

Each school that signs up for Channel One receives \$50,000 worth of telecommunications equipment, including a fixed KU band satellite dish, 19-inch color TVs in every classroom, VCRs and internal wiring, with complete maintenance by Channel One. Apart from Channel One's daily news program, the school can use this telecommunications network for any other educational, training or student programming they choose.

Indeed, Channel One provides an additional two hours per day of optional educational programming, including historical documentaries, biographies and programs on mathematics, science and art. After the school receives the Channel One service for six years, all the telecommunications equipment becomes the property of the school.

The entirely original daily news program is produced by Channel One's own staff and reporters on location around the world. The program is geared to interest teen-agers in the news and is highly popular with students. The Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan reports that 93 percent of teachers and 85 percent of school principals say they would recommend Channel One to other schools. The daily news show now has more than 159 awards in less than 10 years, including the Faith and Values Award, the Responsibility in Television Award, and the prestigious George-Foster Peabody Award.

The news program is provided to each school every day in advance for prescreening. If the school considers the program inappropriate in any way, it doesn't have to air it for the students. That has almost never happened in nearly 10 years of broadcasts.

And what does Channel One charge the students for this entire service? Absolutely nothing. The entire operation is financed at a profit by 2 minutes of commercials in the daily 12 minute broadcast.

Critics accuse Channel One of committing capitalism in the classroom with its commercials. But those 2 minutes of ads each day are a far better way of financing the telecommunications equipment and programming Channel One provides than using taxpayer funds. Channel One has come up with a brilliant free market innovation that can translate into lower taxes.

Indeed, every newspaper and magazine used in a classroom is filled with ads, as is the Internet, now used in schools as well. Ads also are found in student newspapers and yearbooks, and at school sports events. Channel One ads are the same as those seen on network TV by teen-agers every day.

Critics also lamely claim that with Channel One students are wasting valuable class time watching TV. But Channel One is simply an advanced technological version of educational films, which have been used in schools at least since the 1950s. Teachers use the Channel One news programs to begin discussions of classroom subjects referenced in the broadcasts, as well as using the longer educational programs to help teach basic subjects across the board.

Here's some better clues to the real source of opposition. Channel One producer, Andy Hill, is one of the creators of the prime-time TV shows "Touched By An Angel" and "Promised Land," acclaimed by conservatives as the best on TV. Channel One, in fact, publicly touts itself as "an old-fashioned newscast that often reflects traditional values no longer see non-network news."

One liberal academic attacked Channel One because its programs "often highlight a conservative viewpoint and valorize male role models." Repeating that criticism, a study from the Vassar Department of Sociology also complains about Channel One reports "on the flat tax, punishment for violent teen-agers, and the proposed amendment to ban flag burning." One supportive teacher says without Channel One her students "wouldn't know who Pat Buchanan was."

The Vassar study further complains that Channel One programs "suggest, often quite directly, that the fundamental issues are about individual moral choices. For example, a report on teen-age mothers closed with an explicit call for teen abstinence from sexual activity. And reports on teen-age pregnancy and teens in prison suggested that teens are responsible for their own poor choices and resulting consequences." Horrors!

At least Catholic schools know a good deal when they see one. Monsignor John W. Jordan, executive director of Serve Our Schools and Parishes, writes to Channel One, "The traditional values you espouse are highly consistent with those we teach. Channel One has proven to be a staunch friend to traditional Catholic educators."

Public schools that do not have Channel One are missing out on a good deal for the taxpayers as well as their students.

Grover **Norquist** is president of Americans for Tax Reform.

LOAD-DATE: January 30, 1999

Document 1 of 1

POLICY BRIEF FROM AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

The Clear Benefits of Channel One

By Peter J. Ferrara
May 19, 1999

In this Policy Brief:

- **What is Channel One?**
- **The True Costs of Channel One**
- **The True Benefits of Channel One**
- **Conclusions**

Channel One is an original, daily, 12 minute news program created expressly for teenagers. It is beamed by satellite each night to about 12,000 public, private and parochial middle and high schools across the country. It is shown the next day on classroom television monitors to an audience of 8.1 million students, reaching 5 times as many teenagers as the daily news shows of ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN combined.

In a 1998 study, Max Sawicky and Alex Molnar concluded that Channel One costs taxpayers across the country \$1.8 billion each year. This study, however, was deeply flawed methodologically and its conclusions, therefore, are incorrect.

The truth is that Channel One involves no costs to taxpayers. It is a free service financed by 2 minutes of paid commercials during each daily 12 minute news program.

Indeed, taxpayers receive considerable net benefits from Channel One. First, the daily news program is used to educate students about current events, social studies, economics, geography, history and other subjects. Teachers and school administrators have heavily praised the program for its educational value, and it has won numerous prestigious awards.

Moreover, Channel One also offers subscribers several hours of optional, free educational videos each week covering a wide range of subjects and these videos are also heavily used by the schools. In addition, Channel One provides each subscribing school, also free of

charge, with its own telecommunications equipment to receive and transmit the news program and educational videos. This equipment can then be used by the school for any other broadcast, video, or student activity it chooses.

This arrangement, therefore, greatly benefits taxpayers as well as students. As we will discuss, the value of the full range of benefits provided by Channel One is at least \$425 million for the public schools alone. In fact, taxpayers should question schools that do not have Channel One as to why they have not taken advantage of the windfall from this market innovation.

These issues will be thoroughly discussed in this report. We will begin by first discussing in more detail Channel One and the service it provides. Then we will discuss the findings of Sawicky and Molnar, and why their analysis is flawed and their conclusions incorrect. In the process, we will analyze the true costs and benefits of Channel One.

What Is Channel One?

Channel One provides a daily 12 minute news program for middle and high school students in about 12,000 middle and high schools across the country, including public, private and parochial schools. This covers about 40% of all middle and high schools in the country.

The news program is entirely original, produced by Channel One's own staff and reporters on location around the world. The program is written and designed specifically to interest teenagers. It is beamed by satellite each night to the subscribing schools, and then shown on TV monitors in each classroom the next day. The daily audience includes about 8.1 million students, which is close to the daily audience of the major network evening new shows. Indeed, Channel One reaches 5 times as many teenagers each day as the news shows on ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN combined.

No one is forced to watch Channel One. The program is available for prescreening each morning by school administrators and teachers. If the school considers the program inappropriate in any way, it doesn't have to air it for students. If an individual teacher doesn't want to use the program in their classrooms that day, they can opt their class out as well. If an individual student's parents don't want their child watching Channel One for any reason, they can choose to have their child opt out as well. In about 10 years of Channel One broadcasts, however, any such opting out has been negligible.

Each school that subscribes to Channel One receives about \$25,000 worth of telecommunications equipment, so that it can receive and broadcast the daily news program to its students. This equipment includes a fixed KU band satellite dish, an addressable receiver, 19 or 25 inch color TVs in every classroom, VCRs, and internal wiring with complete maintenance by Channel One. Apart from Channel One's daily news program, the school can use this telecommunications network for any other educational, training, or student programming it chooses.

In fact, Channel One provides hours of additional, optional, educational programming every day, including historical documentaries, biographies, and programs on mathematics, science, and art. This adds up to over 250 hours and more than 400 separate programs each year. In schools subscribing to Channel One, 97% of teachers report that they have used these videos, and two-thirds (66%) say they do so frequently. Buying the library of educational videos themselves would cost each school about \$36,000 per year.

Students, teachers and administrators report a high level of satisfaction with Channel One. Remarkably, 99% of schools subscribing to the service renew their contracts each year. A 1994 study by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan found 93% of teachers in schools using Channel One would recommend it to other schools. A more recent, 1999 study by Applied Research Consulting (ARC) found that after 10 years of operation now 98% of teachers in Channel One schools would recommend it. The same proportion, 98%, also wanted their schools to continue to receive Channel One. Channel One is now seen by over 400,000 teachers every day.

The study also found that 91% of these teachers think Channel One is valuable in informing their students about current events. In addition, 89% believe students learn more from Channel One than from news seen at home, and 80% regularly discuss the shows in their classes. Over 90% of the teachers also report that Channel One programs are appropriate for teenagers, interesting to teens, and driven by positive values. And 94% report that they believe Channel One reporters were good role models for their students

Among students, the ARC study found that 85% wanted their school to keep Channel One. The students reported that Channel One was educational, interesting, and their "No. 1 source of news." Over three-fourths of students also report that the information they learn from

watching Channel One is as valuable or even more valuable than the other things they learn in school. A Gallup poll also found that 86% of teenagers thought Channel One was an "Excellent" or "Good" idea for their schools.

In the 1997-98 school year, Channel One correspondents broadcast original news segments from nearly 2 dozen countries around the world. Original interviews have recently included General Colin Powell, Newt Gingrich, Walter Cronkite, Mikhail Gorbachev, and House Speaker Dennis Hastert, who gave his only interview on his first day as Speaker to Channel One.

Channel One coverage focuses on aspects of stories that would be particularly interesting to teenagers. For example, the coverage of the death of Jordan's King Hussein discussed the challenges Hussein faced when he became King as a teenager. The segment was also able to devote time to the history of Jordan, providing educational information to teenagers that helps them put the story in context. This would not be included in the more rushed network newscasts.

Channel One stories also cover positive role models for teenagers. Our story discussed a young man who climbed out of poverty and ended up at the U.S. Naval Academy. Another discussed a high school student who spent the summer doing volunteer work for Mother Theresa.

The philosophy of Channel One is to emphasize facts and in-depth coverage and avoid the sensationalism of much of TV news. TIME magazine reports,

"Perhaps most impressive is Channel One's coverage of world affairs. At a time when the broadcast networks are cutting back on their overseas coverage, Channel One has sent its correspondents to Haiti, Rwanda, Bosnia and other global hot spots. Their stories often run three or four minutes - enormous by network news standards - and have an immediacy young audiences can relate to.

Similarly, in a story entitled "Day v. Night", *Brill's Content Magazine* last fall compared Channel One's coverage of major news events quite favorably to the NBC Nightly News. Among other issues, the article noted Channel One's sensitive treatment of the school shootings in Jonesboro, Ark. Afraid that extensive coverage might produce copycat

shootings, Channel One delayed coverage while it consulted with teachers nationwide. It's coverage then focused on how some students had heard of the shooting plot and failed to report it. The segment encouraged students to look out for signs of danger and report potential trouble. Channel One was also praised for its sensitive handling of the Clinton/Lewinsky story.

Channel One now has a formal cooperative arrangement with ABC News, sharing news coverage and resources. As a result, Channel One reporters have appeared on ABC News broadcasts, and Peter Jennings and Ted Koppel have co-anchored Channel One programs. Channel One has also worked cooperatively on news stories with *Time* magazine, *U.S. News and World Report*, and *USA Weekend*.

Channel One's President of Programming is Andrew Hill, who holds a master's degree in education and was formerly President of CBS Productions. In that capacity, he produced some of the best and most widely proclaimed family programs on television, including *Touched by an Angel*, *Promised Land*, and *Dr. Quinn's, Medicine Woman*. The Channel One staff includes several other former major network news journalists and senior educators.

Channel One provides teachers with guides, calendars, lesson plans, academic resources, and other materials to help them integrate the news program and optional videos into their curriculum. A daily Educator's Guide offers suggestions regarding how to incorporate upcoming news programs and educational videos into teacher's lesson plans. It includes discussion questions relating to the newscast and the videos to promote classroom analysis after the programs are shown.

The Channel One service also includes a website for teachers offering daily lesson plans, academic resources, and discussion groups with other teachers around the country. It also provides analysis and sequencing questions to help develop critical thinking skills, and a daily writing assignment for students so teachers can use the news program to help develop composition skills. Another section helps teachers instruct students regarding vocabulary words used in broadcasts.

Teachers consequently do use the Channel One newscast as a starting off point for classroom discussions and instruction. It is obviously useful in this regard in Current Events and Social Studies classes. But it can also be useful in teaching geography, English, science and math. The educational videos, of course, are directly instructional in almost every subject.

Bruce Hunter, Principal of Washington Middle School in Seattle, Wash. Explains how and why his teachers use Channel One:

"We feel middle-school students don't get enough information about the news...[Channel One] is an opportunity for us to give them that experience each day and use it as an opportunity to discuss current events."

Similarly, Jake Summerall, a teacher at Nazareth Academy in La Grange Park, Ill. writes,

"I teach a Current Events class and let me tell you, my students really enjoy watching the program every morning. Most of our class discussions are based on your cover stories that we watch and learn about every morning. It's a pleasure to view your show and I would like to say, keep up the excellent job that is being done."

From Phoenix City Middle School in Phoenix City, Alabama, teacher Nikki Robertson writes,

My sixth grade Social Studies classes love to watch Channel One every day! The students keep a Channel One journal in which they write about the stories they view on Channel One each day. They also locate, mark, and write the latitude and longitude of locations discussed in Channel One stories each day. Not only do the students get a daily dose of map skills, they also stay current on daily events. I feel that through the use of Channel One in my classroom my students are more prepared for life in the real world.

Cheryl Huddleston, a teacher in Hot Springs High School in Hot Springs, South Dakota also writes, "almost all of your topics have been relevant jumping off points for other discussions in my class."

Catholic schools have found Channel One highly beneficial as well. Monsignor John Jordan of the National Catholic Education Association writes,

"Channel One is a valued part of daily education in 1100 of our Catholic schools. Channel One is viewed daily by thousands of religious

and lay teachers who monitor your programming. The traditional values you espouse are highly consistent with those we teach.

Jordan also writes,

"The Channel One network helps to deliver our training programs to the thousands of teachers in our Catholic secondary and middle schools throughout North America. The Channel One Network, as a medium for this project, has opened up avenues for teachers to receive theology courses via live interactive television. Reaching over 1100 Catholic schools just through Channel One is ...a real gold mine for Catholic schools.

The daily Channel One news show has now won over 200 journalism awards after just 10 years of broadcasts. These include the prestigious George Foster Peabody award, the Edward R. Murrow Responsibility in Television Award, the Faith and Values Award, the Christopher Award, and the Catholic Julian Award. For years, the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service has also broadcast Channel One's daily news show to American personnel stationed in 156 countries around the world, including Germany, Italy, Turkey, Panama, the Azores, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, Korea, Cuba, Iceland, Spain, Greece, the Indian Ocean, and the Marshall Islands.

Some have criticized Channel One for the two minutes of advertising on its daily newscast, which finances the entire service – the news program, the educational videos, and the telecommunications equipment. But every newspaper and magazine used in a classroom contains numerous ads, as does the Internet, now used in schools as well. Ads are also found in student newspapers and yearbooks, at school sporting events, and on educational software.

The Channel One ads are standard network fare that students would generally have seen at home. Indeed, Channel One rejects as inappropriate some ads that are run on national TV. Channel One will not accept ads regarding tobacco products, alcoholic beverages, abortion, contraception, firearms, movies not rated G or PG, politics, prescription drugs, gambling, and others. Over the years, moreover, Channel One has run over \$100 million worth of public service ads free of charge, for such causes as the Partnership for a Drug Free America, the Centers for Disease Control, the American Cancer Society, the Points of Light Foundation, the Center for Gang Violence, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

Most importantly, a study of this advertising issue by researchers at Boston University and Santa Clara University found that students understand that the commercials pay for the educational programs and that the school is not endorsing the products advertised. The students recognize this in regard to Channel One just as they do for ads in newspapers and magazines distributed in class, or in their student and hometown newspapers.

Educators generally seem to reach the same conclusion on this issue as the staff of the Kansas State Board of Education, which found,

American students benefit educationally from well-designed, well produced, and informative daily news programs designed especially for them. Such programming is technologically possible and economically feasible only through commercial marketing. It would be shortsighted to deny this opportunity.

The True Costs of Channel One

Even though Channel One is provided to schools free of charge, Sawicky and Molnar conclude that " The twelve minute Channel One program costs American taxpayers \$1.8 billion annually." This conclusion is completely erroneous. For while the authors prove adept at arithmetic, the data they have worked with have nothing to do with costs incurred by or for Channel One.

Sawicky and Molnar start with data on each state's current annual expenditures for all public elementary and secondary schools. They then use data on average daily school attendance in each state to calculate an average annual expenditure per student. Then using data on the average length of a school day in each state, they determine what proportion of school time each day and then each year is used by Channel One's daily 12 minute newscast. They then multiply this proportion by the average annual education expenditure per student in each state to determine a cost per student in each state for Channel One.

From this data, they then calculate a national average annual cost per student for Channel One of \$229. They then multiply this by an estimate of the total number of public school students that view Channel One daily to reach a total annual public school cost for Channel One of \$1.8 billion.

What Sawicky and Molnar have calculated is the proportion of total annual expenditures for the public schools that use Channel One equal to the proportion of annual class time in those schools represented by Channel One's daily 12 minute newscast. This is a completely meaningless statistic. To say that it reflects the costs to taxpayers of Channel One is thoroughly fallacious as a matter of basic economics.

The costs that Sawicky and Molnar calculate are not variable or marginal costs incurred for or because of Channel One. They are fixed costs independent of Channel One that the schools have decided to incur whether or not they subscribe to Channel One. In other words, the costs that Sawicky and Molnar identify have nothing to do with Channel One. They are costs for teacher and administrator salaries, school supplies, books, and general school operations.

A valid economic analysis of the costs to schools of Channel One would focus on the variable or marginal costs for the school created by Channel One, not the fixed, general, aggregate costs the school will incur regardless of whether it subsidizes Channel One. The variable or marginal costs to schools for Channel One are zero. Again, Channel One charges schools no fee for its service. It also pays for, installs, and maintains all the necessary equipment to receive Channel One broadcasts. The school have to incur no new costs to accommodate or receive Channel One. Therefore, the true economic cost to taxpayers of Channel One is zero.

The same analysis applies to the 2 minutes of advertising on each 12 minute Channel One newscast. Sawicky and Molnar calculate that this portion of the newscast costs taxpayers \$300 million each year out of the supposed total \$1.8 billion Channel One cost. They determine this by just multiplying the supposed \$18 billion total cost by the proportion of Channel One's 12 minute broadcast devoted to commercials - one-sixth.

But this \$300 million is just again the fixed costs of general school operations independent of Channel One, not any marginal or variable costs incurred as a result of Channel One. School across the country are not spending \$300 million per year as a result of Channel One commercials. The marginal or variable costs to schools for Channel One commercials is again zero.

Sawicky and Molnar try to argue for their analysis by saying that time is money. But this nonanalytical slogan does not justify the economic fallacy of counting the general fixed costs of school operations

independent of Channel One as the costs of Channel One. As a matter of economic analysis, the costs of Channel One to schools are the marginal or variable costs schools have to bear as a result of Channel One. As shown above, these costs to the school are zero. Therefore, the true economic cost to schools of Channel One is zero. To tell the public that costs for teacher and principal salaries, school supplies, books, and other general school operations incurred independently of Channel One are somehow the costs of Channel One is quite simply misleading propaganda.

If it could be shown that the Channel One broadcast has no educational value and is a complete waste of time, then the numbers that Sawicky and Molnar calculate could be considered a rough approximation of the economic value of that lost time. But Sawicky and Molnar expressly disavow any effort to make this argument, saying at the outset "appraising the educational value of Channel One is beyond the scope of this analysis" and later "We make no judgment on the educational value of Channel One."

Indeed, any such argument would be foolhardy, for the considerable evidence discussed above regarding the educational value of Channel One just scratches the surface of the available evidence. The 2 minutes of daily ads in the newscast have inspired some ideological opposition to Channel One on the grounds that it "commercializes" education. But no credible, qualified source raises any serious doubt that Channel One offers at least as much educational value as any other educational materials that might be used during those 12 minutes each day.

In fact, the real market evidence we have as to the educational value of Channel One is that 12,000 schools, with 400,000 teachers, representing about 40% of all secondary schools, have decided that the educational value of Channel One is well worth the 12 minutes of time each day devoted to it. In other words, a large and still growing number of the people who are in charge in the schools of deciding what has educational value have concluded that the educational value of Channel One warrants the time devoted to its use. To argue that Channel One has no educational value, Sawicky and Molnar would have to substitute their judgment for the judgment of all these professionals employed for their very expertise in making such decisions. There is no sound basis, as a matter of economics or otherwise, for such a substitution of judgment.

Might the 2 minutes of advertising included in the Channel One newscast at least be considered as lacking any educational value? These 2 minutes are an integral part of the Channel One service; indeed, they are the key part that finances everything else. They cannot be separated from the rest of the service and considered in isolation. The question that educators must consider is whether the educational value of the Channel One service is worth the 12 minutes each day devoted to the newscast as a whole. A huge and increasing number of professional educators employed to make precisely that decision are saying yes.

The two minutes of advertising on the Channel One newscast are analogous to the ads in newspapers and magazines that might be used in class, or the ads seen on the Internet or on educational software, or the credits on educational films. Students utilizing these resources may spend some time reading the ads or credits. But educators consider the time so spent to be de minimis, and to not deprive the materials overall of sufficient educational value for the time devoted to them. The same point applies to Channel One.

Indeed, any private news source must include some advertisements in order to pay the bills. To say that all such ads are to be banned from schools as not educational would amount to a ban on all private news sources in schools, as well as all student newspapers. The only source of news broadcasts or materials in classes would then be the government. This would not be desirable in a free, pluralistic, democratic society.

The True Benefits of Channel One

While Channel One involves no actual costs for taxpayers, it provides them with several clear benefits. First is the 12 minute daily newscast itself. As the discussion above indicates, this newscast has substantial educational value. Teachers use the newscast to teach current events and social studies, as well as economics, history, geography, and vocabulary. A large and growing proportion of professional educators charged with deciding what has educational value has determined that Channel One is well worthwhile. The newscast has won over 200 awards for its content, which is developed by top media professionals with network experience. While it is hard to put a number on the educational value of Channel One, that value is clearly substantial. It would cost schools across the country close to \$15 million to replicate the daily news show. And that cost would not measure the full value of the programming to students.

Yet, while Sawicky and Molnar repeatedly state that they make no judgment or appraisal of Channel One's value, in a discussion of the costs and benefits of Channel One, they assert that "the logical market value of Channel One's programming is zero." Their discussion, then, credits no value to the Channel One newscast.

The authors reach this intellectual dead end by arguing that an alternative to Channel One is offered to schools by CNN: Newsroom-World View. Since this alternative is offered at no charge to schools, the authors conclude that the market value of the newscast provided by Channel One is zero. They conclude from this reasoning that there is no value of the Channel One newscast to weigh against their alleged costs of the program.

On this fallacious excuse for economic reasoning, there would be no value to the CNN newscast as well. Consequently, there would be no reason for schools to ever broadcast either news program. Indeed, on this reasoning, the "logical market value" of all cable and satellite TV services to homes would be zero, since a free alternative is available – the standard, over-the-air, broadcast networks and local TV stations. If Sawicky and Molnar had been advising Ted Turner, he would never have started CNN.

Moreover, the CNN newsfeed is not at all comparable to Channel One. CNN just splices together segments of its standard, daily, adult broadcast. It does not involve original programming designed to interest and inform teens. Nor does it involve accompanying materials to integrate the broadcast into the curriculum and assist in using it to educate, as Channel One does. It also, by the way, amounts to an advertisement for CNN, and is part of the company's marketing strategy.

A thought experiment will clarify the issue quite succinctly. Suppose Alex Molnar offered to play first base for the St. Louis Cardinals for free next season. Would that mean that the "logical market value" of Mark McGwire as a baseball player would fall to zero?

Another major benefit of Channel One is the several hours per week, amounting to 250 hours per year, of free educational videos that Channel One subscribers can choose to receive from Channel One. These are purely educational videos covering a wide range of subjects. If a school were to purchase the 400 different videos Channel One offers each year, it would cost roughly \$36,000. Alex Molnar's own school, the University of Wisconsin, in fact spends thousands of

taxpayer dollars each year buying many of the same videos Channel One offers for free, or videos from the same educational service and catalog that supplies Channel One. Over the 12,000 schools using Channel One, the yearly value of these videos would be over \$400 million. For just the public schools using Channel One the value would be \$360 million. Sawicky and Molnar completely ignore these educational videos in their study, and consequently, their analysis is incomplete and inadequate.

Finally, Channel One provides each school free of charge a full telecommunications network, including satellite dish, addressable receiver, TV monitors for each classroom, VCRs, internal wiring, and all necessary maintenance. Apart from the daily 12 minute Channel One program, this network is then fully available to the school for whatever use it chooses. Thousands of schools have taken advantage of the system to create in-house journalism programs. The market value of this telecommunications network is about \$25,000. For the 12,000 schools that use Channel One, the total value of these systems is \$300 million. For the public schools alone, the value is \$250 million. Indeed, schools could not get this equipment and maintain it as inexpensively as Channel One, with its bulk buying and developed maintenance expertise. The CNN service touted by Sawicky and Molnar, by the way, provides no equipment to schools.

Sawicky and Molnar insist that an economic analysis must consider only the rental value of this equipment. But that would not change the analysis in any significant way. The present discounted value of proper rental charges will just equal the market purchase price anyway. Providing and maintaining the entire telecommunications network for free is a major benefit whether considering the purchase price or economically equivalent rental price of the equipment.

Consequently, while Channel One is provided at no cost to schools or taxpayers, it provides them with several major benefits. These benefits overall are worth at least \$425 million for the public schools alone, providing a large savings for taxpayers. Channel One is quite simply a brilliant market innovation that greatly benefits schools, students, and taxpayers. Indeed, where schools are not using Channel One, taxpayers should question them as to why they are not taking advantage of this market windfall.

Conclusion

The true cost of Channel One to taxpayers is zero. Sawicky and Molnar's cost estimate is thoroughly in error because it attributes independent costs of school operations, such as teacher salaries, administration, school supplies, etc, to Channel One, even though those costs are not incurred to accommodate Channel One and would be incurred regardless of whether the school subscribes to Channel One. That is not valid economic analysis.

While Channel One imposes no costs on taxpayers, it offers important benefits for taxpayers, students, and schools. It provides an original, daily, newscast that aids in the education of students on a broad range of topics. It provides a wide array of free educational videos that are heavily used as well. And it provides each school with a free telecommunications network that it can use as it chooses apart from the Channel One broadcast. The total value to the public schools alone of these benefits is at least \$425 million.

As a result, Channel One is so beneficial that taxpayers whose school are not using it should question them as to why they are losing out on the windfall benefits from this major market innovation.

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The Washington Times

March 31, 2000, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; COMMENTARY; OP-ED; Pg. A21

LENGTH: 829 words

HEADLINE: **Marvin Runyon.com;**
Former postmaster general makes a killing

BYLINE: Grover Norquist

BODY:

On the Internet, being first to market with a recognizable product name or service - or simply an idea - can mean instant riches. This creates a unique conflict of interest for regulatory officials who sometimes decide who gets this vital first-mover advantage, or in some instances, go private themselves and move to the head of the line.

Take the case of former Postmaster General **Marvin Runyon**, who oversaw the regulatory process for online postage. Mr. Runyon decided which companies could bring products to market, and then conveniently dealt himself stock options worth a cool \$3.8 million after leaving the U.S. Postal Service to become a director of Stamps.com.

The instant wealth of public officials who become dot-com millionaires should alarm taxpayers. We rejoice in the success of true entrepreneurs who legally and honorably apply skills and name recognition gained in public service to make their fortunes. But the possibility of self-dealing privatizations as the Internet economy forces independent government agencies and public corporations to undertake radical changes could mean that taxpayers - who capitalized these agencies and are effectively the shareholders - could get the short end of the stick.

In Russia, politically appointed officials have all too often looted formerly state-run corporations denying these enterprises both the capital and the responsible executive leadership they need to remake themselves. Most Americans believe such a thing could never happen here. They are wrong.

The U.S. Postal Service (USPS) is first and foremost among public corporations that must evolve to exist in a world where e-mail and electronic payments are essential tools of business. Under Mr. Runyon, the USPS was cleaned up but was not radically restructured.

The USPS has a labor problem. It cannot survive without ongoing taxpayer subsidies, both direct and indirect, unless it finds some way to reduce the labor subsidies that represent some 75 to 80 percent of its cost structure. It must streamline the antiquated work rules that constrict it. It must realign itself to handle the flood of new delivery tasks that are supplanting, though by no means eliminating, traditional first-class mail. In short, the USPS must become more like a business.

This transition is unlikely to occur while the USPS remains a quasi-governmental enterprise that regulates and competes with private companies offering delivery-related e-commerce services. The case of Mr. Runyon and Stamps.com is an unseemly, even if currently legal, example of the treacherous conflicts of interest inherent in regulating the e-world.

More worrisome, though, are plans the USPS is quietly floating to move into competitive e-

commerce and electronic payment services through a private subsidiary, which it would own and could eventually float, on the IPO market. Real privatization of the USPS is a good thing. But a Runyon-style privatization in which managers walk off with valuable properties and the unreformed company becomes a moribund wreck without the means to revive itself would be a disaster. Taxpayers, consumers, and the public have too much at stake to let this happen.

The recently announced postal rate increase is a scandal in itself and one more case of how the USPS wishes to have its cake and eat it, too when market forces are concerned. Calculations by economist Thomas Dueterberg show that the price of a first-class stamp has quadrupled in nominal terms (a real increase of about 10 percent) since 1970 while the cost of other communications technologies has plummeted.

To the extent technology has improved efficiency at the USPS, a study by Professor Rick Geddes of Fordham University and the Hoover Institution shows that due to lack of competition, economic gains have been retained within the USPS in the form of higher wages and benefits rather than passed on as savings to the consumer.

If the Postal Service is ever to become a dot-com company, exposure to competition without special privileges should be one of the ground rules. Another should be that postal privatization does not mean wealth for managers and political insiders while postal workers performing an essential service remain wards of the state.

Postal reform legislation now in Congress makes good headway on the problem of USPS competition with the private sector. It also explains what a private law corporation owned by the USPS should look like and what protections must be in place for the taxpayer. Taxpayers should give these reforms two cheers but keep close scrutiny on the process. Over the years, taxpayers have invested countless billions in the USPS. They must not permit this investment to be undercut by a dot-com offering that leverages the USPS name but leaves the underlying reality unchanged.

Grover **Norquist** is president of Americans for Tax Reform and a member of the Advisory Commission on Electronic Commerce.

GRAPHIC: Illustration, NO CAPTION

LOAD-DATE: March 31, 2000

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Copyright 2000 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

July 25, 2000, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: PART A; COMMENTARY; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 783 words

HEADLINE: Harry Potter goes postal

BYLINE: Grover Norquist

BODY:

The nation is delirious with **Harry Potter** fever. Hundreds of thousands of kids are eagerly awaiting the mail delivery that will bring them their precious copy of the fourth installment of young Harry's adventures.

Little do these young readers suspect there's a far greater evil lurking without the book than within its pages. Because if the United States Postal Service has its way, these same kids will be hit with a 15 percent reader tax in time for **Harry Potter V**.

While most of Washington is basking in the aura of budget surplus and discussing tax cuts, the USPS has quietly proposed a 20 percent rate increase on books, 15 percent on magazines and 12 percent on rural newspapers delivered by mail. The \$300 million magazine rate increase alone is threefold the inflation rate and double what is needed to cover costs. This periodical rate increase is nothing more than a reader tax only **Harry Potter's** arch-enemy Voldemort could love.

The pretzel logic of this proposal defies even the magic practiced at Hogwart's wizard school. At a time when our educational system is struggling to turn out a generation of literate students, books like the **Harry Potter** series have inspired millions of kids to read. Magazine publishers offer schools special editions of newsmagazines to help those eager readers learn about the world. Both political parties pledge themselves to improve the reading scores of our kids.

Postmaster General William Henderson proposes to do his part by taxing them.

Any other tax proposed in Washington today that would affect 166 million Americans - that's how many people go to their mailbox each year looking for one of the more than 6,000 magazines published in the U.S. - would die a quick death in a Congress that is busy slaying the dual dragons of the death tax and the marriage penalty.

Alas, Postal rate increases don't have to be approved by lawmakers. The Postal Service, a government-protected monopoly, must propose new rates to the Postal Rate Commission, an independent five-member panel, which engages in a 10-month decision process. Yet in the end USPS management can ignore the commission's decision, raise rates as it pleases, and face no market competition to prevent the levy of a reader tax.

Congress should insist that Henderson recant the evil spell that is his rate-increase request.

How nasty is this spell? In it, the USPS has simply ignored a two-year effort by magazine publishers, jointly with the Post Office, to find more efficient ways to handle periodical mail. The study that resulted identified more than \$150 million in savings from better USPS organization, automation, facility location and transportation management. That is half the

proposed \$300 million increase - meaning the real need of USPS is for a rate increase of only 7.5 percent.

Mr. Henderson proposed this double-digit reader tax even though, at an October 1999 American Magazine Conference, he had pledged that any rate increase for magazines would be in the single digits.

One wonders how Mr. Henderson continues to defend this rate increase even though the Postal Rate Commission has demanded USPS management explain the runaway costs that have plagued this government-sponsored monopoly. (This is the same postmaster general who, at the Postal Forum in Nashville on March 20, declared that "we have to bring our internal cost structure down and restrain prices" at the Post Office.)

This double-digit reader tax proposal stands some two months after Mr. Henderson told a House subcommittee that the study's cost savings amounted to more than \$150 million and only a single-digit increase was needed to break even. Voldemort - sorry, Mr. Henderson - told the Senate just last week that "When we saw those cost studies we began working with the Magazine Publishers to try to identify strategies to reduce costs. And we think we've been successful with about \$150 million identified."

Perhaps this \$150 million is so hard to subtract from the rate increase because it has been affected by some sort of inadvertently cast invisibility spell. It happens.

Even Muggles (non-wizards, in **Harry Potter** land) don't need special powers to see that taxpayers are getting the short end of the broomstick. Congress should say a loud no on this horrible reader tax. Our lawmakers should tell Mr. Henderson and the Postal Service to implement the \$150 million in savings identified in the joint survey and cut the proposed rate increases in half. Because what this country's readers need is a lot less Voldemort and a lot more **Harry Potter**.

Grover G. **Norquist** is president of Americans for Tax Reform.

GRAPHIC: Cartoon, SO DON'T GO "POSTAL" ON US, OK?, By Mike Shelton/The Orange County Register (2000)

LOAD-DATE: July 25, 2000

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Entry

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Tuesday, March 28, 2006, at 2:48 PM ET

Ridenour, one month later, reporting back to Abramoff and company on a letter s wrote to the editor of *Insight* magazine defending labor practices in the Marianas.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Amy Eidson
 Sent: Friday, April 14, 1999 12:16 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Fitzsimla, Patrick (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC); Yarnall, Shawn (DC)
 Subject: Letter to Insight on the CHNI

FFF, the text of a letter I sent to *Insight* today at Shawn's and Dennis's request. Shawn will get a copy on letterhead just as soon as the *Printed* *Pages* fax machine answers. The letter is as long as I dared to make it, considering that they only allow one page for all of each issue's letters.

I'm sorry I did not use your draft, Shawn. I got your fax and wrote my letter before I read your e-mail with the draft in it. Your letter was extremely well done, however, so I hope you will give it to someone else to sign. I did want to use your draft because I couldn't help myself, but I re-phrased it so your draft could still be used by someone else.

Amy

April 16, 1999

Letters to the Editor
Insight
2600 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Editor:

It's not often that I've run across trade union and Clinton Administration propaganda in your pages, but your "Clotheshorse of a Communist Color" (February 15) about the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) certainly fit the bill.

The Administration's not-so-subtle goal is to force the CNMI garment factories to close by mandating wage rates that are out of line for that region. They hope that jobs lost in this U.S. possession will then be transferred to the mainland, where the workers can be unionized.

I spent a week in the CNMI investigating the charges you make. What you called "crude barracks" for workers, I saw as the equivalent of a U.S. dorm room. U.S. Federal government inspectors told us that conditions for workers had dramatically improved on the island in past years, and expressed more concern about employment problems faced by domestic than garment workers. CNMI reported that garment factories on the mainland have twice as many violations per inspection (5.7) as do CNMI garment factories (2.1). Even your anecdote about garment factories having barbed wire fences rings hollow. Many U.S. government facilities are surrounded by barbed wire, yet the U.S. government does not, as a rule, abuse its employees.

Sincerely yours,

Amy Ridenour
President

Entries

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*Timothy Noah is a senior writer at **Slate**.*

*Photograph of Jack Abramoff on the **Slate** home page by Carlo Allegri/Getty Images*

Slate

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Amy Ridenour, Abramoff fellow.
posted March 28, 2006
Timothy Noah

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **8** 9 Entry

Tuesday, March 28, 2006, at 2:48 PM ET

Ridenour reporting back to Abramoff and company 12 days later about a news release her think tank is about to release defending labor practices in the Marianas.

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-----Original Message-----
 From: Amy Ridenour
 Sent: Wednesday, April 26, 1999 1:31 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FBI Copy of CMI 4/29/99 press release

Dennis and Jack:
 FBI, this is a copy of the news release. It will be released to the media via US Newswire tomorrow morning, will be circulated to part of our usual media list and it will be distributed at the press conference. I will mail you some paper copies to Dennis's attention in case you want ~~to~~ ~~send~~ ~~for~~ the ~~link~~ or circulation anywhere else.
 Amy



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May 13, 2000, Saturday

SECTION: COMMENTARY

KR-ACC-NO: K7389

LENGTH: 875 words

HEADLINE: Postal Service's exorbitant price increases may stamp cancel on your favorite magazine

BYLINE: By Amy Ridenour

BODY:

WASHINGTON _ Americans are in agreement on one point: Gasoline prices, which recently hit record levels, are too high.

But we do have something to be grateful for: Over the last four decades at least, gasoline prices haven't risen as much as U.S. postage.

Back in 1962, a first-class stamp was four cents. Today it is 33 cents, and the Postal Service has asked the Postal Rate Commission to raise the price by another penny.

What's worse, over a hundred million Americans could be hit even harder by a postage rate increase three to five times higher than the 3 percent increase the post office is seeking for first-class mail.

The Postal Service has asked the Postal Rate Commission to increase postage rates for delivery of magazines and newspapers by 10 percent to 15 percent.

The 166 million Americans who subscribe to magazines will be hit hardest by this. They'll have to eat these costs via subscription rate increases. If they don't, and in some cases, they won't, some magazines will cease to exist. A price increase of this magnitude will cut down on magazine options for consumers.

Newspapers that rely on mail delivery will also be hard-hit. A price increase up to 15 percent isn't necessary. Even Postmaster General William Henderson agrees it is not.

Why has such a draconian postal rate increase _ three times the inflation rate _ been proposed by the Postal Service?

According to law, the Post Office must charge rates for each class of mail _ such as first class, magazines, books, newspapers and non-profit bulk _ that are sufficient to cover the cost of delivering them.

Throughout 1998 and 1999, a joint two-year U.S. Postal Service/Magazine Publishers of America task force identified ways to cut the Post Office's costs in delivering magazines by approximately \$150 million.

If the Post Office adopted these measures, the postal rate increase needed to cover costs for magazine delivery would have to be only 7.5 percent, not 15 percent. For the many

periodicals struggling with profitability, and many Americans, this is a major price difference.

Postmaster General Henderson has indicated that he agrees, in general, with this assessment. In an October speech, Henderson said magazine postage rate increases could be kept below 10 percent, in part because of cost savings.

Nevertheless, on January 12, the Postal Service asked the Postal Rate Commission to approve up to a 15 percent rate increase in magazine postage. The potential cost savings identified by the task force simply weren't taken into account.

Why not? One theory is that Postal Service management simply hasn't gotten around to it. Publishers have asked why not, only to be told that Postal Service management does intend to address the issue before any final decision is made.

But with the very survival of some publications in jeopardy if the 15 percent price increase is approved, and circulation numbers at risk for all publications, publishers are worried.

Some wonder why the Postal Service management didn't consider the cost savings issue before proposing such a sharp postage rate increase in January, especially since the Postmaster General publicly approved of the notion as early as October. The Post Office has every incentive to keep prices low by passing on cost savings.

The Internet is proving to be a formidable competitor. So much so, in fact, that postal officials are predicting that, despite the growing economy and population, the volume of first class mail will decline in 2003 and every year thereafter.

It is in the Postal Service's interest to make certain publishers aren't driven out of business or even suffer lower circulation rates. The Post Office needs this business, and doesn't want traditional publishers to start looking for alternative delivery methods. No one argues against the Postal Service charging publishers every penny it needs to recover costs of delivery. But it shouldn't charge a penny more. Periodicals serve an important civic and educational function in our society.

A December 1999 survey of seniors at 55 top colleges found that only a little more than half know general information about democracy and the U.S. Constitution.

These kids are voters, or soon could be. Clearly, many could benefit from more exposure to magazines, newspapers and books. The Postal Service should take this into account and request only what it needs _ a single-digit rate increase _ for delivery of periodicals.

But even if it doesn't, the independent Postal Rate Commission, which is currently reviewing the Postal Service's rate request, should refuse to approve any double-digit price hike.

ABOUT THE WRITER

Amy Ridenour is president of The National Center for Public Policy Research, a non-partisan Capitol Hill think tank. Readers may write to her at: NCPPR, 777 Capitol Street NE, Suite 803, Washington, D.C. 20002, or via e-mail at aridenour(at)nationalcenter.org.

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PHOTO of Amy Ridenour available from KRT Direct.

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The Washington Post

June 25, 2006 Sunday

Correction Appended

Final Edition

SECTION: A Section; A01**LENGTH:** 2120 words**HEADLINE:** Nonprofit Groups Funneled Money For Abramoff;
Funds Flowed to Lobbying Campaigns**BYLINE:** Susan **Schmidt** and James V. **Grimaldi**, Washington Post Staff Writers**BODY:**

Newly released documents in the Jack Abramoff investigation shed light on how the lobbyist secretly routed his clients' funds through tax-exempt organizations with the acquiescence of those in charge, including prominent conservative activist Grover **Norquist**.

The federal probe has brought a string of bribery-related charges and plea deals. The possible misuse of tax-exempt groups is also receiving investigators' attention, sources familiar with the matter said.

Among the organizations used by Abramoff was **Norquist's** Americans for Tax Reform. According to an investigative report on Abramoff's lobbying released last week by the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, Americans for Tax Reform served as a "conduit" for funds that flowed from Abramoff's clients to surreptitiously finance grass-roots lobbying campaigns. As the money passed through, **Norquist's** organization kept a small cut, e-mails show.

A second group **Norquist** was involved with, the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, received about \$500,000 in Abramoff client funds; the council's president has told Senate investigators that Abramoff often asked her to lobby a senior Interior Department official on his behalf. The committee report said the Justice Department should further investigate the organization's dealings with the department and its former deputy secretary, J. Steven Griles.

Norquist has long been an architect of tax-cutting policies and political strategies that have boosted the Republican Party. He and Abramoff have been close since their days as young conservative leaders of the College Republicans more than two decades ago.

The Senate committee report also details Abramoff's dealings with two others from the College Republicans crowd: Ralph Reed, former Christian Coalition executive director; and Amy Moritz Ridenour, president of the National Center for Public Policy Research, which sponsored a golf trip in 2000 to Scotland for then-Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Tex.).

"Call Ralph re Grover doing pass through," Abramoff wrote in a stark e-mail reminder to

himself in 1999, a year in which **Norquist** moved more than \$1 million in Abramoff client money to Reed and Christian anti-gambling groups. Reed was working to defeat lotteries and casinos that would have competed with Abramoff's tribal and Internet gambling clients.

In a recent interview at The Washington Post, **Norquist** said that Americans for Tax Reform and Abramoff's gambling clients worked together because they shared anti-tax, anti-regulatory views. He denied that Americans for Tax Reform was used to conceal the source of funds sent to Reed.

Reed reiterated in a statement last week that he did not know the money he received originated as the proceeds of gambling at Indian casinos.

Ridenour, appearing before the Indian Affairs Committee last year, acknowledged that her organization had accepted grants lined up by Abramoff and disbursed funds at his suggestion. She insisted that she told Abramoff that the National Center for Public Policy Research would be willing to finance only programs consistent with the group's tax-exempt purpose, listed in tax records as "nonpartisan analysis, study and research."

But dozens of e-mails show that Abramoff and his team considered the national center and other tax-exempt groups a ready resource in their efforts to influence Congress.

In one instance, Abramoff's team wanted to send two lawmakers on a trip to the Mississippi Choctaw reservation in 2001, but one congressman's office had concerns about accepting such a trip from a gaming tribe.

"How about getting National Center for Public Policy Research to sponsor the trip?" Abramoff suggested. "Works for me," replied a lobbying colleague.

E-mails suggest Ridenour was well aware that Abramoff viewed her organization as a convenient pass-through.

In September 2002, Abramoff suggested to one of his associates placing \$500,000 in client funds with the national center because the group "can direct money at our discretion, anywhere if you know what I mean."

The same morning Abramoff messaged Ridenour: "I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR. Is this still something you want to do?" Ridenour was enthusiastic: "Yes, we would love to do it."

Ridenour did not respond to requests for comment on the Senate committee report or the e-mails released with it.

Earlier this year, after Abramoff pleaded guilty to conspiring to ply lawmakers with gifts in exchange for favors, IRS Commissioner Mark W. Everson said, "One of the most disturbing elements of this whole sordid story is the blatant misuse of charities in a scheme to peddle political influence."

Tax experts said it is impermissible for a tax-exempt organization to act as a pass-through for money destined for private business purposes.

"It's not a tax-exempt activity to act as a bag man for Jack Abramoff," said Marcus S. Owens, a tax lawyer at Caplin & Drysdale and a former Internal Revenue Service official.

Norquist's relationship with Abramoff's gambling clients began in 1995 when Congress was considering taxing tribal casinos.

Abramoff, then a newly registered lobbyist with Preston Gates & Ellis, e-mailed a colleague that **Norquist** was willing to fight a tax opposed by another of his clients -- a beverage company -- if the firm became "a major player with ATR." Abramoff suggested the firm donate \$50,000 to the group.

"What is most important however is that this matter is kept discreet," Abramoff said in an e-mail on Oct. 24, 1995. "We do not want the opponents to think that we are trying to buy the taxpayer movement." He promised that **Norquist** would be "very active" on the issue.

The following year, according to the Senate committee report, the Choctaw tribe donated \$60,000 to Americans for Tax Reform to oppose a tax on Indian casinos. By 1999, ATR was getting large sums of Choctaw money. "What is the status of the Choctaw stuff?" **Norquist** asked Abramoff in an e-mail that May. "I have a 75g hole in my budget from last year. ouch."

All told in 1999, the Choctaws gave Americans for Tax Reform \$1.15 million, most of which ATR passed on to Reed's for-profit political consulting company, Century Strategies, and Christian anti-gambling groups working to defeat a state lottery in Alabama.

Norquist said in The Post interview that the Choctaw tribe originally wanted ATR to direct the anti-lottery campaign, but his organization decided that it would be better to assist Christian groups already fighting the lottery.

"When we looked at it, we said they have an actual ongoing effort, we don't need to run it and [could instead] just contribute there, which was a continuation of the previous coalition," **Norquist** said. "They said fine."

But Choctaw representative Nell Rogers told Senate Indian Affairs Committee investigators that ATR "was not involved and was not considering getting involved in any efforts the Choctaw ultimately paid Reed and others to oppose," the committee reported. "Rogers told the committee staff that she understood from Abramoff that ATR was willing to serve as a conduit, provided it received a fee," the report said.

Rogers said the tribe had a long relationship with Americans for Tax Reform and assumed that the fee "would simply be used to support the overall activity of ATR."

Abramoff, however, grew annoyed at the amount that **Norquist** took off the top before sending the money on, e-mails show. "Grover kept another \$25 k!" Abramoff wrote in a February 2000 note to himself.

John Kartch, a spokesman for Americans for Tax Reform, said Friday that the group was not involved in Abramoff's lobbying business. The Choctaw tribe, he said, "was a longtime supporter of ATR. They had no business dealings with Grover **Norquist**, nor did Jack Abramoff."

E-mails show that Abramoff also moved client money through a conservative Jewish foundation called Toward Tradition, run by longtime Abramoff friend Rabbi Daniel Lapin. In January 2000, when Reed sent Abramoff an \$867,000 invoice to be billed to a Choctaw official, Abramoff responded: "Ok, thanks. Please get me the groups we are using, since I want to give this to her all at once." Reed responded: "Amy, Grover, Lapin and one other I will get you."

Abramoff tapped the same cluster of tax-exempt groups in 2000 to help defeat legislation to ban gambling on the Internet. Abramoff's client, an online gambling services company called

eLottery, donated money to ATR, the policy research center and Toward Tradition.

In May 2000, just before a key vote on the anti-gambling bill, the research center paid for the Scotland trip for then-House Majority Whip DeLay. Toward Tradition hired the wife of DeLay aide Tony C. Rudy, who later pleaded guilty to conspiring to corrupt public officials, saying his wife was paid in exchange for his official actions. Lapin has said his hiring of Lisa Rudy was not connected to any eLottery donations.

Americans for Tax Reform received \$160,000 from eLottery, and **Norquist** immediately sent most of the money to a state nonprofit group, which in turn sent the money to another Ralph Reed company to fund attack ads on Republicans who supported the gambling ban.

In the interview, **Norquist** denied that the purpose of the transfer was to hide the money's origin.

"Someone from eLottery talked to me or somebody on our staff and said, 'Will you help us with this campaign?' and we said, 'We're certainly supportive of it,' and they gave us resources and asked if we would contribute to the state group," **Norquist** said.

Norquist said he could not remember if he knew at the time that eLottery was an Abramoff client, but he said it would not have made any difference.

As far back as 1996, Abramoff was using Ridenour's National Center for Public Policy Research to hide the source of funding for trips and other ventures intended to boost the interests of his lobbying clients, e-mails show.

Douglas Bandow, a think-tank scholar and former Copley News Service columnist, received \$10,000 that year from Abramoff clients through the center, according to an Abramoff e-mail. Bandow has acknowledged that he accepted money from Abramoff in exchange for writing articles supporting the lobbyist's clients in the 1990s.

Abramoff used the center to hide his sponsorship of an all-expenses-paid trip in 2000 for three congressional staffers to the Northern Mariana Islands that now figures in the investigation. The trip is listed as an illicit activity in the plea agreements of Abramoff and three associates.

The congressional staffers on the Marianas trip worked on the campaign of a Marianas politician who pushed through a \$100,000-a-month government lobbying contract for Abramoff.

Abramoff e-mailed instructions to his assistant, Susan Ralston, and others to conceal the true source of funding for the "very important" trip. "The tickets should not in any way say my name or our firm's name," Abramoff wrote. "They should, if possible, say 'National Center for Public Policy Research.' We should pay using my Visa."

Ridenour readily agreed to help, e-mails show. A Marianas client wired about \$25,000 to the center's bank account. Abramoff instructed Ridenour to write checks to cover the travel costs of the congressional staffers and Edwin A. Buckham, a former DeLay top aide and lobbyist.

"We'll call the bank first thing in the a.m. and confirm that the money has arrived, and then I will get checks out to you and Ed," Ridenour wrote.

"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."

Last year, Ridenour told the Senate committee that she thought the DeLay trip she agreed to sponsor in 2000 was "an educational trip" to Britain, not a golfing junket to Scotland. "The trip I believed I was approving -- and indeed the trip that I invited the member of Congress on . . . was simply to be a trip to London, meet with some members of Parliament and fly home," she said.

By this time, Abramoff was routinely juggling money among various groups. Months after the Scotland trip, Buckham complained to Abramoff that he was still awaiting reimbursement for costs incurred on the trip by DeLay and DeLay's chief of staff, Susan Hirschmann.

"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?"

Abramoff replied: "Sorry about this Ed. How much is it again? Would it be alright to get the payment from somewhere other than Amy's group?"

CORRECTION-DATE: July 3, 2006

CORRECTION:

A June 25 article about the Senate Indian Affairs Committee report on the Jack Abramoff lobbying scandal paraphrased the report as saying the Justice Department should further investigate a nonprofit group's dealings with the Interior Department and its former deputy secretary, J. Steven Griles. The sentence in the report containing the committee's recommendation did not mention the Justice Department or name Griles. The committee said that "additional inquiry" by "appropriate authorities appears warranted" into the "veracity" of testimony from Italia Federici, the head of the nonprofit group. Her testimony included discussions of her relationship with Abramoff, his tribal clients and Griles.

LOAD-DATE: June 25, 2006

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Commentary

From CAGW Staff

Mailman's Monopoly

By Leslie K. Paige

Over the last seven years, the Clinton administration has demonstrated a prodigious appetite for battling perceived monopolies. The most prominent example of this lust for antitrust is the litigation against Microsoft, the primary result of which appears to be an extremely jittery stock market. But the government maintains its own monopolies and has always guarded them zealously. Take the U.S. Postal Service (USPS), whose government-guaranteed monopoly abuses have only become more pronounced in recent years.

The USPS is a heavily subsidized quasi-government agency. It is exempt from paying state and local taxes, permitted to borrow money at discounted interest rates, has the right of eminent domain, and the full faith and backing of the U.S. government, benefits valued at more than \$ 1 billion annually. Its monopoly control over letters means a captive rate base that generates about \$ 45 billion a year. Moreover, by law, it doesn't even have to be profitable. USPS is only required to break even yet it has raked in profits of \$5.5 billion over the last five years and implemented a billion dollar rate increase just over a year ago.

In January, the USPS launched another campaign to increase postage rates for all classes of mail. It seeks a one cent boost in the price of a stamp and a 9 to 15 percent increase for second and third-class mailers (newspapers, magazines, catalogues)

A good example of the USPS getting it wrong is the explicit promise by Postmaster General Henderson to hold the postage rate increase for magazines to a single digit. Henderson praises magazines as the anchor of the postal system. But although the Postal Service identified (with the help of industry after a two-year study) at least \$150 million in cost savings, these have not been implemented and are not reflected in the proposed increase!

In order to cover costs in an age of possibly shrinking mail volume due to the rise in electronic communicating, postal officials argue that they must raise prices for those whose mail must still be delivered in hard copy. That's exactly backwards. In order to keep letter carriers' mailbags full the Postal Service ought to be looking for ways to reduce costs and increase efficiencies, pass those savings onto consumers in the form of reduced rates, thus making the mail a more attractive alternative.

Given the Postal Service's captive customer pool, there is little incentive to be more efficient. USPS is a bureaucracy, characterized by all the waste, patronage, mismanagement and absence of accountability present in traditional bureaucracies.

For instance, of the total \$3.7 billion request by the Postal Service in new rate increases, about half (\$1.7 billion) is earmarked for a "contingency fund." A 50 percent rainy day fund? What will this money be used for? There is plenty of speculation.

Some suggest it simply will go to meet the demands of postal clerks for higher salaries which the Postal Service then cites as higher costs to justify further rate increases in the future.

The heftiest chunk of the USPS budget, 80 percent, is eaten up by labor costs, an exorbitant percentage by private sector standards.

Still another possibility is that the Postal Service is forcing those who send letters, parcels, magazines, books, and catalogues to pay for the Postal Service's ventures into e-commerce or other speculative endeavors. A 1998 GAO study reviewed 19 different Postal Service non-mission-related ventures, from selling phone cards to t-shirts, and found that they bungled all but one and lost more than \$85 million.

The waste in the USPS doesn't stop with dead-end commercial experiments. The USPS Inspector General, which has only been in existence for three years, has already uncovered millions in abuse and fraud. And then there are the recent press reports of how USPS paid two top executives \$250,000 in moving expenses even though they didn't change job sites. One employee bought a home ten miles away, the other thirty miles away. One of these executives was the USPS' Chief Financial Officer, who announced his retirement shortly after news of the moving expenses became public.

USPS has virtual carte blanche to raise rates. The Postal Rate Commission, which is mandated to engage in an elaborate 10-month quasi-judicial process before the increase goes into effect, effectively makes only recommendations. The USPS itself has the last word on its own rate structure.

Postal ratepayers should not be held captive to a wasteful, inefficient and obstructionist bureaucracy in perpetuity. As officials in Washington, D.C. debate the fate of Microsoft and the Department of Justice's antitrust division contemplates its next target, now might be a good time to recall that the biggest, most wasteful monopolies in the country are government creations.

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HEADLINE: Channel One and its generosity under attack from those who would prefer to use taxdollars for same equipment

BYLINE: By Rabbi Daniel Lapin

BODY:

Suppose that the Acme Restaurant Supply Co. began offering an expensive state-of-the-art food processor free to any restaurant that agreed to use Acme brand cooking oil. Many restaurants, hotels and company cafeterias analyzed the offer, examined the machine and tested the oil. Most happily signed on with Acme. After a year passed, 99 percent of the clients renewed the deal for another year. A total of 98 percent approved of the quality of Acme oil and would recommend the deal to other hospitality establishments.

Now, imagine we discover that the federal government decides to mandate that cafeterias in the veterans hospital and federal building, as well as the restaurant in the airport, all must refuse the offer. Not only must these government-run food establishments decline the free processor, but they also are instructed that the Acme Co. and its cooking oil deserve condemnation in the strongest terms.

While trying to decide what to make of this, we hear that taxes are to be raised to enable government kitchens to buy food processors and, as for oil, well, they will just have to do without.

Well, imagine no longer, this is really happening. The above scenario is taking place today, though not in the food-service industry, but in education. Channel One Network has provided televisions, videocassette recorders, satellite dishes and more than 7,000 miles of cable in all about half a billion dollars of infrastructure to America's classrooms. It offers about two hours of top quality educational programming each day, ranging from history to math, along with a 10-minute news program. All this, which is provided for free to interested schools, is made possible by two minutes of commercials.

Schools are signing on rapidly and renewing their contracts at the above mentioned 99 percent rate. Two thousand private schools, which really do feel accountable to their parent bodies, have become eager Channel One users.

Encouragingly, they are joined by 10,000 public schools that, likewise, have renewed with alacrity. Yet, from the way Channel One detractors speak, one would suppose they consider it an enemy of education. So evil must it be, that despite the fact that it particularly helps poorer school districts, they are attempting to mandate that such schools do without the benefits offered. Or are they?

No, as it happens, they still want the equipment. It is just that they prefer buying it from the proceeds of taxation to receiving it from the private sector. Surely taxpayers would want to

know what is going on here.

This is not the only example of prejudice toward America's private sector. In Seattle recently, a highly regarded local businessman, Stuart Sloan, made a long-term commitment of over a million dollars per year to an inner-city public school.

What was the initial reaction of the educational bureaucracy and local communal activists to Sloan's generosity? They responded with open skepticism and distrust, which delayed implementation of the gift for a full year.

The same educators and political leaders who never feel any unease over spending unlimited public funds (that is, wealth forcibly extracted from its owners) took many months to decide whether or not they could even accept a magnificent offer of private, voluntary charity. As if its private source might somehow fatally taint the entire educational enterprise. Furthermore, educators who have unhesitatingly implemented, and subsequently abandoned countless inane and destructive ideas, now warn us of the need to carefully test and measure the effects of Sloan's contribution.

One wonders what happened to this passion for empirical testing in the case of publicly funded disasters such as "whole language," "new math," and bilingual education. It appears that government-provided education abhors private innovation or generosity while developing a growing appetite, if not an addiction, to money claimed from taxpayers.

If **Channel One's** critics argued that education at its best is "a log with a teacher sitting on one end and a student on the other," it would all make sense. "We do not need expensive computers and audio visual equipment," they would be saying. "Lack of money is not the explanation for our failures," they would be confessing.

And we would heartily agree. But this is not so. They are the same people demanding that taxpayers cough up more money for much of the very audiovisual equipment and programming that they are rejecting from **Channel One**.

Some critics claim to object to the commercials aired by **Channel One**. To me this seems to be a red herring. After all, one seldom hears complaints about newspapers in the classroom in spite of the many advertisements they contain. Independent journalism requires advertising support to remain independent. Moreover, unlike newspapers brought into a classroom, **Channel One's** reputation is one of caution and care in accepting advertising. Neither do schools protest the "teacher packages" and study guides that major studios provide at no cost to schools in order to promote their movies. This, in spite of the fact that many of the movies thus brought to the attention of our school-going youngsters could never be described as educational.

Countless schools gladly accepted little goody bags from the makers of films like "Pocahontas" or "Amistad," although the historic distortion was notorious. There was a shallow pretense that the goal was something more than getting lots of little bodies into theater seats? Yet, because **Channel One** has undermined their arguments by winning the hearts and minds of teachers, it is a business they love to hate.

We have come a long way from when Calvin Coolidge said, "The business of America is business." In many schools today, a virulent anti-capitalism, anti-business message is being beamed at the next generation of voters.

"Corporations are vultures," declaim **Channel One's** critics, who go so far as to attack parents and teachers who support the network as "accomplices" of corporate "predators."

The debate on **Channel One**, by revealing the real motivation of many of its critics, should serve as a warning to our business community: Today's children _ the very people our personnel departments will hire in the coming years _ are being taught to distrust the motives and morals of business. Do we really want employees (and eventually board members, stockholders and colleagues) who were propagandized as young children to believe that making what used to be called "an honest living" is somehow illegitimate?

The opposition to **Channel One** is driven by a suspicion and dislike of corporate America excluding corporations that have prostrated themselves to the politically correct counter culture.

If gifts by entrepreneurs such as Stuart Sloan are treated with suspicion and reservation, it is not surprising that there are those who speak of **Channel One** with contempt. When we discover that **Channel One** has had the audacity to suggest that abstinence might be the best choice for teens, we can understand why it might be considered unsuitable by elitist educators.

When we discover that one of the commercial sponsors of **Channel One** is the U.S. Army, we see why two minutes of commercials are considered too expensive a price to pay for thousands of dollars of equipment and hundreds of hours of video instruction.

Education in America continues to deteriorate, largely thanks to big government tinkering. It is therefore heartening when business innovation and local ingenuity sire a product and medium that 98 percent of teachers recommend. This phenomenon is even more remarkable when one considers that these teachers come from a mix of public and private, religious and secular, urban and rural schools.

Channel One has earned this widespread acclaim and, in the process, offered an alternative to the breathtaking ransom now extorted from the taxpaying public. Those forces assaulting **Channel One** are once again using our schools as an ideological battleground, and as always, those most likely to suffer are our children.

Radio talk-show host Rabbi Daniel **Lapin** is president of Toward Tradition and author of the recent best seller "America's Real War." Readers may write to him at: Toward Tradition, 9311 S.E. 36th St., Suite 210, P.O. Box 58, Mercer Island, Wash. 98040.

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Jack Abramoff and Toward Tradition

Rabbi Daniel Lapin

In recent news reports Toward Tradition has been drawn into the whirlpool of the Abramoff lobbying scandal. Because news media are notoriously inaccurate I would like our friends and supporters to hear directly all the facts about the relationship between Jack Abramoff and the organization I have the privilege of serving.

Initially my name began appearing in connection with one of the stories circulating about how Jack Abramoff met Tom DeLay. Some articles claimed that I introduced them while others, including one in the Washington Post, have the two meeting at a DeLay fundraiser, introduced by Edwin A. Buckham, then DeLay's chief of staff. Although I have no clear recollection of having formally introduced them, it is certainly possible. I was at several Republican Party events at which both Tom DeLay and Jack Abramoff were present, including one at the 1996 Republican National Convention in San Diego at which I spoke.

Abramoff was not among the group of twenty two Jews and Christians who originally conceived of and founded Toward Tradition in 1991. However, he became a supporter and joined the board of directors a little later and eventually served a few terms as chairman of the board. He resigned his chairmanship at the end of 2000 and from the board in 2004. In total, on account of his time pressures, Jack Abramoff attended only five board meetings of Toward Tradition. He contributed to the organization at a level typical of the level of other board members. His giving to Toward Tradition was slightly lower than some board members and slightly higher than others. We now know that on one occasion, a contribution came in the form of a check from his Capital Athletic Foundation. It is not unusual for donors to submit contributions from foundations or organizations they are involved with. At no time have I personally ever received funds from Jack directly or from his various organizations.

During that period, Jack's access to the White House was being eagerly courted by many organizations both Christian and Jewish, usually in the hope of obtaining the President as a speaker for an upcoming event. I heard one of the leaders of a prominent pro-Israel lobbying organization

boast that Jack Abramoff took his phone calls.

In June 2003 I wrote to a number of Toward Tradition supporters saying that if they intended contributing substantially to the Bush Cheney '04 campaign they may wish to direct their support via Jack Abramoff.

Then came his fall which has almost Shakespearean overtones. Sometimes the most poignant tragedies are those in which the victim is complicit in his own destruction. But of course, that is true for most of us—we are often our own worst enemies.

On June 25, 2005, *The Washington Post* ran a profile of me with the heading "The Republicans' Rabbi-in-Arms." Alluding to Abramoff, the piece referred to me as "the Man Who Stands by His Scandal-Ridden Friends." Later the writer claimed about my frequent visits to Washington DC, "Usually on these trips Lapin stays with Jack Abramoff, a lobbyist who is an old friend of the Lapin family." The travel information is not true. Anyone familiar with my travel habits knows that I never impose on households and always much prefer to stay at hotels. However Jack was a long time friend of the Lapin family. He first met my brother, David, while he was shooting *Red Scorpion* in South Africa during the late 80s. In the early 90s, Jack Abramoff arrived in California with an introduction from David and became friendly with my father and me.

I did not serve as Jack's rabbi or mentor and our friendship revolved around our families, children's educational challenges and the difficulties of being a political conservative in the larger Jewish community. We shared occasional social and family events. I can recall no discussions about Jack's business and never heard anything from him that caused me to think he was doing anything unscrupulous. I never met or heard mention of names like Scanlon, Kidan, and others involved in Abramoff's business dealings. We did share an enthusiasm for Jewish Christian cooperation, for ancient Hebrew texts, and for the role of religion in politics.

The press located an email from Abramoff asking me to supply him with an award that he said he needed to gain admittance to an elite Washington DC club. Anyone familiar with Abramoff's jocular and often fatally irreverent email style won't be surprised that I assumed the question to be a joke. The very notion that an exclusive social club would regard a meaningless award from Toward Tradition to be adequate credentials for admittance was ludicrous. I responded in similar style offering to "wallpaper his office with awards." I regret the exchange. I should have candidly explained that Toward Tradition is not an academic institution and does not issue the kind of awards he described. Like most organizations, our awards only acknowledge the support provided the organization by the recipient. Whenever Toward Tradition has issued an award it has always taken place at a public event after considerable board discussion and a resolution. As a board member, Abramoff would have known this which is what assured me that he was joking.

Let me be clear. On no occasion did I, Toward Tradition, or any organization with which I was affiliated ever create an award for, or present one to Jack Abramoff. The affairs of a non-profit are documented by minutes and at no point did Abramoff's award request ever get treated in a serious manner by being brought before the board.

The scandal swirling around Jack deepened and then came the plea agreement on January 3rd. That was what was responsible for the current spate of negative publicity. Headlines such as "Abramoff Used Foundation as Conduit for Money" began to appear.

The Plea Agreement is 14 pages long, with another 15 pages of attachments, for a total of 29 pages. On page 13 of the attachments in item 35 out of a total of 41, appears a reference to "a non profit entity". Although it doesn't mention any name, the non profit entity alluded to is in fact Toward Tradition.

Toward Tradition staff members were extensively interviewed last August by the Justice Department about the events. Here is what happened.

Toward Tradition ran large conferences in Washington DC in the fall of 1994, 1997, and 2000. For a Seattle-based organization to hold a large national event across the country in Washington DC requires considerable work and someone on the ground in DC to act as a local representative and organizer. This person negotiates with hotels and caterers, stays in touch with the aides and schedulers for Capitol Hill speakers, arranges logistics such as transport and recording, and sees to the post conference wrap up, public relations, etc. A DC conference succeeds or fails upon the caliber of its roster of prominent speakers from Capitol Hill. A conference needs to confirm the speaker list as early as possible while legislators prefer to confirm as late as possible. Having a local organizer who knows the lay of the land and who can obtain confirmations from the schedulers of congressmen and senators is vital.

In both 1994 and 1997 Toward Tradition had succeeded in securing the services of such organizers. For the 1994 conference, Toward Tradition hired a politically experienced DC-based organizer to help put the conference together. In 1997, our conference coordinating was done by a DC-based organizer we hired who had previously worked in a congressman's office. In addition, two of our staff members flew out to DC to base themselves there in the period leading up to the 1997 conference. The point is that there is an incredibly long list of to-dos in arranging a multi-day conference in the nation's capital.

Sometime before the summer of 2000 Jack Abramoff asked Toward Tradition whether we had already hired the DC-based organizer for that fall's conference. Upon hearing that we had nobody appointed yet, he offered to provide someone. He mentioned that he knew an individual who had the experience and connections that we were seeking and that she was currently looking for work. This was Lisa Rudy. He added that he

might know a donor willing to donate a gift to Toward Tradition to be used to hire a DC based coordinator who would help us with our forthcoming conference.

It is not uncommon for donors to make specific gifts for specific purposes so we suspected nothing amiss and our board approved hiring Lisa Rudy especially since her salary was to be covered by a donor. It is also not uncommon for donors to enlist the support of their friends and business contacts for their cause. Thus we were not surprised when a check arrived from Jack Abramoff for \$25,000 made out by a firm called ELottery, with directions to pay Lisa Rudy \$5,000/month for her services as our local conference coordinator. We received a couple more checks from other Abramoff clients allowing us to continue paying Lisa Rudy until the post-conference work was complete which was January of 2001. Toward Tradition paid her the total of what we received from Jack Abramoff for that purpose. Nothing of those gifts was retained for Toward Tradition's general use; they were only used to hire a professional organizer in what we thought was a completely legitimate arrangement.

As I understand it, Abramoff pled guilty to intending to influence Lisa Rudy's husband who worked for Tom DeLay by "providing ten equal monthly payments totaling \$50,000 through a non-profit entity to the wife of Staffer A." The Justice Department questioned whether Lisa Rudy had actually done work for Toward Tradition. Toward Tradition documentation clearly demonstrated that, in all innocence, we had thoroughly employed her services and that she had in fact done for us all that the local coordinator was supposed to do at a fee within the range of what we expected to pay for the services provided.

To clarify, the \$25,000 check to Toward Tradition was NOT for lobbying purposes in favor of gambling. Not only has Toward Tradition or myself never engaged in lobbying but I have never written or spoken in favor of gambling. In fact we have radio shows and articles, as well as excerpts from my books in which my negative views of gambling, especially government sanctioned gambling are no secret. At the time, back in 2000, Toward Tradition assumed that Jack, still a member of the board, was doing what many non-profit board members do for the non-profit organization they serve, which was solicit a gift from a business associate for our benefit.

That supporters and friends of Toward Tradition have been embarrassed by the press linking us to Jack Abramoff disappoints me terribly. However, Toward Tradition and I interact with thousands of individuals and hundreds of organizations every year. It is just unrealistic to suppose that none of these relationships are ever going to become problematic. There was no reason for Toward Tradition to spurn Jack Abramoff's support.

For many years Toward Tradition was admired and envied for having someone like Jack Abramoff on our board of directors. In any typical

week I would field several calls from prominent business or political leaders, even from a sprinkling of celebrities, all seeking my help in gaining access to Jack Abramoff. As recently as April 3rd, 2002, *The New York Times* published a flattering front page profile of Jack Abramoff with nary a word of criticism. He was widely viewed in glowing terms both socially and politically.

The insinuations of wrongdoing on the part of Toward Tradition are untrue and unfair. This is to be expected. As a prominent conservative spokesman heading a conservative organization, we present a juicy target for a left-leaning press. But very few people get a fair shake in the press. The news media are not in the business of "being fair." They are in the business of selling. They sell subscriptions, advertising, and publicity. That is how they get paid. Obviously, the first rule of selling is—get the prospect's attention. This is what is happening when a used car salesman strolls up and asks you if you like the vehicle you're gazing at. It is also exactly what a journalist does when he attracts your attention with a sensationalistic headline. Despite high-minded and self-serving rhetoric about journalistic responsibility, the media is in business like just about everyone else and being in business means selling. But selling means attracting attention and good news simply doesn't attract attention. Sensational stories do attract attention. Wild accusations do attract attention. And when these wild accusations tar someone, it is notoriously difficult for a public person to obtain redress for libelous statements in the press. Years back, Ray Donovan, Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Labor who was acquitted of corruption charges in a court of law after being tried and condemned by media, plaintively asked "Where do I go to get my reputation back?" No, the press doesn't care about fairness. It is the nature of the beast.

On a personal level, this affair reminds me that human beings are far too complex creations to be evaluated with a simple balance sheet. Imagine a man who saved someone's life, raised money for the homeless and hungry, and did seven other wonderful deeds. However, during the same time period he also was cruel to a cat, had an affair and divorced his wife, and did eleven other horrible things.

We are tempted to do some simple arithmetic on this human being. A total of nine good deeds versus thirteen bad deeds results in a minus four rating. We then conclude that he is a moderately terrible human being. He is much worse than someone with a plus seven rating and not quite as bad as someone with a negative nine rating.

The truth is that this doesn't work. God created us as infinitely complex creatures. We are capable of both evil actions and good ones—very often on the same day. Even a moral reprobate like Schindler made a list that saved many innocent lives. Someone who does some terrible things but also does some good things is better for the world than someone who only does terrible things. Someone who atones for his evil is better than someone who feels no remorse. It is a mistake to label a person as 'evil'

because of his evil actions. We are better off evaluating only people's many varied actions, leaving God to evaluate people in their totality.

Jack Abramoff is a practicing Jew who has admitted doing things that his faith despises. This embarrasses other observant Jews as well it should. Heaven knows, religious people are just as imperfect as secular people. Being religious doesn't mean one is perfect and never sins. It does mean that when a religious person sins, he is tormented by pangs of remorse. He agonizes in knowing every day that he has let down, not only himself, his family and his friends, but also his God. Many of us are lured into the trap of sounding self-righteous and sanctimonious when we condemn the behavior of religious wrongdoers. While it is true that we are entitled to expect a higher standard of conduct from those who fear God, it is not true that God-fearing people who sin are irredeemable hypocrites. They are religious people who are not perfect. They are not proof of the general hypocrisy of faith neither are they a vindication of secularism. It would be admirably consistent were the press to identify most of the murderers, muggers, robbers, and rapists of society as miscreants who never had any exposure to religion.

I am terribly saddened by the tragic turn of events in Jack Abramoff's life and by the impact his actions have had and will have on the lives of many people including his own wife and children. Could I have foreseen the calamity and its peripheral but distracting impact on Toward Tradition? I don't really think so. Many shrewd lawyers and business professionals as well as experienced politicians in Jack Abramoff's orbit failed to sense any peril.

Had Abramoff's lifestyle been dissolute; replete with women, drugs, yachts, and fast cars, I along with many others would certainly have recognized the unwholesome warning signs and been uncomfortable. However, from what I observed, Jack's life revolved around his work, his family, and his faith. He spent money on subsidizing a kosher restaurant, a religious high school, Israeli causes, and helping poor relatives. These don't excuse illegal acts but neither were they warning signs to his friends and associates.

There are many who hate what Toward Tradition stands for and who will exploit this unpleasant association by hurling mud. They never had any interest in the truth and the truth won't change their actions.

Abraham Lincoln was reputed to have said, "If I were to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how, the very best I can, and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, then angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

To those of you who always assumed that Toward Tradition conducted itself with integrity and propriety, I appreciate you giving us the benefit of

the doubt and I hope this account of a tragic episode confirms your assessment.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin.
Toward Tradition
Mercer Island, Washington.

Toward Tradition is America's leading bridge-builder between Jewish and Christian communities; spanning the divide between Christians and Jews by sculpting ancient solutions to modern problems in areas of family, faith, and fortune.

For information: Contact Rachael Whaley at (800) 591-7579

ATR MATERIALS

 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)
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

Via Telefacsimile

~~From Field~~

Mr. Jim Lucier, Jr.
Director of Economic Research
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

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

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 Torricelli'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. If third contributions are raised, corporate contributions are forbidden, all activities must be reported on the FEC's Schedule B, 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 DuHaine, or another Republican challenger could run as a team state 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 Toricelli'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 GOTV 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.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 31, 1996 7:18 AM
 To: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure

thanks. retainer was at 10K per month. if they make such a contribution to atr it will i think seem fairly large in the scheme of things (right jack?) although in fact they would not be controlling anything....hmm

 From: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 31, 1996 7:28 AM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure

I'll take care of Kimberly and Becca.

On ATR, I'll talk with Jack A. Under the new law, ATR would have to disclose anyone who contributes \$10,000 or more to their activities, provided the contributing entity "in whole or major part plans, supervises, or controls" ATR's lobbying activities. I have already checked with the House Clerk's office who report that this "supervision and control" test has not been clarified to provide registrants any guidance on how much control is necessary to trigger disclosure.

 From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 To: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure
 Date: Tuesday, January 30, 1996 3:26PM

thanks much. please go ahead and send copies to kimberly and becca directly. i like them to hear from more of us (not just me) and YOU are the expert. also: i think you should offer Becca additional copies for her members if she would like them....see no reason why we couldnt individually advise other companies if they were interested....

re ATR -- I have urged jackA to get Grover to read your stuff and talk to you re his filing. We have a reall interest in keeping Grover clean and frankly I am concerned that he will simply be too busy to focus.

re MS. as you may know, MS retained Grover awhile ago for strategic advice etc. Under IDA will have to register. That raises other issues (publicity). So one question occurs whether they could instead contribute to ATR. However, I thought that if it would be more than 10K and they were asking ATR to get involved on issues that their contribution to ATR would have to be disclosed. can you check in with jackA about this so you can discuss with jackK at your meeting? Also I need to send email to Kimberly.

many thanks.

 From: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 30, 1996 1:08 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: Lobby Disclosure

Over the past year or so, I have sent our update memos on government ethics to two of your clients: MS and BSA.

For MS, I'm meeting with Jack Krumholtz (at his request) this Thursday to discuss whether he and others within MS should register. I will give him a copy of our booklet at this time. But it's probably more appropriate for YOU to send a letter along with the booklet to Kimberly (or others) in Redmond regarding the firm's determination that we will re-register on behalf of MS. (I will also send a copy of the booklet to Julie Inman who made a special request to have one).

For BSA, the presentation I was scheduled to give to the BSA group on lobby reform was cancelled; it may be rescheduled in a couple of weeks. I have already mailed a copy of the booklet to JD Marple (at his request), but I have not sent one to Becca. As billing attorney, probably YOU should send a letter along with the booklet to Becca regarding the firm's determination that we will file on behalf of BSA.

I hope all of this works for you. Please advise me if I can help.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, March 10, 1996 7:53 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Grover

I spoke to Grover this evening. He asked me, again, the status of the \$10K for ATR for Jim Lucier. Is there any way to get this done? I know it is not your fault, but it is getting a bit embarrassing with him asking me constantly. He has not let Lucier know yet, since he wants to have the money in hand. Lucier is doing a great job on this. I hope that they can issue this check in the next few days. Please let me know. Thanks.

Also, on Grover. I saw the rather nasty (in my view) response of Kimberly on the request for the ATR tax series. Grover has agreed to apply one of the monthly payments to MS coming to these events (the first is this week), but wants to know why it is that they are taking so long to get him paid for the past many months. He has received one check -- for \$10K -- from last year. They have not been able to provide any documentation to the contrary. They owe him \$40K for last year. I understand from Kimberly's email that they are supposed to be paying him \$120K for this year (\$10K a month), so they owe him, already, \$20K and will owe him \$30K by the end of this month. Again, this is getting to be a real source of embarrassment for me. I do not know what to tell Grover as to why MS cannot pay this amount or why they are late. Furthermore, he cannot understand why he is not being asked to do more for them. He points out -- ironically -- that he spends more time advising the Washington Post than he does MS. Surely for this money they want him to do something. He has offered to go to MS headquarters or meet with people here if that will help. What can he do to help?

Finally, Grover will be in Seattle April 5 - 13 helping Randy Tate do town meetings. He would like to co-host, with MS, a small dinner with Tate to raise some funds. He is hoping that MS would consider putting together a dozen execs (or friends) at \$1K each to help out Tate. I did not have the heart to tell him how these amounts are beyond the MS wallet, or will.

Help, Bruce! I am losing my grip with my friend. Please at least give me some answers so that I can respond to the above. These lack of payments are really disgusting. Please help me out here as soon as possible. Thanks,.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 1996 12:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: FW: paying grover norquist

The new invoice is the one for the ATR dinner.

I will make sure the check from BSA gets issued early next week (Becca is out of the country and I need to beat up on her)

From: Jack Krumholtz
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 1996 10:47 AM
To: "'Heiman, Bruce (DC)'"
Subject: RE: paying grover norquist

A check for \$60K was mailed on 3/26; he should have it any day. I forwarded the new invoice to Redmond and it is being processed.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC) [SMTP:extnet!bruceh@dcpo.preston.infonet.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 1996 8:58 PM
To: Jack Krumholtz
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: paying grover norquist

Can you tell me where this stands? Grover still has not received anything further and has now raised the issue on a couple of occasions. Is it possible to get this pulled to the front of the payment line if the check has not already been issued?

Also, Grover sent over an ATR invoice for the tax dinner series which I will bring to tomorrow's meeting. The next dinner will be in April with Archer. MS should send a separate check to ATR for the dinner series. Recall that Grover agreed to forgo one of his monthly retainers, so he'll skip a month.=====

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [PRESTON/DCPO/jacka]
Sent: Sunday, May 10, 1998 5:56 PM
To: James Lucier
Subject: RE: Very Important!!! Confidential

I spoke with him and he acknowledged that the \$10K is for you, but then was complaining that they (BSA) were shortchanging him by \$30K (!?). I offered to see what was happening with that (the money from Americans for Computer Privacy) but he told me to wait on it. Bottom line, though: he recognizes that this \$10K is for you. let me know how it plays out.

From: James Lucier[SMTP:jlucier@atr.org]
Sent: Sunday, May 10, 1998 9:04 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Very Important!!! Confidential
Importance: High

The annual \$10,000 BSA check to ATR just came in three weeks ago and we just received an additional \$30,000 from Americans for Computer Privacy.

As you know, the annual bonus I receive from BSA is the single most important thing that allows me to continue working at ATR. I really count on this.

ACTION ITEM. Can you call Grover at home today or soon and remind him that the funding ATR gets to support me and my work on encryption and other high tech issues really needs to go for this purpose?

BACKGROUND: Last year, the BSA check came while I was out of town and no one told me it had arrived. (In fact, I was specifically told on two occasions that we had not received it, which is disappointing to me but not something I am prepared to make an issue of.)

As a result, I went back to Heiman and BSA repeatedly over the next two months to ask where it was. I cc'd all these communications to you and you helped make some of these inquiries. I was very embarrassed when I found out that BSA had sent the check exactly when they said they would and that the holdup was in my own office.

After that, it was nearly another two months (a total of 14 weeks in all) before the check was passed on to me. There were some legitimate reasons for this. The legal bills ATR incurred during the Thompson Committee hearings put a significant drain on our cashflow.

But another reason is that ATR does not run on a formal budget that Grover sticks to, despite elaborate planning exercises by Audrey. In practice, everything is on an out-of-pocket basis. If there is no cash on hand to do something, we simply don't do it. Bottom line: if the ACP and BSA money gets spent on other things before I get my bonus check, I may never see it.

What's more, there is a real risk I will not get the staff support and resources I need to do the work on encryption that we are committed to do and which BSA, Heiman, et al., are expecting from us. I am also not getting the staff support I need to help Heiman in his Postal issues, despite a \$20,000 contribution to ATR. I think I have a good relationship with Heiman, but sooner or later he is going to be very frustrated and disappointed that he is not getting better results for the inputs he supplies.

Thanks for your help. You can email back or call me on my (encrypted) cell at (703)926-8977 if you want to talk. This is very, very important.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 7:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show
 reads like something from the grates on lafayette park.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 10:12 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Where are we with Gregg Hilton in getting this out? By the way, what in the world is Jeff ~~hammering about~~ below?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 1999 10:23 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: D-Day show

!!
 -----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:17 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

I think that next I want to get credit from the Pentagon public affairs dept & then from ONDCP (office of drug policy) & then from minority groups, &c &c... & Grover & CAGW & Rabbi Lapin...we should get these guys crazy! & lots & lots of interviews w/members of Congress! At least one press release every week or two

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 9:23 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Don't worry. I just spoke to Greg Hilton and he said that he will remind his chairs again tomorrow. I asked him if he expected this to be a problem and he said "absolutely not."

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:00 AM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: RE: D-Day show
 >
 > Good. I was getting a little nervous after our last conversation.

DOE SE 000467

> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:06 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I do not think he is backing away.
>
> > -----Original Message-----
> > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:43 AM
> > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> > Subject: RE: D-Day show
> >
> > Please get Jack into this if you think he's backing away.
> >
> > -----Original Message-----
> > From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:41 AM
> > To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> > Subject: RE: D-Day show
> >
> >
> > I talked to him yesterday and will call again today. He is clearing the
> > letter with his co-chairs.
> >
> > > -----Original Message-----
> > > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> > > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 AM
> > > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> > > Subject: D-Day show
> > >
> > > Where are we w/Gregg Hilton?

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 1999 7:07 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Call Council Nedd and/or Tom Schatz or even Grover to get a statement that Ch 1 is a huge and creative tax savings!!!!

Bug, bug , bug, bug

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 11:53 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC); Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: Folkemer on C-SPAN

Please bug me non-stop tomorrow to make sure I get this done. Thanks.

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

From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
<mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 1:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Folkemer on C-SPAN

Hey there, Jack. The only thing I think Paul really needs before he gets on C-SPAN on Thursday is a statement he can attribute somehow to Grover or CAGW that rebuts Molnar's charge that we are a waste of tax dollars. Can you help us get something somehow (between now and then) that Paul can refer to which argues that we are, in fact, a huge and creative tax savings?
Jeff

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 6:50 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW
 too late. this info went to peter ferrara immediately after you requested it yesterday. of course there still is no reason why we can't do both. i iwll ask daniel to draft.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 7:48 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW

Good idea. Amy, hold on getting this to Ferrara. Let's draft something from Grover to respond to this and I'll get it to him. Have Daniel draft it up fast. I'll run it by Grover. We'll send it in for him and voila, it should work. Thanks Jeff.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 7:37 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW

Excellent. Thanks, Jack. ALSO -- tell Grover he can redeem himself by blasting the coalition in a letter to the NYT responding to today's story. (see my prior e-mail)

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 1999 8:30 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: CAGW

I set in motion today a piece by Peter Ferrara (the chief tax counsel of ATR and former fellow of Heritage and Cato) which deals with the cost to taxpayers issue. He'll have a draft real fast for us. It'll run in the Investors Business Daily, and probably reprinted in Human Events.

I called Grover to tell him this (which should push him to move it). I am really upset at Grover on this. Oh well. I'll keep on him.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 1999 2:27 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: CAGW

Don't slug me -- but, now that we have CAGW's letter I just need you to reassure me that we are not going to get into more trouble from our association with them than it is worth. I know they are controversial, I just don't know who is a less controversial tax watchdog group.

Also -- I
still hope that Grover's piece will be published at some point -- 2
voices
are far better than one.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:01 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC); 'Jeff Ballabon'
Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter
I saw Grover as I headed into the Capitol. He said he has assigned Peter Ferrara (!) to draft his NY Times letter. Amy please coordinate with Peter {705-0266}. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
Importance: High

What do you think???

-----Original Message-----
From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: Grover NYT letter
Importance: High

<< File: GroverNYTletter.doc >>

From: Jeff Ballabon [JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 6:12 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Terrific. I really mean it. If either one gets published it is a big, big victory. Now, the odds of that are always slim, so do not think that I expect them to be published. Still, hope springs eternal. Good work getting this turned around, Amy -- thank you.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:14 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

We are trying to get them out today. Heather is going to walk them through the organizations and, assuming Grover and Counsel can get it done fast, they'll be out today.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:05 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Do we know if ATR &/or CAGW sent their letters out?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

What do you think???

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 > Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: Grover NYT letter
 > Importance: High
 >
 > <<GroverNYTletter.doc>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, January 24, 1999 7:06 AM
 To: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC); Walker, Franklin (DC)
 Subject: Edits on the presentation
 TO GET ME BEFORE MY FLIGHT DEPARTS AT 10:30, PAGE ME. I AM AT THE AIRPORT.

I am doing this off a print out I made this morning, since I am in the car and don't want to have the hassle of moving through the large document. The job you did editing was very good. You caught most of what I had seen over Shabbas. Here are some additional thoughts (I'll give the first few words of the slide I am editing):

Why Have our opponents gone to Congress; the first sentence is not worded well, "act according in certain ways". It needs to be changed. Either act accordingly or act in certain ways.

Their tactics.. to Embarrass...: you might want to add that they want legislation in addition to hearings, or that they might try to get the administration to push for something either in the budget process or through regulatory action.

Eagle Forum: change the first part to: Phyllis Schlafley led conservative group, strong grass roots, Schlafley is a national columnist. (I think we should not call her ultra conservative)

~~Channel One is Countering the Coalition's efforts. Add "Majority Whip Delay and scores of conservative Congressmen" after the mention of Hastert.~~

New Allies for Channel One: I think you should have a panel for these groups, or at least 2 per panel and add some material on them:

Americans for Tax Reform: the nation's largest taxpayer organization with 70,000 activists and affiliated tax payer groups

CAGW: The nation's largest organization attacking government waste and abuse; Grew out of the Grace Commission from the '80's.

Traditional Values Coalition: one of the nation's largest Christian conservative groups encompassing 40,000 churches

Toward Tradition: the most influential and respected think tank of the religious conservative movement, most significant organization comprised of Jews and Christians on the right.

New Allies (In Development): I think you should move National Security Caucus Foundation to new allies. They are more than developed. Description: the largest pro-defense Congressional member organization with over 250 Republican and Democrat members of Congress involved". You might want to put something about their distribution of the tape, coming up, and the up coming reception (which we need to get moving on).

Retail Lobbying: our lobbying effort on Capitol Hill and among the influential public policy organizations must be one on one. Bold will signify additions.

Third Party Support: you should make this slide more presentable by splitting it into 2 and putting the groups list into bullet form. Also, add Toward Tradition.

Facts on the Ground: Under the leverage of Mastert add a line about using the positive experience to do more members of Congress, building allies.

Grassroots/Grasstops: I would consider adding Ralph next to Martin Christie.

Educate the Educators: typo should be "establishment" educators, not educator

Find Congressional Champions: I would have a DeLay slide on this after Goodling, as long as you make it clear that you are working to have a Democrat similar to DeLay involved. He hates Ruskin, he and his staff have already helped us get Mastert and he wants to be wired up. This guy is a powerful ally (most powerful in the House) and really goes to bat for his friends. This is important especially since the Goodling commitment as noted in the slide is iffy.

Ralph Reed: I would put the following: Most significant leader in history of religious conservative movement. Works closely with PG on many things (you can note my history with him if you want). Very close to Shelby and all Alabama religious conservatives. Can aid overall national plan to reach out to allies on the right. Significant presence and contacts with governors in 20 states. This should get you through this slide OK.

I hope this helps. Please send this group the final version. Thanks Jeff.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 1999 5:22 PM
To: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
Subject: Americans for Tax Reform Dinner series

I understand that Primedia has been invited by Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) to participate in its annual dinner series. I want to take this opportunity to recommend strongly that you do this if possible.

I have attended these events each year and can tell you they are quite valuable. They are wonderful opportunities to get one-on-one discussion with the guests of honor. I believe Grover would be willing to invite some of the committee chairmen we would like (Goodling, for example). He normally has Trent Lott, the Speaker and others.

Please let me know if you would like additional information, but, especially in light of the huge hit Grover delivered, I think this would be a very nice gesture on your part.

Regards.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 7:45 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE:
 he won't believe it. my bargain days ended when i left long island. i will
 arrange the peter ferrara meeting.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:47 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE:

You're a bargain shopper! Tell him we'll give him \$3K, but we want him to do
 press and talk radio on this. That way I don't look like an idiot with Jeff.
 Wait till I tell Glen what a bargain you can drive!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:22 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE:

i have offered him \$2000 and he said ok!! I am calling right now to make the
 appointment.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:10 AM
 To: '2740949@skytel.com'
 Subject: RE:

Jeff, we need to agree on the price we are going to pay him. I think he wants
 \$5K, but we have offered \$3K. We can put this on our bill as a subcontract, but
 the firm will not want to have to pay for this out of our fees. Give me some
 guidance. He is, meanwhile, working on it. It would help if you could meet
 with him. Can we set this up for this trip?

-----Original Message-----
 From: 2740949@skytel.com [mailto:2740949@skytel.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 8:53 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject:

Where are we on the Ferrara economic analysis? We need to have that done by next
 week at the latest. We want to run ads based on it,atr and cagw.

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 6:41 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); 'Jeff Ballabon'; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 I will tell Peter this is what we need to see in his press release. I believe he will be willing to deliver whatever we need.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 10:03 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Dennis, can you work this out with Peter Cleary? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 9:24 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

This is vital -- good work. Should we see if ATR will do a "press avail" a la -- this is about anti-technologists and the schools and taxpayers suffer?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 7:18 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Dennis, this is just super. Great work!!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 2:01 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Peter with ATR is in, Council with CAGW is in, David Almasi with National Center is in (Amy and David R. are out this week on travel) and I have a call into Andrea with TVC. Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 10:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Yes.

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)

Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 9:55 PM

To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)

Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)

Subject: one pagers by conservative groups

(Kidenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

(Jack-- is this still what you want?)

Dennis,

You may recall that Jack asked you yesterday
to arrange for these groups to hand out one pager following the hearing.
With Jack's approval, would you please continue this? Thank.

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 7:18 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 When I talked with Peter this morning, he was planning to draft a press release hammering the "anti technology" crowd per Jeff B's request and will also be distributing Grovers nice piece on Channel One. A nice balance, a positive piece on the good guys and a hit piece on the bad guys. Sound good?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 3:39 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Probably not. I would imagine we have to draft something. Dennis am I right?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 2:38 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 When you say "Peter .. is in" etc. do you mean that they have one-pagers which they are willing to distribute at Thursday's hearing?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 7:18 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Dennis, this is just super. Great work!!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 2:01 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Peter with ATR is in, Council with CAGW is in, David Almasi with National Center is in (Amy and David R. are out this week on travel) and I have a call into Andrea with TVC. Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 10:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Yes.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)

Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 9:55 PM
To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: one pagers by conservative groups (Iidenauer, ATR, CA6W, TVC)

(Jack-- is this still what you want?)

Dennis,

You may recall that Jack asked you yesterday to arrange for these groups to hand out one pagers following the hearing. With Jack's approval, would you please coordinate this? Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 10:04 AM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: FW: Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students

Thanks Grover!

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

From: Peter Cleary [mailto:pccleary@erols.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 10:00 AM
To: 'Friends of ATR'
Subject: Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 16th Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: 202-785-0266 Fax: 202-785-0266
<http://www.atr.org>

For Immediate Release: 5/19/99
Contact Peter Cleary: 202-785-0266

Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students

WASHINGTON-Today, the opponents of Channel One are busy using the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions to accuse the company of committing what they believe is a mortal sin: capitalism.

"Opponents of Channel One are using half-truths and misinformation to sully the reputation of Channel One. They are behaving like anti-technology Luddites. Despite their objections, the fact is that in a free-market society commercial programming is key to funding the distribution of information whether it be television or the Internet," said Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform.

"Twenty years ago, teachers were limited to the options of outdated films and filmstrips as visual aides. Today, teachers have a wide variety of current information to choose from, including the Internet and Channel One," added Norquist. Each school that signs up for Channel One receives \$50,000 worth of telecommunications equipment, including a fixed KU band satellite dish, 19 inch color TVs in every classroom, VCRs, and internal wiring, with complete maintenance by Channel One. Apart from Channel One's daily news program, the school can use this telecommunications network for any other educational, training, or student programming they choose.

Indeed, Channel One provides an additional two hours per day of optional educational programming, including historical documentaries, biographies, and programs on mathematics, science and art. After the school receives the Channel One service for six years, all the telecommunications equipment becomes the property of the school.

"And what does Channel One charge the students for this entire service? Absolutely nothing. The entire operation is financed at a profit by two minutes of commercials in the daily 12 minute broadcast," noted Norquist.

"Schools that do not have Channel One are missing out on a good deal for the taxpayers as well as their students," concluded Norquist.

Americans for Tax Reform is a non-partisan coalition of over 90,000 taxpayers and taxpayer advocates who are opposed to all tax increases at the state and federal levels.

###

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

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

----- Original Message -----
From: Grover@ [REDACTED] (mailto:Grover@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 4:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Re: Ft Grover

Jack,
got your email.
I do want to talk about [REDACTED]
I want to speak with you before anything else is done there.

What is the status of the Choctaw stuff - I have a \$75K hole in my budget
from last year. cwh
grover

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, June 10, 1999 5:08 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Woodmore bill

I have to have a list of non-Hill staff who are relevant to include for each of these. I have added Ed where I think I can. Otherwise, add Ralph Reed, activists from Americans for Tax Reform, Traditional Values Coalition, Citizens Against Government Waste without putting names. Would that work?

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, June 08, 1999 4:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Woodmore bill

In order to reimburse for the guest fees, I need to know the names of the guests for each of these dates and who to bill it to:

Sun, 5/2
Tues, 5/4
Fri, 5/7 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists
Fri, 5/14 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists
Fri, 5/28 - Michael Mann (anyone else? bill to?) don't put Michael Mann, put
Mon, 5/31

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 sbj) 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.

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, September 24, 1999 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, October 09, 1999 9:42 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); as Abramoff, Jack (Sky)

Grover and Ralph, we need a check to Ralph by Wednesday

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 4:00 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
 keep me posted.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 6:58 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...

We should not hand over our friends to this guy. In fact, we should tell our friends to stand clear of him. We will not work on this bill until we have something worked out with Jeff. I will email him and keep you on this.

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 6:51 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
 Importance: High

He told me that they are meeting with Miller on Tuesday. He also has a meeting set up with Petri. He would love us to get Largent off of the bill. He discussed CAGW, ATR, and TVC are Channel One supporters that he would like to get to oppose Miller. It sounded like he might call them. What do you want me to tell Jeff (who asked me to call Jim)? I am sure that he wants to enlist our friends in their coalition.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 7:32 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Miller bill -- Jim Halpert

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 10:27 AM
 To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Miller bill-Jim Halpert

ABSOLUTELY! We are not sharing our friends.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestogates.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:jacka@prestogates.com]>
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 7:05 PM
 To: 'Jeffery Ballabon-Office'
 Subject: Miller bill-Jim Halpert
 Importance: High

Hi Jeff. As I regain consciousness, I am hearing about some lobbyist named Jim Halpert who works for ZapMe. Apparently this guy has been hired by these folks to work on the Miller bill and called Amy to solicit our help, including getting us to get ATR, CROW and TVC to help him.

This is, in my view, a very dumb thing for us (as in PG and CI) to do. First of all, this guy does not strike me as the brightest bulb on the lobbying circuit. He does not have a clue as to what he is up against with Miller (he apparently thinks he will talk Miller down from this bill).

We should not fully (or perhaps even partially) trust this guy and certainly we should not be giving our hard won assets or contacts. The quickest way to lose the interest of Sheldon, Grover et al is to "hand them over" to another lobbyist.

Furthermore, if we are to engage on this Miller bill (which I assume we will at some point - soon I hope) we should really work out a deal between PG and CI on this. I know we will do this and have nothing but trust in you, but with this clown Halpert in the tent, we need to figure this out soon.

We need to decide on OUR strategy and ZapMe be damned. They certainly would throw us over the side as soon as it is convenient.

Anyway, let me know when you want to chat on this so we can work out what we should be doing on this one.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 12:48 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Probably Pat, though Dennis might know him.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:48 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

who is friendly with him here?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:47 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

He would be ideal.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:46 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

He works for Peter Flaherty at the National Legal and Policy Center.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:42 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

You are right on Ferrara. Who is Dan renee?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:41 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

what group is ferrara? we already have atr. how was dan renee with?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:28 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

I don't want Rabbi Lapin to do this. We are going to need him to discreetly call Dobson to get Jeff a meeting, so I don't want to put him out publicly again yet. How about Ferrara?

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
Importance: High

Daniel has drafted these letters to respond to the New Republic piece. Can you review these asap so we can get them to Jeff for his approval? We also may need your help getting Rabbi Lapin and CAGW to submit these letters to the New Republic. Is there anyone else who you think should write a response to the New Republic?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 2:52 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: New Republic Response Letters
Importance: High

<< File: DFR_G201BNew Republic Response Letters.doc >>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:04 AM
 To: 'ralph@...'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

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: [REDACTED]

Any. Grover, Leah, 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@...' [mailto:ralph@...]
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

OK, thanks. Please get me the groups we are using, since I want to give this to her all at once.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@...]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:30 AM
 To: Jack@...
 Subject: [REDACTED]

Here is the program we are recommending to our folks in [REDACTED] and they agree:

Mail One self-mailer x 85,000 @ .52
 One postcard x 85,000 @ .39
 \$77,350

Television
 10 days, 750 gross rating points statewide @ \$281 per grp. \$281,500

Radio
 8 weeks, statewide @ frequency
 \$142,500

Radio/television Production
 5 spots
 \$28,500

List Rental
 \$5,000 x .08 x 1
 \$5,000 x .08 x 2
 \$20,000

Grassroots Phone Bank
 Live Operator \$5,000 @ .52
 Taped Messages \$5,000 @ .42
 \$45,000

OTC-0000020303

Legislative Counsel
40,000
Management Fee
\$40,000 per mo.
120,000

TOTAL: \$87,511

Remember that the session begins on Tuesday and the Bills are expected to pass the state House as early as Friday unless we move now.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, January 26, 2000 11:18 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Great. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [SMTP:ralph@...]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 12:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

The [REDACTED] is what we need right now. We would only need more if the bill passes the House. This is a House only program--the Senate becomes a target only if it passes the House.

Will get you a group.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@...]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:09 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: [REDACTED]

Ralph Reed does not have a ct. Please give me the name of the ct you want to use (include address) and we'll divide it among the three groups. Can I assume that we only need \$67,511, or is that what we need right now? Please let me know. Also, if we will need more soon, please let me know when and how much as best you can. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: 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.

Ralph Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [jack@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 11:39 AM
 To: ralph@redacted
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

Super. Thanks Ralph.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:27 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

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:jack@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 11:12 PM
 To: ralph@redacted
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

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@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:50 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

Yes, it will.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 [mailto:jack@redacted]

Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:45 PM
 To: Ralph E. Reed Jr.
 Subject: amy fidanour

She does not have a set, only a list, so we are back to ATR only. I have to get out before sunrise tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR and we can find another group.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:21 AM
To: Ralph@
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@
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:16 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 contributors from the DC anti-tax groups to [redacted] reaching them when--tomorrow or Wednesday?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) (mailto:jack@
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:12 AM
To: Ralph@
Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Just want Pam hopes for More kids! ;)

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:11 AM
To: Jack@
Subject: FW: Be Prepared

I figured you could use this.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (mailto: [redacted])
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:08 AM
To: [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 spot that runs out by 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: Friday, February 18, 2000 11:34 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DC)
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

Thanks for clearing this up. Be more guarded about people getting to speak with me on the phone for the next week.

-----Original Message-----
From: [REDACTED] (DC)
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

ATN is sending check FedEx today to the [REDACTED]. This confusion over them because [REDACTED] is on vacation (I think) and when I left a message yesterday I got back the OK now. However, you'll call him on his cell at (202) [REDACTED]. He's getting on a plane in an hour. If he misses you, he will call you Sunday. I'm calling Ralph now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:24 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DC)
Subject: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way
Importance: High

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2006 8:50 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: grover kept another \$25K

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, 2006 9:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K



From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 6:28 AM
To: [REDACTED] (DC)
Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

Yes, but last time they sent \$275K so I want to make sure that, before we send it to ATR I speak with Glover to confirm.

-----Original Message-----
From: [REDACTED] (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 7:03 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 6:46 PM
To: [REDACTED] (DC)
Subject: FW: Alabama 17-17-1

Please see if you can track down Neil 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 5:52 PM
To: Neil 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 \$500K for Americans for Tax Reform asap?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@atlantic.net] <mailto:ralph@atlantic.net>
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 11:23 AM
To: Jack O
Subject: FW: Alabama 17-17-1



[REDACTED]

From: Alanoff, Jack (OC)
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 9:27 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: FWE [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, Institute for [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 10:13 AM
To: Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: [REDACTED]

Do you know if the [REDACTED] has received additional contributions and when?

CONFIDENTIAL

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:27 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA IS A GO!

Congrats Bruce! Great work!

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:40 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: MPA IS A GO!

Jim called -- we're on! Congratulations and thanks to all of you! Board approved a six month total budget of \$750k -- that's for us, PR, think tanks, and ad placements in DC. They are also trying to raise another \$300-500 for the rest of the year so the total would be \$1.0M to 1.2M.

It also seems they will be looking to us for who to use on PR (and we know already that Jim is very comfortable with Gloria), think tanks, etc.

Obviously we also need to start immediately!

My initial thought re budgeting is as follows. Your thoughts are welcomed. Need to get back to Jim asap.

	lobbying(400)	PR (170)
M	100	35
A	100	35
M	50	25
J	50	25
J	50	25
A	50	25

grass tops (30): assuming help in 6 districts at 5K apiece.
 think tanks (80): ATR 20; Am.s for Econ. Growth 25; CAGW 10; CNPPR 10; PPI 15.
 leaves 70 for print ads.

whatever we don't spend for grass tops/print would go for lobbying -- but i think we want to use those tools.

If they raise the additional funds I would think 50 month for us (200) with a potential huge month in september if they really go for an end of session play. [recall that we cited 75/month for the year originally, so we would end up with 600+ instead of 750...not too bad] Have to see what PR needs would be at that time (and whether to work with additional think tanks (CATO would be next i think) as well as additional advertising or grass tops.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 4:56 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget update

still havent heard from jim. however, pierce called and said that jim was very pleased with our earlier conversation and his discussion with Gloria. Also: Q/G did give them (today i think) a 2 month proposal that was at least as much as our proposal! Sent jim a mock press release bashing postal service for losing academy awards! (clever). I was glad i gave

jim a new idea this morning -- get a letter to congress (R's) sent from the editors/publishers of 6 conservative weekly mags (e.g. weekly standard) talking about hardship rate increase will impose (apparently actually pushes standard into the red). could also work up an ad in W.Times with the mastheads -- that should get some R attention.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 9:22 AM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget update

Jim called -- he's got a conf call with 6-8 Board members this pm. We went through the scaled back scenario (cut back on PR, think tanks, ads, and focus our efforts). He has in mind an "ave" hourly rate of 300 for calculations. Threw out 120 or 100 in first two months -- I said that sounded in the range if they were reducing scope of work. I said in subsequent months could be 1/2 that with looking to a long term representation of say 25 month (we can always come back to that...). He knows we are very interested -- and I am more confident will come back to us following the call. I also told him PR could be reduced and had talked to Gloria who agreed if they wanted to move slower. Was also looking for explanation/justification of what a PR firm did for its money (saying one board member had thought it was all for creative ad design!). Gave him my pitch (essentially lobbying the press) but he will also call Gloria.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 2:28 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

Pierce talked to Jim. Jim is going to call some of the other firms to get their budget estimates (feels he owes it to board to check around). Pierce thinks Jim is actually hoping numbers come in similarly large to back up our numbers....but if they don't Pierce says he will come back to us. Of course, I wonder about others coming in much lower to get the business....

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:47 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

good idea

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:44 AM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

I think the way to handle this is to have Pierce intervene. He should find out if the price is a killer and tell Cregan to let him (Pierce) play the intermediary and get Preston to the table at a price with which MPA can live. Let them come back with an offer which we can consider. We should not go back in my view at all. We have Pierce in this mix and we should use him. He is ideal to broker this.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:50 AM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

Good re #1. Re #2, I think what you outlined is fine, but I would not PRESENT with a lot of month-by-month detail (just like you guys CORRECTLY telling me not to go into detail on what members we had relationships with and how the meetings would be scheduled).

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:36 AM
 To: Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

ok, 2 issues.

1. timing: i think i should wait until he gets back to me to come down if necessary -- downside is they talk to others before coming back to us (and i explained situation last night to pierce to try to make sure they come back to us first -- i'll call him again to tell him all of us are really interested in this fight and we want to work something out).
2. amount: how bout cut proposal by a third. 100 for each of first two months (we bill against it, if less then less (for the 2 months)). 50 in May, June, July, Sept and 25 in Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec (total 500). [only concern is that if we are pushing end of session rifle shot rider on approps or other bill it will take bigger effort -- tell them to keep 50/100 in reserve?] Also sets up for long term retainer then at 25 month (when they started thinking about a firm to help them longer term with postal reform, increasing profile etc, we told them (and others did as well) that it would be 20 - 30 month.

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

From: Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 9:29 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Agree with Jack and Manny for following reasons. This is a prestige client and will raise firm profile a notch (Besides, beating Quinn-Gillespie is really good for our rep. I am not the business person but, having a client with attractive magazine resources only good for us. We should consider lower number and get client on the masthead. My read on the body english when the price came up was, they seemed to register... "way more than others". 50 month plus expenses still sounds good and with R/D team on this caper we can do a lot with a narrow band of PGERM resources.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 7:09 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Agreed.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:44 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

If we have to, I would favor doing that rather than letting the representation go because I think that 1) exposure to the members of the association could have real long term business generation potential; 2) the prestige of having beaten the other competitors (worth a press mention somewhere?) will help put us on more "short lists" for corporate lobbying. BUT I think Bruce's approach is the correct one for now.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:16 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Should we think about taking less for a few months to get in there and prove our worth and then moving it up after that?

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 2:37 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abranoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC); O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: MPA

Well, to confirm what I told some of you, the MPA folks were greatly impressed with us -- but a bit taken aback with the proposed budget (recall 75k/month). case of sticker shock.

I just met with Cregan to go over budget numbers. explained to him that 75/mo was our estimate of work needed to be done during the year -- an average. in fact we envisioned 150k for each of the first two months and slower months to make it up (aug/nov/dec). we could bill them more earlier and less later as an alternative (particularly if we won during the first two months -- then they would only need to make sure it stuck). also told him 100 for think tanks, up to 100 for PR and grass roots (again first 2 months), 100 for print ads -- basically 2 month "crash" budget of 600. re pac -- said 100k (which is what he had in mind) coupled with individual contributions (again he agreed). soft money I said minimum 100k to get noticed, really needed 250k (per side). I think Jim understands and agrees with all this -- but doesn't know how his board will react (they have to raise the money -- they haven't done so already and are ready to spend).

also: I started with the point (and I don't think Jim had thought about this way but said he would use) about going from 15 to 8% saved them 100M -- so that if they spend 1M+ on the effort that was a damn good ROI -- much better than they could get elsewhere. realizing nothing is a sure thing, even a 50% prob. of success was still 50:1 -- better than other investments they could make.

finally, he posed the hypothetical what if the Board says "tell us what you can do for 50 a month?" I didn't engage -- simply repeated that we, like them, wanted to win and wanted to fight with the resources needed to fight. Also he was wondering whether maybe they didn't have to do ads -- I said couldn't tell until we were into it but at least had to have them ready. I think we could engage for less -- but decided (with some advice) not to negotiate against ourselves at this point.

stay tuned -- we've apparently beaten out the competition -- THANKS ALL -- but now they need to belly up to the bar (but hey, what do I know about drinking...)

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2000 10:45 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: Grover

Spoke with him this evening and he is very happy. Said he spoke with Gloria. He wants you to be in direct touch with him when we need an op ed.

From: Abiamoff, 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: EAHoback6 [mailto:EAHoback6]
Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2000 4:24 PM
To: jackab
Subject: Re: groups

The address for National Conservative Alliance is
68 Oxford Court
Walkersville, Maryland 21793
Contact: Chairman, Timothy Fisher

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 5:00 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: RE: CAGW and CNPPR

This is great. Let me recommend that Dennis call both. He is equally close and since he will most likely be dealing with them on this, it would give him good standing.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 10:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: CAGW and CNPPR

would you like to call schatz and ridenour re MPA (we have 10k budgeted for each)

I could then follow up with each (I would use Dennis too) re doing an article

would like to get CAGW to put it in their next monthly "Waste Watcher Monthly"; Ridenour to distribute op-ed through Knight Ridder and her National Policy Analysis.

i have in mind some angles for each -- CAGW would be a cross subsidy argument -- USPS is zapping magazines (and books and rural newspapers) to pay for ecommerce forays -- Leslie Page did a letter to ed of W.Post criticizing USPS ecommerce in february so this is a good follow on. CNPPR: something along the lines of abuse of power -- supposed to cover costs but here going way beyond and in fact seem to have ignored identified cost savings.

Havent run either by client yet so need to be tentative.

Would also like to make each avail to do talk radio (grover too).

let me know.

thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 30, 2000 9:09 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: RE: atr

No problem.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 30, 2000 11:35 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: atr

met with grover and damon ansell. rev'd up and ready to go. will do ATR fact sheet, letter to leadership and gov reform committee R's, and oped for Investors Bus Daily. Grover outlined his substantive thoughts/approach. sounded good. Damon will draft. Hopefully we can look at review before it goes out. ty! grover is doing quick trip to kuwait. many thanks again for all your help!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 9:12 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington Tells Channel One to Get Out of Schools

Hi Grover. I have not yet been able to nail down anything on Peter's piece, but just today a need for a hard hitting op ed has arisen and, before I go to him with it, I wanted first to see if you wanted to do it, and if not, to ask your permission to contact him. Arianna Huffington has now joined Ralph Nader and George Miller in attacking Channel One. You can see her column below. We want to do an op ed which smacks her big time, and also swipes at Nader's guy and the other loonies on this. We have \$1500 to do this piece and get it placed. Are you interested (we can write it for you)? If not, let me know if I can approach Peter. Thanks.

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

From: Salomone, Mary Beth (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 11:35 AM
To: "Channel One (DC)"
Subject: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington Tells Channel One to Get Out of Schools

Arianna Huffington
 Arianna Online- Columns
 For Sale: America's Students
 Filed April 17, 2000

An amendment by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), approved last week by the House Education and the Workforce Committee, requires schools to obtain parental permission before students can take part in classroom-based market research, which is sold to advertisers to help target children with smart-bomb precision. Miller described the vote as "an important step toward protecting student privacy. If parents do not want their children to be objects of market research firms while in school, they should have the right to say 'No.'"

In fact, the commercialization of our nation's classrooms is taking insidious forms not addressed by Miller's modest amendment. Nearly 40 percent of America's schools start their day with a brief news show transmitted by Channel One that includes two minutes of commercials for products such as Snickers bars, Juicy Fruit gum, Pepsi and Kellogg's Corn Pops. This use of our schools to deliver a captive audience of kids to advertisers has at least succeeded in uniting Ralph Nader and Phyllis Schlafly, who both testified against Channel One at a Senate hearing last year -- and Commercial Alert, a Nader-backed group, with Obligation, Inc., a conservative child-advocacy group.

Miller's amendment will make things much harder for companies like ZapMe!, a marketing firm that provides schools with free computers -- and asks in exchange only to monitor their students' Web-surfing habits, break down the data down by sex, age and ZIP Code and link the information to a specific student's name, address and, potentially, parents' credit card numbers. Sort of a new take on the word free. One would think that something so odious wouldn't have much of a chance of catching on. But ZapMe! has its computers in 1,784 schools, with company officials planning to infect double that number by the end of 2000.

Leading the way into this Shameless New World of Campus Commercialism is Colorado Springs School District 11, which has signed up 50 companies as corporate partners -- including Coca-Cola. For \$8.4 million, the school district has agreed to help the soda giant sell 70,000 cases of its fizzy, sugary products a year -- going so far as recommending that teachers allow kids to guzzle Coke during class. ("This quadratic equation is brought to you by Coca-Cola -- the next time you are breaking down square roots, break open a clean, fresh can of Coca-Cola.")

Being able to directly reach consumption-crazed kiddies is, of course, a sponsor's dream come true. In 1999, kids spent \$28 billion of their own money. So it's no longer "School days, school days, Dear old Golden Rule days." It's now "School days, school days, Principal's selling out the kids for a shiny new computer days."

We have students in a Massachusetts elementary school spending two days tasting cereal and answering a follow-up questionnaire; students in a New Jersey elementary school filling out a 27-page booklet, "My All About Me Journal," as part of a cable channel's marketing survey; and students in Jefferson County, Colorado, analyzing soda samples as part of a Pepsi-backed science course called "The Carbonated Beverage Company."

Where will this end -- aside from bad education and bad teeth -- unless what is happening is exposed and vigorously challenged? Here's a sneak preview of the gory future that could easily lie ahead. Before long, little corporate logos will appear on the corner of take-home tests, and glossy full-color report cards will feature fold-out booze and cigarette ads on the back. Our classrooms will be covered with more corporate symbols than a NASCAR racer. And like sports stadiums, schools will auction off the naming rights to their playground equipment. So, we'll have the FedEx Monkey

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 1:44 PM
To: Groveratr@aol.com
Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: RE: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington...

Thanks Grover. We're going to draft up something and get it to you asap. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Groveratr@aol.com [mailto:Groveratr@aol.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 7:59 AM
To: jacka@prestogates.com
Subject: Re: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington...

Jack,
yes go ahead and draft a copy for me.
I have just spoken with the head of the Washington Times
op-ed about a piece for Bruce Heinman. They said they
are full for a while due to Elian articles.
I will talk to Helle Wed morning and make a case for
this piece.
yes, aTR will do this piece and push to have it in the Washington times and the Investors
business daily. also I will share it with all our state groups. grover

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 3:22 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....
 I assume you think we should go ahead.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 6:17 PM
 To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Perhaps. I still think we should take a shot at her.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 5:43 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Let's not obsess on Huffington---Grover can't stand her because she always bashes Newt---but she has hardly any credibility with conservatives (whereas Schalaif does)...and there is probably nothing more that would benefit her profile and credibility with the establishment press than a pissing contest with Grover...I subscribe to the theory she is best ignored.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 4:49 PM
 To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Also, Grover is going to do an op ed attacking Huffington's piece.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 3:50 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: Shelby...outside contacts....

Rabbi Lapin (Toward Tradition)---Jeff is talking to personally...plan is to submit column to Human Events

Dan Rene (NLPC)---I will see in Chicago...he will submit guest column to Investor's Business Daily

Brent Bozell (MRC)---we need to supply some talking points to counter Schalaif and he will do a column...appears in various conservative periodicals including HE

Nina Shokrai (Heritage)---faxed talking points and she will use them as she visits congressional offices to brief them on ESEA over the this week and next

Grover Norquist (ATR)---Damon in his office is revising K. Ring Draft letter and intends to send out this Friday...to all GOP senators and maybe to Dems also---

Andy Lefevre (ALEC)---Andy Lefevre indicated they could do a letter to senate-- once there is some amendment to oppose..we have sent him talking points and Shelby budget amendment resolution.

Dennis was handling CAGW...

By Monday I would like to be able to e-mail a few points to Washington Times for potential editorial....please give this some thought.

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: Ratson, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 12:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Bob Daum

(212) 980-5172
ATR \$20K
Radio \$20K
Radio campaign
TVC \$25K

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

Have you sent the 2 checks for \$30K 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 memo 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

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
5908-102 Jake Sears Circle
Virginia Beach, VA 23464
Attn: Robin Vanderwall
(757) 523-6379

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 12:00 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon AOL'
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR \$25K check

Please get this to Rodney asap.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2001 12:01 PM
To: [mailto:neil@rogers.com] (neil@rogers.com)
Subject: FW: Contribution - ATR anti-tax effort

Nell approved this. Please get from [redacted] and get to Grover asap with a cover note.

Grover,

Here is the first of the checks for the tax event at the White House. I'll have another \$25K shortly.

Regards,

Jack

~~Original Message~~
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2001 12:35 PM
To: Neil Rogers
Subject: Contribution - ATR anti-tax effort

They are launching a new anti-tax campaign, which will include a good component about taxation of tribes. They are trying to raise funds and have asked whether Choctaw could underwrite \$25K of this. Please let me know if this is possible.

Americans for Tax Reform
Washington, DC [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 7:14 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: ATR \$25K check

Did he get it to you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 1:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon AOL
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR \$25K check

Please get this to Rodney asap.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 06, 2001 8:23 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR check
Importance: High

If you did not get this already from Mike, or did not give it to Grover, please don't! Hold on this check. Tell Mike that he should write a \$35K check to sports suites and \$15K to Committee to Elect Ben Filial. Please confirm that this is OK.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 2:50 PM
To: Farrakh@aol.com
Subject: RE: Function on April 30 - Adam and Grover Invited

OK, but the more they get access to my guys without having to hire us, the less likely it will be for them to hire us.
gnorquist@atr.org

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

From: Farrakh@aol.com [<mailto:Farrakh@aol.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 1:37 PM
To: abramoff@etlaw.com
Subject: Function on April 30 - Adam and Grover Invited

Hi Jack:

The Embassy (in collaboration with PABA) is holding a business/investment promotion function on April 30. The Finance Minister will be the chief guest. I had included Adam Kidan and Grover Norquist in the invites list. The invitations have been sent by the Ambassador. I am sending an email to Adam. Could you give me Grover's email - it will be good if they could attend and meet with the Finance Minister and the Ambassador. Thanks. Farrakh.

5/12/2004

GTG-E000069098

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2001 2:26 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: coushatta

Political budget
May 9 trip
Atr contribution
Burns—

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:45 AM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Oh, one more thing. Did you have a chance to get a meeting for Chief Poncho of the Coughatta's with Secretary Norton yet? Can you attend that meeting as well? It would be so nice if she could thank him for the contribution. He is in town May 9 and 10 and will see the President as well, as part of Grover's group meeting. They also contributed (less, so don't tell Grover!) to ATR.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 10:08 AM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

FYI - he is not on Gale's two week schedule as of yesterday.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:47 AM
 To: italia@crea-online.org
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

No, but some time in the next week or so I believe.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:46 AM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Do you know when this meeting is?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:06 AM
 To: italia@crea-online.org
 Cc: Italiacrea@aol.com
 Subject: YIKES!!! help!
 Importance: High

I just found out why the opponents of the CNMI and Speaker Ben Fitial did all they could to kill his visit with Secretary Norton.

As you recall, Ben is running for Governor. Although he is the former chairman of the Republican Party, the current Republican Speaker in the House and was the chairman of the Bush Cheney Campaign in the CNMI, he has decided to run for Governor under a local party banner (the Covenant Party) because the Republicans there nominated a liberal who also serves as the Resident Representative in DC for the CNMI, Juan Babauta. [I have copied a memo about Babauta which was presented internally to DeLay when former Sec of Interior Manny Lujan - now on Babauta's payroll - tried to get a meeting (unsuccessfully) for Babauta with DeLay.]

I just found out that Babauta is on his way to DC with his running mate and that they are being helped internally at Interior to secure a meeting with Secretary Norton. If this

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@redacted]
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
1920 I Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
ph: 202-785-0266
fax: 202-785-0261
www.atr.org

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 5:14 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: RE: WH reception

Yes, three tribes will be coming: the Chitimachas, the Coushatta and the Kickapoos. I am also going to get the Choctaws to pass the resolution. The other issues would be great too. I think a lot of the tribes would pass these resolutions. How about if I ask the chiefs of these tribes to do a joint letter to Indian country to get people on board?

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 2:48 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: WH reception

jack,
 We have three tribes. Correct?
 How many others do you think would be willing to pass such a resolution.
 We will also be doing this for other issues...SDI, fast track free trade, etc.
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 1:31 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

All responded positively. Their meetings will be as soon as they can get them. Great idea. We should get others to do so as well, even if they are not part of this event.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 10:26 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: WH reception

Jack,
 Can we get these tribes to endorse the tax bill and pass a resolution like the states did. Then I can insist that the tribal leaders be in the meeting not just as financial supporters of the effort, but as republican leaning governments that endores the bush tax legislation. I intend to get all seven in. Robert Funk was given a push back by Kurt Blaylock who was worried about numbers. As leaders of tribal governments I think we can make this case. grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 5:46 PM
To: jkuhn@atr.org; abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Cc: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

The Kickapoos just told me that they too would put up \$25K. Each of these would have 2 folks to come (Choctaw would not come, but I would like to come in their stead, so 7 would be the number). Is that possible? If not, please let me know asap, since I am going to have to do some quick backtracking to get through the embarrassment. Thanks.

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
 Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 5:14 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
 Cc: Grover Norquist
 Subject: RE: WH reception

Jack-

Grover is negotiating with the WH but they are being very stingy about numbers. (I know Grover is calling you about this).

On another note - the evening before on May 8th we have a Tech dinner with Rove. (The tech dinner series is like the tax series) We would like to have you and up to 4 guests join us for the dinner.

I will keep you posted on any developments.

Jennifer

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:05 AM
 To: jkuhn@atr.org
 Subject: RE: WH reception

Thanks. Actually, I am going to hold back Shawn and Tony from the WH event. Instead, the Coushatta chief is bringing someone from his tribe. I hope that will be OK. The head of the Chitimacha tribe is a chairman and the head of the Choctaw and Coushatta tribes are chiefs. By the way, I am still also trying to get the third contribution (so far we have \$75K) from the Kickapoos. They would also want to come if it works for them. There would be 2 of them for sure since their Chief does not speak English! Ouch. Anyway, let me know if I should continue to pursue. So far, it would be 5 of us (Chairman LeBlanc and Terry Martin from Chitimacha, Chief and other leader from Coushatta and me).

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:36 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
 Subject: RE: WH reception

Hi Jack-

Sorry about tonight but I completely understand. If you can't make it - you can send someone in your place - actually 2 people - Choctaw and Coushatta.

For May 9th - right now, we don't know what sort of room/space we have to work with so I will have to say no to having Tony and Shawn escort but if things change I will let you know and we can work something out. BYW - are the tribes reps Chiefs or Chairman? Which is proper?

I will let you know when I received the checks. Do you want/need an invoice?

Thanks!

Jen

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 11:31 PM
 To: jkuhn@atr.org
 Subject: RE: WH reception

Thanks Jennifer. You should have the Choctaw check. I received the Chitimacha and Coushatta checks today (I believe) and you'll have them tomorrow. I have to check as to how much of the day we'll be with you, but let me do so and get back to you. Let me know if it would work to have Tony Rudy and Shawn Vasell also attend, escorting the Coushatta Chief and Chitimacha chairman. If not, no problem.

Tomorrow night might be a problem with me. Pam (my wife) just informed me that I parental duties (have to take one of our boys to his hockey game). I'll check to see who is coming and we'll get back to you asap. Thanks again.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 9:28 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
 Subject: RE: WH reception

<< File: May 9 Event Schedule.doc >> Jack-

We have not gotten a specific time from the WH. We have asked for 6PM. I hope to have resolution on this today.

I have attached our working schedule. I will keep you posted on all developments. I have been working with the assumption that you and the Tribe representatives will be joining us for dinner that evening. Please let me know how much of the day you wish to take part in.

I have not seen anything from Choctaw yet but will let you know when I do!

Thank you so much for all of your help!

Jennifer

PS I will see you tomorrow night for the Army dinner 6-8PM, correct? Also you have the Coushatta seat to fill if you want to send Kevin or some other representative.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 9:32 AM
 To: jkuhn@atr.org
 Subject: WH reception

Jennifer, can you remind me as to when this is again (I mean what time on the 9th)?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 01, 2001 8:17 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: did we get the Coughatta contribution to ATR yet?

From: Abner H. Jack (B-DC-500)
Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 7:07 PM
To: Abner H. Jack (B-DC-500)
Subject: FW: AFR state resolution project

permanent tax relief resolution. Get other tribes.

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn (B-DC-500)
Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 4:33 PM
To: Jack Abner H. (B-DC-500)
Subject: AFR state resolution project

Hi Jack,
As I believe you are aware, AFR is again doing the state resolution project (support SBI, make the Death Tax permanent, make the tax cut permanent and commending the FISA on the war on terrorism). Last year your support made it possible. Not only Choctaw, [redacted] and [redacted] as well as [redacted] pass resolutions and came to Washington for a meeting with President Bush. And the nations helped to underwrite our expenses. We expect to have another meeting with President Bush this year. Do you think the nations and [redacted] would again all pass resolutions and come to Washington for the meeting and help to underwrite our expenses to bring everyone to get them up at nice hotel, give dinner etc? More than anything we want to have nations actions as possible to express their support for the President's policies. Please let me know if I can provide you with any additional information - I can have copies of the resolutions forwarded to you. Steve will be traveling but can be reached on his cell [redacted]. Thank you!

See
Permanent tax relief resolution.docx
Jennifer Kuhn
[redacted]
Washington
(9) [redacted]
(11) [redacted]
(10) [redacted]

[redacted] [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:52 AM
To: 'gnorquist@atr.org'
Subject: Re: another possible attendee tonight

The british guy is very friendly with Karl. He has known him for 2yrs so no need to intro them. He is however someone I want you to meet since he could be the source of some UK funding for ATR. The intro to Karl of Petras with the connection to my name is important as is the Congo guy. No need for more than a quick intro and pic for either. It is kinshasa congo. Thanks grover.
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Grover Norquist <gnorquist@atr.org>
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com' <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
CC: Jennifer Kuhn <jkuhn@atr.org>
Sent: Tue Jul 09 11:35:31 2002
Subject: RE: another possible attendee tonight

Jack.
 I am assuming this is very important and therefore we are making it happen. It is tough.
 Remind me: who is the british guy. When I introduce him to Karl Rove, what is the connection I should stress. I will be sure and introduce Chris Petras to Karl. How do I introduce the congo guy. Which congo...Brazzaville or kinshasa?
 grover norquist.

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 9:40 AM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
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.

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email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:45 AM
To: Chris
Subject: RE: ATR

Thanks.

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

From: Chris Hamilton [mailto:chris.hamilton@congress.gov]
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:37 AM
To: abramoffj
Subject: RE: ATR

The Council has not voted on the Capital Athletic Foundation item. They have not had a quorum to do so (fractious, 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
To: cehamilton
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 8:33 AM
Subject: ATR

- > Last year Grover set a meeting for certain select tribal leaders (Coushatta
- > and Chickasaw were the only ones) and the speakers of the House of
- > Representatives 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.
- >
- > Please please get me that \$25K to Capital Athletic Foundation for the
- > thing. Thank you.
- >
- >
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- > and confidential information. If it appears that you are the recipient of the
- > message, please do not disseminate, distribute, or otherwise use the
- > information. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify the sender by e-mail
- > and destroy all copies of the original message.
- >
- > To verify the accuracy of this information, please send an e-mail to
- > [redacted]
- >



From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 11:56 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

Just the chairman and possibly one other.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 8:57 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

would we be able to swing the entire tribal council at the meeting with Bush--or just the chairman/"chief" as your e mail states. If you do not know I will leave the letter vague until we find out.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 12:40 AM
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 aqua 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)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:29 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

We can probably get the info they need. Have Allison track it down.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

called here but no return call yet.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:00 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Jennifer Kuhn.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 7:18 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Agua is a go on the grover bush event. They need the info below. Who is dealing with this in grover's shop.

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

-----Original Message-----
From: Simon, Judi <JSimon@aguacaliente.net>
To: gibsond@gtlaw.com <gibsond@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Sep 24 19:09:28 2002
Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Duane

Tribal Council approved participation with the October 11th meeting with President Bush. Please advise information for the \$25,000.00 check so I can prepare a check request from accounting department. Need Who it should be made out to - Address - and Fed ID No.
 Thanks Judi

-----Original Message-----
From: gibsond@gtlaw.com [mailto:gibsond@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:06 AM
To: Simon, Judi
Subject: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members
Importance: High

Judi--this is the trip report for the Tribal Council Members who visited DC last week.

Please ensure that the appropriate people get this. Thank you.

<<Aqua Trip Report.doc>>

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

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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) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 1:38 PM
To: zz--Terry Martin
Subject: ATR meeting with Bush

Hi Terry. Do you recall last year when Al and you came to that meeting in the White House with Bush, and speakers of the house from across the country, and got pictures with Bush?

Grover is hosting a similar meeting this year and has asked me to see if four of the tribes were interested in sponsoring the costs, at \$25K each. I have three in already (Coushatta, Agua Caliente and Choctaw), but wanted to see if you guys wanted to be the fourth. If not, no problem, as Saginaw Chippewa was very anxious to participate; but I told them that I would offer this to you first.

The meeting with Bush will be on October 11, but there will be other meetings on the 10th in DC. best to arrive on the 9th. It's actually perfect, since that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game. anyway, please let me know. Regards.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 1:39 PM
To: Holly Bowers (E-mail)
Subject: fax for William Worfel

Fax to 337-639-9902

Dear William,

Per our discussion, on October 9 through 11th, Americans for Tax Reform is once again hosting a meeting of selected Speakers of the House of numerous state legislatures. They have invited us to include in the meetings (which will include a private meeting with the President) four tribes. The tribes must agree (like the state governments being represented) to pass resolutions in support of President Bush's tax reduction initiatives (you did this last year as you recall). In addition, the tribes will divide up the sponsorship cost of the event, which will come to \$25,000 per tribe. The sponsorship will be in the form of a contribution to Americans for Tax Reform.

If you guys can come - which I hope you can - please get me via Federal Express a check for ATR, as well as the names, social security numbers and birthdates of the two representatives of the tribe who will attend (please fax that to me at 202-452-4885). The meeting is coming together quickly, so please let me know at your earliest convenience. By the way, that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game here in DC.

Thanks so much.

Look forward to seeing you here on the 9th.

Regards,

Jack Abramoff



September 27, 2002

Dear William,

Per our discussion, on October 9 through 11th, Americans for Tax Reform is once again hosting a meeting of selected Speakers of the House of numerous state legislatures. They have invited us to include in the meetings (which will include a private meeting with the President) four tribes. The tribes must agree (like the state governments being represented) to pass resolutions in support of President Bush's tax reduction initiatives (you did this last year as you recall). In addition, the tribes will divide up the sponsorship cost of the event, which will come to \$25,000 per tribe. The sponsorship will be in the form of a contribution to Americans for Tax Reform.

If you guys can come - which I hope you can - please get me via Federal Express a check for ATR, as well as the names, social security numbers and birthdates of the two representatives of the tribe who will attend (please fax that to me at 202-452-4885). The meeting is coming together quickly, so please let me know at your earliest convenience. By the way, that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game here in DC.

Thanks so much.

Look forward to seeing you here on the 9th.

Regards,

Jack Abramoff

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, September 29, 2002 7:44 PM
To: 'Tmartindc@aol.com'
Subject: RE: ATR meeting with Bush

Sounds good.

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

From: Tmartindc@aol.com [mailto:Tmartindc@aol.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 29, 2002 7:23 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: Re: ATR meeting with Bush

I'll check with Al. Probable will not get to him until Tuesday morning. Will let you know.

From: Alvanoff, Jack [Dr. De-Gen] [mailto:alvanoff@capitolathletic.com] on behalf of Alvanoff, Jack [Dr. De-Gen]
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2008 9:28 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 are getting called daily. Thanks Chris.

I also need to know about the ATR thing for sake 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 passing me for the names of the tribes who are coming. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 6:32 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

Great. We need date of birth and soc sec info on them.

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 7:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

ATR was approved. Check is either cut or being cut. Richard and Jeanette are doing the Bush meeting. Don't know if Candace and Moraino are coming.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 1:16 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

You call her. Find out about the ATR event. We need to lock this in.

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 11:22 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua Museum

Firm gave \$15000 for the Agua Museum.

I have the check in hand. Will take to event on Saturday.

Do you want to tell Candace or should I?

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 10:53 AM
To: 'Jennifer Kuhn'
Subject: RE: White House visit

Yes, but they have an intra council fight going on. They'll do it next year. They are going to contribute anyway, though it will be in a few weeks (I emailed grover).

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:47 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: White House visit

that works. cool.
 chris petras must be devastated!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:51 AM
To: jkuhn@atr.org
Subject: RE: White House visit

Yes, but the SagChips are not coming at all, so we have 2 slots. This is the only way we can get their funds.

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:38 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: White House visit

yes - the WH is asking for home addresses as well. Is Candance with Agua Caliente? That would make her the 3rd rep from that tribe.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: White House visit
 Jen, do we need their home addresses? Also, please add to the list:

Candace Cherie Patencio
 2159 Caliente Road
 Palm Springs, CA 92264

SS:
 DOB: 10-3-65

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 9:27 AM
To: Jennifer Kuhn (E-mail)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: White House visit

Jennifer--here are the birthdates and SSNs for the Agua Caliente Tribal Council Members who will be attending the meeting with the President.

Do you have a program available that I can share with them for their time here?

Duane Gibson

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

From: Simon, Judi [mailto:JSimon@aguacaliente.net]
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 8:02 PM
To: gibsond@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: White House visit

Duane

Richard M. Milanovich
Birthday: 12/4/42
S/S # [Redacted]

Jeannette Prieto-Dodd
Birthday: 11/6/66
S/S # [Redacted]

Judi

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

From: gibsond@gtlaw.com [mailto:gibsond@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 4:33 PM
To: Simon, Judi
Subject: White House visit

For entry into the White House for the meeting with President Bush, we need the names, birthdays, and social security numbers of those who will be having the discussion with President Bush.

Can you please e mail them to me?

Thanks.

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 10:03 AM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: Grover Norquist called

OK. I will call you later. Right now, only Choctaw (Chief Martin and Steve Gleason) and Agua Caliente (their chairman and two board members) are going to be able to be there. Coushatta wanted to come, but the hurricanes have devastated them; Saginaw Chippewa are having political problems internally at the tribe. Both are going to send checks, as are Choctaw and Agua of course. Choctaw did pass the resolutions last year, but I am not sure where we are yet this year (the chief is running for re-election and is holding as few meetings as possible until this is done). but they did pass it last year. Agua is a brand new client, but we will try to get them to pass it orally before Friday (they only have five members of the council, three of whom are coming). I hope this is OK.

Regarding the Standard, it is the same jerk as from the Forward. he is calling everyone on the planet. I am not speaking with him, given the lies from last time. we are still putting together a legal case against them, and we are watching this one possibly to add Weekly Standard into the mix.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 9:57 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: Grover Norquist called

Jack,
I told the white house that all the indian tribes passed resolutions like the state legislators. That is why they are invited to the White House.
Am I to understand that this is not true?
Which indian nations have actually passed which resolutions? Also. I would like to talk to you about the weekly standard --peter roff called me about this. my cell is 289-8717. I should be at office all afternoon. grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 6:20 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: FW: Grover Norquist called

Sorry I could not get back to you today. I have a ton of clients here from Europe. Driving me nuts!

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 10:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Grover Norquist called

He wants to talk to you about the Indians, the Resolution and the Weekly Standard piece.

cell
202-258-8717

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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@ [REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 5:30 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: thank you

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
1920 L Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
(o) 202-785-0266
[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: grover/pac stuff

Time to act

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
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 NTR's pac. Jane Zysk of my office sent over the material and letters your office requested. Is this still possible? grover norquist

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, 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@atr.org]
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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o= [REDACTED] /ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, November 11, 2002 10:55 AM
 To: 'Grover Norquist'
 Subject: RE: various

Tried you earlier today and left a vsail. Let me know when you can chat. Regards.

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, November 08, 2002 7:53 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@ [REDACTED]'; [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: various

1. Thanks for the news on the saginaw chippewa.
2. Maury Litwack is most delighted to come to the wedf meeting..he should set up a pre-meeting interview with me through jane zysk.
3. REstaurant would be fun. Kerri is out west for two weeks...
4. I met with interior secretary today. She is very concerned with indian things. I would like to speak with you on this. I am on cell 289-8717 all weekend. grover

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, November 08, 2002 8:41 AM
 To: gnorquist@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: various

The Saginaw Chippewa check for \$25K should be here next week. I'll get it over as soon as it comes.

Maury Litwack from my office has moved up from the time he was an intern and is probably going to be taking a job soon on the Hill. He would very much like to attend the Wednesday meetings so he can start getting in the swing of doing things on the agenda of the movement. Would it be OK if he were to attend for us, in addition to Linsey? Should he come up to introduce himself to you?

Finally, let me know some dates so I can have you guys come to the restaurant.

Onward.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@ [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 2:07 PM
To: abramoffj@██████████
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. ██████████

██████████ Take care.

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 c4. 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.

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

Return check will be made by a check from tomorrow, \$50,000.00 Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
(202) 331-3158

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 9:34 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

:) well, then they are in for a fun time! Give me a buzz if you find it tomorrow. It's \$50K.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 6:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

Jack,
I am here alone.
I will check with staff friday morning.
Maybe they got the check and have left town.
grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 5:09 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: did you get the check we sent over?

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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) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 9:35 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

I had dinner tonight with Senator Specter. He is going to be calling you. Let's discuss.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 6:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

Jack,
I am here alone.
I will check with staff friday morning.
Maybe they got the check and have left town.
grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 5:09 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: did you get the check we sent over?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, May 15, 2003 10:51 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Wilson, Padgett (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

so should i tell hill and knowlton to go after local papers in the states of the finance committee members for the placement of grover's piece? should i get them to try to get the conservative papers in those states to offer their own editorial on the matter?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 9:44 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Pony up?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 7:10 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Op-ed update

Can't hurt. Will they pony up for that?

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>
To: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayoobe@gtlaw.com>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed May 14 19:08:47 2003
Subject: Re: Op-ed update

I like the idea of hitting their home state papers and districts if the articles hit upon potential job loss, economic downturns, etc.

Shawn M. Vasell
 Director of Governmental Affairs
 Greenberg Traurig, LLP
 (202) 533-2345

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

From: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayoobe@gtlaw.com>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>

Sent: Wed May 14 18:30:26 2003
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

ok, putting the diva debate behind us, i just got a call from our favorite pr shop stating that the washington times has agreed to run grover's piece this weekend. i, like you, am shocked. but we should probably start thinking about home state newspapers if the best they can do in dc is the washington times. oh, maybe fox news will run a fair and balanced report on the issue! seriously, what about putting in key members' home state/district papers to bolster their support: thinking oklahoma, utah, mississippi, north carolina. what are your thoughts? e

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:24 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Like your hairline

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:23 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Op-ed update

Weak!!!

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayooobe@gtlaw.com>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed May 14 15:19:20 2003
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

No, you were wearing N'Sync

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Easy pal, I wasn't the one wearing a Britney Spears t-shirt this weekend....

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 2:57 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Good point...long-winded like a girl, but still a good point.

Who is the best/most respected CAT-member?

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 2:01 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Op-ed update

I think I agree, but believe we should put some thought into it before moving and/or potentially even coming up with someone else. Actually, first off, let's just remember Hill and Knowlton sucks, because we shouldn't be having this discussion.

Anyway, here goes. Clearly, Toomey has massive credibility on this issue but I think it's worth working through the politics to make sure it does not backfire on us. For example, will this really pressure Specter our way? I would say probably because of conservatives and home state jobs, but maybe not. I mean, if this was such a great issue for Pa. why hasn't anyone championed it publically (as opposed to private help which is just as good) already? If I am wrong on that and Specter is with us publically, stop reading and I totally agree with the Toomey suggestion.

Absolute worst case is if Specter decides to go on the offensive against Toomey over this issue (and he is a good campaigner so he will attack Toomey soon). Under that scenario, his thought would be to make this a populist issue by getting the Philly, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh papers to paint Toomey into an anti-U.S./corporate tool corner - with Specter looking out for the little guy. That may be very doubtful but unless we know already (which I don't) that Specter will publically be with us, I would make sure that will be the case before turning this issue into primary fodder in the most important electoral state in the country. After all, I believe if it backfires in this important state, we will then have problems on 1600 Pennsylvania. Full disclosure I admit to being paranoid, and having not read the actual article - but I do know Pennsylvania is a moderate state where this issue may not work to our advantage even in a Republican primary.

With that being said, I just think we need to make sure this will drive Specter our way instead of the other way if we do go with Toomey.

NV

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 1:18 PM
 To: Ayob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Op-ed update

What is the question? Are we looking for a House Member to run op-ed? If so, I recommend Toomey. He is hardcore on this issue, could hit on jobs in PA, and help to push Santorum and Specter in the right direction. Thoughts?

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

From: Ayob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 1:15 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: Op-ed update

<< File: hklogo_red2.gif >> Fyi. Thoughts?
 Eddie Ayob

Greenberg Traurig
202-533-2381

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

From: George Evanko <GEvanko@HillandKnowlton.com>
To: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayooobe@gtlaw.com>
CC: Paul Clark <Pclark@HillandKnowlton.com>; Kelli Parsons <KParsons@HillandKnowlton.com>
Sent: Wed May 14 12:42:04 2003
Subject: Op-ed update

Eddie:

The Wall Street Journal has not shown interest in the article so we have therefore moved on to the Washington Times. They have the article and we will check with them shortly to gauge interest. We are now preparing a second article to be submitted to Roll Call ASAP. Given their deadlines, our most likely publication date is Monday. Do you have a Congressman to whom we can claim authorship of this article? We'll have a draft by the end of the day. Thanks.

George Evanko
Vice President, Corporate Communications Group
Hill & Knowlton Washington, DC
p: +1 (202) 94-3364
c: +1 (703) 627-3037
f: +1 (202) 944-1960
mailto:george.evanko@hillandknowlton.com

"Public Relations Agency of the Year"
--The Holmes Report

From: Smith, Michael D. (SHD-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, November 07, 2003 9:53 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Senator Gregg

They did it right when Meskwaki did it before I knew any better. And ATR has done nothing to this point. If there is a way to get Grover to call Norton I can get the cash gates back open.

Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
(202) 331-3198

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 12:51 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: DH2

We need to get our notes together on their goals per yesterday's conversation. He discussed it again today with me. Can you get me an email with the items and then we'll come up with a list and a strategy? We should also amend the retainer to reflect the next couple of months. He is also going to do a contribution to ATR.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 2:27 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Can you make a list?

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 1:57 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: DH2

Ok, we should get political money from him as well!!

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Nov 18 13:50:43 2003
Subject: DH2

We need to get our notes together on their goals per yesterday's conversation. He discussed it again today with me. Can you get me an email with the items and then we'll come up with a list and a strategy? We should also amend the retainer to reflect the next couple of months. He is also going to do a contribution to ATR.

From: GRHalpern@aol.com
Sent: Wednesday, December 03, 2003 6:53 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis); lauralippy@earthlink.net
Subject: Re: GRI

\$45,246.07 on 9/12/03. but again, I am missing data from Ed. I will try to call him on the phone and make sure he got my email. he hasn't responded yet from last night.

In a message dated 12/3/2003 11:01:38 AM Eastern Standard Time, TeslerS@gtlaw.com writes:

What was the last wire transfer amount from GRI to Fieldworks?

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

From: Laura Lippy [mailto:lauralippy@earthlink.net]
Sent: Wednesday, December 03, 2003 10:51 AM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Cc: Gail Halpern
Subject: RE: GRI

I do know that I closed the ST GRI account at the end of September so that last Field Works wire should have been in that time frame. Thanks.

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

From: TeslerS@gtlaw.com [mailto:TeslerS@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 02, 2003 10:12 PM
To: lauralippy@earthlink.net; gshalpern@aol.com
Subject: GRI
Importance: High

I need to know asap to the extent possible what payments were made out of GRI to any vendor or non-profit from Ed miller. Laura, pls check the last transfer made to Fieldworks. Gail - do you have for the Barbour Group, ATR, others?

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
11604 Monticello Avenue
Silver Spring, MD 20902
Business: (301) 996-3436
Fax: (301) 593-3462
Email: gshalpern@aol.com

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6/5/2004

GTG-E000356798

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 7:25 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

When are we getting the contribution?

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 8:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

Meeting with them today. Have you spoken with Grover about our issue??

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Saturday, December 13, 2003 11:48 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: Additional information

We will see if he can get Grover to do it. Can u talk to Grover? If Grover signs, we can demand the \$\$\$ from Rubin!!

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

From: Peter Ferrara <peterferrara@msn.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Sun Dec 14 00:44:03 2003
 Subject: Re: Additional information

Ok, let me try that. Are you happy with the content? Thanks, Peter

>From: <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 >To: <peterferrara@msn.com>
 >Subject: Re: Additional information
 >Date: Fri, 12 Dec 2003 16:41:31 -0500

>Peter,

>The deal was for ou to place this. If you feel you are conflicted do
 >you
 >think you can get Grover to put his name on it. Our client read your bio
 >and thought having you author it would add a little punch.

>Mike Williams

>-----Original Message-----

>From: Peter Ferrara <peterferrara@msn.com>
 >To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 >Sent: Fri Dec 12 12:36:05 2003
 >Subject: Re: Additional information

>Attached is an op-ed I wrote on this issue for you. But having put the
 >time
 >in this now I feel I can't put my name on it because of my efforts on the
 >SS issue, even though I would like to screw the creeps. I don't want to
 >look like I am saying mutual funds are crooked and also associates of mine
 >are now asking for contributions to our efforts from the industry. If you
 >can come up with another name to put on it, I can submit that to the Wash
 >Times. Peter

>----- Original Message -----

>From: williamsme@gtlaw.com
 >To: Peterferrara@msn.com
 >Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 5:30 PM
 >Subject: Additional information

>Peter,

>Here's a couple other related pieces that have been published recently>
 >
 > <<WSJ Smith article December 9.pdf>> <<WT Reynolds november 2,
 >2003.doc>>

>
>Spitzer overboard
>Alan Reynolds (back to web version <ar20031211.shtml>) December 11,
>2003 While watching the news on a trip to New York City, I happened
>upon State Attorney General Elliot Spitzer being interviewed by NBC's
>Gabe Pressman. Spitzer was tossed a softball about his next crusade
>against Wall Street, as
>though no month should ever again go by without more financial firms being
>accused of something or other. Spitzer then began to rant on cue about
>mutual fund fees being exorbitant, unfair and biased against the little
>guy.
>
>Always one to overreach, Spitzer has clearly gone overboard this time.
>As UCLA law professor Steven Bainbridge points out, "N.Y. Attorney
>General Elliot Spitzer has no power -- none, nada, zilch -- to regulate
>mutual funds fees." To be more precise, he has "no constitutional
>right, statutory authorization or common law power" to tinker with such
>fees. What Spitzer might be able to do, though, is to persuade Congress
>or the SEC
>to adopt his ill-considered solutions to this ill-defined problem. In
>testimony before the Senate banking committee a few weeks ago, Spitzer
>proposed that mutual funds be required to disclose "the precise dollar
>amount of fees charged to each investor ... (for) advisory, management,
>marketing and other administrative costs. Armed with this knowledge,
>investors can begin to engage in true comparison shopping among funds."
>The idea is chimerical. Investors could not possibly compare "precise
>dollar
>amounts of fees" because only their own fund would provide such figures.
>Investors can't compare dollars, but they can easily compare percentages.
>Morningstar explains that all these fees "are included in the expense
>ratio,
>which is the most commonly used measure of a fund's overall expenses and a
>figure that is frequently used to compare mutual fund costs."
>Many newspapers and magazines publish quarterly comparisons of mutual funds
>that include each fund's ratio of expenses to investments. Nobody but
>Spitzer cares how these expenses are split between marketing and advice. We
>care only about total expenses and only to the extent they affect total
>returns. This information is readily available in many published sources,
>and in every mutual fund prospectus. It's a lot easier than comparing
>lawyers' fees.
>Nearly every newspaper also publishes daily figure on how each mutual fund
>is doing so far this year, and those results always subtract fees. If fees
>result in subpar returns, investors will switch to other funds that perform
>better with or without lower fees. If any fund's blend of returns and risk
>continues to attract investors, that means its fees are acceptable to its
>investors. The mutual fund business is extremely competitive and
>transparent.
>Funds that merely match the stocks held in the S&P 500 stock index should
>have low fees because there is no research and little work involved. In
>this
>case, comparing fees is uniquely relevant because one index fund is like
>another.
>Yet nearly all the largest mutual funds beat the S&P 500 handily over the
>past five years, and some routinely beat the S&P 500 for 10 years or more,
>including Legg Mason Value Trust, Meridian Value and Fidelity Contrafund.
>Fees for such well-managed funds are necessarily higher than for index
>funds, but returns have nonetheless been significantly better.
>Sector funds, like Vanguard's health fund, also require a lot of research
>and expertise, so fees are bit higher. Fidelity Select electronics had
>impressive gains before and after the tech crash, even though that fund
>charges a sales load (which isn't usually subtracted from returns). Funds
>specializing in international stocks or small companies have their work cut
>out for them, so their fees are usually high. But that doesn't mean
>investors should never invest in managed or specialized funds simply
>because

>simpler funds have lower fees. Investors understand the dollars involved in
 >a fee of, say, 1.2 percent and can decide for themselves whether or not
 >that
 >fund is worth its fees, even though Spitzer might prefer to ban that
 >choice.
 >
 >Aside from his Quixotic idea of requiring fund expenses to be broken
 >down
 >by
 >purpose and reported in dollars, Spitzer also gets agitated about the fact
 >that Putnam charged a higher "advisory fee" to its mutual fund customers
 >than to giant pension funds. Complaining about discounted services for
 >institutional investors makes no more sense than complaining that car
 >rental
 >companies get a better deal than retail car buyers. Folks with a 401k fund
 >should be glad if their fund managers negotiate low fees. Any Spitzerian
 >scheme to ban such volume discounts would be more likely to raise fees for
 >our pension funds than lower them for our taxable accounts.
 >if Congress or the SEC could be persuaded to tinker with mutual fund fees
 >in
 >some way that accomplished what Spitzer promises -- to limit fees -- the
 >"law of unintended consequences" would come into play with a vengeance.
 >Small investors would soon be foreclosed from the best mutual funds.
 >Administrative costs are much higher for funds with many tiny accounts than
 >for funds with fewer but bigger accounts. The Vanguard health fund thus
 >keeps fees down by refusing accounts smaller than \$25,000. Some outstanding
 >funds have minimums much higher than that. The first consequence of any
 >effort to cap mutual fund fees would be that most if not all funds would
 >adopt a similar requirement, and thus be closed to those with little to
 >invest.
 >Another handy way to cut costs, and thus comply with any new rules to limit
 >fees, is to charge an annual "maintenance fee" on accounts smaller than,
 >say, \$10,000 (as Vanguard index funds do). If fees were arbitrarily
 >constrained, we should expect such maintenance fees on small accounts to
 >grow larger and more prevalent, if small accounts are permitted at all.
 >Limits on fees would probably also result in fewer no-load funds and more
 >funds charging a sales commission (load) when the fund is purchased or
 >cashied out. Fees charged by no-load funds are largely for marketing
 >expenses. But commissions to brokers could replace advertising and other
 >marketing expenses if fees were constrained by law or regulation, thus
 >leaving a larger portion of the fee for other expenses.
 >Spitzer's latest crusade over mutual fund fees is literally none of his
 >business. If he nonetheless got what he claims to want, the predictable
 >result would be to keep small investors out of the best vehicles now
 >available to them, thanks to increased minimum investment requirements and
 >maintenance fees.
 >Endless and often baseless gripes from the Spitzer camp are pleasing the
 >press but spooking many unsophisticated Americans who most need to be
 >saving
 >and investing for the future. Despite his pretentious ritual incantations
 >of
 >intent to "restore investor confidence," Spitzer's unfounded claims that
 >the
 >entire mutual fund industry is untrustworthy and overpriced can only have
 >the opposite effect.
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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 6:20 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Cc: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

Super. I think Dan has been in touch with Mike Williams at our office who is running things from our side. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

Almost certainly yes.
Dan Clifton of my office will organize this.
he is our mutual fund person.
groverj

Dan can we get this turned around on Monday?
grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

- not sure I understand that one). can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know. Thanks.

<<Fuel on the Fi

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 7:35 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: contribution

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 7:40 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contribution

jack.
I have spoken this morning-monday-with Dan Clifton.
The article is fine.
We will speak today with Wash Times-mary lou forbes.
DAn.

would also like us to send something similar to
investor business daily

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

I am trying to land a \$50K contribution from our client DH2, to cover some of the money on the event this week, since we are having some trouble getting the tribes interested. Don't worry, I will line up the money, but I might have to get a little creative, and I might need some assistance from your side. DH2 is interested in the mutual fund fight. They want an op ed, which we were going to have Ferrara do, but he now has a conflict of interest (says it will hurt his Social Security position - not sure I understand that one). Can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know. Thanks.
<<Fuel on the Fire.doc>>

PS: turns out another of my clients are coming in from Europe on Tuesday, so I am not going to be able to join the meeting with the President! I am so upset. Oh well.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 10:25 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: contribution

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Clifton [mailto:dclifton@atr.org]
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 10:12 AM
To: Grover Norquist; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contribution

Grover,

I am in the process of making some quick technical changes and will get this out the door today.

Thanks,
Dan

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Cc: Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

Almost certainly yes.
Dan Clifton of my office will organize this.
he is our mutual fund person.
groverj

Can we get this turned around on Monday?
grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

- not sure I understand that one). can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know.
Thanks.

<<Fuel on the FI

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 9:19 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Grover ATR

Got it

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed Jan 07 22:17:57 2004
Subject: RE: Grover ATR

50k

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 9:45 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Grover ATR

How much??

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed Jan 07 21:10:52 2004
Subject: RE: Grover ATR

Get the money from Rubin in hand, and then we'll call Grover.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 7:56 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Grover ATR

We have finalized the op-ed with them on Monday and Grover was to call Tony B at the Wash Times yesterday. I checked in today and yesterday, but Grovers guy is not answering my emails or calls. Should you call Grover?

I told rubin he needs to round up some \$\$\$ for ATR

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 08, 2004 10:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

Will do

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
CC: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis) <slomowitza@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Thu Jan 08 23:05:23 2004
Subject: RE: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

Thanks. I spoke with Grover tonight and I think we can really start making use of him after we get some money over there. any updates on that? As for the issues, this is fine, but please get me an email going over our party line on all of this. what should we be doing, in your view? Give me a starting point and I'll be able to sound fine. Thanks.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 08, 2004 6:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

Jack,

Rubin wants some of his legal eagles (Chuck Bergen from Chicago and Marty Cochran and David Freeman from Arnold and Porter DC) on the call tomorrow as well. He wants to pick your brain on legal/legislative strategy.

The SEC adopted a Rule in early December that requires mutual fund companies to fair value price their funds when market prices are not readily available. This kills market timers like Rubin. The House also passed legislation that calls for the SEC to implement fair value pricing. Obviously, Rubin does not want them to implement fair value pricing. If it is implemented, he wants full disclosure of the process and methodology by which funds will fair value price.

Rubin is considering filing a formal appeal to the SEC ruling or possibly a lawsuit against the SEC for violating the Administrative Pro. Act. Rubin wants to talk strategy about these two options and how either action could impact our legislative strategy. He also wants to know if we think filing an appeal to the SEC rule or suing the SEC will cause them to come after Rubin and his financial services company.

Lastly, when we first started talking about market timing and fair value pricing on the Hill, everyone said we were the lone voice in the wilderness supporting market timing and opposing fair value pricing. In the last few weeks, we've started to see other people advocate our position, or at least parts of it. Attached below you will find an op-ed from today's WSJ that is favorable. You should read it.

I will prepare short memo for you to review before tomorrows call>

MEW

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 2:03 PM
To: Dan Clifton (E-mail)
Subject: OP-ED

Is there any word? I think Jack spoke to Grover at Signatures last night? Will it run Sunday?

MEW

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 2004 1:16 PM
To: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: ATR

Do you guys have the address and tax ID number for ATR. A client wants to write them a check. Who do they make it out to?? ATR??

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2004 9:57 AM
To: Dan Clifton (E-mail)
Subject: Grover OP-Ed

Dan,

How's it going? Just checking in again on the Washington Times Op-Ed. I know you and Grover have called the WT so I'm trying to get a feel for when it will run. The Senate starts if mutual fund hearings next week which makes the piece very timely. Please let me know what you've heard back from the WT. This is very important to our guys.

MEW

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 02, 2004 5:36 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Rubin

Let's discuss tomorrow.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 02, 2004 12:53 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Rubin

jack,

Rubin finally sent the 50k check from Grover. Checking on our bill now. Also, DH2 sued the SEC. See below

DH2 Inc. v. United States Securities and Exchange Commission
1/30/2004 04c 0789 Shadur

Complaint over the SEC's negligent adoption of the "Fair Value Rule" which directs investment companies to calculate the value of fund portfolio securities according to estimates, even when actual market prices are readily available. The Rule poses potential risks to investors in mutual fund and variable annuities and conflicts with requirements of the Investment Company Act and the Administrative Procedure Act.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 5:49 PM
To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
Subject: First thing tomorrow

We need to courier a check to ATR.

Very important

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 6:59 AM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: missed you last night

I think I called just as you were beginning a speech. I am in NY, but back later today. I have sent over a \$50K contribution from DH2 (the mutual fund client). Any sense as to where we are on the op ed placement? Let's chat later today to catch up on a few fronts, including the Mashpees. Thanks.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 7:14 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: ATR

Cool

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Feb 10 05:32:01 2004
Subject: RE: ATR

No problem. We traded calls last night.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

I'm sending the contribution over in the morning. Can you talk to Grover about the op-ed?

Rubin is getting ticked that it has not been printed.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 12:50 PM
To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
Subject: RE: First thing tomorrow

Please tell me you have the check. If not, I've misplaced it or someone has taken it from my desk!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 11:42 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: First thing tomorrow

Are we still doing this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 6:49 PM
To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
Subject: First thing tomorrow

We need to courier a check to ATR.

Very important

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 1:51 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: RE: missed you last night

Unfortunately, I am in NY. I hate NY!

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 2:17 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: missed you last night

Tonite.
Ggn

Grover Norquist

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: gnorquist@atr.org <gnorquist@atr.org>
Sent: Tue Feb 10 11:21:59 2004
Subject: RE: missed you last night

Don't think I am. When is that dinner?

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 9:19 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: missed you last night

The wash times told me they were running the piece.
This is ms. Forbes.
I will nudge again.
Grover
Thanks for the support.
Are you going to aei dinner?
grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 8:08 AM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: missed you last night

I think I called just as you were beginning a speech. I am in NY, but back later today. I have sent over a \$50K contribution from DH2 (the mutual fund client). Any sense as to where we are on the op ed placement? Let's chat later today to catch up on a few fronts, including the Mashpees. Thanks.

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From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 11, 2004 10:02 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

Jack,

When you talk to Grover you may want to recommend that the piece run a week from Sunday since Congress will be out of town next week and the Mutual Fund hearings start on February 25.

I will follow-up with Dan Clifton as well.

MEW

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 5:32 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

No problem. We traded calls last night.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

I'm sending the contribution over in the morning. Can you talk to Grover about the op-ed? Rubin is getting ticked that it has not been printed.

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 12:41 PM
To: 'Kenneth B. Newton'
Subject: RE:

okay, i understand.

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 11:56 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re:

Kevin, we just couldn't reach a consensus on getting Grover on board given what the expected donation would be. The real problem is that the economic substance proposal is really on the periphery of the fight and Grover will presumably not weigh in on the other provisions if they're in a tax bill. I think Ted is going to talk to Grover directly today.

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

From: ringk@gtlaw.com <ringk@gtlaw.com>
To: Kenneth B. Newton <knewton@comcapadvisors.com>
Sent: Thu Feb 19 11:17:24 2004
Subject: RE:

I am surprised to hear this. Do you think we should see if they would be willing to adjust the letter to make it more relevant? Or did you already discuss and dismiss that idea? I just want to make sure you all do not want this help.

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 10:57 AM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com; James R. Stahle; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re:

Hi Dan,

We appreciate very much your interest in our issue and your patience as we develop our strategy. We have determined, however, that we will not ask ATR to step into this on our behalf at this point. Instead, we will wait to see what develops with the Treasury proposals that we expect will be picked up in both houses. We feel it might be confusing and distract from the real fight to make too much of the economic substance provision that has passed the Senate.

Again, we appreciate your interest and remain hopeful that we will be able to find a way to have your support as this matter develops.

We will keep you informed of developments.

Best wishes,

Ken

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

From: Daniel Clifton <dclifton@atr.org>
To: Kenneth B. Newton <knewton@comcapadvisors.com>
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com <sdaniel@allcony.com>; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com <ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com>; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com <rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com>; James R. Stahle <jstahle@comcapadvisors.com>
Sent: Wed Feb 18 17:32:24 2004
Subject: RE:

Thx for the update. We were anxious to get involved in this effort on your behalf.

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 18, 2004 5:28 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com; James R. Stahle
Subject:

Hi Dan,

Sorry for not getting back to you yet, but we have been flat out with meetings. Just got on a plane now. The sense of our Coalition right now is that we are still unsure whether to try to get ATR directly involved in the fight on economic substance since it has already passed the Senate. The real battle will more likely be joined over the Treasury proposals which we understand will likely come up in the FSC/ETI bill. From our meeting with you we understand that if these provisions are in a tax bill rather than a spending bill they don't violate the pledge. So, anyway, just a long way of saying we still have to talk a bit among ourselves before giving any direction to proceed. We did get the form of letter from Kevin Ring and will review. Thanks.

Ken

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From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 2:54 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Did you talk to Grover about the Washington times op-ed. What's their f'in problem

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:16 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Yes, let's discuss tomorrow. how about 10 am next Tuesday?

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:04 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: DH2

Did you get my message that Rubin is coming to town next week??

If possible, can you block out an hour Tuesday morning between 9 and 11? just want to do a briefing with Rob before we set off on for the meetings.

Rubin wanted to know what the Post story fall out was. Told him we will weather folks in DC know these things happen sometimes.

Do you have a few minutes tomorrow to discuss?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 9:34 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: When are you available tomorrow

I'll contact Grover now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 7:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: When are you available tomorrow

Tried to catch you a couple times today but you were in meetings. Need to talk with you about DH2. The op-ed did not run in the Times this weekend. Also, Rubin is coming to town next week for a series of member meetings. Need to fill you in on that. He did not seem to be bothered by the Post story, nor did the Arnold and Porter folks who work on DH2.

MEW

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 10:03 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: op ed

Any news? We're getting a lot of pressure on this from the client. Please let me know if you can. Thanks.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2004 6:58 PM
To: 'RRubin@lincolngroup.com'
Subject: Fw: Wash Times OP-Ed

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Clifton <dclifton@atr.org>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Fri Feb 27 19:53:34 2004
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

ASA story on CBS Marketwatch on the SEC's rush to judgment on reforms.

Risky moves seen in fund reforms
 Is Washington's rush to fix the industry going off track?

By Leticia <<http://cbs.marketwatch.com/news/mailto.asp?siteid=mktw&x=108+119+105+108+108+105+97+109+115&y=Leticia%20Williams&guid=%7B97780B6B%2D1BE1%2D40EB%2DBE3B%2DBF2FCF63FAFE37D>> Williams, CBS.MarketWatch.com Last Update: 7:11 PM ET Feb. 27, 2004

WASHINGTON (CBS.MW) -- The mutual-fund reform train has steamed out of the station, but even some engineers of change are questioning whether it's on the right track.

"We're in a very difficult environment," Cynthia Glassman, one of five commissioners at the Securities and Exchange Commission, said in an interview. "We have to move at the pace we're moving. I just think we have to do it thoughtfully."

Securities regulators and lawmakers are rushing headlong to clean up an industry that once was viewed as being beyond reproach. Washington has hosted a parade of high-level hearings aimed at tightening regulations on fund trading, fees and sales.

While meaningful industry reform is likely, some policy-makers are wary that hasty alterations could do more harm than good for the individual investors they're designed to protect.

Earlier this week, such concern spurred SEC Commissioner Paul Atkins to break ranks with fellow commissioners over a proposal to curb fund-trading abuses.

SEC commissioners' decisions are frequently unanimous. So it attracted attention when Atkins voted against a measure to impose a 2 percent redemption fee on short-term "market-timing" fund trades, saying fund companies already have the authority to enforce such disciplinary measures.

Laughing to the bank

Addressing the SEC meeting, he said a redemption fee would hurt small investors even as it lines the fund industry's pockets.

"They'll laugh all the way to the bank," Atkins said of the fund companies.

"This mandatory fee will not fully prevent or protect investors from the recent market-timing abuses," he added. "It's a fund tax that will hit the unaware."

Only about 1 in 10 funds now require a redemption fee, but enforcement can be spotty over bulk trades through third-party "omnibus" accounts that can mask market-timers' identities.

"I have to wonder if the costs of a mandatory redemption fee will be far greater than any damage inflicted upon such investors from abusive market timing," Atkins said. "Omnibus accounts and fair value pricing -- those are the central ideas that we should be considering,"

Forthcoming proposals are likely to meet similar skepticism. Glassman expressed doubt over a pending SEC proposal that would require fund boards to be 75 percent independent and to name an independent chairman.

"I haven't seen evidence that such a structure makes a difference in performance," Glassman. "Without solid evidence I don't see the point in imposing a rule like that."

Costs of a quick fix

The SEC is moving swiftly to patch up cracks in fund governance, offering nine proposals since December alone. Regulators are taking aim at trading improprieties that drive up costs for retail fund shareholders and hurt their investment returns.

In addition, several proposals would require funds to provide greater transparency in their fee structures and portfolio holdings so that investors can make more informed decisions.

Yet critics wonder if too much is being tackled too fast, resulting only in cosmetic makeovers of deep-seated problems. They say regulators and Congress run the risk of doing more harm than good by not giving enough weight to the financial impact of reforms on fund owners.

"The SEC has not done a cost-benefit analysis of how these mutual fund reforms would affect investors," said Daniel Clifton, executive director of the American Shareholder's Association. "We are at a very key threshold -- why not get it right the first time?"

For instance, a proposal for a 4 p.m. "hard close" deadline aims to thwart illegal late trading by requiring fund companies to process all transactions by the market's 4 p.m. closing time.

The matter passed the SEC unanimously, but not before drawing fire from opponents who said the rule would cause hardship for investors in earlier time zones. To meet the deadline, these shareholders would have to place orders, which are often moved through intermediaries, with the fund company hours before the closing time in order to receive same-day pricing.

Likewise, there's a belief that a 2 percent redemption fee hits small investors harder than hedge funds and other trading firms that have been accused of making off with short-term profits at the expense of ordinary fund shareholders.

"When you start to put hard and fast rules in place, you are going to start disadvantaging certain investors," said Geoff Bobroff, a fund industry consultant.

Policy-makers, he added, should be "mindful in their efforts to purify and sanctify the mutual fund industry. They run the risk of creating a greater burden for shareholders."

So far the impact of the new reforms on shareholders is not known, particularly when it comes to who ultimately foots the bill for new regulations.

"Sometimes a cleansing process can go too far," Bill Gross, the chief investment officer of bond-fund giant Fimco, and Bill Thompson, the firm's chief executive, wrote in a

jointly penned letter posted on the company's Web site.

In fact, the industry clean up has just begun. The question remains whether some of the most pressing issues will be swept under the rug.

-----Original Message-----
From: williamsme@gtlaw.com [mailto:williamsme@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2004 3:41 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

Hey Dan,

Jack told me that the piece would probably run in IBD instead of the Times. Are you free to meet on Tuesday or Thursday of next week?

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Clifton [mailto:dclifton@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, February 26, 2004 1:59 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

Oped will run in Investors Business Daily

-----Original Message-----
From: williamsme@gtlaw.com [mailto:williamsme@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:21 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Subject: Wash Times OP-Ed

Dan,

Hope you had a good weekend. I noticed that the WT did not run Grover's piece this weekend. Do they plan on running it?

Secondly, I need to follow-up with you regarding Glassman and the possible congressional seminars regarding the SEC and their Reg process. In regards to Glassman, do you think you can get your hands on a copy of the testimony he plans to give at Senate Banking on Wednesday.

Give me a call on my cell, 703-963-0918

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NCPPR MATERIALS

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: kurt@kurtart.com
I plan to show you briefing book Wednesday AM. We are on track.

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 NCPPR. Then they can cut check to Bandow. I do not see need for us to send airplane bills to NCPPR 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 \$5 aspect of this as soon as possible--it will impress Doug and Amy--both of them will want to sell on again for the same reason.

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 7:46 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: Gary Ruskin
 I have scheduled a lunch with Bob Huberty, VP, Chad Cowan (our old friend from the NCEPR trip to Russia) and Patrick Reilly who does a lot of research and writing at the Capital Research Center. Monday, Iph - Tried for this week but to many people out of the office too often.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 05, 1999 2:52 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Gary Ruskin

Do it this week without Jeff. Amy, please work this into the hearing strategy, which should include our getting friendly witnesses (besides Paul Volkemar). Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 05, 1999 11:57 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Gary Ruskin

Can we do a lunch with Jeff and this group on his next visit? When is he planning to be in town? Or should we do it this week without Jeff? Thoughts?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 05, 1999 10:00 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: Gary Ruskin

Dennis,
 Jeff just raised this issue with me. He said, why aren't you guys doing more on Ruskin? Please move ahead with this! Please keep me informed. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Saturday, April 03, 1999 11:43 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Gary Ruskin

Great. Can you get this moving?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Chad Cowan [mailto:CCowan@capitalresearch.org]
 <mailto:[mailto:CCowan@capitalresearch.org]>
 Sent: Friday, April 02, 1999 10:23 AM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Chad Cowan
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Gary Ruskin

Sounds good to me. Let me know when would be good for you and we can do it. I'll pass this along to Bob Huberty, our VP Dir. of Research. He should definitely be involved with this.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Stephens, Dennis (DC) [SMTP:DennisS@prestongates.com]

> <mailto:[SMTP:DennisS@prestongates.com]>

> Sent: Friday, April 02, 1999 6:56 AM

> To: 'Chad Cowan'

> Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)

> Subject: RE: Capital Research Center Monthly Update - April 1999

>

> Have you guys ever looked into Gary Ruskin, a Nader protege who runs

> Commercial Alert (which is attacking Channel One, our client) and the

> Congressional Accountability Project (which filed the last several

> ethics charges in the House against Dick Aronay, Tom Delay, Dan Burton

> and other top GOP leaders. The guy is a weasel. National Journal did

> a puff piece on Ruskin this week. Someone should consider doing an in-

> depth piece on Ruskin and his Nader front groups. We should have

> lunch and review the options.

>

>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 7:46 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Alabama
 FYI

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [SMTP:ralphreed@mindspring.com]
 <mailto:[SMTP:ralphreed@mindspring.com]>
 Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 10:36 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Alabama

Jeff, good to talk to you this a.m. We will move quickly on the pro-parent, pro-children spokesperson and organization that will represent the views of the grassroots on this topic. I will get you some numbers on a grassroots program today and we can discuss it either now or when we are in Austin meeting with Joe McIlhane. All my best, and I will talk to you soon.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 7:58 AM
 To: 'ralph@censtrat.com'; Jeff Ballabon
 Cc: 'jacka@prestongates.com'
 Subject: RE: Alabama
 Importance: High

Outstanding.

There are a couple of points here which I'd like to address with the 2 of you by phone asap. First is this business about "Channel One isn't the issue-it's commercialism." That is a dangerous and sleazy tactic (although, Jack, it does fall right into Rabbi Lapin's argument and should help point us to the right people at CATO & Heritage &c. as well as the free speech & journalism people). We all know that, whatever Shelby is saying, the point of this hearing will be a series of witnesses attacking Channel One (Schlafly, Nader, Metrock, etc). And the result may well be that it cripples our business by scaring our advertisers. And, even worse, if this is not ostensibly Channel One but it is used as a forum to attack primarily us, we will be left mostly defenseless, because we'll probably get only one witness at most. We have got to make sure the [people putting pressure on Shelby are not appeased by that "it's not about Channel One" line. Second, we need to do more in the way of grassroots. It may be too late, but I want to create at least one, possibly 2 non-profit organizations of teachers/principals/parents asap. I'd like to discuss with you who should do it and how much it will cost and how quickly it can be up and running. Is it possible for the 3 of us to talk this a.m. before the 11 o'clock conference call?

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@mindspring.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:ralphreed@mindspring.com]>
 Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 9:11 PM
 To: 'JBallabon@channelone.com'

Cc: 'jacka@prestongates.com'
Subject: Alabama

Since I last talked to you, we now have four letters from prominent state legislators in Alabama urging Shelby to back off and not hold hearings on Channel One. The most important is the member of the Ways and Means-Education Committee who Shelby personally recruited, supported, and raised money for his campaign. They had dinner last night, and then he attended the Opelika town hall meeting---which only we knew about, no media ever received Shelby's schedule because he refused to release it. The state representative also owns the radio station that controls the Auburn football radio network, so he is extremely influential across the state among the Auburn alumni, who are a powerful group in state politics. At the town hall meeting, the legislator brought up Channel One and asked Shelby to stop going after it. Shelby, our report indicates, replied that he was not out to get Channel One, but he was greatly concerned about commercialism in the schools, and CI was at the nexus of that issue. This is, of course, not exactly what he has done, but it is helpful to know that this will be his response when confronted with the issue. There will be many more prominent letters/contacts coming from the network our operatives are establishing in the state.

I want to stress again that no one else had Shelby's schedule and only we were able to insure a strong presence at the town hall meetings.

You should have received all the letters this afternoon by facsimile. I will refax them to you Monday a.m. just to be sure. I will also put together a budget for an expanded grassroots program in Alabama in April/May and get it to you Monday, since it looks like hearings may happen.

Have a great weekend, and I'll talk to you next week.

PGE-SF 000537

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, April 13, 1999 7:10 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: White Paper on Commercialism in Schools
don't forget!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 11:03 PM
To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: RE: White Paper on Commercialism in Schools

I think Amy is the way to go. I am meeting with her this week. I'll raise it with her.

-----Original Message-----
From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 6:49 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: White Paper on Commercialism in Schools

my guess is it would cost about \$5000 and we would want them to promote it...and we ought to use a smaller outfit...maybe Amy R., maybe CEI.....

-----Original Message-----
From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 6:22 PM
To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: White Paper on Commercialism in Schools

In preparation for hearings on Channel One, it would be extremely useful to have a white paper issued by a conservative think tank group like Heritage or CATO. I know that you have excellent contacts with these think tanks. Would you be able to work with a think tank to produce this type of a paper?

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 19, 1999 7:24 AM
 To: Ritter, Daniel (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: NPA 245: Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in Schools
 FYI

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon (mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com)
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Wednesday, May 19, 1999 8:19 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: NPA 245: Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in Schools

rip - I have not forgotten (was it \$10? -- I wrote it down whatever it was, she'll
 by the way, Ferrara's work was very, very shvach. I'm very disappointed and am
 not sure we should even use it. To add insult to injury, dan troy, who agreed
 to write a piece for us for free and already had agreement on spec to run it in
 the wall street journal-was waiting and waiting to get materials from us, but
 peter sat on them for so long that troy not only could not do the piece-he
 actually got insulted that we spurned his offer of help. all this, on top of
 the fact that peter only asked for \$3k and i told him i'd give him \$5k if he did
 it quickly (despite this, he was very late and missed every deadline he agreed
 to make) and turned out something outstanding (which he clearly did not). there
 is NOTHING at all anywhere in the piece which even attempts to make an economic
 analysis of the benefit to the schools, which I spent over an hour laying out
 for him, etc.
 short and long of it-big disappointment; he let us down.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]>
 Sent: Wednesday, May 19, 1999 4:28 AM
 To: Jeffery Ballabon-Office
 Subject: FW: NPA 245: Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in
 Schools

When we are through the hearing, we have to discuss getting Amy a contribution
 as we discussed. She was going to do 5 pieces for \$10K. We can chat on this
 next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]
 <mailto:[mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>
 <mailto:[mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>
 <mailto:[mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>>
 Sent: Tuesday, May 18, 1999 11:55 AM
 To: National Center for Public Policy Research
 Subject: NPA 245: Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in
 Schools

Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in Schools
 By Amy Ridenour

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 20002-4239, 202/371-1400, Fax 202/408-7773, E-Mail info@nationalcenter.org
 <<mailto:info@nationalcenter.org>> , Web http://www.nationalcenter.org

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On May 20, a U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee panel will convene to answer a question that will affect the daily lives of millions of U.S. schoolchildren.¹ That question: Should school districts be allowed to use educational programming, if that programming is paid for by commercials? One who says "no" is liberal activist Gary Ruskin, head of Ralph Nader's new anti-business group,² Commercial Alert. Ruskin urged the Senate to investigate Channel One,³ which is the nation's number one provider of television news and educational programs to secondary schools. Channel One delivers programming to 12,000 public, private and parochial schools and throughout the school year has a daily audience of 400,000 educators and over 8 million teenagers.⁴ At first glance, Channel One seems an unlikely target for controversy. It has won over 130 news and educational programming awards,⁵ winning praise from media analysts like *Time*'s Robert Magrino and Jim Behrke⁶ and has aired over \$100 million worth of public service ads against drug use, drunk driving, youth violence and other important causes.⁸ All Channel One programming to schools is free, and each school is able to use \$25,000 worth of Channel One's television sets and VCRs (one each per classroom) for any and all purposes free of charge.⁹ Studies of educators around the nation show that schools choose Channel One for the quality of the programming; even hundreds of well-heeled schools that already have their own televisions and VCRs in classrooms subscribe simply for its programming.¹⁰ Schools electing to receive Channel One programming receive a 12-minute news broadcast per day, which includes two minutes of commercials and 250 hours per year worth of commercial-free educational topics such as science, math, social studies, current events, language and the arts.¹¹ Schools have long recognized that their students learn too little about current events and how to analyze them. In the words of the National Catholic Education Association, Channel One is a gold mine for thousands of educators. But what draws the ire of critics like Ruskin and Nader, whose web site warns of "corporate predators,"¹² are the commercials. Although Channel One carefully screens its commercials to keep them appropriate for children and typically uses one of its two minutes of commercials for public service rather than commercial ads, these critics say that this small amount of commercial time so taints Channel One that the educational value of its 10 minutes of daily news and 250 hours of educational programming a year is nullified. Commercial Alert turns benefits of Channel One on its head: instead of seeing the free 10-minute current events program and 250 hours of educational programming and tens of thousands of dollars worth of equipment and servicing as a benefit received by the schools in exchange for one to two minutes of commercials, Commercial Alert sees the schools as exploited and those who benefit from Channel One's services as "forced"¹³ to watch ads. Never mind that the schools are voluntary participants in the arrangement, and that they can cancel the service at any time. The Ruskin/Nader view does not seem to be echoed by the schools who have tried Channel One, as 99% of the schools that subscribe to the service have been choosing to continue their subscriptions. By encouraging the federal government to investigate Channel One, Commercial Alert is undermining the right of local schools to determine if Channel One is an asset to them. By holding a hearing at all, the Senators involved are endorsing the view that it is a federal, not local, matter to determine if schools accept free programming in exchange for a minute or two of commercials. Ruskin and Nader single out more than just Channel One in their attack on corporate involvement in the schools. According to a published report, Nader

called a San Ramon, California-based company, Zap Me, which provides free computers and Internet access to 5,000 schools¹⁴ for a total estimated value of \$90,000 per school,¹⁵ "child abuse" because the browsers on the computers have ads on them. Ruskin called Zap Me's services "absolutely immoral."¹⁶ Zap Me President Frank Vigil responds by noting the large gap between the resources available to schools and what schools need,¹⁷ noting that 9,000 schools applied for Zap Me services in its first month.¹⁸ He also notes that kids using the Internet are going to see ads anyway.¹⁹ Ruskin has an answer for that: "The Internet has no educational value."²⁰ But who should make the decision about school course content and technological support materials, a handful of activists and U.S. Senators, or local educators answerable to the parents in their community?

Footnotes:

- 1 Juliet Elperin, "TV Network for Schools Creates Static," Washington Post, April 3, 1999, p. A1.
- 2 Commercial Alert press release, September 8, 1998.
- 3 Commercial Alert press release, letter to Senator John McCain, November 23, 1998.
- 4 Channel One Informational Brochure, "Mission and Overview."
- 5 Channel One Informational Brochure, "Network Services."
- 6 Michael Kadish, "Day vs. Night," Brill's Content, September 1998.
- 7 Interview with Channel One staff, May 8, 1999.
- 8 Channel One Network Educator's Guide, May 1999, p. 5.
- 9 "Mission and Overview."
- 10 Interview with Channel One staff, May 8, 1999.
- 11 "Network Services."
- 12 <http://www.essential.org/alert> <<<http://www.essential.org/alert>>> downloaded May 6, 1999.
- 13 Commercial Alert press releases of January 19, 1998, January 1, 1999 and November 23, 1998.
- 14 Shawn Zeller, "A Crusader Against Commercialism," National Journal, March 27, 1999.
- 15 Chris Allbritton, Associated Press, "What's the Catch," published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, December 9, 1998.
- 16 "Lions Among Lambs," Cowles-Simba Information, Information Access Company, February 1, 1999, downloaded from the Dow Jones Publications Library May 6, 1999.
- 17 Brad Stone, "An Icon from Our Sponsor," Newsweek, November 23, 1998.
- 18 Bruce Francis and Susan Lisovicz, "Web and Schools," CNNfn, December 4, 1998.
- 19 Stone.
- 20 "Lions Among Lambs."

#

Amy Ridenour is President of The National Center for Public Policy Research, a Washington, D.C. think tank. Comments may be sent to ARidenour@nationalcenter.org <<<mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org>>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, May 19, 1999 7:34 PM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Subject: Thank you

I just want to thank you again for all you do to help us. Jeff is so grateful and, as soon as the dust clears, is going to make his gratitude tangible. Thanks for all you do!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, May 23, 1999 6:49 AM
To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
Subject: RE: thank you

We should get her a check as soon as we can. She can really help us with the Approps battle (we have used her before for this kind of battle before).

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
Sent: Sunday, May 23, 1999 2:12 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: thank you

she really does deliver

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
Sent: Sunday, May 23, 1999 1:11 AM
To: Jeffery Ballabon - Office
Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: FW: thank you

Don't you just love her!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]
<mailto:[mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>
Sent: Sunday, May 23, 1999 1:13 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Re: thank you

You are very welcome, Jack.
I had a nice interview with Mike Reagan on this yesterday evening, and he's asked me to keep him informed if there are any new attacks on Channel One, which I will do. He asked me to give his listeners an action request so I told them all to contact Senator Shelby with the message: hands off Channel One!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 24, 1999 6:11 PM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Subject: Channel One

Amy, can you get me an invoice for a contribution for \$10,000 which I can push through Channel One? Jeff has asked for this so we can get something to you asap. Thanks.

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 (NCPFR) [mailto:aridenou@ncppr.org]
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
316 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003-1175
Phone (202) 546-8000

Our account:

The National Center for Public Policy Research

Our address and phone number are 777 N. Capitol St. NE, #803, Washington, DC 20002, Phone 202/371-1400, 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

202/371-1400
Hotels (Japan and Hawaii) \$4673
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
316 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003-1175
Phone (202) 546-8000
[REDACTED]

Our account:

The National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]

Our address and phone number are 777 N. Capitol St. NE, #803, Washington, DC 20002, Phone 202/371-1400, and the contact name, although one should not be needed, should be Amy Ridenour.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Saturday, December 18, 1999 6:46 PM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: FW: NCPFR 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: NCPFR 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: Wednesday, December 29, 1999 8:13 PM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: Wire transfer

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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 4:44 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.

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 30, 1999 9:20 AM
 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: Scanlon, Voltz & Loper. 2 tickets for Ed Buckham; 1 ticket travelling with you and 1 ticket traveling with the 3. The last ticket is for you, traveling on ANA. I have stipulated and reminded her that no mention of PGE or Jack Abramoff should show on the tickets. They 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 Senator Roth) 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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 04, 2000 4:26 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@nationalcenter.org]
 <mailto:[mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>
 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 a.m. 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.

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
Silver Spring, MD 20901

INVOICE

TO: Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
777 North Capitol Street, NE
Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002-4201

Description: Travel Expenses

TOTAL Payment Due \$17,448.00

Please remit payment to:
Jack Abramoff
Silver Spring, MD 20901

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 1:18 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Invoice #2 for Amy Ridenour

Get this one and the other one in hard copy form to Amy. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, January 05, 2000 7:25 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Invoice #2 for Amy Ridenour

Alexander Strategy Group
132 D Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

INVOICE

TO: Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
777 North Capitol Street, NE
Suite 503
Washington, DC 20002-4201

Description: Travel Expenses

TOTAL Payment Due \$8,129.00

Please remit payment to:
Alexander Strategy Group
132 D Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 06, 2000 1:45 AM
To: Amy Ridenour
Subject: RE: Money

Thanks Amy. I hope you recover fully and quickly. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Wednesday, January 05, 2000 11:43 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Money

Hi Jack,

I told Susan this already but FYI, the money did arrive in our account and I will be issuing the checks for you and Pat Emerson. I am still from sick but I plan to be back in operation Thursday and signing the checks will be a top priority.

Thanks,

Amy

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: 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.

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 NCPPR 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 Koufakovsky 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.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 8:45 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Subject: RE: Project 21 Commentary: Let That Stupid Flag Fly!

worth keeping in mind -- esp. if we get a contract with ci!

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 11:29 AM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: FW: Project 21 Commentary: Let That Stupid Flag Fly!

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

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 9:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Project 21 Commentary: Let That Stupid Flag Fly!

I note for the files, that Amy Ridenour has a member of Project 21 who is a writer and radio talk show host in Huntsville, Alabama. With the proper education, etc, he might be recruitable for Channel One support and Metrock bashing. Thoughts?

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

From: Amy Ridenour [SMTP:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]
<mailto:[SMTP:ARidenour@nationalcenter.org]>
Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:54 AM
To: National Center for Public Policy Research
Subject: Project 21 Commentary: Let That Stupid Flag Fly!

Let That Stupid Flag Fly!

By R.D. Davis

A New Visions Commentary paper published March 2000 by
The National Center for Public Policy Research, 777
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Project21@nationalcenter.org, Web
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Are you sick and tired of all the ruckus and brouhaha
over that stupid Confederate battle flag?

True, flying the flag above South Carolina's state
capitol is not about heritage. It was a racist
response by southern "yellow dog" Democrats in 1962 to
challenge the growing power of the civil rights
movement. Let me remind you that it was the southern
democrats who not only exploited black slaves in the

land of Dixie, but also voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (including Senator Albert Gore - Vice President Al Gore's father). Northern Democrats and Republicans together overwhelmingly supported the Act (you can check it out for yourself in Congressional Quarterly, 2/14/64, p. 334). Since those racist southern Democrats put the flag up there in the first place, let today's yellow dogs take it down rather than use it as a political weapon. It makes a lot of sense to me.

As black economist Dr. Walter Williams has noted, this is not about a flag. If it were so, the NAACP and Jesse Jackson would be protesting the American flag, not the Confederate one, because slavery existed much longer under Old Glory than during the brief life of the Confederacy. In addition, the "Stars and Bars" being protested is the battle flag, not the national flag of the Confederacy.

This flag balderdash is all about the NAACP and their allies and the yellow dog Democratic establishment finding an issue to demonize Republicans. Republicans rightfully believe that the flag is a state issue. The federal government should not get involved in a state or local issue unless there is a clear violation of individual rights and freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution (as it did with institutionalized slavery and segregation). Republicans, in fact, actually led the vanguard against the racist southern Democrats' opposition to involve the federal government in ending slavery and segregation.

But the Republican's "dog ain't in this fight." If the American people (especially blacks) knew the truth, they would realize this whole controversy is absurd. Contrary to what we have been brainwashed to believe, southern Democrats were responsible for hoisting the Confederate battle flag and standing up for what the flag may or may not represent. As a matter of historical fact, Republicans could not even get elected to Congress in the "Deep South" states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana during the 1960s. Why? It was because southern whites were still angry with Republicans for freeing the slaves! Today, since southern Democrats pretend to love us so much (but it's all phony), all that Jackson and the NAACP's Kweisi Mfume should have to do is ask the yellow dogs like President Bill Clinton, Gore and South Carolina Governor Jim Hodges to take the flag down. After all, it is the southern Democrats' responsibility to do so nowadays.

And if that Confederate battle flag comes down, so what? What is so frightening about a piece of cloth? That flag is not responsible for the moral decline of

our country that allows 400,000 black babies to die from abortions (some paid for with your tax dollars) each year. This is the fault of liberal Democrat social policy. That flag is not responsible for our high illegitimate birth rate of approximately 70% and weak family structure. The Confederate battle flag is not responsible for our high black-on-black crime rate; it's our not demanding tougher black-on-black crime laws. And that flag is not responsible for, according to Education Week, the fact that 50% of black fourth graders in the inner cities cannot read - blame the teachers unions and their supporters who oppose school choice for parents.

There are more serious and pressing issues that our race needs to solve. Unfortunately, there are those who would rather create more bogus racist situations to keep us focused only on what they perceive as racism. We should just let them chase those flags up the flagpoles and focus ourselves on solving our own race's problems instead of letting Big Government try to do it for us. I'm too busy thinking about real problems. They can let their stupid flag fly for all I care.

###

R.D. Davis is a member of Project 21 and a writer and radio talk show host in Huntsville, Alabama. He can be reached at rddavis@acninc.net.

Note: New Visions Commentaries reflect the views of their author, and not necessarily those of Project 21.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 5:00 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: RE: CAGW and CNPPR

This is great. Let me recommend that Dennis call both. He is equally close and since he will most likely be dealing with them on this, it would give him good standing.

-----Original Message-----
From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 10:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: CAGW and CNPPR

would you like to call schatz and ridenour re MPA (we have 10k budgeted for each)

I could then follow up with each & would use dennis to re-do his article

would like to get CAGW to put it in their next monthly "Waste Watcher Monthly"; Ridenour to distribute op-ed through Knight Ridder and her National Policy Analysis.

i have in mind some angles for each -- CAGW would be a cross subsidy argument -- USPS is zapping magazines (and books and rural newspapers) to pay for ecommerce forays -- Leslie Page did a letter to ed of W.Post criticizing USPS ecommerce in february so this is a good follow on. CNPPR: something along the lines of abuse of power -- supposed to cover costs but here going way beyone and in fact seem to have ignored identified cost savings.

Havent run either by client yet so need to be tentative.

Would also like to make each avail to do talk radio (grover too).

let me know.

thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Saturday, May 13, 2000 9:48 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

Yes, MPA is going to give to Toward Tradition. Choctaw and etot will give to National Center. Can you call Betty to see how we are doing on turning that check around?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2000 5:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

I thought you didn't want me to do this... Should I get the materials from Toward Tradition for Bruce?

-----Original Message-----
From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2000 12:13 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

pls when you get a chance. thanks

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:35 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

Fine. Susan, please get some Toward Tradition materials to Bruce.

-----Original Message-----
From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

terrific. I dont see a problem. I'll raise with Cregan. Will need something on the group. Is it 501c3?
Maybe the theme should be its immoral to keep other people's money - when you know you can save money and work...

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:20 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

DeLay's guys would like them to get a contribution of similar size for Toward Tradition (Rabbi Lapin's organization). As soon as I hear back from you that this is OK, I'll see if I can get Lapin to do a piece for us for free so we have a two-fer.

From: Llewellyn, Viola (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 26, 2000 10:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Plocki, Julie (DC)
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: URGENT: Check from Elot
Julie says that it came in and that she is handling it

-----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 us with Bob's name, office and cell phone numbers. If we did, please let us 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.

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 Chodaws issued to AEG which we returned and then asked them to reissue to the PAC? In fact, Jim Ellis called to find out the status of the contribution because he's expecting the money to go to AEG. Can you check on this?

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 31, 2000 4:33 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: Revised invoice for NCPPR
 Jack - here is the invoice that you asked for. Let me know if it is ok.

JACK ABRAMOFF
 812 Edelblut Drive
 Silver Spring, MD 20901

INVOICE
 May 31, 2000

TO: National Center for Public Policy Research
 777 North Capitol Street, NE
 Suite 803
 Washington, DC 20002-4201

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
 812 Edelblut Drive

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 me that the check is going to NCPPR in NY and she wanted to know if the request was approved for the program.

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@...>
 To: Llewellyn, Viola (DC) <ViolaL@...>; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 <jacka@...>
 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 \$. 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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, July 11, 2000 8:00 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: receipts for National Center

I just spoke with Amy Ridenour. We should prepare the receipts so that there is \$7K and change left over from the \$40K contribution (I think we now have it that there is just \$5K left over for the National Center). Let me see it and then we'll courier it over to David Ridenour with a new cover letter, which I will draft. Please let me see the other letter. Thanks.

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@cosmos.com]
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 MCFPR has in the past given out a "Winston Churchill Memorial Award". It has been since the cold war that 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 yours), 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>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 1:45 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Rehberg trip to Choctaw

Not sure. I am not really involved in setting it up. Shawn, do you know? Todd?

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 2:40 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Rehberg trip to Choctaw

Works for me. I will go back to them with this if you want. When exactly is this trip?
 Kevin Ring

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <kring@...>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <svasell@...>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <toulanger@...>
 Sent: Thu Mar 15 14:37:00 2001
 Subject: RE: Rehberg trip to Choctaw

How about getting National Center for Public Policy Research to sponsor the trip?

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 1:58 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Rehberg trip to Choctaw

Rehberg's CoS just called me. He said Denny is pumped about trip to Choctaw but CoS is concerned about 2 things:

- (1) Mike Rogers wants to go, but is not in a position in his district to accept anything from Indians
- (2) Denny is being told by Leo that accepting this trip from the Choctaws is okay, but Denny said Leo is looking at Senate rules, not House rules, and so he does not think this is easy.

I told him that I will talk to you guys running this and get back to him.

GTG-E000034667

From: Abramoff, Jack (D1-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (D1-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 10:24 AM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Subject: Invoice

Please make out an invoice for \$132,500 made out to Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Choctaw, Mississippi and email it to me. It should be for "contribution". That will get the process going. I might have another \$100K after today. Thanks Amy.

112

Chocrow & → NCPER → Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2001 5:48 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAsst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Invoice copy, plus a few details
Importance: High

Chocrow.DT (1 Chocrow.DT) (00 KB)
1.pdf (21 KB) Can you convert this invoice to Word? If you can't do so easily, can you just delete it? Thanks. I need this asap. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 2:49 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAsst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Invoice copy, plus a few details

See if you can get an invoice printed from these files. Please let me see it when I return to the office.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour (mailto:ARidenour@redacted)
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 12:48 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Invoice copy, plus a few details

Here are the copies of the Chocrow invoice, one plain text and, in case that does not cross the apparent platform gap, one as an Internet pdf file. The pdf file should cross all platforms. I would also be happy to fax this anywhere. Sorry to be a burden with this extra request but would it be possible for me to get file copies of some of the ad scripts, direct mail letters, etc. that these funds are purchasing? I would be happy to talk to the vendor myself if that is the easiest way to do it. I would not share them -- they would just be supportive documentation for future audits to show that the funds were used on public policy projects. Having been twice audited by the IRS in 6 years, I know it is hard to do all the recordkeeping properly. So I do apologize for the hassle it causes others. The post office was not delivering to our office area yesterday and although we are told future mail will be delivered this is not certain. For fastest turnaround, a wire transaction might be to send the check via a different carrier or simply to my home office, which receives mail fine. The home address is: [redacted] Our computer systems don't seem very compatible with your invoice attachment application, too, although managed to find the words within the gibberish so I don't need a new copy. I think your computer and mine do better with the text within the messages, when possible. When I get a little time I may make some software changes here to see if that improves things for the future. Finally, I am sorry you did not get this latest thing this morning. Computer crash since rectified. Still, sorry! And thanks again for everything!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2001 5:44 PM
To: Ballabon, Jeff
Subject: RE: Amy Ridenour

Yes, but it'll be rather simple, if that's OK.

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

From: Ballabon, Jeff [mailto:JBallabon@Primedia.com]
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2001 4:39 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: Amy Ridenour
Importance: High

Any way to get some paperwork from her on the 50k asap so I can get a check cut?

Jeff

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 1:38 PM
To: 'Jeffrey Ballabon -- office'
Subject: FW: NCPPR


Invoice 1029.doc
(23 KB)

Here it is, at 49K.

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH
777 N. Capitol St. NE, Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 371-1400 ☎ Fax (202) 408-7773
www.nationalcenter.org ☎ info@nationalcenter.org

INVOICE

TO: Primedia
DATE: October 29, 2001
FROM: THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

REQUEST:

REQUEST FOR CONTRIBUTION OF \$49,000 TO SUPPORT PUBLIC PROGRAMS.

THANK YOU.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 11:38 AM
To: 'Ballabon, Jeff'
Subject: RE: Amy Ridenour

No! Send it to me. I have to work this through with her carefully.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ballabon, Jeff [mailto:JBallabon@Primedia.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 12:35 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: Amy Ridenour
check is cut. going to her address today.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 12:56 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Amy Ridenour

No kidding.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlongould.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 1:38 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: Amy Ridenour
This is a nightmare!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 1:14 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Amy Ridenour

I told him to send it to me. this is going to be the worst money we make!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ballabon, Jeff [mailto:JBallabon@Primedia.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 12:35 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: Amy Ridenour

check is cut. going to her address today.

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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) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 20, 2001 9:07 AM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: RE: Check for Amy Ridenour

yes

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

From: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 20, 2001 10:03 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Check for Amy Ridenour

Her office said she is working from home but suggested I leave a voice mail on the office phone rather than call her at home. Do you want me to phone her at home?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 20, 2001 9:46 AM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: RE: Check for Amy Ridenour

Actually, could you get Amy on the phone for me and put her through to the house?

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

From: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 20, 2001 9:34 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Check for Amy Ridenour
Importance: High

When Mike Scanlon sends over the invoice for Amy Ridenour this morning, do I keep this check & then send Amy the invoice, the check, & the cover note that says --
Per our discussion, enclosed please find a check from Channel One?
Do I wait to courier to Amy until you tell me to (because you wanted to call her first?) Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (D1-DO-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (D1-DO-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 9:23 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 Cheslaw money through them to the camans.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 8:29 AM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Asso-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 Casins an entity to pay the \$500,000 provided we are successful. Please let us know what entity you would like to use.
Michael D. Smith.
Greenberg Traurig
██████████

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 NCPER

Great. I am working it out now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 11:45 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPER

Yes, we would love to do it. We are a (c)(3).

Thanks!
Is this still something you want to do? Is NCPER a 23 or 24?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 11:16 AM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR

Thank YOU!

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 12:05 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: I might have \$500K for you to run through NCPPR

Super! Many thanks!

Great. I am working it out now.

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:08 PM
 To: 'Amy Ridenour'
 Subject: RE: can you accept wire transfers?

No problem. It will be payments either to companies for research or to other c3's.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:31 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: Re: can you accept wire transfers?

A sum of that size "very" definitely will assist us in having better ratios. So I am grateful for the opportunity you have given us here (and very happy to entertain any other similar projects.

I am sending the bank wiring info and the invoice by separate e-mails to make them easy for you to forward.

FAST but important double-check before we complete this transaction: the funds we disburse must be for projects legal for a 501(c) (3), i.e., research, education, etc. More important are the MUST NOTs: must not try to influence specific pieces of legislation or election campaigns.

We ARE ALLOWED to work on issues that happen to be the focus of legislation, but we can't fund campaigns explicitly saying "vote for HR 5," for example.

I hate to mention this at all but it is better that we stop now than have to stop half-way through and return the money -- just unnecessary extra work for you and your client.

Give me a call at 301- [redacted] if you have any questions about where the line is.

Again, don't let my inconvenient niggling about the law make it seem as though I am not grateful for this opportunity -- I very much am!

Many thanks!

- > If so, please get me all banking information. Also, can you get me an
- > invoice ("contribution") for \$1K made out to the following:
- >
- > Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
- > Tribal Office Building
- > [redacted]
- > Philadelphia, MS [redacted]
- >
- > Please email it to me as a Word Attachment.
- >
- > I'll let you know where to send the money once it comes in. Amy, this
- > is a huge help to us. I hope it also, in some small way, helps you
- > with the donor ratios. Let me know if you want more as well and I'll
- > see what I can send over.
- >
- > Thanks so much!!

National Center for Public Policy Research

Washington, DC 20007-2294
Phone: 202-333-1234

INVOICE

DATE: October 10, 2002

To: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-10-02	Professional Services	\$1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	\$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to:

The National Capital Bank of Washington
Washington, DC

Acct # [REDACTED]

Routing number [REDACTED]

Acct. Name: The National Center for Public Policy Research

[Signature] Approves for Wire Transfer 10/11

INVOICE

FM: The National Center for Public Policy Research
777 N. Capitol St. NE, Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002-4294
(202) [REDACTED]
Fax (202) [REDACTED]
E-mail: [REDACTED]

TO: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Office Building
[REDACTED]
Highway 16 West
Philadelphia, MS 39350

Date: 10/10/02
Amount: \$1,000,000
Purpose: Contribution to The National Center for educational
and research programs and activities

For any questions regarding this invoice, please contact Amy Kidenour 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 ID number is [REDACTED]

From: Amy Hidenour <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: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 11:38 AM
 To: 'Nurnberger, 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: Nurnberger, Ralph (DC) [mailto:RalphN@redscorpion.com]
 Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 10:20 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@redscorpion.com'
 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 made 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

> 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: abramoffj@ [SMTP:abramoffj@]
> Sent: Friday, October 18, 2002 2:15 PM
> To: RalphNG
> 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:RalphNG@]
> 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: RalphNG
> 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:RalphNG@]
> 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 made 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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> 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@██████████

>

>

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intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, October 19, 2002 8:28 PM
To: Amy Moniz Ridenour
Subject: FW: funds

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@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:53 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

First order of business: the 1 million was wired into our account; our bank has confirmed it. Business done, David and I obviously do not belong in any sort of career where powers of observation are important! However, left-wing crap notwithstanding (my idea of entertainment is not pretending that the U.S. is in a crisis situation with Martin Sheen as president), it is darn good publicity for the restaurant.

> Actually it was there, about 40 minutes into the show. Fortunately, I
> saw it at the bar at the restaurant so I didn't have to listen to that
> left wing crap. Wish we had kicked them out!

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-000) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:21 PM
 To: [redacted]
 Subject: RE: funds

Thanks. please fed ex the check to Ralph Nurnberger, and have the CAF check deposited by Laura.

-----Original Message-----
 From: [redacted]
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 3:06 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
 Subject: RE: funds

These two checks came in today via courier. I have faxed copies of the invoices to the house for you to review as Joseph left with the packet before I finished them. Let me know how you would like me to proceed.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 3:43 AM
 To: [redacted]
 Subject: FW: funds

Can you make up two invoices for transmission to her? I would like to see them before they go out, so they probably can't go out today to her. The invoices should be generic as follows:

1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for "Sports and Politics" project for \$450K.
2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for "research grant" for \$50K. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Amy Rideour [mailto:arideour@...] [redacted]
 Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:06 AM
 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 Rideour
 National Center for Public Policy Research
 Washington, DC [redacted]
 Direct line 301 [redacted]
 Direct fax 301 [redacted]
 E-mail arideour@ [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
> Numberger & 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 momma a new coat!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlongould.com]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:22 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
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 my top send that money to the 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@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
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@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dr-DC-000) [mailto:jack@dc-000.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dr-DC-000)
 Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:25 PM
 To: Boztrak, Allison R.
 Subject: FW: funds

Please call Amy to get done precisely what she needs done. tell her we need three: CAP, Nurnberger and CCS. Just organize with her whatever we need. Thanks.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@dc-000.gov]
 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 but 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 the blackness 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 despoilize 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 CAP for a project regarding sports and
 > politics or something like that. does that work?

Capital Athletic Foundation
1101 Pennsylvania Avenue
Suite 600
Washington DC 20004

Jack Abramoff
1101 Pennsylvania Avenue
Suite 600
Washington DC 20004

Invoice No. : October 2002

The National Center for Public Policy Research
Washington DC

INVOICE

Re: "Sport and Politics" Project

Balance Due: \$450,000.00

grant for programs teaching
citizenship skills to young
people

10-22-2002 16:22

FD-348 003

Narberger and Associates
Arlington, VA 22204

John Narberger

Invoice No. : October 2002

The National Center for Public Policy Research
Washington DC 20002

INVOICE

Re: Research Grant

Balance Due: \$50,000.00

general program

Capitol Campaign Strategies

611 Pennsylvania Ave. SE #375
Washington, DC 20003
Phone: 202-
Fax: 202-

INVOICE

DATE: October 22, 2002

To:
National Center for Public Policy Research
Washington, DC

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-22-02	Professional Services	\$500,000.00
	TOTAL	\$500,000.00

Research - general program

Wire all funds to:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

Acct #:
Routing number:
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

Capitol Campaign Strategies

611 Pennsylvania Ave. SE #375
Washington, DC 20003

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:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

Acct #:
Routing Number:

Acct Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

GIG-0000011049

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Financial Institution Fund Transfer Form

04242

Wire Interfund Transfer
 ACH Other

Policy Research
 Date: 10/15/02

For Cash Management Use Only
Type of Trade:
Ref #:
Contact:
Instructions:

TRANSFER FROM:

Financial Institution: _____

Address: _____

Name on Account	Acct Code	Account Number	Amount	Fees
MRCI-Supplemental			\$1,000,000.00	
Total Transfer:			\$1,000,000.00	

Explanation: Public Relations

TRANSFER TO:

Financial Institution: The National Capital Bank of Washington

Address: Washington DC

ABA #: _____

For the benefit of: The National Center for Public Policy Research

Name on Account	Acct Code	Account Number	Amount	Fees
Nat. Ctr. Pub. Pol. Resrch			\$1,000,000.00	
Total Transfer:			\$1,000,000.00	

Explanation: _____

Confirmation required via facsimile or phone.

Receipt of confirmation:
 Date: 10/17/02 Time: 3:13 AM/PM Contact: Misty Received by: W

Prepared by: Walt Ruffolo Date: 10/15/02

Approved by: Mary Hoban Date: 10/15/02
 Controller, Asst. Controller or Cash Manager

Additional authorization is required for any wire transfer not for the benefit of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, it's departments, agencies, enterprises or employee benefit plans.

White - Cash Manager Copy Canary - Accounting Copy Pink - Reconciliation Copy

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 8:51 PM
To: Laura Lippy
Subject: RE: CAP check received

Sure, whatever.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 3:18 PM
To: Jack Alan Abramoff
Subject: FW: CAP check received

Gail is asking if these funds should be listed as program revenue for the Scotland fundraiser?

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@ [redacted] (mailto:GRHalpern@ [redacted])
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 2:46 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: CAP check received

Thanks. pls write them a thank you letter. pls photocopy check for the 2002 tax return lets 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, Laura Lippy@ [redacted]

\$450K from The National Center for Public Policy Research.
I will deposit today.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: ghalpern@ [redacted]

Information intended only for the use of the individual or entity named as the recipient of this e-mail. If the reader is not the intended recipient, notice is hereby given that the dissemination, storage, unauthorized forwarding or

From: abramoff@██████████
Subject: RE: Event this Thursday for Congressman ██████████
Date: January 23, 2003 6:17:15 PM EST
To: aridenour@██████████

Absolutely. OK to chat on the phone next week? We'll get it scheduled.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@██████████]
Sent: Thursday, January 23, 2003 12:20 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: Event this Thursday for Congressman ██████████

Sure, they always are helpful and appreciated.

By the way, you and I still need to chat briefly about the past transactions we did because I need to have information about the educational activities we supported through last year's transactions, in case we are ever audited. Could we talk on the phone sometime?

We really appreciate your help with all of this!!!!

| You are wonderful! By the way, do you still need transactions like the one we did last year?

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Nurnberger Associates

Government Relations

May 1, 2003


Mrs. Amy Ridenour
President
National Center for Public Policy Research
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Ridenour:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the payment we received from the Center.

As you know, Nurnberger & Associates provides strategic advice on how to position issues and communicate these key issues with the Congress. We hope that we will have an opportunity in the future to be in contact with you.

Sincerely yours,


Ralph Nurnberger
Senior Partner

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

DATE: May 30, 2003

National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
Washington, DC [REDACTED]

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
5-30-03	Educational program services	\$750,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust

[REDACTED]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account # [REDACTED]
Routing number: [REDACTED]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20008

DATE: June 17, 2003

National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
Washington, DC [REDACTED]

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
6-17-03	Educational program services	\$500,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust

[REDACTED]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account # [REDACTED]
Routing number: [REDACTED]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 02, 2003 11:55 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: NCPPR - CCS

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 25, 2003 10:10 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: NCPPR - CCS

Done?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 13, 2003 7:35 PM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: NCPPR - CCS

Can you get Chris Cathcart to get us a letter to Amy Riderour at NCPPR which says the following:

Dear Mrs. Riderour,

I want to take this time to thank you for payment to Capital Campaign Services. As you know, we provided issue education on a host of important and timely issues, in jurisdictions across the nation. Our tactics included using telephone, email and mail marketing, polling, focus groups and other methods of education. We hope to participate with you in other campaigns related to issues of importance to the National Center.

Sincerely yours,

Chris Cathcart

Capitol Campaign Strategies

June 24, 2003

Ms. Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
8000 Moss Bank Drive
Laurel, MD 20724

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

611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE * #375 * Washington, DC 20003
202-547-3600 * f: 202-547-0084

GTG-E000010956

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

DATE: July 2, 2008

National Center for Public Policy Research
[REDACTED]
Washington, DC [REDACTED]

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
7-2-03	Educational program services	\$25,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust

[REDACTED]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account # [REDACTED]
Routing number: [REDACTED]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 09, 2003 6:19 PM
To: Amy Ridenour
Subject: RE: Ralph Nurnberger

It's perfect. And it is NO bother at all! ;)

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Wednesday, July 09, 2003 3:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Ralph Nurnberger

Jack-

First of all, thank you for getting all the letters from parties involved in last year's transactions.

As Ralph Nurnberger's letter was rather succinct I thought I would include for the auditor a generalized description of the kind of services that he does. Although I hate to bother you about it, I thought it best that I run what I wrote by you so you can let me know if any of it is inaccurate in his case.

If anything does not apply, just let me know.

Once again, thanks for everything and *sorry* for the bother!

Amy

On-call retainer for for strategic planning advice and intervention in the following areas:

- identification of key players (aka, actual decision makers) in the House and Senate. This includes committee and personal staff as well as lawmakers and is based on years of experience in dealing with Capitol Hill, so services offered includes a knowledge of which individuals "deliver," their strengths and weaknesses and their biases (i.e., which are likely to want to help on which issues and in which ways);
- actual introduction to, or intervention with, persons noted above, as necessary to achieve program objectives;
- knowledge of federal regulatory process, including which agencies have which responsibilities, the functions of individual departments and their interactions;
- knowledge of established relationships between individuals within departments/agencies, making it possible to know what actually is going on versus the "official story."

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 2003 1:33 PM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

Ncpr
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed Jul 23 14:22:40 2003
 Subject: RE: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

Yes, that's it! Who should I tell them is funding the trip?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 2003 2:06 PM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

As a trip for a c3, educational, meeting with legislators. Is that what you meant?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 2003 12:27 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

What else can I tell him? How is the tripped reported??

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed Jul 23 12:13:41 2003
 Subject: Re: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

We don't have paper but the national center for public policy research is hosting a meeting with scottish parliamentarians.
 Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed Jul 23 12:10:37 2003
 Subject: RE: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

What kind of paper do we have on the trip that I can send to Chicola. He may be able to do it and he's a 2 handicap. What "official" events so we have? Also, he and Feeney are friends. can we get Feeney to talk to him. I'll talk to Feeney's AA about it.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 2003 12:07 PM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

That would be huge
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed Jul 23 12:01:31 2003
Subject: RE: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

What about Nickles. He probably has plans but you never know

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 2003 10:50 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: any word on Loper or Chicola for Scotland?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 09, 2003 9:58 PM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: Ralph Numberger

Thanks to you!

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@nationalcenter.org]
Sent: Wednesday, July 09, 2003 9:07 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Ralph Nurnberger

You're great -- many thanks!

335

From: <abramoff@██████████>
Subject: RE: Warning & apologies
Date: July 29, 2008 5:56:16 PM EDT
To: <aridenour@██████████>

Sorry about all of this. please email me what you need me to do and it'll be done. Regards.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 29, 2008 2:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Warning & apologies

Jack-

Just wanted to warn you that I'm going to be giving you a call. Our joint accountants and lawyers (seems we somehow managed to hire the same accountants and lawyers, aka ██████████ and ██████████) want even more documentation.

I am profoundly apologetic about all of this, which I did not foresee. I think we had better suspend doing this from now on -- your time is too valuable to be having to take all my calls for paperwork and deal with all of it.

I should add that all of this is preventative in case the government ever has questions. I guess everyone is paranoid that someone you are personally benefiting or that the In. Rev. Service would think so. It frustrates me because this is far above the mount of recordkeeping they ask me for for literally everything else!!!

Many apologies!

Amy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@██████████>
Subject: Paperwork requirements memo
Date: July 30, 2003 4:11:47 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@██████████>

Jack-

Thank you again for your help in satisfying our hyper-vigilant corps of accountants and attorneys.

As you know, they want lots of detail, but let me volunteer this: we do not have to keep these documents in the main office if confidentiality is an issue. I can keep them in my home office files, and I can promise not to discuss the work with anyone save the accountants, lawyers and, if we ever were to be audited, the IRS. We have no reason to expect an audit, of course, but one never knows.

The following is what they want:

1) The easy one: see if you remain on the board of directors of the Capital Athletic Foundation and, if not, the date you left the board. ██████████

██████████ says she will make a notation on our tax return if there is a common board member between the two foundations. I assume no notation is required if you left the board prior to the date of our grant, which was October 20, 2002.

2) We, meaning The National Center, should get quarterly reports from the Capital Athletic Foundation regarding progress/activities. I believe the easiest way to do this is for me to have a telephone conversation every three months with the person you designate and they can tell me about the various activities, much as they are described on the website. I will take notes and make a formal "note to file." (If preferred, of course, I can simply receive written reports - just trying to make it simpler for your side). These reports would be just like those you would supply to any donor.

or prospective donor. (So the main thing I need as a name and phone number.)

3) At the National Center's next board meeting we will go over this grant so there is a record of the board approving it and the board can vote about it.

Mac says it is better if you do not vote. I'll take care of this, obviously.

4) Finally, we should have formal contracts for the vendor work. These contracts, say Mac, can legally be dated at the dates we paid for the work (list to follow). The contracts should include:

A) name of parties

B) precise nature of work to be completed, including the issues being worked

on, and the amount of it (this should be as specific as possible -- the more

detail, the better. Mac says an IRS auditor would "be all over" a vague vendor contract but a very detailed one would be far less likely to be questioned in the event of an audit, so it is better to bite the bullet and

have a very detailed record, even if it is a pain to write it.)

C) description of work product to be supplied by the vendor -- written reports, briefings to an NGPPR representative, poll results, focus group results, strategic advice. If B is very detailed this will probably be somewhat obvious.

D) date work is to be completed (note: Mac says that given the large size of

the contracts it is great if it happens to be a multi-year contract, because

that means the annualized payments are less, so if the contracts truly are multi-year in scope, we should say so explicitly in the contracts).

Appendix:

These are the transactions for which they want contracts. It is very important that the two larger ones be very detailed; good if the Nurnberger

& Associates one is, but the smaller contracts are less scrutinized so all things equal, it is better to spend time on detail for the larger ones.

(Mac says the companies probably have standard contracts already -- using these with details filled in is good.)

Capitol Campaign Strategies \$500,000 (10/29/02)

Nurnberger & Associates \$50,000 (10/20/02)

Kaygold \$1,250,000 (total of two payments, one 5/30/03 and the other 6/18/03)

Sorry we need so much detail -- even this email is long! Please let me know how if I can do anything to help minimize the time you need to spend on this.

Once again, thank you for all your help with these records!!!!

Amy

From: <abramoff@██████████>
Subject: RE: Quick followup
Date: August 7, 2003 7:41:16 PM EDT
To: <aridenour@██████████>

Not a problem. Let me sort it out. By the way, even when I am in Scotland, I'll be on line daily.

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

From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@██████████]
Sent: Thursday, August 07, 2003 12:58 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Quick followup

Jack-

Before you run off the Scotland I guess I should ask something I should have asked yesterday, which is, do you have an attorney or someone who is actually going to say definitively if you were on the CAF board in October of 2002? I'm just wondering how we resolve this one way or another -- if there is a person "in the know," perhaps.

Sorry about this,

Amy

From: Amy Rideour <arideour@██████████>
Subject: Follow-up/Invoices
Date: March 5, 2004 4:44:32 PM EST
To: Jack Abramoff <jack@██████████>

Jack-

First of all, thank you for calling yesterday at such a busy time for you. It was good to hear not only in your words but also in your voice that you are holding up well and are in good and optimistic spirits (and justly so, might add).

Do consider our offer to do anything we can to help during your transition a sincere one. We really wish you the very best.

On to more mundane matters, I have a list below for the three expenditures for which we need to obtain the written documentation so our files are perfect for our regular routine audit (with whomever our new auditor turns out to be) coming later in the spring and, just in case, for any IRS audit that probably won't, but always could, happen. We were audited twice in the 1990s thanks to a Democratic Congressman's false allegations against us, so we have learned to keep things ready for inspection. (But I preach to the choir on that issue!)

Specifically, the three items:

(1) The Capital Athletic Foundation should provide a thank you letter referencing our May 30, 2003 grant of \$250,000, and it would be good if they provided a copy of their tax-exemption letter from the IRS with the thank-you (this is a very common thing to supply with every major grant acknowledgement and will be easy for them). My understanding is that you are no longer a member of their board of directors, and will proceed accordingly, but if I am incorrect and you are, we should be informed and

we will disclose this information in our next audit report, as we did last year regarding your earlier service on their board.

(2) We should receive an invoice for the May 30, 2003 payment of \$750,000 to Kaygold for "public policy education services" (or another accurate phrase they choose). The invoice should include Kaygold's address and phone and include some specific language in list or paragraph form about the activities conducted. Possible examples, based loosely on our conversations—
 last year, but Kaygold should change them as needed to be accurate: "X letters to general public regarding role of low-tax/low regulation policies upon job creation in minority communities; "telephone education campaign about role of low-tax/low regulation policies upon job creation in minority communities conducted in X states," "distribution of X petitions to public in support of low tax/low regulation policies in order to spur job creation," "telephone poll of Americans in X states to determine attitudes about regulatory policies" and/or other similar descriptions of educational activities actually conducted. If my examples don't seem right, they should write what they believe best fits.

Although this was not required in our last internal audit, I have been advised that if the IRS were to audit us it would be extremely helpful if we had some samples of the petitions, or results of any polls conducted, or even something as otherwise mundane as boxes of leftover printed materials used in the campaign that otherwise would be slated for the trash. The purpose of this apparently is to reassure anyone, such as the IRS, who might wonder if the effort really took place or if we just handed money out for no appropriate reason. Anything physical points to real work being accomplished, and that's what they want to know.

Especially given the articles in the Post, the list of activities conducted

should be roughly analogous to the funds transmitted, but we are not here to argue price, just to demonstrate that meaningful educational work was accomplished.

(3) A second invoice from Kaygold for our payment to them of June 17, 2003 for \$500,000, with the same type of information as above (or the supplementary material for the two Kaygold invoices can be supplied together).

Before last week, you asked me to get all this through Lindsey. If she's still on staff (or someone else) I'd be very happy to work through a staffer on this stuff, so as not to have to bother you personally during a busy time.

I'm sorry I didn't get all this last year when things weren't in an uproar. My fault -- I was caught up in projects and didn't contact Lindsey. Figured I had until our audit to do it, and then everything suddenly was happening at once. I shouldn't have procrastinated. Lesson learned.

Thanks VERY MUCH for your help and patience, and good luck with everything!

Thanks again,

Any

Jack-

I hate to be an annoyance, but I thought I would check in regarding the grants documentation. We're looking to start the audit sometime after April 15 and I don't have anything yet. Obviously, that is a few weeks away yet, but I did not want to wait until the very last minute to check in.

I'd be happy to communicate with a staffer about all this in order to stop bothering you, or with anyone you designate.

Sorry about all this,

Amy

On Jul 25, 2004, at 11:19 PM, Jack Abramoff wrote:

Hi Amy. No problem with the questions. The money was not from the Choctaws. I'll try to figure out the source of the funds. What is your deadline? As for Kaygold, probably best thing to do is to send it to me at

1700 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, suite 400, Washington, DC 20006. I understand

and appreciate the advice that we not discuss the matters at hand. Hopefully they will all pass soon. Hope to see you soon as well.

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@██████████>
Subject: Re: Couple of address questions
Date: July 28, 2004 7:38:06 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <Jack@██████████>

Thanks, Jack. And it was great talking with you.

On Jul 28, 2004, at 7:49 PM, Jack Abramoff wrote:

Here is the address:

James Levy, QC
International Interactive Alliance
██████████
██████████
Gibraltar

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@██████████>
Subject: James Levy E-mail
Date: July 30, 2004 5:15:03 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <jack@██████████>

Hi Jack,

Me again (the pest! <g>). Our auditor suggested the below, which is obviously optional, but I thought shooting the guy an e-mail over the weekend asking him to FedEx the reply back if possible and offering to be billed for the FedEx charge.

As I figured this might be a good opportunity to remind him who the heck we are, since they sent the money through GT. I thought I would run my e-mail by you before sending it. It is below. I'll send it later this weekend, but if you have any suggestions about its wording to make sure it jogs his memory or anything like that I am open to them. I know you will not be online during the Sabbath (and today is a holiday, too, if I'm not mistaken), so I will hold off on e-mailing this until late Sunday. I wonder also if you think it would be useful to cc: the message to him to you so his memory is jogged that this is a deal he was working with you on (if that is even necessary). I know we have a forgettable name, and he may simply have been told that non-profits were involved; not necessarily which ones.

Sorry for bugging you. At least we get to chat, even if it is about boring stuff.

Hope you have a great weekend, and that things are going as well as possible.

Amy

Auditor message below:

Hi Amy,
I am FedExing the confirmation to Gibraltar tonight. Do you want to check

CAGW MATERIALS

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 7:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show
 reads like something from the grates on Lafayette park.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 10:12 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Where are we with Gregg Hilton in getting this out? By the way, what in the world is Jeff yammering about below?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 1999 10:23 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: D-Day show

!!
 -----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:17 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

I think that next I want to get credit from the Pentagon public affairs dept & then from ONDCP (office of drug policy) & then from minority groups, &c &c... & Grover & CAGW & Rabbi Lapin...we should get these guys crazy! & lots & lots of interviews w/members of Congress! At least one press release every week or two

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Don't worry. I just spoke to Greg Hilton and he said that he will remind his chairs again tomorrow. I asked him if he expected this to be a problem and he said "absolutely not."

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:00 AM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: RE: D-Day show

>
 > Good. I was getting a little nervous after our last conversation.

> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:06 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I do not think he is backing away.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:43 AM
> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
> Please get Jack into this if you think he's backing away.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:41 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I talked to him yesterday and will call again today. He is clearing the
> letter with his co-chairs.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 AM
> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> Subject: D-Day show
>
> Where are we w/Gregg Hilton?

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 1999 7:07 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Call Council Nedd and/or Tom Schatz or even Grover to get a statement that Ch 1 is a huge and creative tax savings!!!!

Bug, bug , bug, bug

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 11:53 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC); Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: Folkemer on C-SPAN

Please bug me non-stop tomorrow to make sure I get this done. Thanks.

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

From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
<mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 1:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Folkemer on C-SPAN

Hey there, Jack. The only thing I think Paul really needs before he gets on C-SPAN on Thursday is a statement he can attribute somehow to Grover or CAGW that rebuts Molnar's charge that we are a waste of tax dollars. Can you help us get something somehow (between now and then) that Paul can refer to which argues that we are, in fact, a huge and creative tax savings?
Jeff

From: Jeff Ballabon [JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 11:56 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC); Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

If so -- let's use the other one for CAGW???

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacks@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 3:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

I saw Grover as I headed into the Capitol. He said he has assigned Peter Ferrara (!) to draft his NY Times letter. Amy please coordinate with Peter (785-0266). Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

What do you think???

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

<< File: GroverNYTletter.doc >>

From: Jeff Ballabon [JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 6:12 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Terrific. I really mean it. If either one gets published it is a big, big victory. Now, the odds of that are always slim, so do not think that I expect them to be published. Still, hope springs eternal. Good work getting this turned around, Amy -- thank you.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:14 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

We are trying to get them out today. Heather is going to walk them through the organizations and, assuming Grover and Counsel can get it done fast, they'll be out today.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:05 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Do we know if ATR &/or CAGW sent their letters out?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

What do you think???

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 > Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: Grover NYT letter
 > Importance: High
 >
 > <<GroverNYTletter.doc>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, May 02, 1999 9:58 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Covered Bridges
 Thought you would find this exchange typical!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Sunday, May 02, 1999 11:07 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Covered Bridges

Well, before you ask CAGW-I want you to consider whether we should be getting in
 Jeffords' face this way? I mean we can do it w/o fingerprints and it is the
 perfect Schatz vehicle (at least for a press release) but it is real hardball.
 Do you think we should?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@prestongates.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:jack@prestongates.com]>
 Sent: Saturday, May 01, 1999 10:57 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: Covered Bridges

I'll ask them.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Friday, April 30, 1999 3:45 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Covered Bridges

Y'know, Shelby's staff has lots of chutzpa and they love
 gloating over
 the way they are manipulating Jeffords and screwing us. I
 am holding back
 on this, but want you to consider whether Tom Schatz s/or
 ATR couldn't held
 a press conference based on ferrara's analysis -- asking
 why 2 covered
 bridges in Vermont are worth jeopardizing a service and a taxpayer
 that creates almost \$500million in tax savings every year....

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, January 24, 1999 7:06 AM
 To: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC); Walker, Franklin (DC)
 Subject: Edits on the presentation
 TO GET ME BEFORE MY FLIGHT DEPARTS AT 10:30, PAGE ME. I AM AT THE AIRPORT.

I am doing this off a print out I made this morning, since I am in the car and don't want to have the hassle of moving through the large document. The job you did editing was very good. You caught most of what I had seen over Shabbos. Here are some additional thoughts (I'll give the first few words of the slide I am editing):

~~Why have our opponents gone to Congress: the first sentence is not worded well, "act according in certain ways". It needs to be changed. Either act accordingly or act in certain ways.~~

Their tactics.. to Embarrass.. you might want to add that they want legislation in addition to hearings, or that they might try to get the administration to push for something either in the budget process or through regulatory action.

Eagle Forum: change the first part to: Phyllis Schlafley led conservative group, strong grass roots, Schlafley is a national columnist. [I think we should not call her ultra conservative]

Channel One is Countering the Coalition's efforts: Add "Majority Whip Delay and scores of conservative Congressmen" after the mention of Hastert.

New Allies for Channel One: I think you should have a panel for these groups, or at least 2 per panel and add some material on them:

Americans for Tax Reform: the nation's largest taxpayer organization with 70,000 activists and affiliated tax payer groups

CAGW: The nation's largest organization attacking government waste and abuse; Grew out of the Grace Commission from the '80's.

Traditional Values Coalition: one of the nation's largest Christian conservative groups encompassing 40,000 churches.

Toward Tradition: the most influential and respected think tank of the religious conservative movement, most significant organization comprised of Jews and Christians on the right.

New Allies (In Development): I think you should move National Security Caucus Foundation to new allies. They are more than developed. Description: the largest pro-defense Congressional member organization with over 250 Republican and Democrat members of Congress involved". You might want to put something about their distribution of the tape, coming up, and the up coming reception (which we need to get moving on).

Retail Lobbying: our lobbying effort on Capitol Hill and among the influential public policy organizations must be one on one. Bold will signify additions.

Third Party Support: you should make this slide more presentable by splitting it into 2 and putting the groups list into bullet form. Also, add Toward Tradition.

Facts on the Ground: Under the leverage of Hastert add a line about using the positive experience to do more members of Congress, building allies.

Grassroots/Grasstops: I would consider adding Ralph next to Martin Christie.

Educate the Educators: typo should be "establishment" educators, not educator

Find Congressional Champions: I would have a DeLay slide on this after Goodling, as long as you make it clear that you are working to have a Democrat similar to DeLay involved. He hates Ruskin, he and his staff have already helped us get Hastert and he wants to be wired up. This guy is a powerful ally (most powerful in the House) and really goes to bat for his friends. This is important especially since the Goodling commitment as noted in the slide is iffy.

Ralph Reed: I would put the following: Most significant leader in history of religious conservative movement. Works closely with PG on many things (you can note my history with him if you want). Very close to Shelby and all Alabama religious conservatives. Can aid overall national plan to reach out to allies on the right. Significant presence and contacts with governors in 20 states. This should get you through this slide. OK.

I hope this helps. Please send this group the final version. Thanks Jeff.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 7:58 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points
 Good. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 2:48 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points
 Importance: High

I just talked to Council. He's ok -- at least for now. It turns out that a member of CAGE from Alabama and Jim Metrock called. The message is the usual Metrock stuff. Council was concerned that Tom Schatz would be upset but Schatz is completely fine on this. Council asked me to reassure you that they are fine on their position and I said if there's a problem and/or they need bolstering, we are here!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 12:39 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points

Is he OK? Which members? Please let me know as soon as possible.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 10:17 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points

Just heard from Council Nedd. He is getting calls from his members about the press release on Channel One including an Alabama member (not Metrock). I faxed him the release and offered to be of help answering questions raised by his members about Channel One. He asked that we keep all of this quiet.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 10:08 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points

yup: did you get the new charts?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Monday, January 25, 1999 9:21 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: Commercial Boycott Talking Points

this really is excellent info which we need to get into our briefing materials.. only 2% is commercial advertising !!!

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 > Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 11:24 AM
 > To: *Channel One (DC)
 > Subject: FW: Commercial Boycott Talking Points
 >
 > These are some excellent talking points prepared for me by Amy Voll for
 > the
 > purposes of a conference call I had today. Check them out -- they include
 > stuff I think none of us knew -- e.g. Channel One has given away over
 > \$100million of PSAs -- that's over 10 million a year, since the beginning!
 >
 > There's other good stuff here.
 > Jarrell -- remember our conversation about MADD? We have done stuff with
 > them and Amy Voll is meeting with them on Tuesday to plan some big
 > partnership for their annual DC summit. She says they love us.
 >
 > Jeff
 > (PS -- you can ignore the last page -- those are my own notes for the
 > call)
 >
 >
 >
 > -----Original Message-----
 > From: Amy Voll
 > Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 6:44 PM
 > To: Jeff Ballabon
 > Subject: Commercial Boycott Talking Points
 >
 >
 > <<Commercial Boycott Talking Points.doc>> << File: Commercial Boycott
 > Talking Points.doc >>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 03, 1999 9:28 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: FW: Channel One

There is an envelope from CAGW on my desk. Please see if this pig book is in there and, if so, get it to Amy. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 03, 1999 11:29 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Pichelman, Heather (DC)
 Subject: RE: Channel One

I talked to Tom Schatz this morning. Just as he was about to mention Channel One on Cspan he was cut off by the House of Representatives! He said that he will mention Channel One in his press conference today on the CAGW pig book. Also, Channel One is in the pig book as an example of an antidote to government waste. I am sending over a messenger to pick up copies and will distribute them.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 03, 1999 8:36 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC); Pichelman, Heather (DC); Berger, Amy (DC); 'Jeffery Ballabon -- Office'
 Subject: FW: Channel One
 Importance: High

Jeff: please note.

PGERM gang: Let's run a tape on this one!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Council Nedd [mailto:cnedd@cagw.org] <mailto:[mailto:cnedd@cagw.org]>
 <mailto:[mailto:cnedd@cagw.org]> <mailto:[mailto:cnedd@cagw.org]>>
 Sent: Wednesday, March 03, 1999 8:26 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: Re: Channel One

I just talked to Tom. He is also going to be on Washington Journal on C-SPAN this morning, and he going to try to get in a plug about Channel One.

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 2:16 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....
 CAGW will send a letter.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 4:49 PM
 To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

~~Also, Grover is going to do an op ed attacking Huffington's piece.~~

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 3:50 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: Shelby...outside contacts....

Rabbi Lapin (Toward Tradition)---Jeff is talking to personally...plan is to submit column to Human Events

Dan Rene (NLPC)---I will see in Chicago...he will submit guest column to Investor's Business Daily

Brent Bozell(MRC)---we need to supply some talking points to counter Schafly and he will do a column...appears in various conservative periodicals including BE

Nina Shokrati(Heritage)--faxed talking points and she will use them as she visits congressional offices to brief them on ESEA over the this week and next

Grover Norquist (ATR)---Damon in his office is revising K. Ring Draft letter and intends to send out this Friday...to all GOP senators and maybe to Dems also

Andy LeFevre (ALEC)---Andy LeFevre indicated they could do a letter to senate once there is some amendment to oppose..we have sent him talking points and Shelby budget amendment resolution.

Dennis was handling CAGW...

By Monday I would like to be able to e-mail a few points to Washington Times for potential editorial....please give this some thought.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 4:18 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Dennis, this is just super. Great work!!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 2:01 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Peter with ATR is in, Council with CAGW is in, David Almasi with National Center is in (Amy and David R. are out this week on travel) and I have a call into Andra with TVC. Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 10:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Yes.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 9:55 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

(Jack-- is this still what you want?)

Dennis,

You may recall that Jack asked you yesterday to arrange for these groups to hand out one pagers following the hearing. With Jack's approval, would you please coordinate this? Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, June 10, 1999 5:08 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Woodmore bill

I have to have a list of non-Hill staff who are relevant to include for each of these. I have added Ed where I think I can. Otherwise, add Ralph Reed; activists from Americans for Tax Reform, Traditional Values Coalition, Citizens Against Government Waste without putting names. Would that work?

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, June 08, 1999 4:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Woodmore bill

In order to reimburse for the guest fees, I need to know the names of the guests for each of these dates and who to bill it to:

Sun, 5/2

Tues, 5/4

Fri, 5/7 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists

Fri, 5/14 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists

Fri, 5/28 - Michael Mann (anyone else? bill to?) don't put Michael Mann, put

Mon, 5/31

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, July 28, 1999 6:03 AM
To: 'tschatz@cagw.org'
Cc: Falston, Susan (DC)
Subject: Springsteen
Look forward to seeing you Monday. We are oversubscribed at the box at this time for all of the concerts, but let me see what I can do. Since we are definitely tight, would two work, or do you need three? Please let me know.
Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tom Schatz [mailto:tschatz@cagw.org]
Sent: Wednesday, July 28, 1999 8:53 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Two items

First, Shawn McBurney is now on board at CAGW. We are coming over on Monday for the Channel One event and I will make sure to introduce you to him at that time.
Second, would you happen to have two or three tickets in your box to see Bruce Springsteen at the MCI Center, either Aug. 31 or Sept. 3? That would be greatly appreciated!!
Thanks, Tom

PGE-SF 000373

00068749 - 00068749

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, July 28, 1999 6:03 AM
To: 'tschatz@cagw.org'
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: Springsteen
Look forward to seeing you Monday. We are oversubscribed at the box at this time for all of the concerts, but let me see what I can do. Since we are definitely tight, would two work, or do you need three? Please let me know.
Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tom Schatz [mailto:tschatz@cagw.org]
Sent: Wednesday, July 28, 1999 8:53 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Two items

First, Shawn McBurney is now on board at CAGW. We are coming over on Monday for the Channel One event and I will make sure to introduce you to him at that time.
Second, would you happen to have two or three tickets in your box to see Bruce Springsteen at the MCI Center, either Aug. 31 or Sept. 3? That would be greatly appreciated!!
Thanks, Tom

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 3:58 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: RE: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
We should not hand over our friends to this guy. In fact, we should tell our friends to stand clear of him. We will not work on this bill until we have something worked out with Jeff. I will email him and see you on this.

-----Original Message-----
From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 6:51 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
Importance: High

He told me that they are meeting with Miller on Tuesday. He also has a meeting set up with Petri. He would love us to get Largent off of the bill. He discussed CAGW, ATR, and TYC are Channel One supporters that he would like to get to oppose Miller. It sounded like he might call them. What do you want me to tell Jeff (who asked me to call Jim)? I am sure Zap Me wants to enlist our friends in their coalition.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 12:36 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Good drafts. I would change this sentence in the first letter to read as follows:

They have succeeded because forty percent of American middle and high school educators who current receive this service believe this is a good product for their students.

Otherwise, they are great.

As to who should replace Lapin, perhaps Dennis or Pat have some thoughts.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:14 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

Daniel has drafted these letters to respond to the New Republic piece. Can you review these asap so we can get them to Jeff for his approval? We also may need your help getting Rabbi Lapin and CAGW to submit these letters to the New Republic. Is there anyone else who you think should write a response to the New Republic?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 2:52 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

<< File: DFR_G201BNew Republic Response Letters.doc >>

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 1999 7:33 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: New MCI Center Event - Crosby Stills Nash & Young
I would like four tickets and a parking pass. Attending would be Tom Schatz (Pres. of CAGW and his wife), myself and Carie. Thanks! I have also extended a tentative invitation to Amy and David Ridenour of NCPFR, but have not heard back. Obviously, everyone knows these not confirmed till we confirm.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, November 03, 1999 8:39 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack; Boulanger, Todd; Calvert, Jennifer; Funderbunk, David; Jarrell, William; Kaplan, Jim; Pizzella, Patrick; Ralston, Susan; Stephens, Dennis; Tamburello, Andrea; Valentine, Steven; Vasell, Shawn
Subject: New MCI Center Event - Crosby Stills Nash & Young

The following event was recently announced:

Crosby Stills Nash & Young
Thursday, April 6, 2000 at 7:30 PM
Price: \$211.00 per ticket

I'm sure this will be a popular event so please submit your names to me and Jack. Tickets will not be reserved without names.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:27 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA IS A GO!

Congrats Bruce! Great work!

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:40 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: MPA IS A GO!

Jim called... Board approved a six month total budget of \$750K... They are also trying to raise another \$300-500 for the rest of the year so the total would be \$1.0M to 1.2M.

It also seems they will be looking to us for who to use on PR (and we know already that Jim is very comfortable with Gloria), think tanks, etc.

Obviously we also need to start immediately!

My initial thought re budgeting is as follows. Your thoughts are welcomed. Need to get back to Jim asap.

	lobbying(400)	PR (170)
M	100	35
A	100	35
M	50	25
J	50	25
J	50	25
A	50	25

grass tops (30): assuming help in 6 districts at 5K apiece.
 think tanks (80): ATR 20; Am.s for Econ. Growth 25; CAGW 10; CNPPR 10; PPI 15.
 leaves 70 for print ads.

whatever we don't spend for grass tops/print would go for lobbying -- but i think we want to use those tools.

If they raise the additional funds I would think 50 month for us (200) with a potential huge month in september if they really go for an end of session play. [recall that we cited 75/month for the year originally, so we would end up with 600+ instead of 750...not too bad] Have to see what PR needs would be at that time (and whether to work with additional think tanks (CATO would be next i think) as well as additional advertising or grass tops.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 4:56 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget update

still havent heard from jim. however, pierce called and said that jim was very pleased with our earlier conversation and his discussion with Gloria. Also: O/G did give them (today i think) a 2 month proposal that was at least as much as our proposal! Sent jim a mock press release bashing postal service for losing academy awards! (clever). I was glad i gave

Jim a new idea this morning -- get a letter to congress (R's) sent from the editors/publishers of 6 conservative weekly mags (e.g. weekly standard) talking about hardship rate increase will impose (apparently actually pushes standard into the red). could also work up an ad in W.Times with the mastheads -- that should get some R attention.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 9:22 AM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget update

Jim called -- he's got a conf call with 6-8 Board members this pm. We went through the scaled back scenario (cut back on PR, think tanks, ads, and focus our efforts). He has in mind an "ave" hourly rate of 300 for calculations. Threw out 120 or 100 in first two months -- I said that sounded in the range if they were reducing scope of work. I said in subsequent months could be 1/2 that with looking to a long term representation of say 25 month (we can always come back to that...). He knows we are very interested -- and I am more confident will come back to us following the call. I also told him PR could be reduced and had talked to Gloria who agreed if they wanted to move slower. Was also looking for explanation/justification of what a PR firm did for its money (saying one board member had thought it was all for creative ad design!). Gave him my pitch (essentially lobbying the press) but he will also call Gloria.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 2:28 PM
To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

Pierce talked to Jim. Jim is going to call some of the other firms to get their budget estimates (feels he owes it to board to check around). Pierce thinks Jim is actually hoping numbers come in similarly large to back up our numbers...but if they don't Pierce says he will come back to us. Of course, I wonder about others coming in much lower to get the business...

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

good idea

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:44 AM
To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

I think the way to handle this is to have Pierce intervene. He should find out if the price is a killer and tell Cregan to let him (Pierce) play the intermediary and get Preston to the table at a price with which MPA can live. Let them come back with an offer which we can consider. We should not go back in my view at all. We have Pierce in this mix and we should use him. He is ideal to broker this.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:50 AM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

Good re #1. Re #2, I think what you outlined is fine, but I would not PRESENT with a lot of month-by-month detail (just like you guys CORRECTLY telling me not to go into detail on what members we had relationships with and how the meetings would be scheduled).

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:36 AM
 To: Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

ok, 2 issues.

1. timing: i think i should wait until he gets back to me to come down if necessary -- downside is they talk to others before coming back to us (and i explained situation last night to pierce to try to make sure they come back to us first -- I'll call him again to tell him all of us are really interested in this fight and we want to work something out).

2. amount: how bout out proposal by a third. 100 for each of first two months (we bill against it, if less then less (for the 2 months)). 50 in May, June, July, Sept and 25 in Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec (total 500). [only concern is that if we are pushing end of session rifle shot rider on approps or other bill it will take bigger effort -- tell them to keep 50/100 in reserve?] Also sets up for long term retainer then at 25 month (when they started thinking about a firm to help them longer term with postal reform, increasing profile etc, we told them (and others did as well) that it would be 20 - 30 month.

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

From: Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 9:29 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Agree with Jack and Manny for following reasons. This is a prestige client and will raise firm profile a notch (Besides, beating Quinn-Gillespie is really good for our rep. I am not the business person but, having a client with attractive magazine resources only good for us. We should consider lower number and get client on the masthead. My read on the body english when the price came up was, they seemed to register... "way more than others". 50 month plus expenses still sounds good and with R/D team on this caper we can do a lot with a narrow band of PGERM resources.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 7:09 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Agreed.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:44 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

If we have to, I would favor doing that rather than letting the representation go because I think that 1) exposure to the members of the association could have real long term business generation potential; 2) the prestige of having beaten the other competitors (worth a press mention somewhere?) will help put us on more "short lists" for corporate lobbying. BUT I think Bruce's approach is the correct one for now.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:16 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA

Should we think about taking less for a few months to get in there and prove our worth and then moving it up after that?

—Original Message—

From: Helman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 2:37 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: Helman, Bruce (DC); O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: MPA

Well, to confirm what I told some of you, the MPA folks were greatly impressed with us -- but a bit taken aback with the proposed budget (recall 75k/month). case of sticker shock.

I just met with Cregan to go over budget numbers. explained to him that 75/mo was our estimate of work needed to be done during the year -- an average. in fact we envisioned 150k for each of the first two months and slower months to make it up (aug/nov/dec). we could bill them more earlier and less later as an alternative (particularly if we won during the first two months -- then they would only need to make sure it stuck). also told him 100 for think tanks, up to 100 for PR and grass roots (again first 2 months), 100 for print ads -- basically 2 month "crash" budget of 600. re pac -- said 100k (which is what he had in mind) coupled with individual contributions (again he agreed). soft money I said minimum 100k to get noticed, really needed 250k (per side). I think Jim understands and agrees with all this -- but doesn't know how his board will react they have to raise the money -- they have to raise the money and they have to spend.

also: I started with the point (and I don't think Jim had thought about this way but said he would use) about going from 15 to 9% saved them 100M -- so that if they spend 1M+ on the effort that was a damn good ROI -- much better than they could get elsewhere. realizing nothing is a sure thing, even a 50% prob. of success was still 50:1 -- better than other investments they could make.

finally, he posed the hypothetical what if the Board says "tell us what you can do for 50 a month?" I didn't engage -- simply repeated that we, like them, wanted to win and wanted to fight with the resources needed to fight. Also he was wondering whether maybe they didn't have to do ads -- I said couldn't tell until we were into it but at least had to have them ready. I think we could engage for less -- but decided (with some advice) not to negotiate against ourselves at this point.

stay tuned -- we've apparently beaten out the competition -- THANKS ALL -- but now they need to belly up to the bar (but hey, what do I know about drinking...)

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 5:00 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: RE: CAGW and CNPPR

This is great. Let me recommend that Dennis call both. He is equally close and since he will most likely be dealing with them on this, it would give him good standing.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 10:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: CAGW and CNPPR

would you like to call schatz and ridenour re MPA (we have 10k budgeted for each)

~~I could then follow up with schatz (would use dennis' too) re schatz's article~~

would like to get CAGW to put it in their next monthly "Waste Watcher Monthly"; Ridenour to distribute op-ed through Knight Ridder and her National Policy Analysis.

I have in mind some angles for each -- CAGW would be a cross subsidy argument -- USPS is zapping magazines (and books and rural newspapers) to pay for ecommerce forays -- Leslie Page did a letter to ed of W.Post criticizing USPS ecommerce in february so this is a good follow on. CNPPR: something along the lines of abuse of power -- supposed to cover costs but here going way beyond and in fact seem to have ignored identified cost savings.

Havent run either by client yet so need to be tentative.

Would also like to make each avail to do talk radio (grover too).

let me know.

thanks.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 2:43 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Subject: RE: Channel One letter

Dennis-- I agree. This is terrific. When will CASW distribute it on the Hill?
We should also place a copy in our Republican packets.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 4:17 PM
To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: RE: Channel One letter

This is truly spectacular.

-----Original Message-----
From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 3:35 PM
To: Berger, Amy (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Channel One letter

-----Original Message-----
From: smcburney@cagw.org [SMTP:smcburney@cagw.org]
Sent: Monday, May 01, 2000 1:51 PM
To: Dennis Stephens (E-mail)
Subject: Channel One letter

Give me a call if you have any questions.

Shawn

Shawn McBurney, Director of Government Relations
Citizens Against Government Waste
1301 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Fourth Floor
Washington, DC 20036-1838
Phone (202) 467-5300 Fax (202) 467-4253
smcburney@cagw.org
<<http://www.cagw.org/>>

<< File: Shawn McBurney (E-mail).vcf >> << File: Channel One Senate.doc >>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, November 30, 1999 10:08 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Subject: FW:
 This is great. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DE)
 Sent: Tuesday, November 30, 1999 1:05 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject:

**CHANNEL ONE NETWORK: LOBBYING DISCLOSURE ACT ACTIVITIES
 JANUARY-JUNE 1999**

In early 1999, the Channel One Network faced a dire political situation: a fully engaged and highly motivated Left-Right political coalition explicitly dedicated to destroying the company. Channel One was playing catch-up, and in an all out advocacy effort developed a strategic plan with the law firm of Preston Gates to reverse the situation:

Waged All-Out Lobby Campaign

Immediately began program to contact and brief every Member of the Senate and House Education Committee, as well as key Committee and personal staff;
 Develop confidential political intelligence indicating sneak attack via the Appropriations Committees; set in motion personal briefing sessions regarding Channel One with every Member and key staff of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees;
 Launched crash effort to inoculate the House and Senate leadership against anti-Channel One messaging. Channel One seized opportunity to televise Speaker Hastert's first day in office;
 Prepared briefing papers, talking points and background materials to provide constant stream of pro-Channel One information to all Members of Congress.

Approximate percentage of cost: \$200,000

Seized control of Senate HELP Committee hearing.

In depth advocacy with both the House and Senate Education Committees;
 Organized trips with key education and leadership staffers to Channel One facilities in L.A. and to a Channel One school in Washington, D.C.;
 Recruited Committee champions: Senators Devine (R-OH), Enzi (R-WY), Brownback (R-KS), Wellstone (D-MN), Collins (R-ME), Harkin (D-IA), and Voinovich (R-OH). Senator Sessions (R-AL) was persuaded not to join Senator Shelby's efforts;
 Recruited Father Weigand, principal of leading D.C. parochial Channel One school to counter anti-Channel One witnesses;
 Controlled agenda of May 20th hearing on Channel One despite Senator Shelby's active participation; pressured Committee to create multiple panels and prevented Committee from focusing solely on Channel One;
 Staged mock hearings to rehearse Channel One witnesses for both hostile and friendly questions;
 Created effective visuals for Committee hearing and press use and developed effective press kits;
 Pre-empted an attempt to develop a similar hearing in the House of Representatives.

Approximate percentage of cost: 250,000.

Generated Dear Colleague letters and Congressional Record Statements
 Worked with Representative Payne and the Black Caucus to circulate Dear
 Colleague letter and accompanying Channel One tape to all Black Caucus members;
 Developed Dear Colleague letters from Representatives Cunningham and Edwards and
 accompanying Channel One tape to all Members of the House National Security
 Caucuses;
 Floor action included statements by Senator Brownback and Representatives
 Saxton, Van Hillary and Jones.

Approximate percentage of cost: 50,000

Developed politically influential network of grass roots and think tank allies
 Americans for Tax Reform, CATO, National Center for Public Policy Research,
 Traditional Values Coalition and Citizens Against Government Waste, National
 Association of Secondary School Principals;
 By gaining their support, the previously uniform and growing opposition to
 Channel One was effectively split.

Approximate percentage of cost: \$100,000

Established Channel One War Room.
 Weekly conference calls;
 Coordinate op-eds and letters to the editor campaign;
 Produced and distributed policy white papers;
 Developed and distributed advocacy materials;
 Developed Channel One code of conduct;
 Opposition research and distribution of same;
 Developed state legislation monitoring system.

Approximate percentage of cost: 10%

Initiated grassroots effort with Channel One and countered opponents efforts in
 Alabama.

Approximate percentage of cost: 15%

Obtained language in House Labor-HHS Ed Appropriations Report recommending the
 use of federal funds for in-class educational television for military
 recruitment and drop-out prevention. The team ward off attempts by Senator
 Shelby to attack Channel One on appropriations bills.

Approximate percentage of cost: 10%

Defend and Expand Funding Levels for ONDCP

Established relationship with Committee with oversight over ONDCP and defend
 agency funding for Channel One;
 Lobby key members of Committee and staff;
 Work with ONDCP witnesses and draft testimony.

From: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, December 06, 2000 12:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: CAGW Event

The following are the attendees at the event tonight who sat at our table. The event was very good for Tom Schatz and his organization. Tom went out of his way to show his appreciation and wanted you to know how grateful he was for your support. Surprisingly, McCain even wasn't that bad tonight. DeMint was great - a true conservative firebrand.

Catherine Edwards -- Insight Magazine
Wallace Sanders -- Kuwait Government
Dennis Stephens
Fred Dombo -- O'Connor Hannon (Main task over the next 2 months will be clearing Bush nominees through the Senate)
Brett Palmer -- Black Kelly (Will end up with Bush)
Rep. Virgil Goode and wife
Jim Dolbow (Rep. Hostetler)
Shawn Vasell

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 07, 2000 5:28 PM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW Event
 Can you see if he can help us get Kuwait as a client?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 07, 2000 4:47 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW Event

Wallace is very close friend. He has been involved with Middle East issues in DC for a number of years and is one of few Americans in this city with such close ties to the Middle East power structure. He has also lead the effort to send congressional staff to Morocco in the past 2 years and has been working with Grover on Moroccan issues as well as bring together the conservative Muslim community.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, December 07, 2000 12:22 AM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW Event

Who is Wallace Sanders? Is he close to you?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, December 06, 2000 3:26 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: CAGW Event

The following are the attendees at the event tonight who sat at our table. The event was very good for Tom Schatz and his organization. Tom went out of his way to show his appreciation and wanted you to know how grateful he was for your support. Surprisingly, McCain even wasn't that bad tonight. DeMint was great - a true conservative firebrand.

Catherine Edwards -- Insight Magazine
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 Brett Palmer -- Black Kelly (Will end up with Bush)
 Rep. Virgil Goode and wife
 Jim Dolbow (Rep. Hostetler)
 Shawn Vasell

CREA MATERIALS

From: Rudy, Tony C. [Tony.Rudy@mail.house.gov]
Sent: Friday, December 29, 2000 8:11 AM
To: 'Jack Abramoff (E-mail)'
Subject: FW: Gale Norton - Interior Secretary
Good News (I think) she knew Grover
-----Original Message-----

From: Pyle, Tom J.
Sent: Friday, December 29, 2000 11:07 AM
To: Rudy, Tony C.
Subject: RE: Gale Norton - Interior Secretary

Yes. I spoke to her (Italia) earlier today and she is scrambling right now to touch base with Gale. Italia helped co-found CREA with Gale and worked on her Senate campaign. She told me to give her some time to find out what Gale wants of her for the transition. Italia knows that you have helped her out with CREA stuff (remember that fundraiser letter that we worked on - that was her). CREA is the group that Grover works with...

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony C.
Sent: Friday, December 29, 2000 11:01 AM
To: Pyle, Tom J.
Subject: RE: Gale Norton - Interior Secretary

Do you think you could call that friend and set up a meeting?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 30, 2001 1:15 PM
To: Italiacrea@
Subject: RE: Half Moon Bay Overview

Thanks so much Italia. Please let me know what I can do to help Dennis Stephens, Mark Zachares (Office of Insular Affairs) and Tim Martin (Bureau of Indian Affairs) be placed. Look forward to hearing from you regarding CREA. Regards:

-----Original Message-----
From: Italiacrea@ (mailto:Italiacrea@)
Sent: Tuesday, January 30, 2001 12:13 PM
To: abramoffj@
Subject: Re: Half Moon Bay Overview

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. That would be a nice margin and would send her to Interior with some confidence. Jeanne Adkins (my friend from CO) 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. According to Jeanne, as of Sunday, no decisions had been made on CoS or deputy and Gale is still making determinations about the structure of the staff. The White House is having a large role in staff selection.

-----Italia

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

[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 me 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: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 4:40 PM
To: Italia@redacted; Itallia@redacted
Subject: urgent tribal issue

i Italia. I hate to bother you with something on tribal affairs, but one

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 paper 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 issued 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 memorandum may contain

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 6:15 PM
To: 'Kathy Van Hoof'
Subject: CREA

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

la federici

From: abramoff@...
Sent: Monday, March 26, 2001 10:24 AM
To: Rafa G...
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 Clinton administration posts into lucrative positions representing gaming interests. These decisions, plus two other last-minute rulings in support of tribes already operating casinos, gave one firm a boost to the Indian gaming industry, which in the 1990s allied itself with the Clinton administration by generously contributing campaign funds. Among the beneficiaries was Florida's Seminole Tribe, which gained approval

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 27, 2001 5:50 PM
To: Italia Federici; Jeff Butzke
Subject: RE: grassroots and dinner series

Superb! Jeff, are you in town? Let's the three of us get together when you have put together the proposal. Regards.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Tuesday, March 27, 2001 4:43 PM
To: Jack Abramoff; Jeff Butzke
Subject: grassroots and dinner series

Hi Jack:

I wanted to introduce you to Jeff Butzke of Advantage Inc. Jeff will be putting together some ideas about how to manage the grassroots part of the infomercial, i.e., what do with the people once they decide to act on our call to action and how to manage the list, etc. As soon as we have the script and story board worked out, Jeff can also be really helpful with picking strategic media markets with an eye toward grassroots.

Also, Jeff and I spoke about the dinner series / CREA Trustees and about hosting CREA fundraising events at MCI, etc. He is putting together a proposal and budget for those as well. As soon as details are nailed down we can get the first one scheduled. Steve is on board with a Secretary Norton / Steve Griles / Murkowski dinner to kick everything off at Greenberg Traurig.

Thanks again for everything,
--Italia

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLMAN, APLC

██████████
██████████
TELEPHONE ██████████
FACSIMILE ██████████
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof@██████████

March 28, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: ██████████

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

CONFIDENTIAL

Attached is an email from Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig, recently retained by the Tribe for assistance with governmental affairs. Coushatta and Mississippi Band of Choctaw have agreed to each pay 1/2 the cost of a poll conducted by the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy, which is being conducted on behalf of Gayle Norton, Secretary of Interior.

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

Cc: Chairman Lovelin Poncho

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

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KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOFF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

VAN HOOFF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLMAN, APLC

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
TELEPHONE [REDACTED]
FACSIMILE [REDACTED]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoofo@ [REDACTED]

March 30, 2001

VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

Mr. Jack A. Abramoff
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Re: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

Dear Jack:

Please find enclosed Check No. 29050 from the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana in the amount of \$50,000.00 made payable to the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy. It is our understanding that you will forward the check to the appropriate party to cover 1/2 the cost of a poll being conducted on behalf of Gayle Norton, Secretary of Interior.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely,

VAN HOOFF & ASSOCIATES

By: Kathy
Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof

KFV:jms
Enclosure

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 10:25 AM
To: Kathy Van Hoof
Subject: CREA

Just wanted to remind you to get that check to me when it is ready. They called over today to ask how we were doing on it, so they could pay for the poll. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 4:31 PM
To: 'KVanhoof@aol.com'
Subject: Re: CREA

Thanks

Jack Abramoff

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

From: KVanhoof@aol.com <KVanhoof@aol.com>
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Fri Mar 30 17:29:06 2001
Subject: Re: CREA

I received today from tribe by Fed-X. I'll Fed-X to you this evening.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 4:58 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: CREA

Please be on the lookout for this.

—Original Message—

From: KVanhoof@aol.com [mailto:KVanhoof@aol.com]
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 5:29 PM
To: abramoff@gtlaw.com
Subject: Re: CREA

I received today from tribe by Fed-X. I'll Fed-X to you this evening.

5/12/2004

GTG-E000105291

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=USDOJ/cn=USDOJ/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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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GTC-E00010528

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 19, 2001 1:10 PM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: Chief of the Coushattas

He will be coming in May 9 to DC. Do you think we could get him a meeting with Secretary Norton and Steve? I'd also like him to meet you, since I want to go back to the well and get more \$ from them soon for CREA.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 19, 2001 4:14 PM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: RE: Chief of the Coughattas

My pleasure.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Thursday, April 19, 2001 2:54 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: Chief of the Coughattas

I will get to work on this with Steve. I'd very much like to meet him and I'm sure Steve and Gale will too. Also, we have some great results from our focus groups and I think that we have very good material for the infomercial. I left a message for Mike Scanlon. We can chat about that next week, but the info is very helpful. We can also use the information for briefings for the WH and Hill. You are welcome to join us in any of these briefings. I know that Murkowski wants one and that the WH office of public liaison does too, etc... That is what the money from last month went to, and I think you'll be very pleased with the fresh slant on things. Thank you again for all of your help!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 19, 2001 2:30 PM
To: italia@crea-online.org
Subject: Chief of the Coughattas

He will be coming in May 9 to DC. Do you think we could get him a meeting with Secretary Norton and Steve? I'd also like him to meet you, since I want to go back to the well and get more \$ from them soon for CREA.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:45 AM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Oh, one more thing. Did you have a chance to get a meeting for Chief Poncho of the Coughatta's with Secretary Norton yet? Can you attend that meeting as well? It would be so nice if she could thank him for the contribution. He is in town May 9 and 10 and will see the President as well, as part of Grover's group meeting. They also contributed (less, so don't tell Grover!) to ATR.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 10:08 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

FYI - he is not on Gale's two week schedule as of yesterday.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:47 AM
To: italia@crea-online.org
Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

No, but some time in the next week or so I believe.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:46 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Do you know when this meeting is?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:06 AM
To: italia@crea-online.org
Cc: Italiacrea@aol.com
Subject: YIKES!!! help!
Importance: High

I just found out why the opponents of the CNMI and Speaker Ben Fitial did all they could to kill his visit with Secretary Norton.

As you recall, Ben is running for Governor. Although he is the former chairman of the Republican Party, the current Republican Speaker in the House and was the chairman of the Bush Cheney Campaign in the CNMI, he has decided to run for Governor under a local party banner (the Covenant Party) because the Republicans there nominated a liberal who also serves as the Resident Representative in DC for the CNMI, Juan Babauta. [I have copied a memo about Babauta which was presented internally to DeLay when former Sec of Interior Manny Lujan - now on Babauta's payroll - tried to get a meeting (unsuccessfully) for Babauta with DeLay.]

I just found out that Babauta is on his way to DC with his running mate and that they are being helped internally at Interior to secure a meeting with Secretary Norton. If this

meeting takes place, it will make it seem that Fitial has no DC clout and Babauta does, a critical matter in the campaign. Unwittingly, the Secretary will have given Babauta an incredible boost in his campaign by giving him a simple meeting, since Ben was denied such a meeting.

Is there any possible way to stop this from happening? It would be best, at this point, if the Secretary did not meet with him, or if she does, perhaps she could send a letter inviting Ben to meet with her as well, and then let him come in.

In any event, as you can see from the memo below, this guy is a bad guy, does not support the agenda of President Bush (in fact, I am not certain of this, but do not recall his even joining the Bush campaign out there!) or Secretary Norton. I hope we can stop this disaster. Thanks Italia.

Here is the memo noted above:

RE: Background on Juan Babauta

For years, Congressional Republicans and movement conservatives have led the effort to keep the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands a strong, independent commonwealth. They has ensured that the territory has moved away from welfare toward work. They have moved away from dependency to freedom. They have moved from socialism to economic liberty.

While conservatives have been bashed in the liberal media over their efforts to fight a federal takeover, the CNMI's own "Congressman," Mr. Juan Babauta has stood on the other side of these issues. Not only has he opposed these efforts, he has undercut the Congressional Republicans at every turn. Indeed, rather than supporting those efforts, Mr. Babauta has served as chief apologist for CNMI enemies Congressman George Miller and Senator Daniel Akaka.

Specifically, Mr. Babauta has:

* Testified in support of increasing the CNMI's minimum wage. While conservatives have fought a principled fight to protect the local economy from a draconian minimum wage hike, Babauta supported applying the federal minimum wage to the CNMI.

* Denounced House Republicans Efforts to Protect the CNMI. Babauta said that Democrats would win the House and efforts on behalf of Saipan would only anger leading Democrats. He has constantly publicly mused about the return to power of the Democrats in Congress, stating that Republican help would only lead to Democratic anger in the future. "We have to remember that Mr. Babauta was extremely critical of Governor Froilan Tenorio's decision to ... court American conservative Republicans. Mr. Babauta characterized it as an unwise partisan ploy which could backfire. And yet he may have been in bed with Akaka, David North [former Interior employee accused of illegal actions against Republican Congressmen and violation of other laws in pursuit of Clinton's aim to take over the CNMI immigration and minimum wage authorities] and the others all along." ("Mr. Babauta's about-face" Saipan Tribune, 01/24/00)

* Proclaimed that George Miller is a "genuine champion of human rights." Despite the fact that Miller would double the minimum wage immediately and allow a takeover by the federal government, Babauta said that Miller was just misunderstood and was a "genuine champion of human rights."

* Spent more time lobbying for the CNMI to have a non-voting delegate in Congress than fighting urgent minimum wage and federal immigration takeover threats. Even when Mr. Babauta testified before Congress, he did not use the opportunity to denounce takeover efforts. Instead, he admitted to "focusing" his testimony on the delegate bill [an attempt to raise his status in Washington from Resident Representative, with no office in the Congressional complex, to that of Delegate, like those of Guam, American Samoa, Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico]. According to the Saipan Tribune, "Mr. Babauta's federal takeover opposition is strongly suspect. It is a well known fact that Mr. Babauta used to be one of our critics. In the early 1990s, Mr. Babauta was an ardent champion of the federal minimum wage in the CNMI. He was highly critical of our local garment industry--about as critical as David North, Al Stayman [Clinton head of the OIA],

Danny Akaka, 20/20, Global Exchange, and George Miller (whom he once praised as a "genuine champion of human rights")."

* Contributed financially to re-election campaign of Senator Akaka, leading Senate opponent of CNMI. It is hard to understand why Mr. Babauta would have supported the campaign of such a long-standing foe of the CNMI. Moreover, it is impossible to determine how his relationship with Senator Akaka has benefited the CNMI.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 11:47 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

I have a call in to Brian Waidmann re: [REDACTED] so we don't have the same problem as with Ben. I talked with Gale's personal assistant and she said that as of right now Gale is scheduled to be in DC on the 9th so I think everything will be fine. Steve does not want to meet with him right now b/c he does not want to do any Interior type stuff until after his confirmation hearings. He is really concerned that he not acquire any new knowledge that he would be forced to discuss during q&a. He wants to freeze his institutional knowledge. Also, the Washington Post is doing a hit piece on Steve and that has him edgy. When Gale was going through that during her transition and CREA was being attacked, too, Steve was very rational and helped us understand that the bad guys only attack you b/c you are effective and don't take it personally. Now it is everyone saying that to him but it is still hard. I would love to be in the meeting. Thank you.

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 10:45 AM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Oh, one more thing. Did you have a chance to get a meeting for [REDACTED] with Secretary Norton yet? Can you attend that meeting as well? It would be so nice if she could thank him for the contribution. He is in town May 9 and 10 and will see the President as well, as part of Grover's group meeting. They also contributed (less, so don't tell Grover!) to MTR.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 10:08 AM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

FYI - he is not on Gale's two week schedule as of yesterday.

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:47 AM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

No, but some time in the next week or so I believe.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:46 AM

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 01, 2001 8:17 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: did we get the Coughatta contribution to ATR yet?

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:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Tuesday, May 08, 2001 9:45 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
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@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2001 11:30 PM
To: italia@crea-online.org
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:italia@crea-online.org]
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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Council of
Republicans for
Environmental
Advocacy

July 5, 2001

Chief Philip Martin
Principle Chief, Mississippi Band of Choctaw
Philadelphia, Mississippi
Via facsimile

The Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (CREA) is dedicated to promoting local, common sense solutions to environmental challenges. CREA works with elected representatives and opinion leaders to discuss and debate various approaches to environmental issues.

CREA is honored to invite Chief Philip Martin of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw to join CREA's Board of Trustees and assist us in our educational mission. The dedication of the Board of Trustees greatly enhances our ability to educate the public on Republican environmental principles and accomplishments, as well as continue our research on emerging environmental issues.

Membership in CREA's Board of Trustees is \$50,000 per year. CREA looks forward to working with Chief Martin to change the tone and outcome of the environmental debate for the future.

Thank you and please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions.

Sincerely,

Italia Federici
President
CREA

Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 7:08 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: FW:

This office needs to be abolished. It is a sop to the unions and a non-stop trouble causer.

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

From:
 Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 11:12 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject:

this is Pam Brown's last day on the job as the OIA immigration/labor ombudsman or whatever her title is in Saipar. No replacement in site. Might be a good time to see if the position should be filled...)

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 7:08 PM
 To: Italia@
 Subject: thanks so much

I just want to thank you again for all you do for me. I hope I continue to merit your kind friendship. Please do not forget to send me the letter for [redacted] so I can get that \$ for you. Also, what was Hugo's name (from today's call) and position? I just want to have it straight in my mind. I am not going to contact him separately. Regards.

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SENCREA 1004 000006

Subj: RE: status
 Date: 07/18/2001 3:18:55 PM Central Daylight Time
 From: abramoff@
 To: KVanhoof@; rudy@; rasells@
 CC: mike@

I have a call into our guy Steve Griles, the Deputy Secretary and his assistant has a memo on the situation, but since he was just approved on Thursday finally, he is running around like a chicken without his head. Just so I am clear when he and I do hook up, what is our full wish list from them 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 Govern or? Just want to make sure I make all the asks we need.

-----Original Message-----
 From: KVanhoof@ (mailto:KVanhoof@)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 18, 2001 12:13 PM
 To: abramoff@; rudy@; rasells@
 Subject: status

Have you had the opportunity to meet w/ Interior regarding the status of the compact, with expiration Tuesday at midnight?

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----- Headers -----
 Return-Path: <abramoff@>
 Received: from rly-zc04.mx () by ak-zc02.mail (79.27) with ESMTP id MAJLNZC28-0718161855; Wed, 18 Jul 2001 16:18:55 -0400
 Received: from mia-srv02 () by rly-zc04.mx (79.20) with ESMTP id MAJLRELAYINZC44-0718161807; Wed, 18 Jul 2001 16:18:07 -0400
 Received: by mia-srv02 with Internet Mail Service

Wednesday, July 25, 2001 KVanhoof

COUSH-MiscKVH-0001529

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 17, 2001 1:35 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Amy Ridneour

Italia Federici from CREA might also be willing to do something. Coushatta gave her some money. Call her if you think she could help with this.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 17, 2001 10:55 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Amy Ridneour

I need her to send a letter on behalf of the Coushatta's. Have we offered her any money lately? What should I offer her?

Tony Rudy
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 331-3100

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 18, 2001 5:26 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: Steve

I will call and try to set it up...

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ (mailto:abramoffj@██████████)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 18, 2001 4:39 PM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: Steve

The topics are the OIA position and the Coughattás (who are having trouble with their governor - this is just informational, but they want us to bring it to Gail Norton's attention, so telling Steve would cover it). Thanks.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, July 13, 2001 11:15 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE:

I will ask around. When do you get back?

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ (mailto:abramoffj@██████████)
 Sent: Thursday, July 12, 2001 11:11 PM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: FW:

Thank G-D! I am returning from Caracas, but leaving for Saipan on Sunday. When I get back, can we get together with Steve? I am really concerned about your statement regarding Mark Zachares not being on the list for OIA. Can you find out what happened? I am sure it is more than likely that the bad guys within, knowing that this guy is so solid, had mouthed him and torpedoed him. If you could find out, it would be a big favor! Thanks Italia!

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

From: Kerrie Ring (mailto:kerrieandkevin@██████████)
 Sent: Thursday, July 12, 2001 11:21 PM
 To: vascilic@██████████; rudyt@██████████; boulanger@██████████; abramoffj@██████████

SENCREA 1004 00008

Council of
Republicans for
Environmental
Advocacy

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Fax [REDACTED]

Memorandum

To: Steve Griles
cc: Holly Hopkins
From: Italia Federici
Date: August 6, 2001
Re: CREA Dinner

The Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (CREA) hosts occasional dinners with our friends and supporters from both the private and public sectors. The dinners are intimate and are hosted by Mrs. Julie Finley, a longtime environmental champion and advocate of common sense conservation policies and communication. Julie's home is in Georgetown a short distance from the Naval Observatory and is a wonderful setting for relaxed conversation and dining.

CREA's dinners are designed to be informative and give all participants the opportunity to discuss common environmental and conservation goals and build relationships that are beneficial in communicating this message to a larger audience.

CREA would like to invite Secretary Griles and the Assistant Secretaries from the Department of Interior to join us for one of these dinners sometime during the last two weeks in September.

CREA's supporters will benefit greatly from the expertise and insights of those who are on the frontlines in what is shaping up to be an intense debate about the future of our nation's resources, parks, forests and other national treasures. It is our hope and expectation that CREA's supporters will also be able to provide valuable insights and offer support in helping to fulfill the Interior Department's crucial mission.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 08, 2001 6:07 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Hoppi

Other dinners will be Senators, Congressmen and White House folks (including Rove).

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 08, 2001 8:51 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Hoppi

Again, I will ask. But my sense is that they will say that's why they hired us. I am not sure they have an extra \$50K lying around. Let me ask this: Besides the September meeting with Norton, Griles, etc, what other events are planned?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 08, 2001 7:47 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Hoppi

Whether they are good Republicans or not, they need clout with the Interior Dept, I would imagine.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 07, 2001 9:41 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Hoppi

The hopi aren't good republicans, but I will check it out. Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Aug 07 19:21:10 2001
Subject: Hoppi

CREA is putting together a trustees circle which will participate in small dinners throughout the year. The first one will be in September and will include Norton, Griles, McCaleb and a number of other assist secs, including Bennett Raley, asst sec Water and Science, or something like that. Coushatta and Choctaw are already members of the group (\$50K/year). Do you think Hoppi wants to join?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 10:39 AM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: RE: Suggested contributions

Yes

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov) <lippy1@gtlaw.com>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Thu Aug 16 11:14:24 2001
Subject: RE: Suggested contributions

Has Terry responded to you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2001 2:05 PM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Suggested contributions

Please call him tomorrow to confirm he got this, but check with me first in case he responded first.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2001 12:53 PM
To: Terry Martin
Cc: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Suggested contributions

Hi Terry. This was what I had sent last week, per our meeting. Please let me know via return email if you get this. regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, August 09, 2001 4:01 PM
To: Terry Martin (E-mail)
Subject: Suggested contributions

Terry, per our discussion, here is a list of contributions we think would be very helpful. The CREA contribution helps those inside DOI who helped us on insurance. Let me know if this list is OK, and what we need to get you to get this moving. Thanks so much.
Regards.

Republican Majority Fund \$5K - Nickles
Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell \$2K
Senator Thad Cochran \$2K
Congressman Dennis Rehberg \$1K
NRSC \$15K - several members will get credit
CREA \$10K

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 6:36 AM
To: Tmartincd@aol.com
Subject: RE: FW: Suggested contributions

NRSC is the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the official Republican Senate re-election committee (the Senate version of the NRCC). Let me know if you need more info than that. CREA is the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy. This is a 501c4 group which used to be chaired by Gail Norton. They are the unofficial outside advocacy group for DoI and are going to be holding a series of dinner meetings, the first of which is with Norton, McCaleb, Giles and others. It will be September 24. If you can come, it would be great. Please let me know. CREA does advocacy for environmental issues and has been incredibly helpful on the insurance issue (its current head is Italia Federicci who is very close to Giles). Let me know if you need more info.

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

From: Tmartincd@aol.com [mailto:Tmartincd@aol.com]
Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 6:54 AM
To: abramoff@gtlaw.com
Subject: Re: FW: Suggested contributions

Got it Jack. May need additional info on CREA and NRSC. Thanks

5/8/2004

GTG-E000393407

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

Italia Federici

From: abramoff@██████████
 Sent: Monday, September 18, 2001 12:34 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: RE: date for dinner 09/24

I am not confident in Hopi, by the way, but let's see what Kevin can do with them. s

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

From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia@██████████)
 Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2001 3:41 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: date for dinner 09/24

Hi Jack:

Just heard back from Interior and the date for the dinner is Monday, September 24th. Is there anything that you need from me for your invitees? FIJ - I left a message for Kevin Ring regarding our conversation about possibly reaching out to the Hopi. Also, Steve is personally inviting everyone from Interior and talking with them about the dinner so I expect a wonderful turnout...

Thanks Jack,
 --Italia

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

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 21, 2001 12:39 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE: (no subject)

Great.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:15 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: (no subject)

Wonderful! I had the opportunity to meet Terry, through you, about two years ago. I look forward to seeing him again. Also, it was announced today that a friend of mine, Bill Hybl, has been nominated to be Ambassador to the UN. I am hopeful he will join us for dinner.

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:27 AM
To: italia@crea-online.org
Subject: FW: (no subject)
Hi Italia. This is a confirmation from Terry Martin of Chitimacha.

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

From: Tmartincdc@aol.com [mailto:Tmartincdc@aol.com]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 5:32 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: (no subject)

Jack, please include me in on the CREA dinner. Am working on the contributions but will probably not have in hand until next week. Terry

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5/7/2004

GTG-E000393408

What is
CREA
Need this for
Tuesd mts

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TAUBS

Council for Republican
Environmental
Advocacy

Transmittal Cover Sheet

TO Kathy Van Hoof
Company
Fax Number
Phone Number
FROM Jack Abramoff
File Number
Comments Dear Kathy,

I hope this finds you well, and look forward to seeing you on Tuesday. I wanted to share an email from Italia Federici, who is president of CREA. If you recall, you guys were very generous to them a few months ago. That donation, in addition to helping us with Nortop, qualified you guys to be members of CREA's inner council. They are starting a small dinner series with top officials. The first, on September 24, is described in the attached email. It would be great if you guys could attend. Please let me know.

Date Friday, August 17, 2001
Time 12:04 PM
No. Pages Including this cover sheet 2

Please notify us immediately if not received properly at [redacted]

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email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [italia@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 11:03 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: date for dinner 09/24

That's great news. Thanks so much.

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ (mailto:abramoffj@██████████)
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 12:34 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: RE: date for dinner 09/24

Great. I expect we'll have ██████████ join and ██████████ though they are not as wealthy, so we might have to get their money in dribs and drabs. I am also pushing ██████████ which should happen.

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

From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia@██████████)
 Sent: Wednesday, August 15, 2001 3:41 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: date for dinner 09/24

Hi Jack:

Just heard back from Interior and the date for the dinner is Monday, September 24th. Is there anything that you need from me for your invitees? FYI - I left a message for Kevin Ring regarding our conversation about possibly reaching out to the ██████████. Also, Steve is personally inviting everyone from Interior and talking with them about the dinner so I expect a wonderful turnout...

Thanks Jack,
 --Italia

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@██████████

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 4:43 PM
To: Tmartincdc@aol.com
Subject: Re: (no subject)

It works great for the Giants. Good luck with the planning session and I'll be in touch soon.

Jack Abramoff

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

From: Tmartincdc@aol.com <Tmartincdc@aol.com>
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Mon Aug 20 17:31:43 2001
Subject: (no subject)

Jack, please include me in on the CREA dinner. Am working on the contributions but will probably not have in hand until next week. We may have additional funds so be thinking. This week I am with the entire council in Biloxi for the Tribal Strategic Planning meeting. Will be discussing appropriation ideas for the next session. Have not heard from Tauzin on a possible date for an event at Fed-Ex Field as he is in Europe during the break. Also, I have a delegation of LA politicians that I would like to schedule for the Oct. 28 Giants game in the lower box. Best case for us would be eight tickets but 6 would work as I could bow out and not schedule AL in during that time. Let me know what works in our mutual best interest. Should be back in town next week. Hope all is well. Terry

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 11:22 PM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: FW: (no subject)

Hi Italia. This is a confirmation from Terry Martin of Chitimacha.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tmartincdc@aol.com [mailto:Tmartincdc@aol.com]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 5:32 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: (no subject)

Jack, please include me in on the CREA dinner. Am working on the contributions but will probably not have in hand until next week. Terry

5/8/2004

GTG-E000393409

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 21, 2001 12:39 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE: (no subject)

Great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:15 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: (no subject)

Wonderfull! I had the opportunity to meet Terry, through you, about two years ago. I look forward to seeing him again. Also, it was announced today that a friend of mine, Bill Hybl, has been nominated to be Ambassador to the UN. I am hopeful he will join us for dinner.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:27 AM
To: italia@crea-online.org
Subject: FW: (no subject)
Hi Italia. This is a confirmation from Terry Martin of Chilimacha.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tmartindc@aol.com [mailto:Tmartindc@aol.com]
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 5:32 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: (no subject)

Jack, please include me in on the CREA dinner. Am working on the contributions but will probably not have in hand until next week. Terry

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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: Saturday, September 01, 2001 8:23 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Terry Martin: Suggested contributions

Did we get the rest of these?

Republican Majority Fund \$5K - Nickles
Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell \$2K
Senator Thad Cochran \$2K
Congressman Dennis Rehberg \$1K
NRSC \$15K - several members will get credit
CREA \$10K

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@...>
 To: Roseman, Courtney (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) <rosemancc@...>
 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:cpetrasc@...]
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 8:41 AM
 To: abramoffj@...
 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@... <abramoffj@...>
 To: cpetrasc@... <cpetrasc@...>
 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 Sec. Norton, Asst. Sec. McAleer and Dep Sec Giles, as well as a number of other assistants from Interior. It is for these tribes and others who are trustees of Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy (CREA). I did not push you on this one, since the necessary money was not \$50K. All of my tribal clients (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Comanche and Kiowa) are participating. I know it is terribly last minute, and probably was out of the range of what you can do right now, but

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:cpetras@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 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: cpetras@gte.net <cpetras@██████████>
 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 1501 17th Street NW?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
 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: cpetras@gte.net <cpetras@██████████>
 Date: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 8:08 AM
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Anyone coming with you (for reservations purposes)? -----Original Message-----
 From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
 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: cpetras@██████████ <cpetras@██████████>
 Cc: roseman@██████████ <roseman@██████████>
 Date: Tuesday, August 21, 2001 12:23 AM
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Capitol Grille?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
 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: cpetras@██████████ <cpetras@██████████>
 Cc: roseman@██████████ <roseman@██████████>
 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:cpetras@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 2:57 PM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: Greetings
 Jack,

Would the week before work? Say dinner on the 10th or 11th? -----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
 To: cpetrasc@ [REDACTED] <cpetrasc@ [REDACTED]>
 Date: Monday, August 20, 2001 2:11 PM
 Subject: RE: Greetings
 Hi Chris. I'd love to, but it's Rosh HaShannah (the Jewish New Year) and I will be unavailable since these days are the same as our Sabbath to us. let me know when you are next here. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Chris [mailto:cpetrasc@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 2:12 PM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: Greetings
 Jack

I will be in town September 18th, is dinner on that day a possibility? Take care.

Chris

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 10:38 AM
 To: Chris Petras - Saginaw Chippewa
 Subject: FW: Directions to CREA Trustee Dinner

Here is the invite letter. Let me know if this is what you need.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 19, 2001 3:42 PM
 To: rosenan@redacted
 Subject: FW: Directions to CREA Trustee Dinner

This email is to confirm details for the dinner party being held on September 24, at 6:30pm at the home of Julie Finley - redacted Directions follow.

This dinner is with the Interior Department - Secretary Norton, Deputy Secretary Griles, Solicitor Bill Myers, Assist. Sec. Lynn Scarlett (OPMB), Assist. Sec. Bennett Raley (OWS), Assist. Sec. Neil McCaleb (OTA), Nominee Kathleen Clarke (BLM), and Director of Congressional Affairs Dave Bernhardt will be in attendance.

The purpose of this dinner is to introduce Interior folks to our favorite friends and supporters. The main topic of discussion will be ways CREA, working with our friends, can help Interior reach the American public with the a positive and unfiltered conservation message.

From Capitol Hill:

Take Massachusetts Avenue approximately 4 miles to the Naval Observatory (Vice President's mansion). Turn right onto redacted. Turn right at the first light onto redacted. Take the first right onto redacted is the first house on the left.

In case you need to reach me the night of the event my cell phone number is redacted

We look forward to seeing you!

--Italia

Subj: RE: FW: Directions to CREA Trustee Dinner
 Date: 09/20/2001 5:17:37 PM Central Daylight Time
 From: abramoffj@
 To: KVanhoof@

Great. The event will be three tables of nine people. The chairman will be seated with Secretary Norton. You will be with Deputy Secretary Steve Gries (who is the one who gets everything done anyway). Should be a great evening. Please let me know when you guys will be arriving so we can arrange a car. N/A

-----Original Message-----
 From: KVanhoof@mailto:KVanhoof@
 Sent: Thursday, September 20, 2001 5:35 PM
 To: abramoffj@
 Subject: Re: FW: Directions to CREA Trustee Dinner

Yes, as of today, its the chairman and me.

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----- Headers -----
 Return-Path: <abramoffj@>
 Received: from rty-yd01.mx (rty-yd01.mail by air-yd02.mail (v80.17) with ESMTIP id MAILNYD28-0920181737; Thu, 20 Sep 2001 18:17:37 -0400
 Received: from mia-srv02 (mia-srv02 by rty-yd01.mx (v80.21) with ESMTIP id MAILRELA1YNYD17-0920181611; Thu, 20 Sep 2001 18:16:11 -0400
 Received: by mia-srv02 (com with Internet Mail Service (id <TJBR2L7Y>; Thu, 20 Sep 2001 18:17:21 -0400
 Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC470262DA18@wdo-srv01>
 From: abramoffj@
 To: KVanhoof@

COUSH-MiscKVH-0001486

Thursday, September 20, 2001 KVanhoof

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@██████████]
 Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 2:32 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: CREA contributions

Hi Jack:

I was wondering if you knew when we could expect the Trustees contributions from ██████████ and the remainder of ██████████. We are trying to have the Trustees contributions in as soon as possible so we can make some payments and budget for the next quarter.

We are all set for Monday night! It's going to be a great evening. Tom Sansonetti, RAG for Natural Resources will also be joining us too.

--Italia

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, September 19, 2001 3:58 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: Directions to CREA Trustee Dinner

This email is to confirm details for the dinner party being held on September 24, at 7:30pm at the home of Julie Finley - ██████████. Directions follow.

This dinner is with the Interior Department - Secretary Norton, Deputy Secretary Giles, Solicitor Bill Myers, Assist. Sec. Lynn Scarlett (OWB), Assist. Sec. Bennett Raley (OWS), Assist. Sec. Neil McCallah (OIA), Nominee Kathleen Clarke (BLM), and Director of Congressional Affairs Daye Bernhardt will be in attendance.

The purpose of this dinner is to introduce Interior folks to our favorite friends and supporters. The main topic of discussion will be ways CREA, working with our friends, can help Interior reach the American public with the a positive and unfiltered conservation message.

From Capitol Hill:

Take Massachusetts Avenue approximately 4 miles to the Naval Observatory (Vice President's mansion). Turn right onto ██████████. Turn right at the first light onto ██████████. Take the first right onto ██████████. ██████████ is the first house on the left.

In case you need to reach me the night of the event my cell phone number is ██████████

We look forward to seeing you!

--Italia

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2001 10:58 PM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: RE: CREA contributions

thanks Italia. Let's chat tomorrow. I'll be in around noon or so.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff]
 Sent: Sunday, September 23, 2001 10:53 PM
 To: abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff
 Subject: RE: CREA contributions

Thanks Jack! Can you call me tomorrow at some point? I wanted to talk to you about one of the guests I invited for tomorrow and get your thoughts. Hope you had a nice weekend...

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff [mailto:abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff]
 Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 5:07 PM
 To: italia@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff
 Subject: RE: CREA contributions

Hi Italia. Choctaw will come through with the \$50K some time next month (they are over budget for this fiscal year, which ends at the end of the month). Kickapoo is going to give in two parts of \$25K each, starting next month. Chitimacha has, I believe, already sent over some (was it \$10K?) and will cash flow the rest as soon as they can.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff]
 Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 2:32 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: CREA contributions

Hi Jack:

I was wondering if you knew when we could expect the Trustees' contributions from Kickapoo, Choctaw and the remainder of Chitimacha. We are trying to have the Trustees' contributions in as soon as possible so we can make some payments and budget for the next quarter.

We are all set for Monday night! It's going to be a great evening. Tom Sansonetti, AMG for Natural Resources will also be joining us too.

--Italia

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff

GTG-E000105221

Council of
Republicans for
Environmental
Advocacy

1429 G Street, NW • Number 408
Washington, DC 20005
202.625.7110
Fax 202.547.2285

Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy
Contact Information for guests of September 24, 2001 dinner party

Julie Finley
CREA Advisory Committee Member and our Hostess
3221 Woodland Drive NW
Washington, DC 20008
202-338-2849

Secretary Gale Norton and John Hughes
Office of the Secretary
United States Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240
202-208-7351

Deputy Secretary Steve Griles
Office of the Deputy Secretary
United States Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Mailstop 7229
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Special Assistant: Holly Hopkins

Assistant Secretary Bennett Raley
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United States Department of the Interior
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Assistant: Dick Koerth

Nominee Jeff Jarrett – Director of Office of Surface Mining

Currently:

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jjarrett@state.pa.us

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John Howard

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Lovelin Poncho
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Please direct correspondence to Kathryn Van Hoof

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Van Hoof and Associates
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LeCompte, LA 71346
318-776-4836

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 12:15 AM
To: 'KVanhoof@aol.com'
Subject: RE: Coushatta

I received your federal express and we'll get right into it tomorrow. I hope to have something to report shortly.

—Original Message—

From: KVanhoof@aol.com [mailto:KVanhoof@aol.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 09, 2001 10:52 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: Coushatta

Jack,

Chairman Poncho called to ask me about the status of the land claim since our dinner meeting with CREA. I'm a little battle weary from recent events, but I do recall that at dinner that evening, Steve Grites seemed to have a good understanding of the issues I raised and the need to get the appropriate notice published in the Federal Register. I think I previously sent to you or Shawn Vassell an information packet on what we've done so far and what the next step would be. Do you need me to do anything now? Should I draft a proposed notice for somebody to review? Any followup I can let the chairman know about? He tells me the tribal council will meet tomorrow.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 6:57 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contributions

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:56 AM
To: Neff Rogers
Subject: contributions

Hi Neff. I have held back a number of contribution requests until the beginning of the new fiscal year, and am still trying to get you guys a chance to get caught up, but I received a call yesterday asking if you might be able to do that contribution to CREA, Interior Sec Gail Norton's former organization, which we discussed a few months ago. They are hurting right now (apparently one of their main supporters was killed in the 9-11 tragedy). Here is the information. . . .
Thanks.

Contribution: \$50,000
Committee for Republican Environmental Advocacy
[REDACTED]

r

GTG-E000113075

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 9:00 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 Griles 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 Griles
 Deputy Secretary of the Interior
 1849 C Street, N.W.
 United States Department of the Interior
 Washington, D.C. 20240

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 Ftial. 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
 Senior Director etc.

[on white paper]

On August 22, 1988, Congress enacted Public Law 100-411, appropriating funds in satisfaction of a negotiated settlement between the Coushatta Tribe and the United States Government. This agreement provided \$1,300,000.00 to the Tribe for the settlement of a dispute over the uncompensated taking by the United States of land owned or occupied by the Coushattas or their historical predecessors in the 19th Century. The Tribe was required to prepare a plan for the use and distribution of those funds and on February 6, 2000, BIA approved the Tribe's plan.

Under current law, BIA is required to publish notice within 30 days of approval in local papers of the right of persons to apply for these funds, which triggers a 90 day period for members to qualify to receive these funds. The Eastern Regional Office is responsible for this process but to date, the required notice has not been published.

Attempts over the past 20 months to move this process forward made by members of the Tribe, the Tribe's legal counsel, as well as members of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation, have been unsuccessful. All that remains to be done is

for BIA to have the appropriate notice published so that the 90 day period for receiving applications may begin, as per Public Law 100-411.

Enclosed please find a copy of correspondence from Franklin Keel, the former Director of the Eastern Region, dated February 8, 2000, approving the Tribe's plan. Should you need any additional information, please let us know.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 3:33 PM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: RE: guess what I am holding...

My great pleasure! Now on to Kickapoo, and then to reload for Coughatta!

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff]
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 1:25 PM
To: abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff
Subject: RE: guess what I am holding...

That's great news! Thanks you, Thanks you!

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

From: abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff [mailto:abramoffj@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff]
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 6:49 AM
To: italia@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff
Subject: guess what I am holding...

I am in Mississippi, returning tonight. I have the \$50K CREA check in hand. You'll have it tomorrow.:-)

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 7:51 AM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: FW: dates for another dinner?

Can you coordinate with Italia on a list of invitees, to include the head of BIA? Can you contact her?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 8:21 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: FW: dates for another dinner?

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 White House IGA

Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@...>
 Sent: Wed Jan 02 20:09:43 2002
 Subject: RE: FW: dates for another dinner?

Administration personnel. We can figure out the clients pretty easily.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 7:41 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: FW: dates for another dinner?

What do you mean -- Clients? Or Administration personnel?
 Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@...>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasell@...>; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudy@...>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@...>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulanger@...>
 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 CNMI and Indian issues. Let me know what you think and if we should alter are target audience! --Italia

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 bill 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 stia 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 appropriations 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 Chocday [redacted]
For Homes in Fossil Energy, etc.

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 unacceptable 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] Italiacrea@ [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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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@ [REDACTED].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████;cn=WDC/on=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 4:08 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: update

Just wanted to let you know that I had a great discussion today with the Choclaws and they are moving their next \$50K contribution very quickly. I hope we'll have it very soon. Also, ██████████ and we expect they will approve it (also \$50K) within this week. Just thought I'd give you some happy news. Regards.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto=████████@WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 31, 2002 5:18 PM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Admin)
Subject: FW: Lets Roll now!


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(3)

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 4:42 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Lets Roll now!

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

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

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 DoI 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 9:13 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 9:08 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@...'<cpetras@...>
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.LDOC >>
 << File: Saginaw Republican Contribution Request.doc >>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 7:09 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 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: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:06 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 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 (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:01 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 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: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 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 (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:35 AM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

Did he respond to the crea request?
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@dir.dcm.gov>
 To: 'cpetras@...' <cpetras@...>
 CC: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@...>
 Sent: Tue Feb 12 11:34:16 2002

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Subject: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

Chris, I'm pretty sure this is what you are looking for.....let me know if you need any additional information on the matrix. Thanks for expediting the process. --Todd

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 9:22 AM
 To: Mike Scanton office
 Subject: FW: CREA Request

This will help us get William scared about Blue Lake, hopefully increasing our budget.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boufanger, 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 fight a fire under Grites's ass.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 10:13 AM
 To: Boufanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: CREA Request
 Importance: High

They are supposed to approve the CREA contribution this morning.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boufanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 9:31 AM
 To: [redacted]
 Subject: RE: 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

Italia Federici

From: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 10:13 AM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: did you get to Steve?

This is being reported in the media:

In Washington, D.C., the U.S. Department of the Interior reportedly has indicated they will approve the United Auburn Tribal nation's application for land-into-trust for a new casino project. Interior reportedly will enter its decision into the Federal Register within 10 days.

I sure hope he focuses on this Jena thing. It directly screws the Cowshattas. They have to sign or reject within the next few (10?) days. I am really worried about this. what can we do?

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 9:27 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: DOI Inspector General Special Agent Here on the Reservation

Thanks Italia. This is really, really horrible. This is something that the Clinton guys were doing to the Chief, and that the BIA is continuing this now is unconscionable.

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

From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 9:13 PM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: DOI Inspector General Special Agent Here on the Reservation

Hey Jack:

Just letting you know I got it. I'll call you in the morning to discuss.

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 7:55 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: DOI Inspector General Special Agent Here on the Reservation

SENCRÉA 1004 000020

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] 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@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
To: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@]
Sent: Fri Feb 15 09:18:02 2002
Subject: shit

I just got a call from Italia. Steve told her that, as of now, Norton is going to sign the Jens 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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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Wednesday, February 20, 2002 4:24 PM
 To: Italia@
 Subject: Norton meeting with Gov Foster next week

Gale is meeting with Louisiana Governor Foster next week. He is going to lobby her to approve the compact he signed in the dead of the night. She needs to tell him no. how can we get in there?

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 11:54 PM
 To: Italia@
 Subject: Jena situation

this is really getting out of control. Did you have a chance to speak with Steve about this? Please let me know. this is literally killing the Coushattas. Please note this article. Please give me an update when you can. Thanks.

Advance copy of John Maginnis' weekly newspaper column, published beginning February 20, 2002
 A subscription bonus for e-mail subscribers of Louisiana Political Fax Weekly
 FEBRUARY 18, 2002 POLITICS / JOHN MAGINNIS
 GREAT WHITE FATHER RESHUFFLES GAMBLING DECK

Gov. Mike Foster's signing of a compact to allow the Jena Choctaws to build a casino in Vinton may go down as his most fateful gambling decision of the many he has made since he first claimed to be the anti-gambling governor. With the stroke of the gubernatorial pen, this once-roaming band of nomads has arrived, in style, at the doorstep of potentially the state's largest casino market. If approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the compact, with its 15.5 percent share of profits dedicated to state public education, would become a feature of future agreements with Louisiana tribes and beyond.

The Jena Choctaws' planned huge new casino and 500-room hotel just off I-10 near the Texas border could rearrange the whole southeast gambling market from the state's first racetrack slots parlor nearby to the two pair of riverboats on Lake Charles to the ambitious Bienville Casino report still seeking financing. But by far the new compact's most profound and threatening impact will be felt by the Coushatta tribe, which, for now, operates the state's largest casino just up the road in Kinder. Once the Jena cut them off at the Sabine, the Coushatta will go from dominating the market to struggling to hold on to a smaller piece of the action.

02017d:

Council of
Republicans for
Environmental
Advocacy

Dave B
Michael R
Wayne
COPY

www.crea-online.org

FAX COVER PAGE

Date: February 21, 2002

To: Eric Ruff

Fax: [REDACTED]

From: T. Galia

Notes: Here is the info we talked
about

Page one of 6
If you do not receive this fax in its entirety, please call [REDACTED]

Council of
Republicans for
Environmental
Advocacy



www.crea-online.org

Memorandum

To: Eric Ruff
From: Italia Federici *IF*
Date: February 21, 2001
Re: press clippings

Hi Eric:

Here are two articles that were forwarded to me today. You can see from one that Ralph Reed and his firm are involved somehow. From what I have been told, Ralph is working with Doolittle (don't know whether for free or as a paid consultant), and has been bending the ear of Karl Rove and possibly even the President about land-in-trust and gaming issues:

I am also hearing that Ralph has involved James Dobson and Phyllis Schlafly with this. Supposedly, Dobson is planning to run ads and they mention Gale by name. He is anti-gambling and is incensed about land being set aside for gaming or that could potentially become the site of gaming. He has slammed Tom DeLay and is not known for his even temper:

I was also told that the Conservative Action Team (CATs) members have been asked to sign a letter to Gale and the President slamming DOI for the California and Louisiana situations. I was told they have congressional 50 signatures. I tried to verify this. I called Tom Tancredo (friend of Gale and mine and member of CATs) to ask him what he knew. He is in Turkey until Sunday night. You may be able to call someone you know to find out what they have heard.

At any rate, it looks like Doolittle is not giving up and that the conservatives are being mobilized. The email with Ralph Reed's name indicates that he is engaged somehow.

Just wanted to give you a heads-up about what I've been hearing...

-Italia

[Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page]

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@██████████
 Sent: Friday, February 11, 2005 11:29 AM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: FW: ██████████

This is the ██████████. He is coming in on Monday. Given everything going on, can we possibly get him a meeting with Gale and Steve, so at least they can ██████████. Please let me know. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 Subject: ██████████

Hey - the reason ██████████ is coming up is because Foster declares that he is meeting with Norton on Monday. We better get him in there as well.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:30 AM
To: Italia Federici
Subject: RE: Public in uproar over compact/by Jim Beam, the American Press

Thanks Italia. You are wonderful.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@...]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:52 AM
To: abramoff@...
Subject: RE: Public in uproar over compact/by Jim Beam, the American Press

Hi Jack:

Steve knows you were not involved, but rather that you were trying to relay information through the articles, etc... He was traveling, had no information in front of him, and was asking more for clarification. I don't know yet who talked to him on Friday morning and gave him the impression that you were involved, but Steve did the right thing by picking up the phone and calling you directly to clear things up. I am talking with him today about a couple of things and will call you after we talk.

--Italia
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 9:08 PM
To: Italia@...
Subject: RE: Public in uproar over compact/by Jim Beam, the American Press
Did you chat with Steve to clear up his impression of my involvement?

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@...]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 6:54 PM
To: abramoff@...
Subject: RE: Public in uproar over compact/by Jim Beam, the American Press

I will make sure this is passed along...

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff@... [mailto:abramoff@...]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 1:47 PM
To: Italia@...
Subject: FW: Public in uproar over compact/by Jim Beam, the American Press
FYI

-----Original Message-----
Public in uproar over compact...
by Jim Beam, the American Press
A DECISION by Gov. Mike Foster to sign a secret agreement with the Jena Choctaws who want to open a gambling casino in Vinton has generated more public debate among local residents than we've seen in years.

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Saturday, March 02, 2002 11:40 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: Jena

The Jena have cancelled the meeting which was set up with the other tribes in order to find a compromise. It turns out that the chairman of the Jena tribe does not control it anyway. It is controlled by a very corrupt former official and an outsider under investigation from the FBI (or so I am told). Apparently the WSJ has been turned onto the story by Dobson, so this is about to blow (the corruption of the Jena). Our tribes previously want no part of this at this point, since this will no doubt damage them as well. What a total mess. It also came out in the press in Louisiana that Haley and Boggs are behind the Jena. I am told Roll Call has that one. The Jena told the Mississippi Choctaw (our guys) that they were told by the BIA on Friday that Interior is going to approve their compact and land in trust next Friday. I sure hope they were lied to.

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Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, February 28, 2002 11:23 AM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: fax for Holly in Steve Griles' office

Hi Italia. We just faxed this one to Steve as well. A lot going on. I hope this helps him.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, February 28, 2002 11:17 AM
 To: Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
 Subject: fax for Holly in Steve Griles' office

Call her first to tell her this is coming and then fax on white paper with no cover:

--- Steve,

I just got word that the bureaucracy inside Interior is going to recommend something to you guys related to the Jena situation which could create a serious backlash on the Hill. They are apparently going to view the land that the Jena tribe wishes to purchase as "initial reservation land", which is a prerogative normally reserved to Congress. Their recommendation, I am told, will be part of a general recommendation that the Secretary approves the compact and land for the Jenas.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 06, 2002 4:26 PM
To: Geriner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov); Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Fed Ex airbill for tomorrow

This is the fed ex from Coughatta with the contributions. Please track and let me know when it is here. When it does arrive, please xerox all checks, courier the CREA check to Italia and then hold them for me. Airbill #: 831677938842

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:GTALAW@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 1:10 PM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: RE: WSJ

Thanks Italia. I don't think they are going to call Julie, and perhaps not even mention her. Hard to tell from these guys, though. Clearly he got the info from inside Interior, because when I tried to get him off of it, he was firm (as if he had had it confirmed). None of my clients have chatted with him either. Weird. In any event, it'll be a slam on me I guess, but it'll blow over soon, I hope. Thanks for going to Signatures with Steve and Tom. Wish you had let me know, though, since I want to host you there! I'm getting you a Club Card for the place, which will have a private discount for you (don't tell others!). Regards.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff]
 Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 9:47 AM
 To: abramoffj@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff
 Subject: RE: WSJ

Thanks for the heads up. Do you know if they are going to call Julie for comment? Should I alert her? Also, thanks to you, we are running an ad on Monday in the Post in support of the Bush Balanced Energy Plan. We are going to highlight environmentalist support and we are also going to do something mean to Senator John Kerry. We have a video of him after he spoke against ANWR at Earth Day 2000, behind the staging area getting into a chauffeur driven SUV between several limousines. We are incorporating a still shot into the newspaper ad and directing people to our web site for the entire 1 minute video. We are asking people to call Kerry and tell him they are not impressed by his conservation ethic and not to filibuster ANWR and hold everyone in the Senate hostage. Or they can call Daschel and tell him not to be tricked by Kerry's PR stunts. We want a vote on the Bush Balanced Energy Plan ASAP...

We have transferred the video to beta for Hannity and Colmes, O'Reilly, etc... and we have help distributing from interested friends whom I'm sure you can guess.

I am letting EVERYONE know that you are the only reason we have the funding to do this. (FYI - I am asking some entities to chip in, but they won't be able to get me checks in hand for weeks, so without you we'd never have the ability to do this in time). I don't want to let them off the hook though if we can get them to join the fight! You know what I mean...

THANK YOU SO MUCH!

I had dinner at Signatures with Steve and Tom Sansonetti last week and it was a big hit...

--Italia
 -----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff [mailto:abramoffj@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff]
 Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 1:53 AM
 To: italia@ou=WDC|cn=Recipients|cn=abramoff
 Subject: WSJ

They are going with the piece they have been working on for weeks about the tribes getting more active politically. I think they are going to use the dinner at Julie's, though I again stressed that this had NOTHING to do with the tribes. they have the invite list, or think they do (they think Choctaw was there - I did not tell them anything to help them get it right, frankly). I have no idea what their spin is, but it's coming. Just wanted to give you a heads up. Hopefully it will pass to fish wrap soon.

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:laner@signatures-dc.com]
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 3:35 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
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: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 7:39 PM
To: laner@signatures-dc.com
Subject: RE: CREA

Did you speak with Jared on this at all? How much was the first one, cost wize?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@signatures-dc.com]
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:04 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
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@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:56 AM
To: laner@signatures-dc.com
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:laner@signatures-dc.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:41 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
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: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 3:56 PM
To: laner@signatures-dc.com
Subject: RE: CREA

Can you chat with Jared and find out what he has in mind? Then tell him you'll chat with me.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 18, 2002 8:13 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Stld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: crea

Probably OK, but let me know who and then I have to ask Italia. Technically we are representing the Tribes (Choctaw, Coushatta, Tigua) who have contributed \$50K to CREA. Let me know who and I'll call her.

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Stld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 18, 2002 9:10 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: crea

Not sure who is going from our team, but is it okay if whoever does (pat, duane) brings a potential client of ours? I am not sure they would go, but it would be nice to offer. What say you?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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@crea-online.org]
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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=USDA/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, September 04, 2002 2:08 PM
 To: 'Alia Federici'
 Subject: Tigua water issue

This sums it up. Thanks for all you do for my clients, the cause and me personally. Regards,

The Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo (Tiguas) faces a possible loss of significant land claim rights through circumstances beyond its control. Prompt intervention by the Department of the Interior would prevent this from happening. The circumstances arise from a matter of which you may be cognizant as the Chairperson of the Water Rights Working Group.

Current Situation: A stream adjudication for the Rio Grande River from Fort Quitman to the New Mexico state line is now before the Texas Natural Resources Commission. The United States Government, as title holder to the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, is a party to this proceeding. Under Texas law, the Commission may decide matters collateral to the water rights, which in this case could and probably will include the land claim. The Commission's adjudication of the land claim would be prejudicial to the tribe's ultimately prevailing on its very strong land claim. The federal government has already attempted to stay the water rights adjudication unsuccessfully in a case that has gone up to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Ysleta del Sur Land Claim: Ysleta del Sur was founded in 1682 near El Paso. In 1751 the king of Spain made a grant to the Indians of Ysleta pueblo of one league of land, thirty six square miles. The grant was protected by the Spanish and Mexican governments and subsequently recognized by the State of Texas in the 1854 Ysleta Relief Act. After the Americans took over in 1848, land speculators stole much of the Tigua land from them. The State of Texas subsequently ignored the Tigua's Spanish land grant and title to the land. Much of present day El Paso is built on land taken from the Tigua.

The Albuquerque BIA office is looking at the land claim, but appears to be operating on the assumption that there is no urgency to come to a conclusion. We believe their preliminary assessment is very favorable.

The water rights issue is being handled by Chris Rich in the Salt Lake City DOI Solicitor's Office; he is preparing motions to contest the Commission's jurisdiction, but we question whether this will be effective given our perception that the Commission will find against Indians regardless of the issue. The Commission may well know the significance of what they are doing as it might apply to the land claim, which covers a significant portion of the City of El Paso.

Recommended Solution: The U.S. Government needs to institute federal court land claim litigation on behalf of the Tiguas as soon as possible. If the land claim were in the process of being adjudicated in federal court, there would be a stronger argument for that federal court to stay the proceedings in the Texas administrative stream/water rights proceeding pending the outcome of the land claim adjudication.

The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo was forced to close its casino because of legal proceedings instituted by the State of Texas to enforce a provision of federal law prohibiting gaming by the Pueblo, which provision the State had insisted on as a condition of federal recognition of the Pueblo. If the State now succeeds in prejudicing the Pueblo's land claim, the Pueblo will have been deprived on its last means of achieving economic independence.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 7:21 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: Cherokees

The Chief of the Cherokees 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. It would really help. Thanks so much!!!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 7:49 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE:██████████

Super. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:45 PM
To: abramoffj██████████
Subject: RE:██████████

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██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:22 PM
To: italia██████████
Subject: ██████████

The Chief of the ██████████ is meeting with Steve Gilles 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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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an
 email to postmaster: [REDACTED]

Italia Federici

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 3:23 PM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: For Italia/Interior - Important

Importance: High

Bay Mills Memo.doc Land Settlement Claims
 for the... S. 2986.doc

I hate to keep bugging you about all of this.

but there is now ANOTHER
 Michigan casino problem making its way to Steve. Perhaps you could get this
 to him and nip it in the bud before it becomes a bigger problem? Thanks
 Italia!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 9:45 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: For Italia/Interior - Important
 Importance: High

<<Bay Mills Memo.doc>> <<Land Settlement Claims for the Bay Mills and
 Sault Ste Marie Tribes.doc>> <<S. 2986>> I've attached three documents

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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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=████████████████████/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:13 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: FW: Hearing update
Importance: High

Sorry to keep bugging you, but this thing (the Michigan Bay Mills casino scam) is getting totally out of control. They have lobbyists who are lobbying very hard, but this is just adding a casino in a most inappropriate way. If I get you something on this (next emails) can you forward all of this to Steve so he can kill this? it is vital to Saginaw Chippewa that this ends. thanks so much Italia!

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:09 PM
To: DCMontgomery
Subject: FW: Hearing update
Importance: High

Jack, this is a disaster. Aurene Martin was there for BIA. Horrible. Kevin, we need to go in and see Farley -----Original Message-----

From: Pierce, Brigham (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:03 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Hearing update
Importance: High

The st. Marie, bay mills, and the DoI have to submit an agreement to pat zell by tuesday at noon. If they come to a uniform agreement on amendments to the legislation, the chairman will expedite it through, if not, they are just spinning their wheels. Inouye emphasized the importance of the DoI feeling good about everything, if they don't feel good about it, then its dead.

Italia Federici

From: abramoff [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: abramoff [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: abramoff [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-IC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:25 AM
 To: ECCoushatta
 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]>
 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 initial reservation for the Jena Band of Choctaws, which now is based in Rapides, LaSalle 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

we will add more comments other than providing the additional information they requested."

The letter, signed by acting deputy regional director Howard Bemer, indicates the Police Jury will be notified of the decision to approve or deny the tribe's application, but it gives no date. Mitchell said he also has not been told when to expect an answer.

"But we're still positive about it," he added.

Likewise, the town of Logansport will issue its response, which Mayor Dennis Freeman expects to be brief. Freeman said the town has little to add since the property is located outside the corporate limits.

DeSoto Parish Tax Assessor Jimmy Stephens said the parish would lose \$189 annually in property taxes currently levied on the property. The 53.8 acres is owned by H.K. Stanley's Alexandria-based Machal Inc. Stanley was the financial backer in the Jena Choctaws' effort to put a \$300 million casino in Vinton. That application was denied in March.

Logansport officials already have shown their support for the project with a resolution. Freeman said he previously indicated the town's willingness to extend gas and sewer service to the site, which is about a mile east of the corporate limits.

It's also possible, Freeman said, the town would consider annexing the property between the corporate limits and proposed casino site. The reservation land itself cannot be annexed because once it is taken into trust it will become a sovereign nation.

"I would expect we would annex out to (state Highway)-191 because that would put us in a position to service the infrastructure on any other business development in that area," Freeman said. And while other DeSoto organizations also have noted their support for the casino, opposition is mounting among governmental bodies and organizations in the Shreveport-Bossier City area. The loss of local and state tax revenue often has been cited as the reason. Indian casinos are exempt from paying state and federal taxes, unlike the riverboat casinos.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@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: RE: 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:cpetras@]
 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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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 (AstDir-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.

DeVuyst says the tribe approached him, but some have wondered if the Governor is also involved to make sure the state gets a share of the profits. Engler has ties to three businessmen investing in the casino.

"I have not talked directly with the Governor, but I do believe he has made a statement that we do need a compact now," DeVuyst says. "The fact I believe he's supporting this is encouragement."

A spokesperson for Engler told FOX 17 News she isn't aware of any push from the Governor on this issue.

The Gun Lake Tribe didn't want to comment on these new developments.

The casino will likely be up for a vote next week. A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate yesterday, but it will only be discussed there if it passes in the House on Thursday.

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Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Wednesday, December 11, 2002 9:16 AM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: gun lake

Hi Jack:

Can you call me about this on my cell [REDACTED]

--Thanks,
 --Italia

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED])
 Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 11:01 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: gun lake

As you recall we discussed stopping this Michigan casino project by rejecting their Environmental Impact Statement. I was told tonight that Aurene Martin has been telling people that their EIS is the best she has ever seen. I am also told that she is too close to the lobbyists helping to get this casino approved. Just wanted to pass this on as it is greatly concerning. Please let me know if you can any info on this. thanks.

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Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [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 (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)

3:4
 3 (C) (N)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 4:14 PM
 To: 'creal' ██████████
 Subject: RE: FW: Gun Lake: Senator expects casino to pass - Holland Sentinel

Thanks. I had lunch with Steve today, but we did not really chat about it. Will you be at the party tonight?

-----Original Message-----
 From: creal ██████████ (mailto:creal██████████@██████████)
 Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 12:51 PM
 To: abramoffj ██████████
 Subject: Re: FW: Gun Lake: Senator expects casino to pass - Holland Sentinel

Just want to let you know I got this and I will call you. Thanks On Thu, 12 Dec 2002 09:19:08 -0500 abramoffj ██████████ wrote:

> Another Indian casino making its way to
 > Interior. The R's in the delegation
 > are doing a letter to Gail opposing this. they
 > are very unhappy about
 > Engler pushing this. they feel he has set
 > himself up a deal for when he
 > leaves office, and are really fuming. You
 > might want to let Steve know this
 > is coming too. Basically, the way they can
 > deal with the whole Michigan
 > thing is to say that there are too many casinos
 > and too many others trying
 > and they have to assess the impact of all of
 > this and are putting a
 > moratorium. Let's discuss.

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Pierce, Brigham (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 > Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 9:02 AM
 > To: DCSaginaw
 > Subject: Gun Lake: Senator expects casino to
 > pass - Holland Sentinel
 >
 > Web posted Thursday, December 12, 2002
 >
 > Senator expects casino to pass
 > The state Senate plans to vote today on an
 > Indian gaming pact that would
 > pave the way for a casino in eastern Allegan
 > County.
 > By DAVE YONKHAN >
 > Staff writer
 > The state Senate plans to vote today on an
 > Indian gaming pact that would
 > pave the way for a casino in eastern Allegan
 > County.
 > State Sen. Bill Van Regenmorter, R-Georgetown
 > Township, said that if a 56-47
 > vote in the House on Tuesday is any indication,
 > it should pass.
 > The House sent us a pretty disappointing

> message when they approved it with
> a pretty significant amount of votes," Van
> Regenmorter said. "It's going to
> be tough."
> West Michigan legislators have unsuccessfully
> spent the past week attempting
> to block the measure from passing. It was
> introduced in both chambers by
> lame duck legislators term-limited out of
> office.
> The resolution encourages Gov. John Engler to
> negotiate a compact with the
> Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of the
> Pottawatomi Indians, also known as the
> Gun Lake Band. The 190,000-square-foot casino
> would be operated by the Gun
> Lake tribe in Hopkins Township.
> Approval of a resolution only requires a
> majority vote from those present
> and voting, not a majority of the chamber. The
> House vote went directly to
> the governor and did not need Senate approval.
> Attorneys for the tribe and Engler have given
> preliminary approval to
> language in the compact.
> The Gun Lake Band was recognized as a sovereign
> Indian nation by the federal
> government in 2000. It's still waiting for the
> federal government to place
> the land for the casino in a trust.
> If Engler doesn't finalize negotiations, it
> will likely go before Gov.-elect
> Jennifer Granholm because it doesn't contain a
> sunset clause, according to
> Van Regenmorter.
> Granholm hasn't taken a stance on the issue. A
> spokeswoman for her
> transition team said that it is one of a number
> of lame duck issues before
> the Legislature and the current administration,
> and that Granholm hasn't
> considered what she will do.
> "The Gun Lake casino will bring more than 4,300
> badly needed jobs, local
> supplier purchases, local and state revenue
> sharing, economic development
> and a proven recreational attraction," tribal
> chief D.K. Sprague said in a
> written statement.
> The tribe expects 2.9 million customers a year
> would visit the casino and
> spend about \$31.2 million in the area, he said.
>
>
>
>

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> that any review,

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto=redacted@ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, December 13, 2002 2:53 PM
To: Italia Federal office
Subject: Michigan Indian gambling expansion we are hoping to stop



Fax Image.TIF (164 KB)

Can you pass this on to Steve directly? Thanks!

GTG-E000080770

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 16, 2002 12:10 PM
To: 'Pager - Susan R'
Subject: Italia Federici

She heads CREA (Council for Republican Environmental advocacy). They have a partnership with the Teamsters on ANWR and other enviro issues. They are getting ready to launch a huge effort in some key target states and wants to give a 10 minute briefing to Karl on it. I am raising/have raised a bunch of \$ for them. might be worth his hearing her. They know each other. Can I have her contact you directly? I will not be in this meeting. thanks.

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 6:08 PM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: GUN LAKE: Rep. Rogers Letter

Thanks

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 4:42 PM
 To: italie [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: GUN LAKE: Rep. Rogers Letter

Here is more for Steve.

<<Fax Image.TIF>>

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Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 3:32 PM
 To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: EIS Review

Thanks and good idea.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 11:10 AM
 To: italie [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: EIS Review

Hi Italia. Here is our quick attack on the EIS. We'll see what we can do on the water issue as well. can you get this to Steve? Thanks.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 10:16 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: EIS Review

Here's a quicky for our friends. We're looking into water usage (drinking).

waste flow) right now. I got the idea in Choctaw because they are having all types of problems with EPA regarding this.....maybe we should try to tick EPA on the proposal.

<<GUN LAKE -- EIS Review.DOC>>

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Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [Italia ██████████]
 Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 10:19 AM
 To: abramoffj ██████████
 Subject: RE: Gun Lake: Hoekstra: Allegan casino is a bad idea - Holland Se ntinel

great!

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

From: abramoffj ██████████ [mailto:abramoffj ██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, December 19, 2002 6:58 PM
 To: italia ██████████
 Subject: FW: Gun Lake: Hoekstra: Allegan casino is a bad idea-- Holland Se ntinel

This is very good. With this extension, they can now kill it by ruling that the EIS shows they should not move forward.

Interior Department to Extend Public Comment Period on Proposed Allegan County Casino
 Public Comment Period will be Extended 45 days

WASHINGTON - Today officials from the Department of Interior's, Bureau of Indian Affairs contacted Congressman Pete Hoekstra to notify him that his request to extend the public comment period on the Gun Lake Tribe's proposed Environmental Assessment for a casino in Wayland Township in Allegan County would be extended for an additional 45 days.

An Interior Department official stated that a formal response to Hoekstra's December 12th letter, which requested the extension, would be provided before the Department publishes the notice in the Federal Register on either December 24 or December 26.

The Department originally provided for a 15-day public comment period that is due to expire on December 26. Asking the community to comment on over 150 pages of technical data between Thanksgiving and Christmas was disappointing," said Hoekstra, R-Holland. "This proposal is very complex and controversial and the public deserves the right to have an appropriate amount of time to thoroughly review and comment on the impacts of a casino in West Michigan."

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 2:41 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Mashpee Indians (Cape Cod Massachusetts area)

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici (mailto:italia@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 2:06 PM
 To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Mashpee Indians (Cape Cod Massachusetts area)

Hi Jack:

I will find out asap. Also, I will call [REDACTED] to see if there is any time on your schedule before I meet with Barry.

Thanks!
 --Italia

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 12:20 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Mashpee Indians (Cape Cod Massachusetts area)

Hi Italia. Is there any way you might be able to discreetly find out whether this recognition is being held by one of our guys, or one of the bureaucrats they want me to help, but I don't want to get into something which might cause any problems for Steve or the Secretary. Thanks so much! hope you had a great holiday. We have to get together!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)
 Sent: Friday, December 06, 2002 4:21 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Mashpee Indians (Cape Cod Massachusetts area)

Wampanoag is the collective name of the indigenous people of southeastern Massachusetts and eastern Rhode Island. The current Wampanoag population consists of several tribes, who base their membership upon closely maintained kinship ties to the aboriginal communities. The two best known groups are those of Mashpee on Cape Cod and those of Gay Head (Aquinnah) on Martha's Vineyard, which is the only Wampanoag group recognized by the federal government. The Mashpee have never been recognized federally as they refused to give up certain rights as the Aquinnah did when they negotiated their recognition.

For 3 years, the Mashpee have been on the "ready to go active" list at Interior though they have been skipped over for consideration several times. The tribe sued and won the right to go on the active consideration list in the DISTRICT Court and has prevailed through 4 appeals. Last June, the tribe was very near a decision when the Department of Interior received a stay. As a result, they are frozen until February when a Court will hear Interior's appeal. They are a reasonable tribe and have tried to negotiate to no avail. The tribe believes that a bureaucrat in the Solicitor General's office has unfairly held them up. I believe there is a history that dates back years. This is a legitimate tribe and has broad bi-partisan support in the state and at the Federal level.

SENCREA 10'

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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:italia.██████████]
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

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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SENCREA 10/04 000062

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 7:07 PM
To: 'Rodney Lane'
Subject: RE: Jared Carpenter called - CREA

Get her to call Jared and then if we need to do so, we'll quantify it and get a client to sponsor. By the way, I have still not had that reimbursement situation straightened, unless Sigs and Stars are handling this directly with the office. by reimbursement, I mean the clients paying for my meals. Are they taking care of it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane.██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 6:20 PM
To: abramoffj.██████████
Subject: RE: Jared Carpenter called - CREA

A reception for 50-60 people could run thousands easily. This is all of the information I currently have at this point.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj.██████████ [mailto:abramoffj.██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 6:17 PM
To: rodneylane.██████████
Subject: RE: Jared Carpenter called - CREA

I hope not. have her call him and start discussing prices. If he says "it's on Jack" or something, tell her to tell him that she does not know about that, but will check. then we'll deal with it. by the way, how much does it cost?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rodney Lane [mailto:rodneylane.██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 5:14 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: FW: Jared Carpenter called - CREA

Are we paying for this one? It's awfully big.

-----Original Message-----
From: Laura Lippy [mailto:lauralippy.██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 3:38 PM
To: Rodney Lane
Subject: Jared Carpenter called - CREA

Wants to book a reception @ Sigs for 50-60. Should I have him call Eric?
██████████

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Italia Federici

From: [REDACTED]
 Sent: [REDACTED], 2003 4:21 PM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: Jena emergency

[REDACTED] just returned from Interior where he was told by the BIA (Aurene Martin and Mike Rosett among others) that they were going to approve the Jena compact and land in trust!! This is a total disaster as you can imagine. Can you call Steve asap and try to get him to stop this. The land these Jena are trying to game on was historical [REDACTED] your client [REDACTED] land!!!! Please call me as soon as you can.

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 04, 2003 10:48 AM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: BIA issue

Hi there. can you check in with Interior to see what is happening on this? if the BIA sends out a negative effects letter, we are toast. Thanks so much!

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SEN/DEA 1004 000000

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 24, 2003 7:14 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: help??!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 8:08 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: help??!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 5:29 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: help??!!

Get her money

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
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

GTG-E000105196

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 27, 2003 7:50 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: contribution for CREA from Coughatta

mail to postmaster: [REDACTED]

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, January 31, 2003 4:55 PM
To: italia [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: COST SHARE

How did this happen? I thought Steve was going to take care of this. This really screws our tribes and good policy. Ouch.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 31, 2003 4:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: COST SHARE

BIA told the committee that no tribe can take advantage of the school cost share program.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

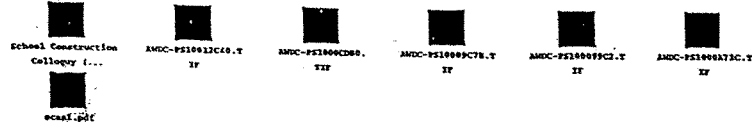
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Italia Federici

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, January 29, 2003 5:21 PM
To: italia [REDACTED]
Subject: urgent interior matter

Importance: High



The House-Senate Interior Appropriations Subcommittees have been ironing out their differences. We have \$3 million in the Omnibus for Tribal school construction program. This program would allow tribes that are willing and able to cost share 50% or more of their school to receive the remainder of the federal dollars to complete construction from the Feds ASAP, rather than waiting 10, 20, or 30 years for the government to complete construction. This provision 1) saves the government money; 2) builds tribal schools more quickly; and 3) allows willing and able tribes to contribute to their own infrastructure. Clearly, all are Republican goals.

We have several clients interested in using this money. In FY 03 (Omnibus), the Saginaw Chippewa (see attached letters); FY 04, The Mississippi Choctaw and Louisiana Coushatta. The Hopi Tribe of Arizona has also expressed an interest in using this money within the 5-year demonstration programs time frame.

Some appropriations clerks are fighting this saying there is "no interest." This is completely untrue (see attached letters). The Dem Staffer on Interior appropriations (Peter Keifhaber) is going to call Jim McDivitt DAS for Indian Affairs to see if there is a tribe that can use the "cost share" this year. He needs to be told to say "yes." He's received enough letters to indicate that (see attached). If he says 'no'he's lying. The other problem is Jeanette Hanna, over at BIA. She's trying to kill the cost share. She successfully knocked out the earmark last year and is actively trying to kill this language that MANY members -- House and Senate -- asked to be included in the final FY 03 bill, including Senate Chairman Conrad Burns and House Chairman Charlie Taylor. She needs to be dealt with.

Here are the letters sent in support that Interior has received.

- 1.) Camp, Levin, Stabenow Letter to Interior -- Saying Saginaw can take advantage (Dated January 24, 2003)
- 2.) Chairman Hansen letter --waiving jurisdiction (Dated April 15, 2002)
- 3.) Byrd Response Letter to Senators Burns and Dorgan (Dated February 20, 2002)
- 4.) Native American Caucus Support Letter from Reps. Kildee and Hayworth (Dated February 13, 2002)
- 5.) House Appropriations Members -- Chairman Charlie Taylor, Reps Doolittle, Kingston, Wicker, Tiahrt (Dated March 18, 2002)
- 6.) Senators Burns and Dorgan Letter (Dated February 11, 2002)
- 7.) Senators Burns and Stabenow Colloquy (Omnibus Bill)

<<School Construction Colloquy (Burns and Stabenow).pdf>>

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 <<Fax Image.TIF>> <<Fax Image.TIF>> <<scan1.pdf>>

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Thoughts?

--Todd

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 10:54 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: sorry i had to rush off the phone today

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:50 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: real fight brewing in Louisiana

We just found out that Billy Tauzin is now supporting the Jena effort to put the casino in [REDACTED] district! Word is that one of Tauzin's relatives or close friends has a cut of the casino. This will be a PR disaster as you can imagine, especially if for some reason Interior agrees to approve this deal. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] (the other R's in the delegation) are furious beyond belief. This is going to get really ugly. Please let Steve know about this. Thanks so much Italia!

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SENCREA 10/04 000071

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] 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██████████]
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██████████]
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.
██████████

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] 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██████████]
 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██████████]
 Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 4:25 PM
 To: italia██████████
 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 Aurene 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 Aurene 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."

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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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 5:35 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); King, Kevin (Child-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

SENCR0EA 10/04 000075

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 10, 2003 10:53 AM
To: Italia Federici office
Subject: FW: Reminder

This is the biggie for Saginaw Chippewa.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 10, 2003 11:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Reminder

I hope Italia got in touch with Griles about our cost share problem...it's going to be discussed at tomorrows internal meeting.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpelras@...]
Sent: Monday, March 10, 2003 11:32 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Reminder

Just a quick reminder that BIA, New Mexico is meeting with Aureno Martin and her legal counsel tomorrow on the school cost-share. Also, the Zibwing road data will be here in 10 minutes. Only some of the actual cost data is available from the county road commission. The remainder will have to come from the museum, which I highly doubt has road cost data. Perhaps it is listed in the line item inside the museum folder you have.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 17, 2003 10:55 AM
To: 'Rodney Lane'
Subject: RE: CREA party

We have to comp it, but submit the receipt to me and we'll put it on the SagChip bill. Also, I did not realize they wanted this on a Thursday. From now on if they want an event, we have to tell them, if they ask for a Thursday, that they need to chose another night. As it turns out, this Thursday might be really slow because of the war.

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

From: Rodney Lane (mailto:jane.██████████@dc.gov)
Sent: Monday, March 17, 2003 11:49 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: CREA party

Thursday, March 20, 2003 - Reception
CREA
50 to 75pp @ 6 to 9 pm; Window & Board Rooms
Jared Carpenter ██████████

I'm finding out what they have pre-ordered for this party and getting a sense from Erica as to what they expect. Given that this party is on a Thursday (generally on of our best potential evenings) and these guys will be taking the room for 3 hours (which I'm guessing will amount to a few thousand bucks) we are going to take a pretty big hit if comped. It would be nice if we can capitalize on some or all of that revenue. Did you already tell Italia that we would comp it?

Italia Federici

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 11:02 PM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: This is a problem...

██████████
 <<AWDC-PS1001421B.TIF>>

The lobbyists pulled a fast one here. You should give Steve a heads up. Most of the delegation and most of the state are still very much against this. We HAVE to stop this. It totally kills Coughatta.

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

From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 4:26 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Mike Scanlon (E-mail); Chris Cathcart (E-mail)
 Subject: This is a problem...

This letter went out today. According to the LA in the [REDACTED] office, the COS suggested changes and [REDACTED] himself said he wanted to sign it. A former COS asked [REDACTED] to do this personally. There are statements in this letter that directly contradict former [REDACTED] statements so I really can't understand why he signed it (other than [REDACTED] the former COS). I have sent to [REDACTED] for him to take this up with [REDACTED]. I am working on a situation. [REDACTED]'s office is TICKED. Am waiting to talk to [REDACTED] office. Will keep you posted.

<<AWDC-PS1001421B.TIF>>

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 6:41 AM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Subject: RE: Mashpee for Griles

Hi Italia. I'll get you the info on Sag Chip and Jena asap. . On Mashpee, should I have the documents faxed? Please let me know where. Thanks so much.

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 12:24 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Mashpee for Griles

Hi Jack:

I will call Steve tonight - not a problem even though it's late b/c he's in Florida with his two sons for a quick break - theirs from school. The attachments are un-openable. They are attached as text only, not as actual attachments...

Re: Saginaw - what is the current status?

re: Jena - can you get me the most complete list of Congressional opposition to Jena that you have? I heard that there was at least one congressman in support... Need to make sure that congressional opposition - the most update info and their activities - is seen by all.

By the way...CREA event at Signatures on Thursday evening!

--Italia

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@abramoff.com]
 Sent: Monday, March 17, 2003 10:46 PM
 To: italia
 Subject: FW: Mashpee for Griles
 Importance: High

Italia, this regards the tribe in Massachusetts and is quite urgent. Can you read this and let me know if you think this is something we can raise urgently with Steve? It seems like an incredibly reasonable approach and would benefit Interior, but we have to get to him. can we?

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

From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, March 17, 2003 6:10 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: Mashpee for Griles
 Importance: High

The basic argument for Griles follows. In addition, three briefing papers are attached that should be sent along. The first provides a history of the Tribe's actions in federal court. The second highlights the Tribe's dealings with the Department of Interior. The third outlines the significant Tribe's history and the compelling reasons why the Mashpee should be federally recognized.

It is unfortunate we were unable to meet today to discuss. Please let me know if you have

any questions or concerns.

The Department of the Interior Should Suspend Their Appeal in Federal Court

The Department of the Interior should suspend their appeal in federal court. Procedurally, DOI's appeal is on shaky ground. The Department failed to file a timely or proper motion for reconsideration. First, the Department's January 9th "Motion for Reconsideration and For Leave to File Supporting Memorandum on January 15, 2002" was filed one day after the January 8th due date. The Department is attempting to claim that December 24th was a federal holiday, but precedence does not support this argument. In any event, even if it had been filed on the due date, the January 9th filing was insufficient to constitute a motion for reconsideration. Instead, the filing was a mere placeholder - declaring the Department's intent to seek reconsideration and stating that the grounds for seeking reconsideration would be subsequently filed. The January 9th filing thus did not constitute a valid motion for reconsideration, and can not toll the time to file an appeal. Therefore, it is likely that the Department's appeal will be ruled untimely and will be ~~dismissed~~.

If the Department loses the appeal, District Court Judge James Robertson is poised to enforce compliance with his previous orders. This would likely mean that the Department would have fewer than 2 weeks to reach a decision on the Mashpee's federal recognition application. To avert this, the Mashpee are willing to provide the Department additional time to reach its decision provided a strict timeline is part of the settlement. This is the best scenario for all involved parties.

<<Mashpee Fed Appeal Tlk Pts.doc>> <<Mashpee Wampanoag Indian Tribe
Tlk Pts for DOI.doc>> <<Facts and Historical Events of the Mashpee.doc>>

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, March 24, 2003 3:22 PM
 To: Italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: Re: School Cost Share

Phew. Thanks!
 Jack Abramoff

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

From: Italia Federici <italia [REDACTED]>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Mon Mar 24 15:24:41 2003
 Subject: RE: School Cost Share

Don't worry. He just came back with what their line was and I got him the right info. He knew they would say something we disagreed with.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] (mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED])
 Sent: Monday, March 24, 2003 3:20 PM
 To: italia [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: School Cost Share

Italia, what's going on? Is Steve buying the line from the BIA?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, March 24, 2003 2:31 PM
 To: 'Italia Federici'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: School Cost Share
 Importance: High

BIA is citing section 5212 of the Tribally-Controlled Schools Act of 1988 as their reference on why the Saginaw are not eligible to receive money. This language was put into the cost share provision in the Omnibus (pages 232 and 233 of the omnibus). The language citation under this section says NOTHING about being a school on the list, prior to 1988, or whatever they are coming up with. etc.

Remember, when you talk to them to say that this is a demonstration program...it was created to be innovative. We also have the Senate colloquy between Senators Burns (chairman of Interior) and Stabenow saying the tribe is eligible (shows intent). We also have the letter from the MI delegation claiming responsibility for the earmark.

The definition given under this section is the following (and works precisely with our language). I've attached longer versions of each cited code provision:

(9) Tribally controlled school.

The term "tribally controlled school" means a school that--

- (A) is operated by an Indian tribe or a tribal organization, enrolling students in kindergarten through grade 12, including a preschool;
- (B) is not a local educational agency; and

(C) is not directly administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<< File: Westlaw_Document_13_19_00_3256.doc >> << File: Westlaw_Document_13_19_33_1992.doc >>

Amsterdam Atlanta Boca Raton Boston Chicago Denver
Fort Lauderdale Los Angeles Miami New Jersey New York
Orlando Philadelphia Phoenix Tallahassee Tyson's Corner
Washington, D.C. West Palm Beach Wilmington Zurich

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From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, March 28, 2003 1:36 PM
 To: 'Itafia Federici'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: school cost-share
 Importance: High

Itafia, this situation at Interior is getting ridiculous. They are so wrong in their interpretation that it's silly. I don't want to have to go to Secretary Norton to get this done, but we may have to have a meeting. I don't want to do this, but they are leaving us very few options.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, March 28, 2003 2:28 PM
 To: 'Chris'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: school cost-share
 Importance: High

You need to call them back and discuss the following with them:

* BIA is citing section 5212 of the Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988 as their reference on why the Saginaw are not eligible to receive money. This language was put into the cost share provision in the Omnibus (pages 232 and 233 of the omnibus). The language citation under this section says NOTHING about being a school on "the list," prior to 1988, or whatever they are coming up with, etc. You need to tell them that their tribal lawyers need to do their research instead of making BLATANTLY FALSE statements.

* The definition given under this section (Section 2511 9 (A)(B)(C) is the following and works precisely with our language. I've attached longer versions of each cited code provision for you to whack them with. I've also attached the Colloquy between the [redacted] and [redacted]. Not only is the language clear, we inserted a colloquy for the sole purpose of avoiding career employee interpretations.

(9) Tribally controlled school

The term "tribally controlled school" means a school that--

(A) is operated by an Indian tribe or a tribal organization, enrolling students in kindergarten through grade 12, including a preschool;

(B) is not a local educational agency; and

(C) is not directly administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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

From: Chris [mailto:chris@petras.com]
 Sent: Friday, March 28, 2003 2:19 PM

5/17/2004

GTG-EQ0002579

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 the [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 ALERT.doc>> 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];
 jlcoin@aol.com; james.starr@ [REDACTED]; jeriannethomas@ [REDACTED];
 migae@ [REDACTED]; jmccoy@ [REDACTED];
 lcorneil3@ [REDACTED]; rthomasi@ [REDACTED]; Roland Johnson
 (Roland Johnson); ttburris@ [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

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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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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Friday, April 11, 2003 12:24 PM
 To: italia@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: BIA

Any idea?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, April 11, 2003 10:28 AM
 To: DCChoctaw
 Subject: BIA

Aurene Martin told Sandia Governor that she thinks White House is soon going to name someone else to be BIA Asst Secy. Anyone else heard that?

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@ [REDACTED]
 Sent: Thursday, April 10, 2003 5:28 PM
 To: boulangerT@ [REDACTED]; kafia@ [REDACTED]; nafiacrea@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Letter from Interior to Camp

Italia, this is unbelievable! Steve promised me that they would do a letter to the chairmen and send it to me first. Can you find out what's up with this? Should I call him?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, April 10, 2003 4:11 PM
 To: Italia Federici (E-mail); Italia Federici (E-mail 2)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Letter from Interior to Camp
 Importance: High

<< File: Fax Image.TIF >> Hi Italia,

I think Griles would like to know that BIA is sending out letters denying the release of cost share funds to the Saginaw before the clarification letter to [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] has been received in addressed.

I sure you will find this interesting.

--Todd

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

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Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@██████████
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 12:09 PM
To: italia@██████████
Subject: RE: FYI - from the Detroit news...

Are you around on cell to chat? We were just handed a major screw job from DoI, totally opposite of what Steve told me on the phone. Saginaw does not know yet, but might even terminate our contract over this. I am dumbfounded. Don't do anything until we chat.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@██████████]
Sent: Monday, April 28, 2003 11:06 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: FYI - from the Detroit news...

Thanks Jack! I am compiling all of the press and will get copies of everything over to you when we are done. The announcement on the 16th was picked up in 17 states (Boston Globe, Philly Inquirer, Las Vegas Sun, Seattle Post Intelligencer, Ft Lauderdale Sun Sentinel, Minnesota Star Tribune, etc...big, widely read papers!). In PA and NY, television stations carried the events we did with members. The Wall Street Journal said they would write something after our ed-board meeting went so well...

By the way, have the checks from the ██████████ been sent yet by any chance? Now that we are back from our trip people are sending me invoices and want reimbursements, etc. The bills are starting to pile up I really want to pay you back, and I definitely don't want to make the Teamsters vendors wait for payment. That would not be well. All of the Teamsters commitments are taken care of and I am worried that if we don't get our stuff paid and out of the way, they will not want to go back out to the states with us. Also, CREA's environmental board members want reimbursements. I don't want them to be apprehensive about going into the states with us again. They did such a great job this time out. The Teamsters are talking about us all going to Michigan over memorial day weekend to do events for the administration's Clear Skies Initiative.

email to postmaster@██████████

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@██████████
 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: abramoff@██████████
 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>>

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From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, May 07, 2003 9:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: recommendations

let's see how much the gang comes back with for political money needs. Then we can determine appropriate amounts for supportive groups. I think the amount should be meaningful.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 11:24 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: recommendations

OK, but don't make it so small that it is meaningless. What do you think, amount wise?

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 6:44 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: recommendations

question is do you want them to give political money or this money. I say a smaller contribution to CREA and the others now, another contribution later and more political money now.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 12:46 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: recommendations

Since CREA is Norton/Giles and NCPPR is DeLay I would say that it's probably worth it, no?

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 12:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: recommendations

That is a lot of dough!

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 11:56 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: recommendations

Put in CREA for \$50K if you can and same for National Center for Public Policy Research (DeLay request). See if you can put in the DeLay Foundation as well.

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 10:54 AM
To: DCAguaCaliente
Subject: recommendations
Importance: High

We will be putting together a set of recommendations for political donations for the Agua Caliente. For those on the

team who have been working on their issues, will you please send me your recommendations for House and Senate members who you think need the Tribe's help. Please include the name of the campaign, the address, the amount requested and a brief description of which committees the Member serves on.

Please have your recommendations to me by Friday at noon.

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

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Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [italia@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, May 12, 2003 11:34 AM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: sensitive matter

thanks

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

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
 Sent: Monday, May 12, 2003 8:50 AM
 To: italia@██████████
 Subject: sensitive matter

Hi Italia. I should not raise the following with Steve. There is a DOI IG in Louisiana named Larry Gill. A few years ago, he showed up at Choctaw around the time of chief martin's re-election and started to infer that there was some proper basis of a corruption probe, which was used by the Chief's opponents. They lost and of course there was nothing, not even a real probe. Just a political fire drill because of this guy Gill. Now, it is election time again, and guess who is back? Larry Gill.

In the past, Gill set up in a local motel and at the country library. Then, Choctaws intent on disruptions sent fliers out intimating that the IG was here to investigate tribal wrongdoing. Last week, one of the candidates from the Pearl River Community notified Jim Clancy, Choctaw tribal AG, that Mr. Gill was once again in the area, "talking to people and taking complaints" about tribal employees who are "working at the Chief's campaign headquarters" on tribal time. Again, this seems totally politically motivated.

Worse, there is now a reason for the IG to focus on the Coushatta elections. Last week, someone broke into the tribal office and stole all paperwork related to the recall of our ally William Worfel. They were looking for and got a list of names of people who had signed onto previous recall efforts, in an attempt to get William this time. The Coushattas want Gill to oversee their elections. It is a perfect situation where Steve could direct Gill out of Mississippi and to focus on Coushatta. It is urgent and our friends are desperate. Can you call him?

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Monday, May 12, 2003 11:28 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: FW: BIA has rescinded all Special Law Enforcement Commissions

This is unbelievable! Steve needs to fire Aurene and clean out that place. Can you imagine if they don't turn this one around? Please get this to him if you can. It's from Choctaw. PS: 'great' to see you tonight!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Nell Rogers (mailto:NellRogers@
 Sent: Monday, May 12, 2003 4:04 PM
 To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: BIA has rescinded all Special Law Enforcement Commissions

Hi, this is a heads-up to you both on a pretty important matter. The BIA, nationally, has rescinded all Special Law Enforcement Commissions for tribes, with no forewarning. These are the commissions which makes tribal police federally commissioned officers and, here at Choctaw, makes it possible for Choctaw officers to arrest non-Indians for federal crimes to include traffic and DUI violations. This means, because of some quirks in Mississippi law, that non-Indian DUI violators can not be arrested by either tribal or state law enforcement, even if death or injury occurs. Also, the assistant US attorney has advised that immediately the tribe can no longer use the federal magistrate system which has been established for the reservation. Apparently, there was no forewarning, just a letter to the tribes and there is no real substantive reason given. This has the potential for very serious law enforcement issues, given the beginning of the vacation season and the opening of the water park, beach, and Hard Rock, all of which will have lots of non-Indian visitors. PM has a draft letter to Secretary Norton which I will be faxing shortly to you. I expect that he will send the letter but he wanted to get you into the loop. Thanks

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From: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, May 29, 2003 2:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Wire transfer info for CREA

routing number:
account number:

Citibank
PO Box 18967
Washington, DC 20036-0967

Linsey C. Crisler
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
crisler@gtlaw.com
202.533.2334

Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Sunday, June 08, 2003 1:09 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: FW: letters

20030608-1551-401-1
 02:10:01... I hope this will satisfy what our friend requested. Can you check with him?

<<Fax Image.TIF>>

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Italia Federici

From: abramoff@
 Sent: Monday, June 02, 2003 11:02 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: Steve

Want to see if we can get a sense as to where we are on the following:

1. Sac and Fox (very important and urgent - they are now in town,
2. Saginaw Chippewa school cost share program (he got a big time letter from the chairmen of the House and Senate Interior Approps committees; no reaction)
3. moving the Inspector General from Choctaw Mississippi to Coushatta election (too late since Coushatta election was Saturday, but we need to get that guy LARRY GILL out of Choctaw.
4. Mashpee (probably nothing up there)
5. Jena (just to reconfirm that that is not moving).

Thanks.

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SENCREA 10/04 000105

Italia Federici

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, July 17, 2003 10:06 PM
 To: Italia Federici office
 Subject: FW: Griles

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: Griles

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) [abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 05, 2003 6:06 PM
 To: Italia Federici office
 Subject: [redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ You=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 31, 2003 4:26 PM
To: 'Italia Federici office'
Subject: Saginaw Cost Share

This is that tribe's key issue for the year. You might recall that Lynn Scarlett sent that letter, to which the chairmen of House and Senate Interior Approps responded strongly. Now we have heard nothing. I can't chat with Steve, as you know. what can we do? they are really pissed at me. anything possible?

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@
 Sent: Friday, September 05, 2003 3:20 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: are you in town?

Italia Federici

From: abramoffj@
 Sent: Thursday, August 21, 2003 3:35 PM
 To: italia@
 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@gte.net]
 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@
 Sent: Sunday, August 17, 2003 1:51 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: FW: Saginaw Cost Share

Any updates on this one?

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

From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@]
 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@ [mailto:abramoffj@]
 Sent: Thursday, July 31, 2003 5:35 PM
 To: italia@
 Subject: Saginaw Cost Share

SENCKEA 1004 WW110

TOWARD TRADITION MATERIALS

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 11, 1999 2:49 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Channel One piece with J.B's corrections.
 Jews! Nothing is ever good enough!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Thursday, March 11, 1999 1:24 PM
 To: 'dlapin@ibm.net'; Abramoff, Jack (DC); Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: RE: Channel One piece with J.B's corrections.

First of all, let me say that this is a terrific piece (I'm not surprised, just grateful). I also want to thank you for attending to this at what is surely an extraordinarily hectic time for you. I have just one lingering concern: It is important to realize that 10,000 of our 12,000 schools are, indeed, public schools. There are two places (see my notations in the document itself) where you attack the schools themselves. While there are certainly many public schools who turn up their noses, I think it might be more fruitful to direct your criticism at our real detractors: none of them are educators at all. They are just radical anti-business political operatives and academics who argue against Channel One despite our support from teachers of all kinds of schools with all kinds of philosophies.

It is hard to find an educational product and medium about which 98% of teachers would agree that they want it in their class. Especially, if those teachers came from a mix of public and private, religious and secular, urban and rural schools. Channel One has achieved that status and, rather than drive in a wedge, I'd like to bring them together to attack these outside commie agitators. Once again, I think it is only an issue raised by two comments in the piece, which is magnificent.

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: dlapin@ibm.net [mailto:dlapin@ibm.net] <mailto:[mailto:dlapin@ibm.net]>
 Sent: Thursday, March 11, 1999 12:39 PM
 To: Jacka@prestongates.com; Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: Channel One piece with J.B's corrections.

Is Making An Honest Living Immoral?--Your Children Think So.
 Rabbi Daniel Lapin

Suppose that the Acme Restaurant Supply Company began offering an expensive state of the art food processor free to any restaurant that agreed to use Acme brand cooking oil. Many restaurants, hotels, and company cafeterias analyzed the offer, examined the machine and tested the oil. Most happily signed on with Acme. After a year passed, 99% of the clients renewed the deal for another year. 98% approved of the quality of Acme's oil and would recommend the deal to other hospitality establishments.

Now, imagine we discover that cafeterias in the veterans hospital and federal building, as well as the restaurant in the airport, all refuse the offer. Not only do these government-run food establishments decline the free processor, but they also condemn the Acme Company and its cooking oil in the strongest terms. While trying to decide what to make of this, we hear that taxes are to be raised

to enable government kitchens to purchase food processors and, as for oil, well, they will just have to do without. Well, imagine no longer, this is really happening.

The above scenario is taking place today, though not in the food service industry, but in education. Channel One Network has provided television sets, videocassette recorders, satellite dishes and more than 7,000 miles of cable-in all about half a billion dollars of infrastructure to America's classrooms. It offers about two hours of top quality educational programming each day, ranging from history to math, along with a ten-minute news program. All this, which is provided for free to interested schools, is made possible by two minutes of commercials.

Schools are signing on rapidly and renewing their contracts at the above mentioned 99% rate. Two thousand private schools, which, unlike government schools, really do feel accountable to their parent bodies, have become eager Channel One users. Yet, from the way Channel One detractors speak, one would suppose they consider it an enemy of education. So evil must it be, that despite the fact that it would particularly help poorer school districts, they are clearly willing to do without the benefits offered. Or are they? No, as it happens, they still want the equipment. It is just that they prefer buying it from the proceeds of taxation to receiving it from the private sector. Surely taxpayers would want to know what is going on here.

This is not the only example of government schools exhibiting prejudice toward America's private sector. In Seattle recently, a highly regarded local businessman, Stuart Sloan, made a long-term commitment of over a million dollars per year to an inner-city public school. What was the initial reaction of the educational bureaucracy and local communal activists to Sloan's generosity? They responded with open skepticism and distrust, which delayed implementation of the gift for a full year.

The same educators and political leaders who never feel any unease over spending unlimited public funds (that is, wealth forcibly extracted from its owners) took many months to decide whether or not they could even accept a magnificent offer of private, voluntary charity. As if its private source might somehow fatally taint the entire educational enterprise. Furthermore, educators who have unhesitatingly implemented, and subsequently abandoned countless inane and destructive ideas, now warn us of the need to carefully test and measure the effects of Sloan's contribution.

One wonders what happened to this passion for empirical testing in the case of publicly funded disasters such as "whole language," "new math," and bilingual education. It appears that government provided education abhors private innovation or generosity while developing a growing appetite, if not an addiction, to money claimed from taxpayers.

If Channel One's critics argued that education at its best is, "a log with a teacher sitting on one end and a student on the other," it would all make sense. "We do not need expensive computers and audio visual equipment" they would be saying. "Lack of money is not the explanation for our failures" they would be confessing. And we would heartily agree. But this is not so. They are the same people demanding that taxpayers cough up more money for much of the very audiovisual equipment and programming that they are rejecting from Channel One. Some critics claim to object to the commercials aired by Channel One. To me this seems to be a red herring. After all, one seldom hears complaints about newspapers in the classroom in spite of the many advertisements they contain. Independent journalism requires advertising support to remain independent. Moreover, unlike newspapers brought into a classroom, Channel One's reputation is one of caution and care in accepting advertising. Neither do schools protest the "teacher packages" and study guides that major studios provide at no cost to schools in order to promote their movies. This, in spite of the fact that many of the movies thus brought to the attention of our school-going youngsters could

never be described as educational. Countless schools gladly accepted little goody bags from the makers of films like Pocahontas or Amistad, although the historic distortion was notorious. There was a shallow pretense that the goal was something more than getting lots of little bodies into theater seats? Yet, because Channel One has undermined their arguments by winning the hearts and minds of teachers, it is a business they love to hate.

We have come a long way from when Calvin Coolidge said, "The business of America is business." In many schools today, a virulent anti-capitalism, anti-business message is being beamed at the next generation of voters. "Corporations are vultures" declaim Channel One's critics, who go so far as to attack parents and teachers who support the network as "accomplices" of corporate "predators." The debate on Channel One, by revealing the real motivation of many of its critics, should serve as a warning to our business community: Today's children-the very people our personnel departments will hire in the coming years-are being taught to distrust the motives and morals of business. Do we really want employees (and eventually board members, stockholders, and colleagues) who were propagandized as young children to believe that making what used to be called "an honest living" is somehow illegitimate?

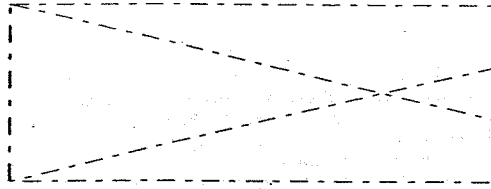
The opposition to Channel One is driven by a suspicion and dislike of corporate America-excluding corporations that have prostrated themselves to the politically correct counter culture. If gifts by entrepreneurs such as Stuart Sloan are treated with suspicion and reservation, it is not surprising that there are those who speak of Channel One with contempt. When we discover that Channel One has had the audacity to suggest that abstinence might be the best choice for teens, we can understand why it might be considered unsuitable by elitist educators. When we discover that one of the commercial sponsors of Channel One is the U.S. Army, we see why two minutes of commercials are considered too expensive a price to pay for thousands of dollars of equipment and hundreds of hours of video instruction.

Many schools that provide outstanding education at moderate cost have eagerly signed on with Channel One Network. Meanwhile, schools that spectacularly fail to educate while extorting a breathtaking ransom from the taxpaying public, indignantly reject Channel One. Isn't this something that Geraldo ought to investigate?

Radio talk show host Rabbi Daniel Lapin is president of Toward Tradition and author of the recent best seller-America's Real War.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin

Mercer Island, Washington.
Tel: 206-236-3046



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

From: dlapin@ibm.net [mailto:dlapin@ibm.net]
 Sent: Thursday, March 11, 1999 12:39 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: Channel One piece with J.B.'s corrections.

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Radio talk show host Rabbi Daniel Lapin is president of Toward Tradition and author of the recent best seller *America's Real War*.

© Rabbi Daniel Lapin

Mercer Island, Washington.

Tel: 206-236-3046

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 7:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show
 reads like something from the grates on Lafayette park.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 10:12 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Where are we with Gregg Hilton in getting this out? By the way, what in the world is Jeff yammering about below?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 1999 10:23 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: D-Day show

!!
 -----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:17 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

I think that next I want to get credit from the Pentagon public affairs dept & then from ONDCP (office of drug policy) & then from minority groups, i.e. Grover & CAGW & Rabbi Lapin...we should get these guys crazy! & lots & lots of interviews w/members of Congress! At least one press release every week or two

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 PM
 To: Jeff Ballabon
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Don't worry. I just spoke to Greg Hilton and he said that he will remind his chairs again tomorrow. I asked him if he expected this to be a problem and he said "absolutely not."

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:00 AM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: RE: D-Day show

>
 > Good. I was getting a little nervous after our last conversation.

> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:06 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I do not think he is backing away.
>
> -----Original Message-----
>> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
>> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:43 AM
>> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
>> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>>
>> Please get Jack into this if you think he's backing away.
>>
>> -----Original Message-----
>> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
>> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:41 AM
>> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
>> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>>
>>
>> I talked to him yesterday and will call again today. He is clearing the
>> letter with his co-chairs.
>>
>> -----Original Message-----
>>> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
>>> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 AM
>>> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
>>> Subject: D-Day show
>>>
>>> Where are we w/Gregg Hilton?

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
Sent: Sunday, July 11, 1999 7:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Awards to Channel One...

At last week's meeting with Jeff you suggested getting groups like TVC and Toward Tradition to give awards to Channel One. Is there anything I can do to help facilitate this? For example, there may be some Channel One specials that Toward Tradition would like (but I need to know what Toward Tradition cares about). Your thoughts?

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:jacka@██████████]
 > **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 sb) 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.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 what group is ferrara? we already have str. how was dan rence with?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:20 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

I don't want Rabbi Lapin to do this. We are going to need him to discreetly call Dobson to get Jeff a meeting, so I don't want to put him out publicly again yet. How about Ferrara?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:14 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

Daniel has drafted these letters to respond to the New Republic piece. Can you review these asap so we can get them to Jeff for his approval? We also may need your help getting Rabbi Lapin and CAOW to submit these letters to the New Republic. Is there anyone else who you think should write a response to the New Republic?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 2:52 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

<< File: DFR_G2018New Republic Response Letters.doc >>

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. Refuse shetmah. I may have to come over this week and straighten things out. Did either medical opinion suggest any course of such instead of operations? If not, they're quacks.
Till in New York.
Best wishes and cheer up; this must be a real downer.
Daniel

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@
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@
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@
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: Tuesday, May 30, 2000 3:44 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Cosmos Club

May 5, 2000

Ms. Dabny Hart
Chair
Admissions Committee
Cosmos Club
Washington, DC

Dear Dabny:

I am most pleased to sponsor Jack Abramoff as a member of the Cosmos Club. Although Jack is but 41 years old, he is already most distinguished in his field of public policy advocacy. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that Jack is among the most highly regarded people in this field. In addition his accomplishments in the fields of cinematography, religion, and community affairs makes him a singularly accomplished gentleman.

Jack Abramoff is currently head of the highly regarded Public Policy Department of Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds, LLP. This division is recognized as one of the top policy groups in the country. Mr. Abramoff's accomplishments in this field have been commented upon frequently in both the local and national press. Just last Wednesday, the Wall Street Journal did a cover story on Mr. Abramoff's distinguished career in public policy. (A copy is enclosed.) Mr. Abramoff's clients range from international, territorial and tribal governments to multinational companies such as Microsoft.

Mr. Abramoff's career in public policy advocacy began in the early 1980's with his election as Chair of the College Republican National Committee ("CRNC"), the national student arm of the Republican Party. At that time the CRNC was the nation's largest student political organization with over 150,000 members on 1200 campuses. During this period of his career, Mr. Abramoff also served as Chair of the USA Foundation, a foundation dedicated to providing America's college students with educational materials about public issues. In this role, Mr. Abramoff was a frequent guest on network television to discuss the role of students in politics in the United States.

In 1985, Mr. Abramoff was named Executive Director of Citizens for America, a non-governmental organization created by President Reagan to examine the administration's policies and present them to the Congress of the United States.

During this period of time, Mr. Abramoff also devoted his time and efforts to the production of full-length motion pictures. He acted not only as a producer, but as a hands on creator of the films he produced. I would like to be able to say that his films won academy awards. They did not. They were however financial success. Among the films produced by Mr. Abramoff were: "Red Scorpion", "Red Scorpion 2," "The Spear of Destine" and "Karate Masters." Indeed "Red Scorpion" broke box office records in several countries.

In addition to producing films, Mr. Abramoff has lectured at Georgetown University Law Center on Motion Picture Production Finance Law. His course has consistently been well appreciated. He also lends his films making expertise to Documents International, a producer of award winning educational documentary films on the subject of moral courage. Sy Rotter, a member of the Cosmos Club, is the President of Documentaries International.

Mr. Abramoff is also a respected scholar on biblical interpretation. He has been engaged in writing a lengthy manuscript detailing ancient interpretive texts of the Pentateuch in collaboration with Rabbi David Lapin.

Among Mr. Abramoff's numerous other noteworthy accomplishments are the following:

For the past 6 years, he has served as President of the Torah School of Greater Washington.

He is the newly elected President and Chairman of the board of the Yeshiva of Greater Washington, which is one of the region's most prestigious Orthodox Jewish colleges and high schools.

He was a member of the Board of Governors of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.

He is a member of the Board of Governors of the Victims of Communism Museum.

He is a member of the Founding Committee of the National Museum of Jewish Heritage.

He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Documentaries International.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of Americans for Tax Reform.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Center for Public Policy Research.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Council for National Policy.

Mr. Abramoff graduated magna cum laude from Brandeis University where he majored in Opera and English literature. He then received a Juris Doctor degree from the Georgetown University Law Center.

Mr. Abramoff is married to the former Pamela Alexander. Jack and Pam have 5 young children.

As Chair of the Membership Committee, I have sought to encourage the nomination of qualified younger members. Mr. Abramoff represents an opportunity for the Cosmos Club to elect a distinguished and delightful young man to its membership.

Sincerely,

Julius Kaplan

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Saturday, May 13, 2000 9:48 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

Yes, MPA is going to give to Toward Tradition. Choctaw and elot will give to National Center. Can you call Betty to see how we are doing on turning that check around?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2000 5:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

I thought you didn't want me to do this. Should I get the materials from Toward Tradition for Bruce?

-----Original Message-----
From: Helman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 12, 2000 12:13 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: FW: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

pls when you get a chance. thanks

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:35 PM
To: Helman, Bruce (DC)
Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

Fine. Susan, please get some Toward Tradition materials to Bruce.

-----Original Message-----
From: Helman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

terrific. I dont see a problem. I'll raise with Cregan. Will need something on the group. Is it 501c3?
Maybe the theme should be its immoral to keep other people's money -- when you know you can save money and wont...

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, May 09, 2000 5:20 PM
To: Helman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: replacement for Americans for Economic Growth

DeLay's guys would like them to get a contribution of similar size for Toward Tradition (Rabbi Lapin's organization). As soon as I hear back from you that this is OK, I'll see if I can get Lapin to do a piece for us for free so we have a two-fer.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 15, 2000 7:45 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Toward Tradition materials
General stuff.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Monday, May 15, 2000 8:07 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Toward Tradition materials

Which materials should I get for ~~me~~?

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

From: Daniel Lapin [SMTP:dlapin@ibm.net]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2000 9:13 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: RE: Toward Tradition materials

Yes, we are a 501 (c) 3 organization. We have two areas we've been working on:

One is restoring America's respect for the dignity and morality of business, this is essentially an anti-defamation organization defending the institution of business against unfair attack.

The second is building an alliance of Jews, Christians, and other Americans to help restore America's founding ethic of limited government, centrality of the family, and a strong defense.

Which of these two areas of Toward Tradition's interest would be of most interest to your client?

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
P. O. Box 813,
Mercer Island, Washington 98040.
Tel: 206-236-3046
Fax: 206-236-3288

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC) [mailto:SusanR@prestongates.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 10, 2000 5:19 AM
To: 'dlapin@ibm.net'
Subject: Toward Tradition materials

Is Toward Tradition a 501(c)3 organization? Can you send me some materials about Toward Tradition to forward to a client?

Best regards,
Susan

LOTTERY, INC.

2465

REFERENCE NO.	DESCRIPTION	INVOICE DATE	INVOICE AMOUNT	DISCOUNT TAKEN	AMOUNT PAID
Aug Contributor		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.
101 MERRITT, CORPORATE PARK
NORWALK, CT 06851

FLEET
NEW HAVEN, CT 06510
51-57/119

2465

Memo: Twenty-Five Thousand and 0/100 Dollars
 CHECK NO. 2465
 DATE Aug 24, 2000 *****\$25,000.00
 AMOUNT

PAY TO THE ORDER OF
 Toward Tradition
 Preston Gates - J. Abramoff
 1735 New York Ave, NW Ste 500
 Washington, DC 20006

Lucy Abramoff
 AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

PERMANENTLY FEATURES INCLUDED DETAILS ON BACK B

GTG008397-JA-P

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, August 10, 2000 6:39 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Cosmos Club Questionnaire
 Here are my answers. Not very impressive, I am afraid. Can you ask Jay what we should do?

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, August 08, 2000 1:24 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Cosmos Club Questionnaire

Previous significant positions and activities, with dates[Jack Abramoff] Do you have a resume or something for me there? Some of the positions include the following: Chairman, College Republican National Committee 1981-85; Chairman, USA Foundation 1983-9; Executive director, Citizens for America 1985; Chairman, Toward Tradition 1994-present; Board of Directors: US Holocaust Memorial Council 1982-87, Americans for Tax Reform, National Center for Public Policy Research; President Torah School Greater Washington 1993-2000; President Yeshiva of Greater Washington 2000; President, Yeshiva College of the Nation's Capital 2000; Board of Governors, Council for National Policy 1983-87, 2000; Club members personally acquainted with[Jack Abramoff] : Jay has to fill this one in
 Honors and awards with dates; societies[Jack Abramoff] : can't think of any of these. Uh oh!
 Publications (with titles and dates).[Jack Abramoff] none

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 10:42 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: Cosmos club application
Did we chat about the awards we should list? If not, here are some:

National Order of Merit, USA Foundation 1983
The Churchill Prize, International Freedom Foundation 1986
Distinguished Biblical Scholar Award, Keter Torah Institute, 1988
Chesed Award, Torah School of Greater Washington 1995
The Limud Torah Award, Yeshiva of Greater Washington, 1999
Outstanding Public Affairs Professional 1998, National Center for Public Policy
Research
Scholar of Talmudic Studies, Toward Tradition Foundation, 1997

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 2:35 PM
 To: Daniel Lapin
 Subject: RE: HELP

Probably just a few silver titles of awards, cups and that's it. As long as you can be the person to verify them (or we can have someone else verify one and you the other), we should be set. Do you have any creative titles, or should I dip into my bag of tricks?

----- Original Message -----
 From: Daniel Lapin (mailto:dlapin@...) [mailto:dlapin@...]
 Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 9:58 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: HELP

Yes, I just need to know what needs to be produced...letters? Plaques? Neither?

From: Daniel Lapin
 To: Jack
 Fax: 202-462-1000

----- Original Message -----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) (mailto:jack@...) [mailto:jack@...]
 Sent: Monday, September 18, 2000 11:25 PM
 To: Daniel Lapin
 Subject: RE: HELP

Thanks. Glad to hear you are not the only one who has to go to these banquets. I was with Gary... that he really enjoyed the event. Hope we can chat tomorrow to get the awards going. Thanks again.

----- Original Message -----
 From: Daniel Lapin (mailto:dlapin@...) [mailto:dlapin@...]
 Sent: Monday, September 18, 2000 11:18 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: HELP

Sorry I didn't get back till late since right after my radio show I had to get in an appearance at my club's banquet. Let's organize your many prestigious awards as they're ready to hang on the walls.

From: Daniel Lapin
 To: Jack
 Fax: 202-462-1000

----- Original Message -----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) (mailto:jack@...) [mailto:jack@...]
 Sent: Sunday, September 17, 2000 10:48 PM
 To: Daniel Lapin
 Subject: RE: HELP

Just tried you and got a busy signal. Will try again in a few moments.

----- Original Message -----
 From: Daniel Lapin (mailto:dlapin@...) [mailto:dlapin@...]
 Sent: Sunday, September 17, 2000 10:48 PM

To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Do let me know if you want to work on this today. I am home till I leave for NY to do the show, at about 1pm.
Best.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin

[Redacted]
Tel: 202 [Redacted]
Fax: 202 [Redacted]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@jackabramoff.com]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2006 1:55 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: HELP!

Thanks so much for everything. Good Shabbos.

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

From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@lapin.com]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2006 2:12 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Mazel Tov, the Cosmos Club is a big deal.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin

[Redacted]
Tel: 202 [Redacted]
Fax: 202 [Redacted]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@jackabramoff.com]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2006 10:19 AM
To: Rabbi Daniel Lapin
Subject: HELP!

I hope to ask your help with something on Friday. But I have been nominated for membership in the Cosmos Club, which is a very distinguished club in Washington DC. Membership is by invitation only. Problem for me is that most prospective members have received awards and I have received

None.
title,

I was wondering if it might be possible that I could put that I have received an award from a certain institution with a sufficiently academic

What I am trying

to do something like that. I am sure you will still be able to help me. I would like to see if you could help me with this. I would like to see if you could help me with this. I would like to see if you could help me with this.

title here. Do you think it is possible it would only be used from this institution but there is a chance that they would have to call someone to verify.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, September 13, 2000 10:42 PM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Subject: Cosmos club application
Did we chat about the awards we should list? If not, here are some:

National Order of Merit, USA Foundation 1983
The Churchill Prize, International Freedom Foundation 1986
Distinguished Biblical Scholar Award, Keter Torah Institute, 1988
Chesed Award, Torah School of Greater Washington 1995
The Limud Torah Award, Yeshiva of Greater Washington, 1999
Outstanding Public Affairs Professional 1998, National Center for Public Policy
Research
Scholar of Talmudic Studies, Toward Tradition Foundation, 1997

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 05, 2000 4:21 AM
 To: Lane, Rodney (DC)
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: Cosmos Club awards

These are the awards which Jay Kaplan wanted for my cosmos club application. Do you have that paperwork at hand? Can you complete it and get it to him today? Please consult with Susan. Thanks so much Rodney.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@ibm.net]
 Sent: Thursday, October 05, 2000 1:45 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff (DC)
 Subject:

No need to apologize; I know how long it can take to unpack movers boxes, especially when all they contain are unused knick knacks and long forgotten (but well deserved) award plaques and citations. In any event, the records were fairly easy to access at all three organizations so it was no problem at all. Here they are:
 Pacific Jewish Center, Los Angeles, California.
 President: Michael Medved. Rabbi: Daniel Lapin
 In February 1988 you were honored with the award that recognized you as PJC Distinguished Professor of Talmudic Law in recognition of the lectures you delivered during 1987. Very pretty blue granite looking type of plaque if I recall correctly.
 Toward Tradition, Mercer Island, Washington.
 President: Daniel Lapin. National Director: Yarden Weidenfeld In the summer of 1994 you were given the award that identified you as Toward Tradition's Scholar of Biblical and American History.
 Cascadia Business Institute, Seattle and New York City President: Lewis Kaufman. Director: Julian Hurst In October 1999 you accepted the award that recognized your service in establishing CBI's course in Biblical Mercantile Law in which you served as adjunct professor.
 Hope that helps
 Rabbi Daniel Lapin
 P. O. Box 813,
 Mercer Island, Washington 98040.
 Tel: 206-236-3046
 Fax: 206-236-3288

542

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, December 13, 2000 10:18 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC); Lane, Rodney (DC)
Subject: we're probably going to move
Ty Mccoy if Rabbi Lapin comes to town that day. I told R'Lapin that I probably
need to step down as chairman of Toward Tradition.

4

PGE-SF 000026

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, September 20, 2000 8:40 AM
To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Cc: Lane, Rodney (DC)
Subject: FW: 2 things
Please add Cong. Doolittle to call sheet re Julie Doolittle and Toward Tradition

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

From: Ring, Kevin (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, September 20, 2000 10:01 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: 2 things

(1) David told me that Doolittle (JTD) is very excited and appreciative about the Toward Tradition position for Julie. JTD knows of the group and would like to talk to you about it. Can you call him whenever you get a free moment - does not need to be today?

(2) Remember the surprise party they are holding for JTD? David wants to send a letter to a bunch of folks asking them to sponsor it. Regardless of whether our clients give, he wanted to know if you would be willing to sign it along with a bunch of others as a host. I told him I didn't think it would be a problem. Just let me know. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, October 21, 2001 10:58 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contributions

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, October 21, 2001 11:58 PM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AsDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: contributions
Importance: High

Laura, please put these contributions into an excel document. The columns going across should be as follows: name of candidate, name of committee, address of committee, amount requested, requester, comments. The requester initials are all below (KR is Kevin, TR is Tony, JA is me, TP is Todd, RP is Pat, MS is Mike Smith, SV is Shawn). Please also put sub totals for each requester and a total amount requested at bottom. please get this done asap. Thanks.

John Thune for South Dakota \$2K JA
P.O. Box 516
Sioux Falls, SD 57101

CREA (Gale Norton's group) \$50K JA
1429 G Street, NW Number 408
Washington, DC 20005

National Republican Senatorial Committ
425 Second St., NE
Washington, DC 20002

Toward Tradition \$15K JA

Communications Consulting Group (Cong John Doolittle) \$5K KR (redistricting effort)
1840 Westminster Court
Carmichael, Ca 95608

American Liberty Political Action Committee \$5K (Cong Bob Ney) JA
P.O. Box 77222
Washington, DC 20013-7222

REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND \$5K (Sen Don Nickles -SV)
1155 21ST STREET NW #300
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

NEW REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND \$5K (Sen Trent Lott - SV)
201 NORTH UNION STREET SUITE 530
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314

CAMPBELL VICTORY FUND \$5K (Sen Ben Nighthorse Campbell SV)
PO BOX 1464
IGNACIO, CO 81137

Hagel for Senate \$1000 (Sen Chuck Hagel - SV)
PO Box 241497
Omaha, NE 68124

Friends of Conrad Burns \$1000 (Sen Conrad Burns - SV)
PO Box 1532
Billings, MT 59103

Missourians for Kit Bond \$2,000 (Sen Christopher Bond - SV and TB)
9378 Olive Blvd., Ste 206
St. Louis, MO 63132

Shelby for US Senate \$1,000 (Sen Richard Shelby SV)
PO Box 1091
Tuscaloosa, AL 35403

Jim Hansen for Congress \$1,000 (Cong Jim Hansen SV)
PO Box 654
Farmington, UT 84025

Friends of Tom Harkin (\$2 K hard money) (MS)
Senate 2002 (\$3K soft money)
426 C Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002

Friends of Byron Dorgan (\$2 K hard money) (MS)
Great Plains Leadership Fund (\$3K soft money)
420 C Street NE Lower Level
Washington, D.C. 20002

People for Patty Murray (\$2 K hard money) (MS)
M-PAC (\$3K soft money)
P.O. Box 3662
Seattle, Washington 98124
Chairs Transportation Subcommittee of Appropriations (helpful on highway request)

Baucus for Senate \$1K RP Sen Max Baucus
203 C. Street NE,
Washington, DC 2002

DashPac (Tom Daschle) \$5K RP
424 C Street NE,
Washington, DC 20002.

Friends of Harry Reid or
Searchlight Political Fund \$2K RP

Hollings for Senate \$2000 RP Sen Fritz Hollings
426 C Street NE,
Front Building,
Washington, DC 2000.

WAYNE ALLARD FOR UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE \$2K TB
PO BOX 32
LOVELAND, CO 80539

Friends of Jim Inhofe \$2K TB
P.O. Box 13300
Oklahoma City, OK 73113

Friends of Jeff Sessions Senate Committee \$2K TB
P.O. Box 4278
Montgomery, AL 36103

Pat Roberts for Senate \$1K TB
Box 433

Great Bend, KS

Sam Brownback for US Senate \$2K TB
P.O. Box 2008
Topeka, KS 66601

Republican National Committee \$10K KR (comment: Jack Oliver)
310 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20002

Norm Coleman for Senate: \$1000 TR
Coleman For U.S. Senate
1410 Energy Park Drive #11
Energy Park Plaza
Saint Paul, MN, 55108
Phone: 651-645-0766

Jon Porter for Congress \$1000 TR

Texas for a Republican Majority \$1000 (DeLay: TR)

Chris Cannon for Congress \$1000 TR

Committee to Preserve Capitalism \$1000 (Cong Jim McCrery TR)

Freedom Project \$1000 (John Boehner TR)

Rohrabacher for Congress \$1000 TR Cong Dana Rohrabacher

Friends of Bob Smith \$2500 TR Sen Bob Smith

Kathryn Harris for Congress \$1000 TR (comment: open seat)

John Feehney for Congress \$1000 Florida Speaker TR (comment: open seat)

RESPONSES TO MINORITY STAFF INQUIRIES



July 24, 2006

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
WASHINGTON HARBOUR
3000 K STREET, N.W., SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007-5143
202.672.5300 TEL
202.672.5399 FAX
www.foley.com

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE
202.295.4081
cmitchell@foley.com EMAIL

CLIENT/MATTER NUMBER
999100-0101

VIA E-MAIL

Minority Staff
Senate Finance Committee
444 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: Response to June 30, 2006 - Letter from Minority Staff to
Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR")

Dear :

Americans for Tax Reform ("ATR") is in receipt of your letter dated June 30, 2006, requesting information regarding ATR, its personnel, its donors, and other specific information about the organization.

As a preliminary statement, as you may or may not know, ATR is a nonprofit, tax exempt corporation established under I.R.C. §501(c)(4) whose principal purpose is increasing public awareness about the size and regulations of government and rallying support for lower taxes and smaller government.

As a §501(c)(4) social welfare and grassroots lobbying organization, contributions to ATR are not tax-deductible to its donors. While the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in its 'investigation' and report references certain charitable organizations with respect to the use and/or misuse of the tax exempt purpose of certain §501(c)(3) organizations, ATR is not a charitable organization. No "abuse(s)" of ATR's exempt status have occurred nor is there any evidence of 'abuse' of ATR's tax exempt status. Further, as long as ATR expends its funds in keeping with its general purpose and permissible activities under provisions of applicable law, there is no 'abuse' of ATR's tax status by virtue of ATR's involvement in state level, grassroots campaigns on issues.

In addition, there is no revenue impact for the federal treasury regardless of the amount of contribution(s) received by ATR because contributions to ATR are not tax deductible to its donor(s).

Several questions contained in your letter are apparently based upon communications (including emails) which reference ATR, but which, as you are aware through conversations with the undersigned, neither ATR nor its officers, employees or counsel have received or been allowed to review. It is not reasonable to expect ATR to testify to or comment upon communications which are not being made available to the organization and its counsel to review and research. All communications must be considered within the context in which they were sent or received.

BOSTON
BRUSSELS
CHICAGO
DETROIT
JACKSONVILLE

LOS ANGELES
MADISON
MILWAUKEE
NEW YORK
ORLANDO

SACRAMENTO
SAN DIEGO
SAN DIEGO/DEL MAR
SAN FRANCISCO
SILICON VALLEY

TALLAHASSEE
TAMPA
TOKYO
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASH_1656410.1



July 24, 2006
Page 2

Accordingly, absent the opportunity to review the referenced emails, including the communications that preceded and followed each email referenced in your letter, it is not possible for ATR to respond to questions regarding those communications.

In response to the questions you have propounded to ATR regarding contributions and/or ATR donors, please be advised that the identity of donors to ATR is protected from disclosure pursuant to 26 USC § 6104(d)(3)(A). During the course of the investigation conducted by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, ATR steadfastly maintained its statutory right of protection from forced disclosure of donor information to the Committee. The American Civil Liberties joined with ATR in sending letters on three separate occasions to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs protesting the efforts of the Committee to force ATR to disclose statutorily protected confidentiality of donor information and identity.

ATR exercises its statutory right not to disclose such information and therefore respectfully declines to answer questions related to the disclosure of ATR donor identity.

1. Has ATR or ATRF or any of the organizations' executives performed services for any registered lobbyist (or client of a registered lobbyist at the direction of [sic] suggestion of such lobbyist), such as agreeing to publish an article, whether or not for a fee?

No.

2. If so, in any such case, was there an understanding, implicit or explicit, that a contribution would be provided to ATR or ATRF in exchange for such service?

Not applicable. See Response to Question #1

3. Mr. Abramoff said in an e-mail on October 24, 1995, that a \$50,000 contribution to ATR would get Mr. Norquist to do "everything they need him to do to win" for a company represented by Preston Gates. Does this describe an agreement Mr. Norquist made with regard to Mr. Abramoff's client?

Absent the opportunity to review the communication to which this question relates, ATR lacks sufficient information to respond to Question #3.

4. On March 10, 1996, Mr. Abramoff wrote to a fellow lobbyist at Preston Gates to say that Mr. Norquist is getting anxious that he doesn't yet have a \$10,000 contribution to ATR for Jim Lucier, who is "doing a great job on this." To what does this refer? What was Mr. Lucier doing for an Abramoff client that involved being paid \$10,000 through a contribution to ATR.

Absent the opportunity to review the communication to which this question relates, ATR lacks sufficient information to respond to Question #4.



July 24, 2006
Page 3

5. Two years later, on May 10, 1998, Mr. Lucier complained to Mr. Abramoff in an e-mail that his annual bonus checks from Business Software Alliance and Americans for Computer Privacy weren't being swiftly delivered to him. Mr. Lucier told Mr. Abramoff that the money was for work he does at ATR. Mr. Abramoff subsequently said that Mr. Norquist knew the money was for Mr. Lucier but that Mr. Norquist thought BSA was "shortchanging" him by \$30,000.

Jim Lucier is a former employee of ATR but has not been employed by ATR in some time. Absent the opportunity to review the communication to which this question relates, ATR lacks sufficient information to respond to Question #5. Further, it would appear that the communication referenced in Question #5 was between parties other than ATR.

6. On May 20, 1999, Mr. Norquist wrote to Mr. Abramoff asking the status of the "Choctaw stuff" and saying he had a \$75,000 hole in his budget from last year. What is the Choctaw stuff?

ATR has a long history of working with the Mississippi Choctaw tribe and its representatives and leaders on a variety of issues, including co-publishing a book regarding the free enterprise successes of the tribe entitled Choctaw Revolution.

7. On November 11, 1999, Mr. Abramoff told an ATR employee, Peter Ferrara, that Mr. Norquist wanted money Mr. Abramoff intended for Mr. Ferrara to go through ATR as a contribution. When did Mr. Ferrara work for ATR? What was his job?

Peter Ferrara was Chief Economist at Americans for Tax Reform in the late 90s. He was a writer and analyst for ATR.

8. Mr. Ferrara was quoted last year as saying it is common to take money in exchange for writing op-ed articles. Did payments to him for writing op-eds go through ATR when he was an employee there?

ATR is not aware of payments to Peter Ferrara for any op-eds he wrote on behalf of ATR. Mr. Ferrara had permission to perform work outside of his salaried responsibilities on behalf of ATR, but ATR has no record or knowledge of that work or any compensation he may have received for performing such work.

9. In May 1999, ATR issued a press release saying Channel One Network was good for taxpayers and students. Was Primedia, Inc. or Channel One a donor to ATR at that time?

ATR declines to respond to questions regarding the identity of or contribution from any donor. ATR can state that it has a long history of supporting competitive sourcing for government services.



July 24, 2006
Page 4

10. How much money has ATR received from Primedia or Channel One Network? When were those donations received?

ATR declines to respond to questions regarding the identity of or contributions from any donor.

11. On March 17, 2000, Preston Gates employees proposed a lobbying budget for their client, Magazine Publishers of America, that included a \$20,000 contribution to ATR. How much did Magazine Publishers of America contribute to ATR? What are the dates of those donations?

ATR declines to respond to questions regarding the identity of or contribution from any donor.

12. In late 2003 and early 2004, did ATR get a contribution from DH2 in this time period?

ATR declines to respond to questions regarding the identity of or contribution from any donor.

Please contact the undersigned if you have additional questions regarding ATR that are within the scope of information that ATR is capable of providing, the confidentiality of which is not protected by law.

Sincerely,

/s/ Cleta Mitchell

Cleta Mitchell, Esq.
Counsel to Americans for Tax Reform

CMI:cmi

cc: The Honorable Charles Grassley, Chairman
Senate Finance Committee



Atlanta ■ Washington

RESIDENT IN WASHINGTON OFFICE
DIRECT DIAL: (202) 624-7371

NKUH@POGOLAW.COM

July 6, 2006

VIA OVERNIGHT MAIL

United States Senate Committee on Finance
219 Dirksen Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: National Center for Public Policy Research

Dear :

It was a pleasure meeting with you on June 26, 2006, regarding our client, the National Center for Public Policy Research ("NCPPR"). As promised, we are providing you with further information relating to the contributions NCPPR received from Channel One and Magazine Publishers of America. We are also enclosing general information about NCPPR that outlines its history and its current charitable activities.

With regard to Channel One, in May 1999, NCPPR produced a White-Paper entitled "Activists Take Aim at Corporate Involvement in Schools." This paper, written by Amy Ridenour, discusses the Channel One program in public schools. (Exhibit A) As discussed at our meeting, the White-Paper discusses broad federalism issues, and whether local public, private and parochial schools should be able to make the choice that is best for their individual school, rather than have the choice made for them by the Federal government.

To our knowledge, NCPPR has only received two grants from Channel One. The first grant, in the amount of \$10,000, was received on June 17, 1999. (Exhibit B.) The second grant, in the amount of \$49,000, was received on November 20, 2001. (Exhibit C)

As we discussed at our meeting, NCPPR received an invoice dated November 20, 2001, from Capital Campaign Strategies for research and consulting services, in the amount of \$44,000. (Exhibit D) NCPPR paid the invoice on November 21, 2001. (Exhibit E)



No additional press releases, white papers, or opinion editorials related to the Channel One issues, including commercialization in schools, could be located through a search of the files of NCPPR, or through an Internet search.

Finally, to our knowledge, NCPPR received two donations from the Magazine Publishers of America, each in the amount of \$10,000. The first grant was received on May 25, 2000, and was for educational programs. A copy of NCPPR's register, reflecting the 2000 grant, is included at Exhibit F. The second grant was received on March 12, 2002, and was for general support. A copy of NCPPR's register and a copy of NCPPR's deposit slip are attached at Exhibit G.

Should we find any additional information, we will notify you immediately. If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 202.624.7371.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Nancy Ortmeier Kuhn".
Nancy Ortmeier Kuhn

For Powell Goldstein LLP

Attachments: As stated.



Thomas A. Schatz
President

July 21, 2006

Senate Finance Committee
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear _____,

I am responding to your letter of June 22, 2006, which asks questions about the actions of tax-exempt organizations "affiliated with the lobbying operations of Jack Abramoff," or "that appear to have played a role in Mr. Abramoff's client relationships." We note that we requested a copy of the emails to which you refer in your letter, but that we were not permitted access to them. Therefore, our answers may not be as complete as possible since we have not read the underlying material that formed the basis for the questions.

We also request that any information disclosed herein about any contributor to Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW), including names and donation amounts, be kept strictly confidential. As you may be aware, in NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (1958), a unanimous Supreme Court held that a compelled disclosure of the NAACP's membership lists would have the effect of suppressing legal association among the group's members. Only an "overriding valid interest of the State," something not present in the NAACP case (nor in the Senate Finance Committee's request for information), could justify the state of Alabama's actions. That decision applies to the list of contributors to any nonprofit organization (including CAGW).

CAGW was established in 1984, following the release of the Grace Commission report, which was formally known as the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control. President Reagan established the commission by executive order in January, 1982. He named business leader J. Peter Grace as chairman of the commission, asking that Peter and his team "work like a tireless bloodhound" to uncover waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement throughout the federal government.

The Grace Commission was funded by the private sector, and cost taxpayers nothing. Its executive committee consisted of 161 senior private sector leaders, and it was staffed by more than 2,000 volunteers. The commission made 2,478 recommendations that would have saved taxpayers \$424.4 billion over three years. The report contained 47 volumes and 1.5 million pages of additional material that covered every aspect of the federal government's activities.

1301 Connecticut Ave., NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
202-467-5300

When the commission finished its work, President Reagan asked Peter Grace not to let the report gather dust on a shelf. Mr. Grace teamed up with Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist Jack Anderson to form CAGW. The organization's mission is to work for the elimination of waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement in government with the goal of creating a government that manages its programs with the same eye to innovation, productivity, and economy that is dictated by the private sector.

Since CAGW was founded in 1984, it has amassed a record of \$825 billion in savings for America's taxpayers and attracted more than one million members and supporters to its cause. CAGW enjoys a solid reputation among the media and policymakers for sound, user-friendly, and incisive research and has earned the respect of members of Congress from both sides of the political aisle.

CAGW relies solely on the support of individuals, foundations, and corporations to underwrite its research and educational activities, and does not accept government funding. In 2005, 81 percent of CAGW's contributions came from individuals and 19 percent from foundations and corporations.

As described in CAGW's application for recognition of exemption under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, dated July 2, 1984, Part III, Section 3 (Exhibit A), "The purpose of the Foundation is to conduct nonpartisan research and analysis of waste and inefficiency in government. The Foundation will also publish and disseminate information and conduct educational activities in this regard." ... "Although the Foundation plans to perform research and analysis with its own staff, it will capitalize on existing sources of opportunities for cost savings as reported by the CBO, GAO, the Inspector Generals, the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control and other such sources. The Foundation plans to involve local citizen committees and groups and will disseminate information and conduct its education and publishing activities using the media (printed, television and radio) public service advertisements, a speaker's bureau, publications, magazines, newsletters, etc." In other words, CAGW utilizes a broad array of information sources for an agenda that is as wide in scope as the operations of government at every level (federal, state and local). It always exercises its own discretion to decide which issues it will research and publicize at any particular time.

As an independent, private, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW) was not "affiliated with" Mr. Abramoff's lobbying operations, and therefore could not have "played a role in Mr. Abramoff's client relationships."

Question 1: While CAGW's long-standing policy, based on the NAACP case, is not to discuss donors or the amounts they contribute, we will confirm that CAGW received a contribution from The Magazine Publishers of America (MPA) on July 28, 2000. The amount was less than one half of one percent of CAGW's total revenue for 2000. (See also question 12 below.)

Question 2: Consistent with its mission to work for the elimination of waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement in government with the goal of creating a government that manages its programs with the same eye to innovation, productivity, and economy that is dictated by the private sector, CAGW researches, promotes, and publicizes public policy on a wide variety of issues. CAGW had a history of working on issues related to the Postal Service for 16 years prior to the receipt of support from MPA, and continues such work to this day. Since the contribution was considered as general operating support consistent with CAGW's charitable purpose, there was no requirement that any specific activity be undertaken by CAGW. Since CAGW has not been granted access to Mr. Abramoff's emails, the organization cannot know exactly what MPA expected or was told by third parties.

Question 3: As an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, CAGW has published dozens of articles on a variety of postal issues consistent with its mission as described in response to question two. The organization's involvement in postal issues can be traced directly to the Grace Commission's report on Boards/Commissions Business II and the appendix that addressed U.S. Postal Service issues (Exhibit B). We have enclosed all of the written material that we could find related to the Postal Service.

Consistent with CAGW's charitable purpose "to perform research and analysis with its own staff" ... and "capitalize on existing sources of opportunities for cost savings as reported by the CBO, GAO, the Inspector Generals, the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control and other such sources," (See Exhibit A), the organization did exchange information with representatives of MPA as part of its use of a broad array of resources. However, final decisions to write, edit, and produce specific documents are made exclusively by CAGW staff.

Regarding postal rate increases, the Grace Commission report on Boards/Commissions Business II, pp. 190-197, specifically addressed that subject matter. The first article subsequent to the commission's report that is available in our records was a Fall 1990 *Government WasteWatch* article citing wasted time at the Postal Service. In total, there were eight articles in *Government WasteWatch*, one in *Wastewatcher*, a letter to the editor of *The Washington Post*, and four press releases on postal issues prior to the receipt of the July 28, 2000 contribution from MPA. CAGW's activities on postal reform continue to this day.

Therefore, any publications or public statements issued by CAGW regarding postal reform are based on CAGW's extensive knowledge of the subject matter and on a wide variety of sources, including the Grace Commission. CAGW had no need to rely on any "argument" from MPA; indeed, *Wastewatcher* is one of numerous CAGW publications that have included information on postal reform.

Finally, as stated in our response to question two, MPA's contribution was classified as general operating support, a classification approved by CAGW's accountants, and therefore was not restricted to any specific activity or usage.

The following material is enclosed:

Government WasteWatch (Exhibit C)

Fall 1990, citing wasted time at the Postal Service, p. 4.

Fall 1992, regarding a Postal Service conference in Spain, p. 5.

Winter 1993, on cost-cutting at the Postal Service, p. 17.

Winter 1997, letter to the editor on Fall 1996 article (not available), p. 2.

Spring 1999, on the Postal Service, p. 4.

Summer 1999, letter to the editor and response on the Postal Service, p. 2.

Spring 2000, mentions CAGW's January 11 announcement of opposition to the one-cent increase in postage, and Leslie Paige's February 8 letter to the editor of the *Washington Post* opposing the rate increase, p. 18.

Summer 2000, cites the May 11 naming of the Postal Service as Porker of the Month, p. 10.

Spring 2001, letter to the editor and response on p. 2; article by Leslie Paige criticizing the Postal Service on p. 16; and notes both the March 26, 2001 press conference and Paige's April 4 appearance on "Good Morning America" on p. 14.

Summer 2002, cites the June 26, 2002 press conference, p. 14.

Winter 2002, on postal mismanagement, p. 16.

Spring/Summer 2004, guest column by United States Postal Rate Commission Ruth Goldway on "Balanced Postal Reform," p. 5; and article on Olympic sponsorship, p. 6.

Winter 2004, article on postal reform, p. 5.

Spring 2005, citing Leslie Paige's quote in a *Los Angeles Times* article on postal rate increases, p. 10.

Wastewatcher (Exhibit D)

February 1999, criticizing waste at the Postal Service.

May 2000, on the Postal Service monopoly.

November 2000, on waste at the Postal Service.

November 2001, on a postal bailout.

January 2002, on continued postal mismanagement.

January 2003, on postal reform.

April 2003, on waste at the Postal Service.

April 2004, on cycling team sponsorship.

December 2004, on postal reform.

May 2005, on the postal rate increase.

December 2005, on privatizing military mail.

Press releases and letters to the editor (Exhibit E)

January 28, 1998 letter to the editor of *The Washington Post*.

January 11, 2000, announcing CAGW's opposition to the postal rate increase.

February 29, 2000, citing postal shipment duties and fees.

May 11, 2000, naming the U.S. Postal Service Porker of the Month for moving two officials to new residences at a cost of \$250,000.

September 19, 2000, citing Postal Service mismanagement.

November 13, 2000, criticizing postal rate increase.

March 22, 2001, announcing the Ad Hoc Coalition Against the Postal Rate Increase press conference on March 26 in Orlando, Florida.

March 26, 2001, for the press conference in Orlando.

April 2, 2001, media advisory on the April 5, 2001 press conference on the postal rate hike.

April 4, 2001, media advisory on the April 5 press conference.

April 5, 2001, naming the U.S. Postal Service Porker of the Month.

May 8, 2001, criticizing the postal rate increase.

July 19, 2001, on postal officials' executive bonuses.

October 1, 2001, on postal rate increase.

November 6, 2001, on postal handouts without reform.

December 3, 2001, on executive bonuses.

December 5, 2001, on the bonuses.

January 18, 2002, on relocation program.

March 12, 2002, Congress to question the postmaster general at a hearing.

March 22, 2002, on postal rate hike.

April 5, 2002, questioning the transformation plan.

Media advisory announcing the June 26 press conference (below).

June 26, 2002, to accompany the press conference announcing the release of a Wirthlin Worldwide Survey on financial statements.

Undated late June, 2002 editorial regarding the postal rate increase.

July 24, 2002, on the executive bonus program.

December 11, 2002, on postal reform commission.

July 8, 2003, on cycling team sponsorship.

July 10, 2003, on retail operations.

July 16, 2003, on oversight and business practices.

August 20, 2003, on retirement of inspector general.

April 23, 2004, on the end of cycling sponsorship.

Prime Cuts/Waste Dividend (Exhibit F)

How to Give Taxpayers a Waste Dividend (The Waste Tax), 1992, p. 33.

The Waste Tax, 1993, pp. 28-29.

Prime Cuts 1994, p. 32.

Prime Cuts 1995, p. 32.

Prime Cuts 1998, pp. 57-58.

Prime Cuts 1999, pp. 63-64.

Prime Cuts 2000, pp. 54-55.

Prime Cuts 2001, pp. 55-56.

Prime Cuts 2002, p. 53.

Prime Cuts 2003, p. 51.

Prime Cuts 2004, pp. 56-57.

Prime Cuts 2005, p. 59.

Special reports (Exhibit G)

October 13, 2000 Looking Glass Report, *The United States Postal Service: Delivering Waste, Fraud, and Abuse... for You*.

Question 4: As described in response to question two, consistent with its mission, CAGW researches, promotes and publicizes broad public policy on a wide variety of issues. Among those issues is postal reform, which CAGW worked on for 16 years prior to the receipt of support from MPA and continues to pursue to this day. The organization's work on postal issues benefits the public, as well as its members and

supporters. Since CAGW is performing a public service, there is a significant difference between its activities and those of a for-profit corporation. Lobbying and public relations firms usually have signed contracts with clients and engage in a series of activities on their behalf for a specific period of time in return for a set fee. Nonprofit organizations usually receive general operating support for ongoing activities consistent with their charitable purpose for the benefit of the general public (as occurred with the MPA contribution).

While preventing a postal rate increase may incidentally benefit magazine publishers and other mailers, including nonprofit organizations like CAGW itself, the primary purpose of CAGW's efforts to publicize the argument against unwarranted increases in postal rates (as well as other postal reforms) is to save Americans money. CAGW's documented track record dating back many years and extensive activities on postal reform, as well as the miniscule amount contributed to CAGW by MPA, belie the implication that CAGW was doing anything in "exchange" for the general operating support provided by MPA. As an unrestricted contribution, the funds received from MPA were available for CAGW to use for any activity consistent with its charitable purpose.

Question 5: The MPA contribution went to CAGW, which is a 501(c)(3) organization.

Question 6: CAGW did not pay taxes on the MPA contribution. It was considered general operating support for the organization's charitable purpose. The organization has no information about MPA's actions regarding a tax deduction.

Question 7: CAGW was not "involved" in Mr. Abramoff's lobbying contract with Channel One. (See question 8 below, citing the fact that CAGW never received any contribution from that company.) However, the lack of financial support was irrelevant to CAGW's interest in the subject matter. Once again, because the committee has not provided copies of Mr. Abramoff's emails, it is not possible for us to respond further to this question.

In regard to Channel One, CAGW has been concerned with a wide variety of education issues for 22 years, starting with the Grace Commission Report on the Department of Education and the appendix thereto (Exhibit H). Since Channel One provided school districts with electronic equipment and maintenance that many could not afford, as well as an award-winning news program each day, all at no cost to taxpayers, it was consistent with CAGW's activities in the field of education to conduct research and publish information about the network's activities.

In general, CAGW engages in a myriad of issues that are related to its mission of uncovering, publicizing, and eliminating wasteful government spending. The organization utilizes a broad array of resources for obtaining information. Public and

private sector sources include the federal budget; legislation; current and former members of Congress and staff; the Congressional Budget Office; the Office of Management and Budget; the Government Accountability Office; inspectors general; whistleblowers; the Internet; the Grace Commission reports; analyses and studies by nonprofit organizations; the media; CAGW members; companies; trade associations; and ordinary Americans concerned about wasteful spending. CAGW has many ongoing relationships with individuals throughout the public and private sector. In some instances, CAGW approaches them; in other cases, these individuals approach CAGW to determine if there is a common interest in an issue. The final determination whether to engage CAGW resources on any issue is made by senior CAGW staff and CAGW's Board of Directors. That decision is based on whether the subject matter is related to CAGW's mission of fighting wasteful spending at all levels of government.

Following the Grace Commission report, our available records indicate that CAGW first published information on education issues in the Winter 1991 *Government WasteWatch*. That was followed by 11 *Government WasteWatch* articles, two *Wastewatcher* articles, three press releases, and two special reports prior to the material published in regard to Channel One. The publications on Channel One include a January 22, 1999 press release; an article in the Spring 1999 *Government WasteWatch*, pp. 4-5; an article in the Summer 2000 *Government WasteWatch*, p. 16 (Exhibit I); and a passing mention in both the 1999 *Congressional Pig Book Summary*, p. 28 and the 2000 *Congressional Pig Book Summary*, p. 31 (Exhibit N).

CAGW has issued the following in regard to education:

Government WasteWatch (Exhibit J)

Winter 1991, on student loan defaults, p. 3.

Spring 1992, three letters to the editor on teacher salaries, referencing a Winter 1992 article (unavailable), p. 2.

Summer 1992, on student loan expenses, p. 17.

Summer 1993, on student loan defaults, p. 14.

Fall 1993, on student loan defaults, p. 19.

Winter 1993, on student loan interest rates, p. 18.

Fall 1994, on student loan defaults, p. 20.

Winter 1997, on college scholarships to ex-convicts in Florida, p. 5; and Prime Cuts Café menu, noting student loans, p. 13.

Spring 1998, on student loan defaults, pp. 6-7.

Fall 1998, on CAGW's Goals 2000 report, p. 9.

Winter 1998, on Head Start, p. 5; on school vouchers, p. 6; and on Americorps, p. 20.

Fall 1999, review of Martin Gross's book, "The Conspiracy of Ignorance: The Failure of American Public Schools," p. 13.

Spring 2001, on allowing entrepreneurial schools to make deals with soft drink manufacturers, pp. 4-5.

Winter 2004, on Higher Education Act reauthorization, p. 13.

Summer 2005, on the release of the June 28 report on direct loans, p. 19.

Fall/Winter 2005, citing student loan fraud as an example of wasteful spending, p. 9.

Wastewatcher (Exhibit K)

October 1998, on Head Start.

December 1998, on school vouchers.

October 2000, on pork in the Omnibus Appropriations Act.

November 2002, on credit card abuse at the Department of Education.

May 2004, on unaccredited schools.

February 2005, on the student loan program.

April 2005, "Best of the Blog," wasteful spending in D.C. public schools.

Press releases and letters to the editor (Exhibit L)

April 8, 1997, regarding District of Columbia school closings.

August 14, 1998, on the Goals 2000 report.

November 6, 1998, on the Americorps report.

September 12, 2000, on improper payments report, citing education block grants in schools.

October 14, 2002, on Department of Education spending.

May 3, 2005 letter to the editor of The Chronicle of Higher Education regarding the Higher Education Act.

Prime Cuts/Waste Dividend (Exhibit F)

How to Give Taxpayers a Waste Dividend (The Waste Tax), 1992, pp. 7, 9, 24, 37, 38, and 39.

The Waste Tax, 1993, pp. 4, 5, 6, and 34.

Prime Cuts, 1994, pp. 5, 6, 7, and 24.

Prime Cuts, 1995, pp. 3, 5, 12, 19 and 24.

Prime Cuts 1998, pp. 22-25.

Prime Cuts 1999, pp. 22-26.

Prime Cuts 2000, pp. 20-23.

Prime Cuts 2001, pp. 20-23

Prime Cuts 2002, pp. 20-23.

Prime Cuts 2003, pp. 20-23.

Prime Cuts 2004, pp. 21-24.

Prime Cuts 2005, pp. 21-24.

Pork Alerts (Exhibit M)

November 23, 1999, citing education pork.

December 3, 2003, citing funds for education projects.

December 8, 2003, citing funds for education projects.

December 11, 2003, citing funds for education projects.

December 13, 2003, citing funds for education projects.

December 18, 2003, citing funds for education projects.

January 7, 2004, citing funds for education projects.

Congressional Pig Book (CPB) Summary and Departments of Labor/Health and Human Services/Education (Labor/HHS) Database (Exhibit N)

1995 CPB Summary, pp. 11-12.

1997 CPB Summary, pp. 19-20.

1998 CPB Summary, pp. 20-22.

1999 CPB Summary, pp. 27-32.

2000 CPB Summary, pp. 27-32.

2001 CPB Summary, pp. 30-35.

2002 CPB Summary, pp. 30-37.

2003 CPB Summary, pp. 22-26.

2004 CPB Summary, pp. 25-32.

2005 CPB Summary, pp. 36-43.

2006 CPB Summary, pp. 27-30.

Database of Labor/HHS Pork from 1995-2006.

Special reports (Exhibit O)

September 1993, *Danger: Risky Business*, section on the Department of Education, pp. 12-13.

August 14, 1998, Looking Glass Report, *Goals 2000: Dumbing Down America's Children*.

October 30, 1998, Looking Glass Report, *AmeriCorps the Pitiful*.

June 28, 2005, Looking Glass Report, *The Direct Loan Program Flunks Out*.

Question 8: CAGW has never received any contributions from Channel One.

Question 9: See question 8.

Question 10: The discussion in the prior answers addresses how the activities associated with MPA and Channel One are related to CAGW's charitable purpose. In the case of the Postal Service and education, these issues have been appropriate for CAGW's research and education activities since its inception, as both were broadly covered in the Grace Commission report. CAGW's conducted research and issued publications on postal reform prior to the receipt of a contribution from MPA, and has continued such activities subsequent to the cessation of contributions from MPA.

Question 11: It is appropriate for anyone or any entity, including individuals, foundations, and corporations, to make contributions to CAGW. There is nothing that prevents CAGW or any other nonprofit organization from seeking support directly or indirectly from a corporation.

Referring again to the July 2, 1984 application for recognition for exemption, Part III, Section 1 (Exhibit A), "It is anticipated that the bulk of the Foundation's financial support will come from contributions by individuals, corporations, non-profit organizations and the government." Section II states: "The Foundation's initial fund raising activities will consist of direct mail solicitations to individuals, and direct mail and personal solicitations to corporations and non-profit organizations." ... "...it is anticipated that additional fund raising activities will be approved by the Board of Directors after the Foundation becomes operational." Corporations include trade associations, law firms, and other entities.

While CAGW does not speak directly to every contributor, it is clear that donors have the expectation that CAGW will do everything it can to eliminate wasteful spending. Sometimes, that expectation is broad – reducing the deficit – and sometimes that expectation is narrower – eliminating the Bridge to Nowhere in Alaska. However, every action that CAGW takes is related to its mission, as described above, and has a broad-based benefit to Americans.

Question 12: CAGW also received a second and final contribution from MPA in 2001. Once again, it was less than one half of one percent of CAGW's total revenue. In

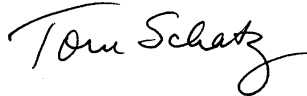
regard to other clients of Mr. Abramoff, since we have no knowledge of or access to Mr. Abramoff's client list, we cannot know whether or not Mr. Abramoff "arranged other donations" from his clients.

In conclusion, given CAGW's history of support for Postal Service reform, there can be no doubt that regardless of Mr. Abramoff's emails and any false promises he might have made to his clients as reported in the press, the contributions from MPA received by CAGW were considered as general support for its ongoing work on that subject matter, not as a request for a specific action. Any reasonable examination of CAGW's charitable purpose and its previous and ongoing activities on postal service reform belies the accusation that CAGW was "affiliated" with MPA or any client of Mr. Abramoff's, or that there was anything abnormal about the contribution that would lead CAGW to consider the contribution as being unrelated to its charitable mission and therefore subject to taxation. The question is not why did MPA consider supporting CAGW; the question is why would the organization not consider supporting CAGW.

CAGW's activities related to Channel One took place regardless of any financial support. This is further evidence that CAGW's decisions on issues are based, first and foremost, on whether they are related to the organization's mission to work for the elimination of waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement in government with the goal of creating a government that manages its programs with the same eye to innovation, productivity, and economy that is dictated by the private sector.

We hope this response addresses the committee's questions. Please feel free to contact me if you require any additional information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Tom Schatz". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Enclosures

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
P. O. Box 813
Mercer Island, WA 98040

August 11th 2006

Minority Staff.
Senate Finance Committee.
Washington DC 20510-6200

Dear

First of all, my apologies for the tardiness of my response. As you can see from the enclosed envelope, it was accidentally addressed to P. O. Box 183 instead of my correct box number so I only received it today.

Let me attempt to answer your questions to the best of my ability:

1. I have no recollection of any donations that Toward Tradition received from Channel One Network and/or Primedia.
- 2) I do not believe that Toward Tradition ever gave any "award" to Channel One or Primedia. I have no awareness of any business dealings with either of those two entities.
- 3) In March 1999, I think it was, I wrote one article that mentioned Channel One but decided not to release it for publication so as far as I know, it never saw the light of day. (I enclose the article herein) None of my writing is ever submitted to anyone other than my editor, for input prior to publication and this piece would have been no exception to my rule.
- 4) This information was provided to the FBI by the staff that Toward Tradition had at the time of their inquiry along with documents to which I no longer have access on account of the closure of the Toward Tradition office so I would be going on memory here. To the best of my recollection, Toward Tradition did receive a donation for Magazine Publishers of America toward the hiring of a temporary Washington DC event organizer, in the sum of \$25,000. I cannot recall the date but it would have been within 9-12 months ahead of one of Toward Tradition's Washington DC conferences, so I would think it might have been early in 2000.
- 5) Neither I nor Toward Tradition ever issued an award to Jack Abramoff at any time, neither was the matter of any award for Jack Abramoff ever raised at any Toward Tradition board meeting. There was some well publicized emails between Jack Abramoff and myself in which he humorously inquired as to whether I could create an award for him to which I responded equally frivolously along the lines of filling a wall of awards for him. No steps were ever taken to facilitate or produce any award for him.
- 6) I believe, going on memory, that Jack Abramoff became chairman of Toward Tradition in 1996 and left that office on 2000.

I hope this has been helpful to the work of your committee.

Sincerely



Is Making An Honest Living Immoral?—Your Children Think So.

©Rabbi Daniel Lapin

Suppose that the Acme Restaurant Supply Company began offering an expensive state of the art food processor free to any restaurant that agreed to use Acme brand cooking oil. Many restaurants, hotels, and company cafeterias analyzed the offer, examined the machine and tested the oil. Most happily signed on with Acme. After a year passed, 99% of the clients renewed the deal for another year. 98% approved of the quality of Acme's oil and would recommend the deal to other hospitality establishments.

Now, imagine we discover that the federal government decides to mandate that cafeterias in the veterans hospital and federal building, as well as the restaurant in the airport, all must refuse the offer. Not only must these government-run food establishments decline the free processor, but they also are instructed that the Acme Company and its cooking oil deserve condemnation in the strongest terms. While trying to decide what to make of this, we hear that taxes are to be raised to enable government kitchens to purchase food processors and, as for oil, well, they will just have to do without. Well, imagine no longer, this is really happening.

The above scenario is taking place today, though not in the food service industry, but in education. Channel One Network has provided television sets, videocassette recorders, satellite dishes and more than 7,000 miles of cable—in all about half a billion dollars of infrastructure—to America's classrooms. It offers about two hours of top quality educational programming each day, ranging from history to math, along with a ten-minute news program. All this, which is provided for free to interested schools, is made possible by two minutes of commercials.

Schools are signing on rapidly and renewing their contracts at the above mentioned 99% rate. Two thousand private schools, which really do feel accountable to their parent bodies, have become eager Channel One users. Encouragingly, they are joined by 10,000 public schools which, likewise, have renewed with alacrity. Yet, from the way Channel One detractors speak, one would suppose they consider it an enemy of education. So evil must it be, that despite the fact that it particularly helps poorer school districts, they are attempting to mandate that such schools do without the benefits offered. Or are they? No, as it happens, they still want the equipment. It is just that they prefer buying it from the proceeds of taxation to receiving it from the private sector. Surely taxpayers would want to know what is going on here.

This is not the only example of prejudice toward America's private sector. In Seattle recently, a highly regarded local businessman, Stuart Sloan, made a long-term commitment of over a million dollars per year to an inner-city public school. What was the initial reaction of the educational bureaucracy and local communal activists to Sloan's generosity? They responded with open skepticism and distrust, which delayed implementation of the gift for a full year.

The same educators and political leaders who never feel any unease over spending unlimited public funds (that is, wealth forcibly extracted from its owners) took many months to decide whether or not they could even accept a magnificent offer of private, voluntary charity. As if its private source might somehow fatally taint the entire educational enterprise. Furthermore, educators who have unhesitatingly implemented, and subsequently abandoned countless inane and destructive ideas, now warn us of the need to carefully test and measure the effects of Sloan's contribution.

One wonders what happened to this passion for empirical testing in the case of publicly funded disasters such as "whole language," "new math," and bilingual education. It appears that government provided education abhors private innovation or generosity while developing a growing appetite, if not an addiction, to money claimed from taxpayers.

MR. ABRAMOFF'S PLEA AGREEMENT

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	:	Criminal Number:
	:	
	:	VIOLATIONS:
	:	
	:	Count One:
	:	18 U.S.C. § 371
	:	(Conspiracy)
	:	
v.	:	
	:	Count Two:
JACK A. ABRAMOFF,	:	18 U.S.C. §§ 1341, 1346 and 2
Defendant.	:	(Honest Services Mail Fraud)
	:	
	:	Count Three:
	:	26 U.S.C. § 7201
	:	(Tax Evasion)

PLEA AGREEMENT

Pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, the United States of America and the defendant, JACK A. ABRAMOFF, agree as follows:

1. The defendant is entering into this agreement and is pleading guilty freely and voluntarily without promise or benefit of any kind, other than contained herein, and without threats, force, intimidation, or coercion of any kind.
2. The defendant knowingly, voluntarily and truthfully admits the facts contained in the attached Factual Basis for Plea.
3. The defendant agrees to waive indictment and plead guilty to the offenses charged in the attached Information which are:
 - A. one count of conspiracy to violate the following federal laws in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371:

- (1) honest services wire and mail fraud, in violation of Title 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341, 1343 and 1346;
 - (2) mail and wire fraud, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341 and 1343;
 - (3) bribery and honest services fraud of public officials, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 201(b), 1341, 1343 and 1346;
 - (4) post-employment restrictions for former Congressional staff members, in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 207(e);
- B. one count of honest services mail fraud, in violation of 18 U.S.C. §§ 1341, 1346 and 2; and
- C. one count of evasion of federal income tax, in violation of 26 U.S.C. § 7201.

The defendant admits that he is guilty of these crimes, and the defendant understands that he will be adjudicated guilty of these offenses if the Court accepts his guilty plea.

4. The defendant understands the nature of the offenses to which he is pleading guilty, and the elements thereof, including the penalties provided by law. The maximum penalty for violating the law specified in the Information is:

- A. Count 1 (Conspiracy): five years of imprisonment, a fine of \$250,000 or not more than the greater of twice the gross gain or twice the gross loss, and a mandatory special assessment of \$100;
- B. Count 2 (Honest Services Mail Fraud): twenty years of imprisonment, a fine of \$250,000 or not more than the greater of twice the gross gain or twice the gross loss, and a mandatory special assessment of \$100;

- C. Count 3 (Tax Evasion): five years of imprisonment, a fine of \$250,000 or not more than the greater of twice the gross gain or twice the gross loss, the costs of prosecution, and a mandatory special assessment of \$100;

The parties understand that the statutory maximum term of imprisonment for the three offenses charged in the Information is 30 years. The defendant understands that the Court may impose a term of supervised release to follow any incarceration, in accordance with 18 U.S.C. § 3583. The authorized term of supervised release for each of the counts is not more than three years. The defendant also understands that the Court will impose restitution, and may impose costs of incarceration, supervision and prosecution.

5. The defendant understands and agrees that restitution to victims in the offense described in Count 1 of the Information is mandatory. The loss to the victims as a result of crimes charged in Count 1 of the Information is estimated to be approximately \$25,000,000. The defendant agrees not to transfer or otherwise encumber his assets except with notice to, and consent of, the undersigned representatives of the United States until such time as this agreement is filed with the Court, at which point the defendant must seek leave of Court to transfer or otherwise encumber his assets. The parties agree that the defendant will not be required to obtain the consent of the United States for property transfers necessary to pay ordinary living expenses, ordinary business expenses and attorneys fees. The defendant agrees as part of this agreement that he will provide to the United States detailed and accurate information identifying all of his income, assets, expenses and liabilities within 45 days of the date of this agreement in a format requested by the United States and will truthfully answer all questions relative to his finances. Thereafter, the defendant will

provide on a monthly basis or as otherwise requested a report of all financial transactions valued at \$2,500 or more, including all income, expenditures and transfers of funds or property.

6. This agreement does not resolve the defendant's civil tax liability for any years and does not bind the Internal Revenue Service in any way regarding its efforts to examine or collect defendant's civil tax liabilities. The defendant agrees that he will cooperate fully with the Internal Revenue Service in determining any tax liabilities (civil or criminal) of any entities or persons for any years relating to this prosecution, including but not limited to his personal tax liabilities for the years 2000 through 2003, and in paying all appropriate tax liabilities, penalties and interest. To this end, the defendant specifically agrees to file complete and accurate amended individual income tax returns, Forms 1040X, for tax years 2000 through 2003, as soon as possible upon the signing of this plea agreement, and in any event, no later than the time of the defendant's sentencing. If for any reason complete and accurate returns, prepared in accordance with the revenue agent's report dated November 28, 2005, are not filed by the time of defendant's sentencing, the United States will no longer be bound by the terms of paragraph 11(c) below. The defendant further agrees to waive the statute of limitations with respect to the assessment and collection of his taxes due and owing for these tax years. The defendant also agrees to provide the Internal Revenue Service with all requested documents and information for purposes of any civil audits, examinations, collections, or other proceedings, and to waive any rights regarding disclosure to the Internal Revenue Service Examination and Collection Divisions of all documents obtained and reports produced during the criminal investigation, including but not limited to tax return related information and information obtained from the defendant pursuant to grand jury subpoena. Nothing in this agreement shall limit the Internal Revenue Service in its assessment and collection of any taxes, penalties and interest

due from the defendant or other parties. The defendant agrees to waive venue for any tax charges for purpose of this plea agreement and any rights he may have under 18 U.S.C. § 3237(b).

7. The defendant also agrees to pay restitution to the Internal Revenue Service pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663(a)(3). The defendant further agrees that, pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 3663(a)(3) and this agreement, the Court will order as restitution the amount of the criminal tax computation which the defendant agrees is \$1,724,054, and which will be applied to the defendant's civil tax liability for the years 2001 through 2003, as later determined by the Internal Revenue Service.

8. If the Court accepts the defendant's plea of guilty and the defendant fulfills each of the terms and conditions of this agreement, the United States agrees that it will not further prosecute the defendant for crimes described in the factual basis attached as Exhibit A or disclosed by the defendant in debriefing sessions with the United States on or before January 3, 2006. Nothing in this agreement is intended to provide any limitation of liability arising out of any acts of violence.

9. The defendant understands and agrees that federal sentencing law requires the Court to impose a sentence which is reasonable and that the Court must consider the advisory U.S. Sentencing Guidelines in effect at the time of the sentencing in determining a reasonable sentence. Defendant also understands that sentencing is within the discretion of the Court and that the Court is not bound by this agreement. Defendant understands that facts that determine the offense level will be found by the Court at sentencing and that in making those determinations the Court may consider any reliable evidence, including hearsay, as well as provisions or stipulations in this plea agreement. Both parties agree to recommend that the sentencing guidelines should apply pursuant to United States v. Booker and the final Sentencing Guidelines offense level as calculated herein provides for a reasonable sentence. Defendant further understands the obligation of the United

States to provide all relevant information regarding the defendant, including charged and uncharged criminal offenses, to the United States Probation Office. The United States agrees to recommend that any sentence imposed in this case run concurrently to any sentence imposed in United States v. Jack A. Abramoff, No. 05 CR 60204 (SDFL) ("SDFL Case"). Moreover, the United States agrees to recommend that the conduct at issue in the SDFL Case is not relevant conduct for sentencing purposes in the instant plea provided that the defendant is found guilty in the SDFL Case by plea or otherwise. Defendant also states that he has had ample opportunity to discuss, and has in fact discussed, the impact of the sentencing guidelines and the statutory maximum sentence with his attorney and is satisfied with his attorney's advice in this case.

10. Except to the extent it would be inconsistent with other provisions of this agreement, the United States and the defendant reserve, at the time of sentencing, the right of allocution, that is the right to describe fully, both orally and in writing, to the Court the nature, seriousness and impact of the defendant's misconduct related to the charges against him or to any factor lawfully pertinent to the sentence in this case. The United States will also advise the court of the nature, extent and timing of the defendant's cooperation. The defendant further understands and agrees that in exercising this right, the United States may solicit and make known the views of the law enforcement agencies which investigated this matter.

11. The defendant and the United States agree that the following United States Sentencing Guidelines ("U.S.S.G.") apply based upon the facts of this case:

a. The parties agree that the 2003 Sentencing Guidelines Manual governs the guideline calculations in this case. All references in this agreement to the U.S.S.G. refer to that manual.

b. The parties agree that the total offense level applicable to the defendant's offense conduct is Level 31. This level is calculated as follows:

I. Fraud Offenses:

Base Offense level § 2B1.1	6
§ 2B1.1(b)(1)(L) loss of more than \$20,000,000	22
§ 3B1.1(c) organizer or leader	2
§ 3B1.3 abuse of trust	<u>2</u>
	32

II. Corruption Offenses:

Base Offense level § 2C1.1	10
§ 2C1.1(b)(1) more than one bribe	2
§ 2C1.1(b)(2)(b) involving a high level public official	8
§ 3B1.1(a) organizer or leader or was involving more than five participants or was otherwise extensive	<u>4</u>
	24

III. Tax Offense

Base Offense Level § 2T4.1 tax loss of more than \$1,000,000 but less than \$2,500,000	22
§ 2T1.1(b)(1) failure to identify the source of income from criminal activity	2
§ 2T1.1(b)(2) sophisticated means	<u>2</u>
	26

IV. Treatment of Multiple Counts/Objects	
§3D1.4 (2 total)	<u>2</u> 34
VII. Expected Adjustment under § 3E1.1	<u>-3</u>
TOTAL	31 (108-135 months)

c. As indicated above, the United States agrees that it will recommend that the Court reduce by three levels the sentencing guideline applicable to the defendant's offense, pursuant to U.S.S.G § 3E1.1, based upon the defendant's recognition and affirmative and timely acceptance of personal responsibility. The United States, however, will not be required to make these recommendations if any of the following occurs: (1) defendant fails or refuses to make a full, accurate and complete disclosure to this office or the probation office of the circumstances surrounding the relevant offense conduct and his present financial condition; (2) defendant is found to have misrepresented facts to the United States prior to entering this plea agreement; (3) defendant commits any misconduct after entering into this plea agreement, including but not limited to, committing a state or federal offense, violating any term of release, or making false statements or misrepresentations to any governmental entity or official; or (4) defendant fails to comply with any terms of this plea agreement.

d. The defendant understands that his Criminal History Category will be determined by the Court after the completion of a Pre-Sentence Investigation by the U.S. Probation Office. The defendant acknowledges that the United States has not promised or agreed that the defendant will or will not fall within any particular criminal history category and that such determinations could affect his guideline range and/or offense level as well as his final sentence. The parties understand

that the order in which the pleas are entered or sentences are imposed in the SDFL Case and the instant matter could result in the imposition of an additional criminal history category and an increased period of incarceration. Consequently, if a plea or sentence in the SDFL Case results in a criminal history category greater than I, and the defendant has fully complied with all provisions in this agreement, the United States agrees to recommend a downward departure based on U.S.S.G. Section 4A1.3(b).

12. The defendant and the United States agree that neither party will seek or advocate for or suggest in any way an adjustment to or a departure from the sentencing guidelines other than those explicitly set forth in this agreement or for a sentence outside of the range determined to be applicable under the advisory Sentencing Guidelines, provided that those guidelines are calculated as set forth above. In the event that the defendant breaches any term of the plea agreement, the United States may move for upward departures based on any grounds the United States deems appropriate.

13. The parties agree that U.S.S.G. § 5E1.2 provides that the Court shall impose a fine for a guideline offense at level 31 of \$15,000 to \$150,000, unless the Court finds that the defendant is unable to pay a fine. The defendant understands that the Court must order that the defendant make restitution to victims of these offenses for the full amount of the loss.

14. The defendant agrees to fully cooperate in this and any other case or investigation with attorneys for the United States of America, and federal and state law enforcement agencies by providing truthful and complete information, evidence and testimony, if required, concerning any matter. The defendant understands that if he makes material false statements intentionally to law enforcement, commits perjury, suborns perjury, or obstructs justice, he may be found to have

breached this agreement and nothing in this agreement precludes the United States of America or any other law enforcement authority from prosecuting him fully for those crimes or any other crimes of which he may be guilty and from using any of his sworn or unsworn statements against him. The defendant understands that this plea agreement is explicitly dependent upon his providing completely truthful testimony in any trial or other proceeding, whether called as a witness by the United States, the defense or the Court.

15. Further, in the event that the United States determines in its exclusive discretion that the defendant has fully complied with this agreement and provided "substantial assistance" to law enforcement officers in the investigation and prosecution of others, the United States agrees it will file a motion for a downward departure pursuant to Section 5K1.1 and 18 U.S.C. § 3553(e) of the United States Sentencing Guidelines or Rule 35 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, respectively. Such assistance by the defendant shall include his cooperation in providing truthful and complete testimony before any grand jury and at any trial as requested by the United States and in interviews by investigators. If the United States files a motion either under § 5K1.1 of the guidelines or Rule 35, both parties will have the right to present facts regarding Abramoff's cooperation in any judicial district and to argue for the extent of the departure that is appropriate based on the defendant's cooperation. However, the defendant further understands that the decision whether to depart, and the extent of any departure for substantial assistance is the exclusive province of the Court.

16. The United States cannot and does not make any promise or representation as to what sentence the defendant will receive or what fines or restitution the defendant may be ordered to pay. The defendant understands that the sentence in this case will be determined solely by the Court,

with the assistance of the United States Probation Office and that the Court may impose the maximum sentence permitted by the law. The Court is not obligated to follow the recommendations of either party at the time of sentencing. The defendant will not be permitted to withdraw his plea regardless of the sentence recommended by the Probation Office or the sentence imposed by the Court.

17. The defendant, knowing and understanding all of the facts set out herein, including the maximum possible penalty that could be imposed, and knowing and understanding his right to appeal the sentence as provided in 18 U.S.C. § 3742, hereby expressly waives the right to appeal any sentence within the maximum provided in the statutes of conviction or the manner in which that sentence was determined and imposed, including on the grounds set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3742, in exchange for the concessions made by the United States in this plea agreement. This agreement does not affect the rights or obligations of the United States as set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3742(b). If the United States appeals the defendant's sentence, the defendant will be entitled to appeal his sentence as set forth in 18 U.S.C. § 3742(a) as to any aspects of his sentence inconsistent with the sentencing provisions of this agreement.

18. If the defendant fails to comply with any of the terms and conditions set forth in this agreement, the United States may fully prosecute the defendant on all criminal charges that can be brought against the defendant. With respect to such a prosecution:

- a. The defendant shall assert no claim under the United States Constitution, any statute, Rule 410 of the Federal Rules of Evidence, Rule 11(e)(6) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, or any other federal rule, that the defendant's statements pursuant to this agreement or any leads derived therefrom should be suppressed or are inadmissible;

b. The defendant waives any right to claim that evidence presented in such prosecution is tainted by virtue of the statements the defendant has made; and

c. The defendant waives any and all defenses based on the statute of limitations with respect to any such prosecution that is not time-barred on the date that this agreement is signed by the parties.

19. If a dispute arises as to whether defendant has knowingly committed any material breach of this agreement, and the United States chooses to exercise its rights under Paragraph 18, at the defendant's request, the matter shall be submitted to the Court for its determination in an appropriate proceeding. At such proceeding, the defendant's disclosures and documents shall be admissible and the United States shall have the burden to establish the defendant's breach by a preponderance of the evidence.

20. The parties agree that if the Court does not accept the defendant's plea of guilty, then this agreement shall be null and void.

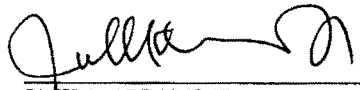
21. The defendant understands that this agreement is binding only upon the Public Integrity Section and the Fraud Section of the Criminal Division, and the Tax Division of the United States Department of Justice. This agreement does not bind any other prosecutor's office or agency. It does not bar or compromise any civil claim that has been or may be made against the defendant.

22. This agreement and the attached Factual Basis for Plea constitute the entire agreement between the United States and the defendant. No other promises, agreements, or representations exist or have been made to the defendant or the defendant's attorneys by the Department of Justice

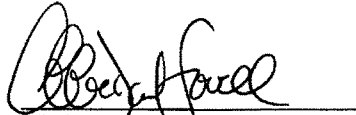
in connection with this case. This agreement may be amended only by a writing signed by all parties.

FOR THE DEFENDANT

Dated: 1/3/06



JACK A. ABRAMOFF
Defendant




ABBE DAVID LOWELL, ESQ.
Counsel for Defendant


FOR THE UNITED STATES

Dated: 1/3/06


NOEL L. HILLMAN
Chief, Public Integrity Section

PAUL E. PELLETIER
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Mary K. Butler
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Stephanie D. Evans
Trial Attorney
Tax Division
U.S. Department of Justice

ATTACHMENT A

FACTUAL BASIS FOR THE PLEA
OF JACK A. ABRAMOFF

This statement is submitted to provide a factual basis for my plea of guilty to the charges filed against me.

1. From 1994 to 2004, Abramoff was a Washington, D.C. lobbyist. In 1994, Abramoff joined a law and lobbying firm ("Firm A"). In January 2001, Abramoff joined a second law and lobbying firm ("Firm B").
2. At all relevant times, Abramoff solicited and obtained business with groups and companies throughout the United States, including Native American tribal governments operating, and interested in operating, gambling casinos. Abramoff sought to further his clients' interests by lobbying public officials, including Members of the United States Congress. Abramoff also sought to further his clients' interests by recommending vendors for grass roots work, public relations services and election campaign support. Typically, Abramoff communicated with his clients by interstate electronic mail, interstate telephone calls, and private or commercial interstate mail carriers.
3. From March 2000 through 2001, Michael Scanlon ("Scanlon") worked for Firm A and Firm B in Washington, D.C. as a public relations specialist engaged in providing public relations services to clients throughout the United States. At these firms, Scanlon worked on many matters, often together with, and at the direction of, Abramoff. Abramoff was influential in Scanlon being hired by both firms.
4. In or about January 2001, Scanlon established a business called Capital Campaign Strategies LLC which had its principal offices in Washington, D.C. Capital Campaign

Strategies LLC was formed to provide grass roots work, public relations services, and election campaign support. Scanlon also formed other companies that were used primarily to receive money for the services and work performed by others (collectively referred to as "CCS"). The services that CCS provided frequently involved use of interstate mail and telephone calls. Payments were often made by interstate wire transfer or checks that foreseeably caused interstate funds transfers between banks.

5. In May 2003, Abramoff established a business called GrassRoots Interactive ("GRI"), which had its principal offices in Silver Spring, Maryland. Abramoff represented that GRI would provide grass roots work, public relations services, and election campaign support.
6. In July 1999, Abramoff established a private foundation called Capital Athletic Foundation ("CAF") for which he sought and received federal tax-exempt status, in part to provide funding for a non-profit school. In November 2001, Abramoff organized a solely owned entity, Kaygold, LLC. Abramoff used these entities in part to receive funds for his personal benefit, to conceal the destination of the funds, and, with respect to CAF, to evade income taxes. Payments were often made by interstate wire transfer or checks involving interstate funds transfers.

Fraud Based on Violations of Abramoff's Duty of Honest Services

7. Abramoff was hired by at least four Native American tribes with gaming operations to provide professional services and develop programs to limit market competition or to assist in opening casinos. In 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon agreed that Abramoff would encourage his existing and potential clients to obtain grass roots and public relations

services as a critical part of the lobbying program and strategy that Abramoff had been hired to provide. Abramoff promoted and recommended primarily CCS to provide this grass roots and public relations work. The prices CCS charged for its services were significantly in excess of CCS's costs.

8. Abramoff and Scanlon knew and agreed that Abramoff would receive fifty percent of the net profits received by CCS from those clients. Most of the payments from clients under the contracts with CCS were made to CCS. Scanlon then paid Abramoff his share of the net profits to various organizations that Abramoff controlled. The transfer of funds to Abramoff foreseeably involved the interstate transfer of funds.
9. Abramoff and Scanlon understood that the payments to Abramoff would not be disclosed to Abramoff's and Scanlon's four clients. Abramoff and Scanlon understood that disclosure of the profit-sharing arrangement to the clients would likely jeopardize the contracts for services and/or the profit margins of both Abramoff's law firm and CCS because disclosure could encourage the clients to seek competitive proposals from other vendors. Abramoff knew that his clients could receive the same services at significantly reduced prices because the quoted prices incorporated the undisclosed fees Scanlon paid to Abramoff of approximately fifty percent of CCS's net profits.
10. Abramoff promoted himself as having knowledge superior to his clients regarding lobbying and grass roots activity. Abramoff encouraged his clients to trust his judgment in these matters. Abramoff knew his clients did in fact trust and rely upon him in these matters. Abramoff further knew he had a duty to disclose all relevant facts to his lobbying clients, including conflicts of interest and any financial interest in fees paid to others.

Mississippi Tribe

11. In 1995, Abramoff was hired by a Native American Indian tribal client based in Mississippi ("Mississippi Tribe") to hire him to provide lobbying services on various issues. Abramoff used his knowledge of lobbying and grass roots work, which was superior to the Mississippi Tribe's knowledge of these areas, to secure the trust and confidence of the Mississippi Tribe.
12. In early 2001, Abramoff recommended and advised the Mississippi Tribe to hire CCS, while concealing the fact that Abramoff would receive approximately fifty percent of the net profits from the Mississippi Tribe's payments to Scanlon.
13. From June 2001 until April 2004, the Mississippi Tribe paid Scanlon and related entities approximately \$14,765,000. Abramoff and Scanlon concealed from the Mississippi Tribe that approximately fifty percent of the profit, approximately \$6,364,000 including money not passed through CCS, was paid to Abramoff pursuant to their undisclosed arrangement.

Louisiana Tribe

14. In March 2001, Abramoff and Scanlon successfully solicited a Native American Indian tribal client based in Louisiana ("Louisiana Tribe") to hire them to provide lobbying and grass roots services to the tribe. Abramoff used his knowledge of lobbying and grass roots work, which was superior to the Louisiana Tribe's knowledge of these areas, to secure the trust and confidence of the Louisiana Tribe.
15. In March 2001, after CCS had been paid for the first project, Abramoff advised the Louisiana Tribe to rehire CCS, while concealing the fact that Abramoff would receive fifty percent of the profits from the Louisiana Tribe's payments to CCS.

16. From March 2001 to May 2003, the Louisiana Tribe paid CCS and related entities approximately \$30,510,000. Abramoff and Scanlon concealed from the Louisiana Tribe that approximately fifty percent of the profit, approximately \$11,450,000, was paid to Abramoff pursuant to their undisclosed arrangement.

Michigan Tribe

17. In January 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon successfully solicited a Native American Indian tribal client based in Michigan ("Michigan Tribe") to hire them to provide lobbying and grass roots services. Abramoff used his knowledge of lobbying and grass roots work, which was superior to the Michigan Tribe's knowledge of these areas, to secure the trust and confidence of the Michigan Tribe.
18. In June 2002, Abramoff advised the Michigan Tribe to expand its contract with CCS, while concealing the fact that Abramoff would receive approximately fifty percent of the profits from the Michigan Tribe's payments to CCS.
19. From June 2002 to October 2003, the Michigan Tribe paid Scanlon and related entities approximately \$3,500,000. Abramoff and Scanlon concealed from the Michigan Tribe that approximately fifty percent of the profit, approximately \$540,000, was paid to Abramoff pursuant to their undisclosed arrangement.

Texas Tribe #1

20. In February 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon successfully solicited a Native American Indian tribal client based in Texas ("Texas Tribe #1") to hire them to provide lobbying and grass roots services designed to reopen Texas Tribe #1's gaming operations that had been closed by Texas authorities because Texas Tribe #1 did not have federal or state authority to operate a casino. Specifically, Abramoff and Scanlon represented that they would

work first to open the casino as a Class II gaming facility and then work to expand Texas Tribe #1's casino as a more lucrative Class III facility. Abramoff and Scanlon further proposed that, in return for their work, Texas Tribe #1 would pay CCS \$4,200,000 in fees and make additional and substantial political campaign contributions at the direction of Abramoff and Scanlon. Abramoff falsely represented that he would work for free to represent Texas Tribe #1, all the while concealing from the Texas Tribe #1 that approximately fifty percent of CCS's net profits, approximately \$1,850,000, was paid to Abramoff pursuant to his undisclosed arrangement with Scanlon.

21. At no time did Abramoff, Scanlon, or others working with them disclose to Texas Tribe #1 that, beginning in 2001, Abramoff, Firm B, and Scanlon had collected millions of dollars in fees from the Louisiana Tribe to oppose all gaming in the Texas legislature. Abramoff's conduct prevented consideration by Firm B of whether to disclose his representation of Texas Tribe #1 pursuant to the Lobbying Disclosure Act.
22. After being retained by Texas Tribe #1 in early 2002 to reopen its casino through federal legislation, Abramoff continued representing the Louisiana Tribe for millions of dollars in fees. Pursuant to this representation of the Louisiana Tribe, Abramoff failed to disclose to Texas Tribe #1 that he opposed legislation in the 2003 Texas state legislative session that would have provided a basis to reopen Texas Tribe #1's casino under state law. Abramoff knew that Texas Tribe #1 supported and promoted this legislation while he worked to prevent its passage for the benefit of his other client, the Louisiana Tribe.

Wireless Company

23. From January 2001 until April 2004, Abramoff was employed by Firm B. As an employee of Firm B, Abramoff had a duty to act in Firm B's best interests and not to divert lobbying fees owed to Firm B.
24. In 2001, Abramoff was hired by a wireless telephone company ("Wireless Company") to undertake a lobbying effort to assist Wireless Company in securing a license to install wireless telephone infrastructure for the United States House of Representatives. In 2001 and early 2002, Abramoff and his Firm B colleagues lobbied for the Wireless Company without any formal retainer agreement. Rather than make lobbying payments to Firm B, Abramoff directed Wireless Company to make payments totaling at least \$50,000 to CAF.
25. At no time did Abramoff inform his employer, Firm B, of the \$50,000 in payments to CAF, of which Firm B was entitled to a portion.

Fraud Based on Abramoff's Affirmative MisrepresentationsMichigan Tribe

26. 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.

Distilled Beverages Company

27. On or about June 6, 2002, Abramoff and Staffer A successfully solicited one of Firm B's clients, a distilled beverages company, 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.

New Mexico Tribe

28. In February 2002, Abramoff and others successfully solicited a Native American Indian tribal client based in New Mexico ("New Mexico Tribe") to hire them to provide lobbying and grass roots services to the tribe.
29. In March 2002, the New Mexico Tribe paid Scanlon and related entities approximately \$2,750,000. Abramoff and Scanlon materially understated to the New Mexico Tribe the size of CCS's profit margins and concealed from the New Mexico Tribe that CCS's profit margin was approximately eighty percent and that approximately fifty percent of the net profit, \$1,175,000, was paid to Abramoff pursuant to the undisclosed arrangement. At no time prior to March 2004 did Abramoff or others inform Firm B or the New Mexico Tribe of the undisclosed payments.

Manufacturing and Services Company

30. On May 2, 2003, Abramoff sent a business proposal to a manufacturing and services company ("Company A") to handle its lobbying effort regarding a tax issue. In addition to his services, Abramoff recommended that Company A hire GRI, while concealing from Company A his interest in GRI. In his proposal, Abramoff falsely advised that GRI

had no relationship with Abramoff's law and lobbying firm, even though GRI was controlled by Abramoff and paid the vast majority of its profits to Abramoff or entities he controlled. Additionally, Abramoff represented to Company A that he was negotiating on their behalf with GRI to try to save Company A money, when in fact he was simply setting a high price on services that he controlled and from which he would profit.

31. In May and June 2003, Company A paid GRI, directly and through Firm B's bank account, approximately \$1,841,429. Abramoff and entities he controlled received approximately \$1,655,695 from GRI.

Corruption of Public Officials

32. Beginning as early as January 2000, Abramoff, Scanlon and others engaged in a course of conduct through which one or both of them offered and provided a stream of things of value to public officials in exchange for a series of official acts and influence and agreements to provide official action and influence. These things of value included, but are not limited to, foreign and domestic travel, golf fees, frequent meals, entertainment, election support for candidates for government office, employment for relatives of officials, and campaign contributions. As one part of this course of conduct, things of value were offered to and given to a Member of the United States Congress ("Representative #1") and members of Representative #1's staff, including, but not limited to:
 - a. All-expenses-paid trips, including a trip to the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands ("CNMI") in 2000, a trip to the Super Bowl in Tampa, Florida in 2001, and a golf trip to Scotland in 2002;

- b. Numerous tickets for entertainment, including concerts and sporting events;
 - c. Fundraising events, including providing box suites and food at various sport and concert venues and at a restaurant in the Washington, D.C. area owned by Abramoff;
 - d. Campaign contributions to campaign committees and to political action committees and organizations, including, but not limited to, the following:
 - i. \$4,000 in contributions to Representative #1's campaign committee in 2000; and
 - ii. A \$10,000 contribution to the National Republican Campaign Committee ("NRCC") in 2000 at Representative #1's request;
 - e. Regular meals and drinks at an upscale restaurant owned by Abramoff in Washington, D.C.; and
 - f. Frequent golf and related expenses at courses in the Washington, D.C. area.
33. As part of this course of conduct, Abramoff, Scanlon and others provided things of value to public officials in exchange for a series of official acts and influence, and agreements to provide official acts and influence, including, but not limited to, agreements to support and pass legislation, agreements to place statements in the Congressional Record, agreements to contact personnel in United States Executive Branch agencies and offices to influence decisions of those agencies and offices, meetings with Abramoff and CCS's clients, and awarding contracts for services with CCS and Abramoff's law firms. As one part of this course of conduct, Representative #1 and members of his staff agreed to use and did use their official positions and influence, including, but not limited to, the following:

- a. Travel by a senior staff member of Representative #1 with others in January 2000 to CNMI for the purpose of assisting Abramoff, his firm and others in obtaining and maintaining lobbying clients;
- b. Representative #1's agreement in March 2000 to place a statement drafted by Scanlon into the Congressional Record that was critical of the then-owner of a Florida gaming company, and was calculated to pressure the then-owner to sell on terms favorable to Abramoff and his partners;
- c. Representative #1's agreement in October 2000 with Scanlon to insert a statement into the Congressional Record which praised the new owner of the Florida gaming company, Abramoff's business partner;
- d. Representative #1's agreement in approximately August 2001 to use his position as Chairman of a Committee of the House to endorse and support a client of Abramoff as the provider of wireless telephone infrastructure to the House of Representatives;
- e. Representative #1's agreement in approximately March 2002 that, as the Co-Chairman of a Conference Committee of House and Senate Members of Congress, he would introduce and seek passage of legislation that would lift an existing federal ban against commercial gaming in order to benefit a client of Abramoff and CCS, Texas Tribe #1;
- f. Representative #1's agreement in approximately June 2002 that, as the Co-Chairman of a Conference Committee of House and Senate Members of Congress, he would introduce and seek passage of legislation that would lift an

- existing federal ban against commercial gaming for another Native American Tribe in Texas ("Texas Tribe #2") at Abramoff's request;
- g. Representative #1 met in August 2002 with representatives of Texas Tribe #1 to assure them that they were effectively represented by Abramoff and that he continued to agree to work to pass the legislation they wanted;
 - h. Representative #1's agreement in December 2002 to seek support from a Member of another Committee of the House of Representatives for passage of legislation to lift the federal gaming ban for Texas Tribe #1;
 - i. Representative #1 met in 2002 with a Native American Tribal client of CCS and Abramoff from California ("California Tribe") to discuss Representative #1's agreement to assist in passing legislation regarding taxation of certain payments received by members of the California Tribe, and to assist in an issue relating to a post office of interest to the California Tribe;
 - j. Representative #1 agreed to meet with some of Abramoff's clients and others in Russia while Representative #1 was there on official business in August 2003 to, among other things, influence the process of obtaining a visa for travel to the United States for the relative of one of Abramoff's clients; and
 - k. Representative #1 at various times, directly and indirectly, contacted public officials at additional government agencies and offices on behalf of clients of Abramoff and CCS in an effort to influence decisions and actions by those officials.

34. As one part of the same course of conduct outlined in paragraphs 32 and 33 above, in June 2002, Abramoff informed Representative #1 that Texas Tribe #1 was raising funds to pay for a golfing trip to Scotland that Representative #1 and members of his staff were to, and did, attend. In August 2002, Texas Tribe #2, at the request of Abramoff and Texas Tribe #1, sent a \$50,000 check made out to CAF via private interstate mail delivery to Abramoff at 1101 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W., Washington, D.C.
35. As one part of the same conduct outlined in paragraphs 32 and 33 above, beginning at least in 1999 through January 2001, Abramoff and others sought Staffer A's agreement to perform a series of official acts, including assisting in stopping legislation regarding internet gambling and opposing postal rate increases. With the intent to influence those official acts, Abramoff provided things of value including, but not limited to, from June 2000 through February 2001, ten equal monthly payments totaling \$50,000 through a non-profit entity to the wife of Staffer A. The total amount paid to the wife of Staffer A was obtained from clients that would and did benefit from Staffer A's official actions regarding the legislation on internet gambling or opposing postal rate increases.
36. As one part of the same course of conduct outlined in paragraphs 32 and 33 above, beginning in March 2002, Abramoff and a former staffer to Representative #1 ("Staffer B") contacted Representative #1, officials employed by the Office of Representative #1, and officials employed by a House Committee ("Committee") of which Representative #1 was the chairman. These contacts occurred within one year of Staffer B having served as the Chief of Staff for Representative #1 and Staff Director of the Committee. Abramoff intended that Staffer B communicate with Representative #1, his staff, and the

Committee staff for the purpose of influencing official action on behalf of Abramoff's and Staffer B's clients, including Texas Tribe #1 and Wireless Company.

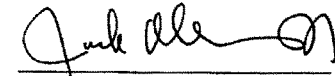
Tax Evasion Offense

37. During the calendar year 2002, Abramoff had and received a substantial amount of income from the conduct discussed in paragraphs 1 through 31. In order to conceal this income from the Internal Revenue Service and others, Abramoff used entities exempt from taxation under Title 26, United States Code Section 501(c), including a private foundation he created and a public policy organization for which he served as a director, to receive income and to make expenditures for his own personal benefit. To further conceal this income, Abramoff and others created, or caused to be created, false invoices and false entries to financial records, which made it appear as if the funds had been received and expended for tax-exempt purposes. In fact, Abramoff and others knew that these activities constituted a misuse of these tax-exempt entities. Through these activities, Abramoff and others intended to and did benefit Abramoff, the entities he controlled or financially supported, and the public policy organization.
38. On or about October 15, 2003, Abramoff signed and filed a false and fraudulent joint U.S. Individual Income Tax Return, Form 1040, which underreported Abramoff's total income for 2002. Specifically, Abramoff willfully and intentionally failed to report the income received from the illegal schemes described in paragraphs 1 to 32 above resulting in the evasion of approximately \$628,557 in individual income taxes for the 2002 tax year.


39. Abramoff signed and filed false and fraudulent Returns of Private Foundations, Forms 990PF, which misrepresented the receipt of diverted funds as charitable donations and mischaracterized personal and business expenditures as being used for a tax exempt purpose.
40. Furthermore, Abramoff caused false Returns of Organizations Exempt from Income Tax, Forms 990, to be filed by a public policy organization, which misrepresented the receipt of diverted funds as charitable donations and mischaracterized personal and business expenditures of Abramoff as being used for a tax exempt purpose.
41. Abramoff 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.

The preceding statement is a summary, made for the purpose of providing the Court with a factual basis for my guilty plea to the charges against me. It does not include all of the facts known to me concerning criminal activity in which I or others engaged. I make this statement knowingly and voluntarily and because I am in fact guilty of the crimes charged.

DATE: 1/3/06



JACK A. ABRAMOFF
Defendant



ABBE DAVID LOWELL, ESQ.
Attorney for Defendant