

SCANLON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
CAPTIOLO CAMPAGN STRATEGIES

June 5, 2001

Jeremy,

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

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

Thanks for all your help. Please call me anytime.

BB/CCS 002213

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 10:26 AM
To: mike [REDACTED]
Cc: roseman [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: rb today?

Sounds good.

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

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

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 10:16 AM

To: mike [REDACTED]
Subject: rb today?

<... MESSAGE TRUNCATED ...>

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

Great.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 10:46 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE:

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

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, October 04, 2001 11:38 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject:

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

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

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

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 8:22 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: saginaw

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 7:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: saginaw

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

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

I love it!

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

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

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

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

'HIS MAKES US 2-0 in tribal elections this year!

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

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

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

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

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

What's a troglodyte?

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

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

Did we win it?

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
Subject: Saginaw

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

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

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

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

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

Did chris say what the hold up was?

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 18:09:34 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Yes they will
Jack Abramoff

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 17:52:38 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

These knuckleheads are never going to do it!

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

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

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

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

Did we win it?

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
Subject: Saginaw

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

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

We'll get it!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 10:25 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: status at sagchip

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 9:53 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: status at sagchip

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

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

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

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

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

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, January 29, 2002 6:59 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Mizzou

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon-Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]

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

You iz da man.

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

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

Ok on this, ill take care of it and get all the payouts rolling.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
To: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wed Feb 06 22:16:49 2002
Subject: FW: LA

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

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:[REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:36 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even if we had to take some money out of our retainer to pay Scanlon to work the ground for them for crying out loud...

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

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:01 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

I am going there tomorrow by the way, on the way back from Nevada. Meeting with our slate on the council, chief, subchief, et al, to make sure they start doing the local political work they need to do to stay in power.

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

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:38 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

He said he would go back to the council with it shortly. He wanted to hold off until we got the \$270K or so in hand to give out...then go back for another line item. I think if we tell them about the next meeting (who is going to be there, yadda yadda)...plus the Choctaw are there, they'll give the money.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:35 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

Did he respond to the crea request?
Jack Abramoff

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

From: [REDACTED]
To: 'cpetras' [REDACTED] <cpetras@...>
CC: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED] <abramoffj@...>
Sent: Tue Feb 12 11:34:16 2002

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:42 AM
To: Chris
Subject: RE: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

Can you hand out the invoice (but only to the slate of 8) and just read them the memo? The opposition should just hear this at the table orally and get nothing in writing. Will that work?

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

From: Chris [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:55 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
Date: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:03 AM
Subject: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

>Up to date on the sports suites proposal and get that approved asap? I have
>to get closure here. The other participants are getting antsy about
>this and want to get moving, and bills are coming due. Let me know if
>I need to make any calls on it. Thanks Chris.

>
>
>
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>postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 9:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Agua Caliente

I saw them tonight. They really can't wait for you to lead them to the promised land! Tomorrow night, after the reception at Sigs, let's take them to dinner and lock up the deal.

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 8:45 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: call me at home

Yes, go for it big time.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:20 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: call me at home

Agua Calliente

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:25 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: call me at home

The AC race?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:17 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: call me at home

Hey - How much do you want me to spend on the AC race - I gotta get a team out there ASAP - Like 3 people - Then rotate a new team in after that - So travel is goanna run about 20k and materials like 5 - 10k.
Should we go for it?

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:09 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: call me at home

[REDACTED]

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:01 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: call me at home

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 7:12 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: call me at home

Tribal Election 2002

Aqua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

Message

We will communicate that this election is about direct leadership with leaders who are in touch with the tribe. You are the new leaders, the leaders who will take the tribe into the future. Not the old leaders who are only looking out for number 1.

Tactics

This campaign is built on direct interaction with the tribal members. That is why we have developed a plan that will put you in contact with every voter at least five times over the next 7 days. More importantly, by segmenting the voter population into three tiers, you will have a tailored message for each member you meet. There are a number of ways to interact with the voters, and we have developed 4 highly effective systems to deliver your message. They are listed below.

I. Mail

We have developed three separate mail pieces that will articulate your messages. The first will hit on Friday, March 8. It will be a personalized letter from you, explaining why you are a superior candidate for your position.

The second will be a comparison piece that draws distinctions between you and your opponents. This letter will reach the voters on Monday, March 11.

The third piece will be a traditional Get Out The Vote Piece (GOTV) that asks for their support and reminds them to mail in their ballot. This piece will be delivered Thursday, March 14.

II. Door to Door

You are the candidates who are in touch. Let's prove it. During the weekend of March 8-10, you will make personal contact with 50 voters (each). This personal interaction will go miles by making yourselves visible to the voters. This is your chance to prove that you are the candidates who truly are working for the tribal members.

III. Phones

We have developed a phone script that will reiterate your message to the voters and ask for their support. It will be coordinated from Palm Springs, and will take place throughout the weekend of March 8, 9, and 10. Phone messaging is especially effective in reaching those voters that cannot be contacted in person.

BB/AC 005446

IV. Candidates Meeting

On Sunday, March 10, we will organize a candidates' night for both of you. Obviously, it will afford you an opportunity to remind your supporters to send in their ballots, and give you an opportunity to articulate your views to those "undecideds" who attend. More importantly, it will create a buzz around the membership that will ultimately sweep you into office.

Vision integrity courage

My name is Virginia Siva and I am announcing my candidacy for the position of Tribal Chairman. This is an exciting time in the history of the tribe and I believe I can provide the vision and determination to take us to the next best place. In the past you have entrusted me with your support each year as I ran for an at large seat on the Tribal Council, now I ask that you extend that faith in me as I seek the position of Tribal Chairman. Together we can make a difference.

Past generation provided this Tribe with extraordinary leadership - and in many regards we enjoy the fruits of their labor. Their inspiration and determination allow us to prosper today. Now it is time for a new generation to assume that responsibility of leadership. I have come to this challenge with the support and love of my family. I believe I bridge two great generations - and can lead us into the future fortified by the lessons of the past.

I want to share with you why I have decided to run for this position. First, for leadership to be accountable there should be some periodic checks and balances and change affords us that opportunity. We should never take our leaders for granted, for some day they may take the membership for granted and lead without inspiration or accountability.

Second, it is essential that we prepare the Tribe for both short and long-range challenges. Thus we need to assess how we can diversify our economy to ensure that future generations share in the same economic prosperity that we are witnessing today. In addition, we need to assess what our long-range human resource needs will be and make strategic investments in our youth who are seeking higher education. It is important that we equip tribal members with the knowledge and experience to lead a diversified tribal economy in the future. For example, we need members to pursue business management, natural resource protection, recreational science and tourism, to meet existing and emerging needs. Diversified economic development complemented by educational investments will only make us stronger and better equipped to meet the needs of future generations.

I thank you for your past support and hope I can count on your vote to help me fulfill our vision for the future of the Tribe.

Sincerely,

Virginia Siva

Virginia Siva

Agua Caliente
Tribal Chairman and Council Election
GOTV Timeline

Wednesday, March 6, 2002

- Draft Talking Points for Virginia
- Final Drafts of Candidate Letters
- Final Drafts of Candidate Fliers
- Create Invitation for Community Meeting
- Send Letters, Fliers and Invitation for Candidates' Approval
- Confirm Staff Flights
- Confirm Staff Hotel Reservations
- Confirm Van Rentals (2)
- Driving directions from LAX to Palm Springs
- Secure site for Community Meeting
- Book caterer
- Print envelopes, letters
- Buy Stamps
- FedEx mailing to Palm Springs
- Contact candidates and review timeline
- Complete 3-tier list

Thursday, March 7, 2002

9:15 AM WHEELS UP Dulles (United Airlines, Flight 183)
11:56 AM WHEELS DOWN LAX

TO DO

- Staff prepares for door-to-door campaigning
- Staff prepares for Community Meeting
- Candidate letters arrive via FedEx and dropped in mail
- Buy cell phone
- Secure Post Office Box address

Friday, March 8, 2002

Noon Lunch with Candidates

4:00 PM - 9:00PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO

- Provide candidates with talking points for Community Meeting

Saturday, March 9, 2002

9:00 AM - 9:00 PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO

- Prep candidates for Community Meeting

Sunday, March 10, 2002

10:00 AM - 4:00 PM Door-to-door campaigning

7:30 PM - 9:00 PM Community Meeting

Monday, March 11, 2001

1:10 PM WHEELS UP LAX (United Airlines, Flight 194)

8:51 PM WHEELS DOWN Dulles

VIRGINIA SIVA
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

I would like to thank everyone for coming out tonight for this community meeting.

I am Virginia Siva and I am running for Tribal Chairman.

I have visited many of you over the past few days. And, I believe that meeting face-to-face is very important between council leadership and tribal members.

To be effective, a good leader must have a strong and open relationship with all tribal members.

I want to bring a new energy into the council. My main goal is to take the lessons and successes of the past and use them to guide us into an even greater future.

Our tribe needs a leader that understands your concerns and is in tune with our needs. I am an experienced member of the tribal council and I know this community well.

As tribal chairman I will always have an open door policy. I want to represent you and your needs in a positive way.

A vote for me is a vote for a new beginning and a brighter future.

New ideas and a fresh outlook are important to the continued prosperity of our tribe.

I will use every resource to ensure that the tribe's success is the people's success, **OUR SUCCESS!**

Again, thank you for coming out this evening. I ask you for your support and your vote. Please make sure to send in your ballots!

Your vote will send a message: that our tribe chooses to elect leaders that are *in touch* and that will give back to our community.

THANK YOU.

CANDACE PATENCIO
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

Thank you all for attending our meeting tonight. It is wonderful to see so many tribal members gathered together.

For those of you who don't know me, I am Candace Patencio and I am running for the Tribal Council.

As a tribal council member, I will use my education and gaming business experience to help further our successes as a tribe while at the same time continuing to honor our rich legacy of strength and community.

I will work hand-in-hand with you to make smart decisions that produce positive changes for the tribe.

Casting your vote for me means that you support an *honest, effective and experienced* tribal council.

A vote for me is a vote for smart business decisions and a prosperous future.

Your support is important. All of us can choose to bring a positive change by working together. But to do it, I need your vote.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:03 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Let's chat about these guys. I agree about the [REDACTED], but we need to energize this. we spent the time and won the election, and now have a great contract with them. they are not happy with the service they are getting. We need to step up and save this (a lot less work to turn this into a winner than to find another rich tribe and bring them to this point). they are apparently unhappy that you are not there. I am seeing Chris Petras tomorrow and will get a temperature and we'll find a way to fix it. we need a beautiful girl to send up there to do our work. I am really not kidding. This deal is a big part of our financial life and we cannot let it slip away.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:29 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Jack - the fact that they are not doing [REDACTED] has nothing to do with them not seeing results on my end - they are just friggin cheap - and losers - I very seriously doubt we will ever see another penny from them - and there was no chance that they were ever going to do the [REDACTED]. We really have to watch these guys.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 3:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: those f'ing SagChips

[REDACTED] just told me that they are not going to do the [REDACTED]. He said they are under fire and are worried that they are spending too much money. I really am worried that they are not seeing results from us up there, so they are starting to rethink doing stuff with us. can you PLEASE get someone up there asap?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 15, 2002 2:56 PM
To: 'Rodney Lane'
Subject: FW: Personal financial statement



Personal Financial
Statement -...

Here is the latest one I have. We should remove the Suncruz item from it, and add in the restaurant (value at \$2M I think). Also, put in \$5M revenue/yr from CCS, valued as \$30M (multiple of 6). Check with Gail before we send over to anyone, since I want to make sure it's consistent with the rest of the stuff I am sending them. we should not reveal this to anyone but Gail, though, since no one knows the CCS stuff. Thanks.

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

From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 6:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Personal financial statement

I made a couple of slight changes and made sure the numbers add up. I gave no additional information beyond listing First Gate so you may wish to elaborate.

If you can look this over, make revisions and get it back to me tonight, I'll fax it over to Bill in the morning.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 2:11 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Curve

Da man! You iz da man! Do you hear me?! You da man!! How much \$\$ coming tomorrow? Did we get some more \$\$ in?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 3:06 PM
To: abramoffj@ [redacted]
Subject: Curve

hey I got a fax from you regarding the Altoona curve - I cant pay this out of my account - that's the bad news - the good news is that you have a hell of alot coming your way tomorrow so this won tbe a problem.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
mike [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 5:21 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Caliente

Thanks. Yes, I got a call from Candace. Virginia did not listen to Mike Scanlon's campaign guidance and did not work hard enough. Very sad.

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

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 4:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: Caliente

I had a message from [REDACTED] Virginia did not win the tribal chairman's race. But, Candace did win the at large race. [REDACTED]

Greenberg Traurig
[REDACTED]

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN
PUBLIC RELATIONS PLAN

April 5, 2002

The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council is charged with leading one of the most successful Indian tribes in the United States. This powerful position places the Tribal Council on the frontlines before Congress, the media and its members. The Tribal Council must passionately accept its role as leader, especially during times of controversy both internally and externally. In times of crisis everyone is a critic – locals gossip, the media spins and Congress watches. Looking at the larger picture and actively pursuing a positive image will help polish the Tribe's image, stave off potential crises and provide ammunition to quash future negative attacks.

I. GOAL

Capitol Campaign Strategies' objective is to provide the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council with the tools and resources necessary to successfully and *proactively* promote their agenda and improve their image among tribal members, the media and legislators. The goal is to make this Tribal Council the most powerful and effective Administration in the history of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan and secure their reelection.

KEY MESSAGE POINTS

- The priority of this Tribal Council is to unite our Nation. We work for the interests of ALL tribal members.
- This Tribal Council has integrity. We act responsibly, thoughtfully and are true to our word. Tribal Members can trust us.
- We are going to take this tribe into the 21st Century with original ideas that will benefit future generations to come.
- Our success is your success; no one will be left behind.

II. STRATEGY

CCS' strategy is to arm the Tribal Council with an effective message and the resources needed to communicate that message in a clear, accurate and concise fashion. *Preparedness* and *forward thinking* are the keys to responding quickly, thoughtfully and effectively. Each action and activity is conceived to maximize the Tribal Council's visibility and bolster its political capital.

External Communications Strategy

CCS will identify opportunities to promote the Tribal Council's agenda through targeted media and Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and activities.

In addition, CCS will conduct a full-scale "public relations audit" of the tribe's communications capabilities. This audit will determine how well or poorly the tribe's external communications systems have worked in the past, and how they can be streamlined and updated if necessary.

Media Relations

CCS will focus media relations around the Tribal Council's agenda and actions. Using a combination of communications tools, techniques and relationships, we will work to generate ongoing print, broadcast and radio coverage of Tribal Council activities that have an impact on the local community. Initially, CCS plans to target local and regional media. Trade publications and national media will be a long-term goal.

- Identify opportunities for editorials and letters-to-the-editor. CCS will prepare responses to political news articles and editorials for the Chief and other specified individuals.
- Determine activities and announcements that warrant a press conference. *(For example, coordinate a press conference to announce Spring 2002 disbursements.)*
- Target key journalists who consistently cover the Tribal Council, inviting them to the reservation for a private tour and exclusive interviews. This can have a specific pitch in mind such as education or healthcare.

Community Relations

CCS will identify worthy charity and event sponsorships and ensure that the tribe participates. The objective is to earn a respected position in the community and earned media from the press.

- CCS will work with the Tribal Council to promote and raise the profile of Saginaw Chippewa participation in philanthropic activities and events.
- CCS will recommend new ideas for Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and/or charities to develop.

For Example:

- *Host a "casino night" inviting tribal and local community members to participate, designating proceeds to a charity, school, or hospital of the tribe's choice.*
- *Invite local school children to the Traditional Village for tours and to learn more about tribal culture. Organize press photo-op.*
- *Invite press to ribbon-cuttings and provide pre-opening private tours of new facilities and/or new programs.*
- CCS will develop a Public Service Announcement Strategy for the tribe. This will help the Tribal Council improve its public standing by utilizing a free form of communication.

Internal Communications Strategy

“Only through education can we hope to build strong individuals and nations which can meet the needs of our future generations,” -- from the official Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan website.

Taking a cue from the tribe’s own education mission statement, intra-tribe relations will focus on establishing dialogue between the Tribal Council and tribal members, ultimately building a trust that leads to voter capital. Tribal trust is an evolving process that requires careful cultivation and education. CCS recommends planning regularly scheduled tribal community meetings and annual events.

- CCS will propose, stage and help execute all intra-tribe communications as directed by the council. This will include communicating important tribal government issues to the tribal membership at large. *For example, CCS will continue sending letters of update from the Chief and Tribal Council to tribal members on a monthly basis.*
- CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all “community meetings.”
- CCS will handle all announcement communications for the Council, such as community meeting pre-publicity and invitations.
- Identify key group of influential tribal members from each district to form a “kitchen cabinet” that will informally meet with the Tribal Council for information/idea sharing breakfast or luncheons. This is a great way to form strong relationships with prominent figures of the tribe and may lead to positive “word of mouth” promotion.

III. CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS

CCS will collaborate with the Tribal Council to develop a response system for the notification of an incident/emergency, as it relates politically. This system will streamline reporting time and control information and messaging.

IV. RESOURCES

CCS will provide the following tools to help the Tribal Council effectively communicate their agenda.

Media Training

The CCS team will provide media training for identified spokespeople from the Tribal Council who will be speaking with the media or before the public.

Training topics include:

- Understanding the role of the media versus the role of the spokesperson
- Message development
- Communication techniques
- How to stay on message
- Facts and figures
- Anecdotes
- Transitional words
- Push-button responses
- Controlling the interview

Written Communication

CCS will draft written materials for the Tribal Council when needed to include:

- Media advisories
- Press releases
- Opinions/letters-to-the-editor
- Talking points and/or statements

Press Conferences, Community Meetings and other Events

CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all political press events.

- Prep spokespeople
- Coordinate media in attendance

V. CONCLUSION

The internal and external strategies outlined above will enable the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council to effectively communicate their agenda, resulting in a successful and highly regarded Administration.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, April 07, 2002 5:20 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Candace call

Call to see re trip

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 5:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Candace call

Candace Patencio [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 2:15 PM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: Hi there

Thanks. I just tried your cell, but you must still be in the meeting. In a few hours, our religious holiday starts again, so I won't be able to call until Friday, but I will do so then. I think the way we should proceed is for you to tell the others that everyone has to work together to secure the tribe's political position and that the next few months are key, as there is an opportunity to work on the slots cap, which will almost certainly not be there after the new Governor is sworn in in January. Tell them that you have heard from the Choctaws and Coushattas that their political folks are the best and that you think it is a prudent thing for the tribe to invite us in to have a discussion as to what they can do for the tribe. Then, we'll come in and show them what we can do, and get a plan in place. Does this sound like a good approach? On the one hand, to just come in cold won't have much of an impact and probably will take too long. On the other hand, if the others on the tribal council perceive that we are your guys (which we are!) it might make it difficult. If you recommend that we are brought in for a chat, that is probably the most neutral way to do it, and then we can figure out timing and the rest of the details while there. sound possible?

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

From: Candace Patencio [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 11:51 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Hi there

Yes, that should work. I'm not sure if an introductory letter from your firm searching for work is the best way or if the Tribe seeks you out through Moraino and I. What are your thoughts??? If the opportunity occurs I will push to seek for a qualified firm (YOU). I will see if in today's meeting I can lay the foundation. To approve any contracts they must be in a meeting on Tuesday and placed on the agenda on Friday by 10am. What target date should we set to get you on board???? I know now, but I need a little time (HAAAHAAA). Call me and let me know your thoughts. Hopefully, today's meeting is not too long.

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

From: <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
To: <cpate [REDACTED]>
Cc: <mike [REDACTED]>
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 3:29 PM
Subject: RE: Hi there

> Hi there. I'll give you a call on your cell, but we should be able to
> get out there on the 15th to spend some time with you and then with
> whomever
> you
> think we should meet. We could then be there if needed on the 16th
> and leave that night. I think what we have in mind is helping the
> tribe set

up

> the kind of political strength we have done for others, but doing it
> very carefully so that you are the ultimate controller of the
> political power. To do this, unfortunately, we'll have to get the
> approval of the current regime, I guess. I leave it to you to guide
> us on how to get in there. Again, Mike and I see the mission here as
> getting in, getting you guys organized so we can get the slot cap off
> and other things the tribe needs, and getting you into a position
> where the next time an election comes, we will win all the offices
> (and install you as Chairperson!!!). Let me know if meeting on the
> 15th works for you guys. Regards.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Patencio, Candace [REDACTED]
> Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 12:34 PM
> To: abramoff [REDACTED]
> Subject: RE: Hi there

> Today is my last day. You can e-mail me at home at [REDACTED] I
> am seated tomorrow. How do you want to do this???? Call me and let
> me know. Virginia and I are leaving for a 15 day cruise to Hawaii on
> 4/17. I have a Tribal Council meeting on Tuesday 4/16 that goes until
> about 5pm. Yes, I would like to talk to you and Mike to see how we
> could do the introduction and what level of help you could provide us.

> -----Original Message-----

> From: abramoff [REDACTED]
> Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 6:45 AM
> To: Patencio, Candace [REDACTED]
> Subject: Hi there

> Hope you are doing well. Wanted to see if you think it a good idea
> for Mike and me to come out there the week of the 15th, possibly on
> the 16th or 17th
> to see if we can do something for the tribe?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
- Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 7:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: SagChip idiots

done

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 8:30 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: SagChip idiots

Don't forget to send me the doc [REDACTED].

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, April 12, 2002 9:01 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: SagChip idiots

You have got to be kidding me! I'll call in a bit and will email it over. -----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, April 11, 2002 11:43 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: SagChip idiots

Someone leaked out the [REDACTED] memo to the enemy up there. Petras told me this tonight. The PR guy, [REDACTED], is the enemy and - I did not know this - is a Sagchip, and is now going to run for council!! These mofos are the stupidest idiots in the land for sure. in any event, we better read [REDACTED] and get ready for some bad press at some point. can you email it to me so I can review it too?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:43 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

totally

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:35 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Amen! You got it boss - we have many years ahead! I will call Candice in the am on the issues - It will be tight

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:45 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Thanks so much! You are a great partner. What I love about our partnership is that, when one of us is down, the other is there. we're gonna make \$ for years together! On AC, can you call Candace and get her take on the issues they want to hear about from us during our presentation? Thanks.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:39 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Hey - good day all around - we wrapped up the Sag chip crap - We hit Cough - I think for 3 mil - and we are working gon Acaliente presentation - should be tight.

Rest up - Ill talk to you in the am.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:19 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Talk to me baby. Good stuff? Can you call me at home?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:14 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Do you smell that?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:02 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Are you fucking kidding me?! I hate those fucking boy scouts. What a bunch of assholes.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:32 PM
To: abramoffj@████████████████████
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Hey guess what- the plane won't start! Oh yeah - waiting for a jump right now.

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

From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:18a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

You IZ da man.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj@████████████████████
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

I can think something up- let's chat.

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

From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:06a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Sounds good to me. as for the \$64K, I want to use it to buy a car I decided. Can we do it so neither of us pays taxes on it?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:00 AM
To: abramoffj@████████████████████
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

We did 800 for you 800 for me 250 for the effort the other 50 went to the plane and misc expenses. We both have an additional 500 coming when they pay the next phasesm

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

From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:00a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

\$800k? I thought we got \$1.9M?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:54 AM

To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

800 k.

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

From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 10:45a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

How much is

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 4:56 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

Thanks. I figured it was a 1099'er.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 4:33 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

This was your cut of one of our programs - I forget which but will find out. And yes - It will show up on your 1099. Ill find out what program and get back to you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 2:04 PM
To: [REDACTED]; Mike Scanlon
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

I have no idea. Mike, what does this mean?

-----Original Message-----
From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 12:08 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: CCS income for KayGold

In June your received a check for \$150K. Chris at Mike S.'s office told Allison is was a "referral expense".

does this mean :

1. this is income to you -for referring a client. or
2. this is a reimbursement to you for some sort of expense.

If it is #1 then we need to set aside for taxes as it will show up in your 1099 at year end.

pls. advise. thanks.

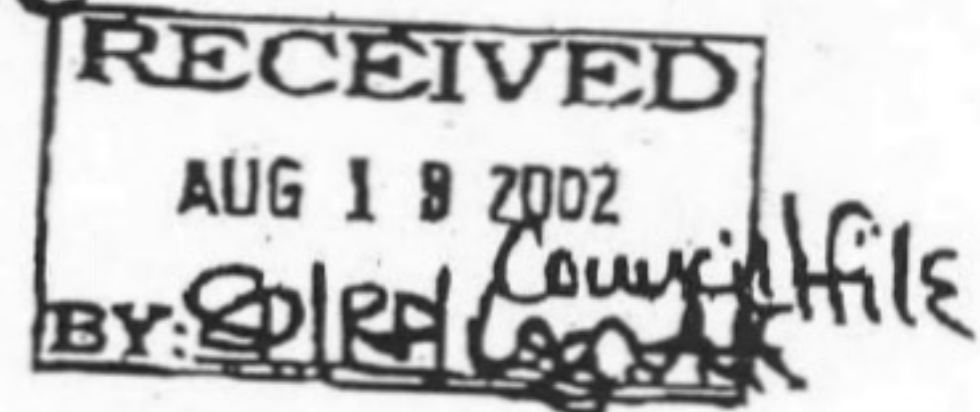
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Email: [REDACTED]

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08/05 6:28-04

Memorandum from Legislative Affairs



To: Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. and Councilman Robert Pego, Sr.

From: Chris Petras, Legislative Affairs

Date: 08/05/02

Re: Support for Capital Athletic Foundation in DC

Greetings

This is the reminder you requested regarding the request for support of the Capital Athletic Foundation in Washington, D.C by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. The Foundation creates programs that teach leadership skills to disadvantaged youth in the DC-area in an effort to keep them off the streets and enhance their educational opportunities.

The Foundation request is for \$25,000.00. If the Tribal Council votes to support the Foundation and assist in bringing youth development programs to disadvantaged youth, the check may be written as follows:

Capital Athletic Foundation

1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Suite 600

Washington, D.C.

Respectfully

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2002 9:38 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: transfers to Eshkol

Thanks for putting this together Gila.

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

From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 11, 2002 2:24 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: transfers to Eshkol

the 2002 Quick Books bookkeeping DRAFT shows the following as of
7/31/02: (rounded to the nearest \$1,000):

Tax Reserve Account at Legg Mason \$5,530,000
Long Term savings a/c at Legg Mason \$600,000
Transfers/checks to Archives find Dinging \$600,000 Transfers/checks to Livsar \$751,000
Transfers to Personal account and cash withdrawals \$590,000 (included in the \$590K is 7K
of cash withdrawals). Lexington Group investment \$30,000 BMW purchase and design \$99,000
Mark Maroglio/computer(I believe for your home) [redacted]
[redacted]
Political contributions \$17,000 Amex Bills, Visa bills \$275,000 [redacted]
Steven Abramoff (legal) \$8,000 Accounting (mostly me and [redacted] \$25,000
Joseph \$42,000 Charter Airplane \$72,000

All of the above totals \$8,787,000.

The July 31 bank statement has an ending balance of \$1,110,000.

That brings the total of cash in bank and expenses to \$9,897,000

The difference between the total and the revenue that Kaygold had (\$10,012,000). is
\$115,000. (acutally it is \$117,223, but due to rounding that I did for this email the
difference came to 115K).

I won't be able to tell you what those expenses are until the July bookkeeping is
completed. It is not yet reconciled to the Jul bank statement.

After the July and Aug bookkeeping is done, I will email you a similar summary but it will
be complete.

Laura, can you give Jack an idea what the \$590K went for, on the transfers to JA personal?

Also, in the future, no personal checks will be written off of this account. they first
will be transferred to JA personal. for example, Livsar and Arhives --first the money gets
transferred to your personal a/c, then it will go to the restuarants.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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>>> [REDACTED] 09/09/02 09:12PM >>>

actually, we can now track it to the penny. the May and Barnhard bookkeeper has put KayGold on Quickbooks as of Jan 2002 and we are up to date as of 6/30/02. she will be working on July and Aug. over the next week or so.

the bookkeeping file is at May and Barnhard. I will be there Wednesday and can send you an email with the breakdown. can you wait until Wednesday?

To date (not counting the 2M that is forthcoming) I show CCS income of

\$10,012,947.60.

In a message dated 9/9/2002 3:49:05 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj [REDACTED] writes:

> I am about to get another \$2.2M from CCS. Mike claims they have sent me

> over \$10M this year. Can you track where all that money has gone?

>

[REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:44 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Chris thinks this is not going anywhere. Can you call him and scare him?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:46 AM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: FW: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Here we go! This could kill Saginaw!

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

From: Brian J. Mann [mailto:brianjmann@redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:43 AM
To: Chris Cathcart; Mike Scanlon; Patrick Gould; Amy Biederman; Erin Yeatman; David Flaherty; Aaron Stetter
Subject: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

LANSING STATE JOURNAL

THURSDAY OCTOBER 10, 2002

Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Racetracks seek new options to better compete with casinos

By Tim Martin and Sally Trout

Lansing State Journal

Michigan's struggling horse racing industry could get a boost from the Legislature this fall.

Money matters

The amount of money waged at Michigan horse tracks climbed soon after the state allowed simulcasting in 1996, but it has dropped steadily since.

Lawmakers may consider a package of bills that would allow horse tracks to better compete with the casinos that have cut into their business the past several years. Tracks could be allowed to have video lottery terminals, card rooms, satellite betting sites and possibly other gambling to renew interest in attending horse races. But the proposal likely will stop short of allowing slot machines at the state's seven horse tracks. Already, two companies have expressed interest in opening new horse tracks in Michigan - including a thoroughbred racing group that has pitched plans for the Williamston or Mason areas. Developers for the proposed Ingham County track, however, say the legislation is not a factor in their attempt to locate in Michigan. The state's incentive: more than \$300 million in estimated tax revenues from the expanded gambling operations, which would help Michigan government cope with its budget woes. "It could be a lifeline to the industry," Annette Bacola, Michigan's racing commissioner, said of the bills that could be debated after the Nov. 5 election. The horse racing business has been battered for years. Attendance at Michigan horse tracks - about 1.4 million in 2001 - has fallen more than 40 percent in the past decade, continuing a slide that began in the 1970s. Each time a wave of casinos has opened in Michigan, horse tracks have lost business - particularly since three Detroit casinos debuted in the late 1990s. Betting at Michigan's seven horse tracks - \$375 million in 2001 - is down more than 10 percent in the past decade. Wagering increased after the state allowed simulcast betting in 1996, but it dropped again in recent years. Ladbroke DRC, which opened in Livonia in 1950, closed in 1998 and is now home to a shopping center. A new track hasn't opened in Michigan since 1989. Horse owners often bypass Michigan tracks and opt to race out of state, hurting the quality of animals racing at state tracks. But Michigan racing officials say there are signs the industry is

beginning a turnaround. Waging at state tracks rose 5 percent in September compared with a year ago, although last year's take might have been hurt by the Sept. 11 terrorist strikes. Simulcast betting on the Belmont Stakes and the Kentucky Derby were higher this year than last, state officials say. There is more interest in renovating old tracks and improving marketing to draw more customers, Bacola said. And for the first time in 13 years, new tracks could open in Michigan. EQTAH Group, a Toronto-based company, has contacted Wheatfield Township and Mason officials about opening a thoroughbred and mixed breed track as early as next year. Magna Entertainment Corp. of Ontario - which already owns Great Lakes Downs in Muskegon - has plans for a track near Romulus for 2004. The proposed legislation has "no impact whatsoever" on EQTAH's plans for a track in Michigan, spokesman Ken Schneider said Wednesday. Magna officials could not be reached to comment on the legislation. But race officials say the package of bills - which have undergone major revisions since being introduced last year - could revive the industry. At least six U.S. racing jurisdictions allow some form of "racinos" - race tracks with casino gambling. And several others offer off-site betting or card rooms. In Delaware, video lottery machines alone bring in more than \$175 million in additional revenue for the state each year. The developing Michigan legislation would allow tracks to host card rooms, run keno games and establish video lottery terminals. Other bills would allow tracks to set up satellite locations to accept bets, and establish telephone wagering so patrons could wager over the Internet. "They are critical - absolutely critical - to the industry," Rep. Judith Scranton, R-Brighton, said of the bills she sponsors in the House. Sen. George McManus, R-Traverse City, has a similar package pending in the Senate. Scranton said the package will not include slot machines - although many in the racing industry are lobbying for them and say they are vital to recovery. The bills have gained momentum as the state seeks new revenue sources. Michigan's state government has a projected \$500 million shortfall for this fiscal year. Scranton said the various groups with interests in Michigan horse racing are close to agreement on what the package should contain, and it could be taken up in the lame-duck Legislature after the Nov. 5 election. Gov. John Engler opposes slots at Michigan horse tracks, but will take a wait-and-see approach on the other components, spokeswoman Susan Shafer said. Engler's main concern is how the proposal might affect state income already received from Indian casinos, used to promote economic development. Michigan received about \$12 million last year from taxes on simulcast betting at state racetracks. Slot machine revenue would likely far exceed that, industry observers say. "If they get slots at these racetracks, it would turn everything around," said Larry Mallar, general manager of the Michigan Harness Horsemen's Association. But the potential casino aspect of the tracks could make it harder for them to find a home. Walter Sorg of Wheatfield Township said he originally thought a racetrack there might be a good idea. But after track officials pulled out of a township meeting where they had planned to outline their proposal, Sorg says he isn't sure. "The developers aren't talking to us and it makes me suspicious," Sorg said. "Maybe this, as some claim, is just a front for a casino." Mason's Terry Fobbs said he is ready to launch a grass-roots campaign against locating a track. "A race track doesn't fit here," he said. Mason Mayor Russell Whipple maintains Mason should at least listen to track developers' plans, which call for a \$10 million investment and 100 new jobs wherever they locate. And Wheatfield officials have not taken a formal position on the track. Michigan cities and townships with horse tracks reaped simulcast revenue ranging from \$804,000 in Hazel Park to about \$16,000 in Isabella Township near Mount Pleasant last year. Contact Tim Martin at 377-1061 or tmartin@lsj.com. Contact Sally Trout at 377-1040 or strout@lsj.com. Published

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 7:50 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Aqua C

That's great news.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 6:58 PM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: Aqua C

Hey - Just wanted updated you on AC - on the phone with Candice now - we have all of our materials and work up to speed and the council and Cahirman are very happy.

I am working on setting them up right now for their elections next year. We are looking at Candice for Vice Chairman - which we are looking good on. We are also looking good at getting Virginia Elected under one scenario and Moreno is a lock.

The most Likely scenario right now is Barbara become chairman, with Candice as Vice Chair, Moreno, Janette and Virginia on the council - which would give us 4 out of 5 all the time - and possibly 5 out of 5 if we play it the right way.

This will be very/very good for us.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

GTG-E000057616

11-546-08
RS 298

November 1, 2002

The National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) works with U.S. House Republicans to advocate policy positions of the party and elect their members to Congress. The NRCC has been very instrumental in advocating the Tribe's program goals and forming coalitions of support within the party for your program requests.

The three entities listed above have asked for support by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan to assist them in funding efforts to protect Tribal sovereignty and advocate a higher social and economic quality-of-life for Tribal members.

Mr. Delay assists in raising money for a youth activity organization called Capital Athletic Foundation. All monies raised go directly to the Foundation and fund youth programs. They are respectfully requesting a contribution of \$25,000.00.

Americans for Tax Reform is respectfully requesting a contribution of \$25,000.00 to fund organization activities that advocate Tribal sovereignty and prevention of unwarranted federal taxation of Tribal revenues.

The National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) is respectfully requesting a contribution of \$25,000.00 to support candidates in this election who are close in their elections and support Tribal sovereignty and programs for the Tribe.

As you know, there are several individuals and groups working to weaken your sovereign rights. Supporting these three requests would greatly assist in opposing anti-sovereignty efforts. Should you agree to support these requests, the checks and amounts should be written as follows:

- Capital Athletic Foundation (\$25,000.00)
- Americans for Tax reform (\$25,000.00)
- National Republican Campaign Committee (\$25,000.00)

Respectfully

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 11:54 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Racinos

I'll follow up with him in a day.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:08 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Racinos

I love you.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 9:59 AM
To: cpetras [REDACTED]
Subject: Racinos

Chris, I am getting worried about this. Last night we opened Stacks and there were some WH guys there (who are Michigan guys - worked for Spence). They told me that there is a hearing coming up on this immediately, and that they have heard that this is going to happen!!! The enemy is moving fast and we are not on the field. Where is Scanlon on this? What is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. Every day we lose now is going to hurt.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, December 07, 2002 11:47 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT

Let's do it. we really need no money. but you and I must meet and work out a strategy to get things moving. We are missing the boat. There are a ton of potential opportunities out there. there are 27 tribes which make over \$100M a year (according to a NY Times piece on Nov 24 - can you have your guys do the research and find out which tribes these may be?). We need to get moving on them. can you come to town this week?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Saturday, December 07, 2002 8:21 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT
Importance: High

I talked with candice last night - she loves Duane! She was singing his praised- I don't know anout steph - I think we all need to pick it up on couchatta. Let's chat about that in the am.

I think u and I need to go there this month.

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

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED] <abramoffj [REDACTED]>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike [REDACTED]>
Sent: Sat Dec 07 20:19:53 2002
Subject: FW: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT

Duane is doing an awesome job for Agua, but I don't get the sense that Stephanie is doing shit for Couchatta. Am I wrong?

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

From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, December 05, 2002 2:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT
Importance: High

This is the DRAFT master plan for Agua. I will discuss it with them tomorrow informally. Want to finalize and present to them a week from next Tuesday. They have no board meetings the week of Christmas and New Years.

Forgive any errors--this is only DRAFT. Team will review the next draft. They put some of this together. <<Agua Caliente Master Plan.doc>>

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
gibsond [REDACTED]mailto:gibsond [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
of Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 9:40 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Absolutely!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 10:37 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Well we got paid 5 - and had in our contract that we may need an additional 2 - but that we would have to come before the council to get it.

So I did up a presentation - and we are asking for 1.785 on Thursday - The reason we are doing git Thursday is that Richard and Barbara are out of town. I could ask for the whole 2 - but I thought that would look strange - I could bump it up to 1.875?

Whatta think?

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:52 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Is the \$1.7M what we were expecting from them, or less?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 4:29 PM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Hey there - I spoke with Candice today - we have 1.7 coming our way and I also spoke with [REDACTED] looks like we in Biz there too. Ill call in a little while. I've gotta go out to CA to present to the council this week - you want to come? I was thinking of stopping in Louisiana to see William and Lovelin.

I only want to make this an overnight trip though. Can you do Thursday CA - Louisiana on the way back Friday - home before sundown Friday eve?

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:58 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:50 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: California

Ha ha ha. I'm a fat pig, so resumption of the death matches will have to wait a while still.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 10:39 AM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: California

You Bitch! I have been playing a little as well - This guy I play with uses that same pussy ceiling shot you always use!

—Original Message—

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California

I have an idea, but don't want to put it on email. just tried your cell. I'm in a 10 am meeting in 10mins. Can you call my cell before, or around 10:45am? I'm playing 11 am rb bitch!

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:33 AM
To: abramoffj@redacted
Subject: RE: California

Well - We just get the more slots - and the best compact we can. I figure it this way, If we get them more slots (whether or not they think they could have done it without us) the program paid for itself.

All we need to do is secure more slots and the amount paid put for the program cannot be used against our allies on the council - and could actually be used against Richard and Barbara.

The way I figure it if we get them 500 new slots (i think we will get between 1000 and 2500) - each kicks off 50k per year - that's 25 million bucks. Less the 6.7 they paid us:

In year one - BECAUSE OF OUR PROGRAM the tribe will NET 18.3 million.

So o matter what happens - as long as we do the very worst case scenario - we have a stong political argument for our guys.

5/7/2004

GTG-E000057702

—Original Message—

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj] [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, January 04, 2003 11:09 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California
Shit. Now what?

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 4:46 PM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: California

Candice is 100% behind it.

—Original Message—

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj] [redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 3:59 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California

This lawsuit may be our savior. You should spin this one hard asap. first see if we can find out if the suit is a Richard thing or a Moraino/Candace thing. That's important to know.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [redacted]]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 12:03 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: California

Hey here is where we stand as of now - both good and bad:

Bad:

The campaign finance issue is pissing off people big time in Sacramento. Essentially the tribe is refusing to release their contribution data (to whom they gave and how much). This issue is now in court. The AC says they are sovereign, and therefore do not have to disclose.

If the tribe wins - guess what - Every penny they contributed will have to be returned - as under California law candidates can not take contributions from foreign countries.

We are running into his everywhere we turn. The funny thing is - the only thing the pols really care about is giving the money back - not so much the issue itself. At some point we may have to recommend dropping the suit if they want to be successful.

Good:

There WILL be an expansion of gaming - and the tribe will get more slots as long as we play our cards right. Current estimations have the expansion going from 60k machine currently statewide to 113k - a doubling. We just need to position ourselves to gobble up as much as those as we can

On stand alone - I think we will get them a compact that is different than others - but the contributions will be the

5/7/2004

GTG-E000057703

same as some others as well as the number of slots. So another words - I think another tribe will get a many additional positions as our guys - but we will get our share.

I think if we get them a separate compact and an additional 2000 slots we did a great job considering what's going on with the campaign finance issues. Ill keep you up to speed.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 10:14 AM

To: Mike Scanlon

Subject: RE: California

The key is managing them to think they got a victory and the money was worth it. please implement the plan we discussed, giving them other advantages from your efforts, such as marketing.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@law.com]

Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 10:03 AM

To: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Subject: RE: California

I am briefing them this week or next. The bottom line is I am pretty dmn sure we are going to get them more slots, another provision in their compact separate from others - but as its stand right now not a completely different compact. I will work with them on setting prtotites.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 12:18 PM

To: Mike Scanlon

Subject: FW: California

So we need to get them to prioritize and fast, and we have to make them think that this is all happening because of the money they spent with us. can we do it?

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

From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris@law.com]

Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 11:58 AM

To: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Subject: RE: California

I think California is definitely going to get more slots - Gray needs the money. But it also means we will not be alone at the trough. It's about what we expected.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 11:10 AM

To: [mailto:abramoffj@law.com]

Subject: RE: California

What does this mean for us?

5/7/2004

GTG-E000057704

—Original Message—

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 9:26 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: California

FYI.

Tribes, state ready to renegotiate pact
EDWARD SIFUENTES
Staff Writer
North County Times
12/30/02

Nearly three tumultuous years into the new era of legalized gambling on Indian reservations in California, state and tribal officials head back to the drawing board in early 2003 to renegotiate the rules for casinos on Indian lands.

Late in 1999, the two sides negotiated the first gambling compacts, agreements that outlined how casinos would be regulated. California voters ratified legalized gambling on Indian reservations with the passage of Proposition 1A in 2000.

Though Gov. Gray Davis promised only a "moderate" increase in Indian gambling, 61 compacts were signed, 50 tribes now operate casinos and there are about 48,000 slot machines fueling the estimated \$5 billion a year industry.

There were 28 Indian casinos statewide before the compacts were signed.

In San Diego County, the number of casinos went from three to nine, five of which are at North County Indian reservations, including Pauma, Pala, Rincon, San Pasqual and La Jolla.

With the explosion of Indian gambling, the county was among the first to feel the growing pains, in large part due to friction between tribes and the county. Almost immediately, tribes, state regulators and local governments began to see gaps, inconsistencies and vague language in the agreements.

Written into the document were two windows of opportunity to revisit and renegotiate parts of the compacts.

On Jan. 1, the first of those windows opens to talk about the environmental effects tribal casinos have on neighboring communities.

A second window opens March 7 to talk about rules surrounding a revenue-sharing program with nongambling tribes and the much debated number of slot machines the state will allow.

Though informal talks have already begun, few are saying much about what specific issues will be on the table.

Some tribal representatives say they want more moderate changes, while local governments and some gambling watchdog groups want more radical changes to the compacts.

5/7/2004

GTG-E000057705

The governor's office is not saying what Davis will ask of tribes.

"We're not going to renegotiate through the press," said Hilary McLean, a spokeswoman for Davis. "We're not going to tip our hand before we go into the negotiations."

The basic issues most agree need to be revisited are the number of slot machines, environmental regulations and revenue sharing.

Lots of slots

With slot machines providing an estimated 80 percent of Indian casino revenues, it is little wonder that the number of slot machines allowed statewide is a point of contention.

Davis interpreted the compact to allow a maximum of 2,000 machines per tribe, but no more than 43,000 statewide. An analysis by the nonpartisan Legislative Analyst's Office said the compact allows for a total of 113,000 slots.

"I would say most, if not all of the tribes, will want the 2,000 limit raised," said Howard Dickstein, an attorney for five gambling tribes, including North County's Pala Band of Mission Indians, which operates one of the most successful of the new casinos in the county.

Some tribes believe there should be no limits on the number of slot machines; others believe market forces should dictate how many slots a tribe operates.

One North County tribal chairman said more slot machines are good for both tribes and the state.

The more slot machines a tribe has, the more fees the state receives and the more money gambling tribes can contribute to help poor nongambling tribes, said John Currier, chairman of the Rincon Band of Mission Indians, which owns the \$125 million Harrah's Rincon Casino and Resort at its reservation near Valley Center.

Gambling watchdog groups, such as Stand Up for California, said they hope the state will use the tribes' desire for more slots as leverage to get tribes to accept greater regulation on environmental issues.

"We would like to see more environmental regulations, more protection for employees and more cooperation with local governments," said Cheryl Schmit, director of Stand Up for California.

Under terms of the compact, tribes are required to follow state environmental laws only if they are "consistent with the tribe's governmental interests."

Environmental standards

In a draft petition to the governor, one group representing local government interests says it wants tribal casinos

to abide by the California Environmental Quality Act, generally considered to have tougher environmental standards for building than the federal laws that tribes follow.

"The compact should require that tribes promulgate and publish environmental protection laws that are at least as stringent as those of the surrounding local community and that tribes comply with the California Environmental Quality Act," according to a draft policy document by the California State Association of Counties dated Nov. 21.

Those conditions are something tribes are unlikely to accept, Dickstein said.

"That will never happen," Dickstein said. "I doubt that the tribes I represent will even consider that modification."

In San Diego County, the advent of 12 tribes with signed compacts raised the specter of massive traffic problems, noise and pollution in rural areas of East County and North County. The gloomy mood was fueled by an in-house report by the county that said the state and the county would need to spend \$500 million to widen and prepare roads for the anticipated casino traffic.

County officials threatened to withhold building permits and support for state alcohol licenses unless there were assurances of monetary contributions to offset the cost of road improvement projects near the casinos.

In North County, three tribes signed agreements with the county totaling \$14.5 million for road improvements.

The county's tribal liaison said the Board of Supervisors is unlikely to take a position on the compact negotiations until February, when the staff offers a recommendation.

The gambling divide

Most people on both sides of the Indian gambling negotiations table also agree that this is a vastly different time than it was when the first compact talks were held in 1999.

Tribes were much more united in their nearly 20-year quest to legalize gambling in the state. California was not in the budget crunch it is in now, and so it did not ask tribes to do more than cover the cost of gambling regulation and share the revenue with nongambling tribes.

A much publicized split in the California Nations Indian Gambling Association, which represents member tribes in gambling issues, illustrates the varying interests tribes have leading up to the negotiations, some tribal leaders said.

Recently, six of its 75 members withdrew from the group, including East County's Viejas Band of Mission Indians and North County's Pala, which said they disagreed with its tough criticism of state regulators.

Some of the more successful gambling tribes want less state regulation on their operations, while less established tribes are willing to make more concessions in order to move ahead with their businesses.

A spokeswoman for the association said the group will play a supportive role in the negotiations rather than take

positions on specific discussions.

Dickstein and Currier said that because of the various tribal interests, negotiations are likely to be on a one-on-one basis with the state or in small groups of tribes.

"Tribes are going to go alone or with groups that share similar interests," Dickstein said. "Negotiations will go differently with different groups. Depending on their philosophy, some will be more confrontational than others, but I consider this to be normal, much like when nations are negotiating treaties."

Revenue sharing

The split may also color the debate over the revenue-sharing trust fund that is the basis for some of the criticism leveled against the state's Gambling Control Commission, the state panel that regulates gambling on Indian lands.

The Pechanga and San Manuel bands, two of the state's most successful gambling tribes, filed a joint lawsuit in October against the state alleging the commission had failed to properly administer and distribute the money to small and nongambling tribes.

Some tribes argue the licensing fees that tribes pay to operate slot machines and which fuel the revenue-sharing fund make it difficult for tribes to get into gambling.

"Fees should be reasonable," Currier said. "The more licenses there are, the more opportunity to go into gambling and the more issues that you can solve."

Contact staff writer [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] or [REDACTED].

12/30/02

Aaron W. Stetter
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

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5/7/2004

GTG-E000057708

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 3:43 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: AC Update

I passed on him, but was I wrong? He wants \$250K!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 4:42 PM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: AC Update

Hey im on the phone with Dan Gans - he wants my advice on if to go with you or Buckham - What do you want me to do - or steer him towards.

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoff [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 3:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: AC Update

We should orchestrate this to happen and then fly out there to war game it with them and rake in the big \$\$\$\$. I'll even give you a shot to recoup some of your losses on the golf course if that happens!!!!

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:31 PM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: AC Update

Well - it will all depends on what the tribe does. If the State come to them and says - "we will not negotiate your compact until you resolve the suit" and the tribe say's screw you - which it seems they will from my discussions

Then my friend we are in an all out - statewide war - In a very big state!

But at the very least - if they are not willing to ease back on the suit - then we certainly can tell them that we have done what we can for them and their position on the suit makes it impossible for us to do anything more - except open up a new line of attack.

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

From: abramoff [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoff [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 11:58 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: AC Update

Am I reading this wrong, or do I smell a hell of a lot more money if we spin this right?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike [REDACTED]]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 11:42 AM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Cc: Chris Cathcart
Subject: AC Update

Hey, Here is some new information on the AC compact.

I called Candice with this info a short while ago:

In the next few days the Gov is going to appoint a lead negotiator for the compacts. This person will not be Rosenberg who is generally responsible for these issues inside the gov's office - although he will have a large say in it.

Our guy in Sacramento is telling me that the Law suit is still major issue and has said that we my not even have a seat at the table until the issue is resolved.

I have instructed our team member to force this issue with the Governors office. I want to now at the onset whether this is this case or if they are bluffing. At the very least we need to know for sure - sooner or later if the Lawsuit is going to be hang up so we can report back to the client.

If the Governors office is not bluffing then we will find ourselves in an interesting position.

The FULL council supports going forward with the lawsuit as a matter of sovereignty, and they refuse to waiver.

We will need to regroup and fight this battle on a different level if the compact comes to an impasse over the lawsuit. I will keep you informed.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 10:54 PM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: election

Afternoon?

—Original Message—

From: Candace Patencio [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 8:54 PM
To: abramoff [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: election

Was really busy today. What time tomorrow???

— Original Message —

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 5:35 AM
Subject: RE: election

Any time that's good for you. after 2 PM your time is good for me.

—Original Message—

From: Candace Patencio [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, January 14, 2003 9:17 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: election

When you have time let me know and we talk strategy for the up and coming election.

Candace

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From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:07 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

No, and I'm dying. Dying.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:54 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

Hey have you heard anything?

—Original Message—

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 12:40 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

We need to find other clients. I don't think they are going to spring for another program unless they start to encounter trouble.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 10:00 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

We have been all over this for weeks - we have a pretty good plan in place - but its still coming together. Lets chat around noon today.

—Original Message—

From: abramoff [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 10:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Agua Elections!
Let's discuss

—Original Message—

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 6:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: Agua Elections!

Jack and Mike:

I just talked to Candace - great news for the most part at Agua. She said Moraino, Virginia and Jeanette are all running un-opposed! And, she and Barbara are running against one another for Vice-Chair. The elections are on March 18th.

Barbara is doing a party for all tribal members - stressing family and encouraging members to bring their spouses and children.

We definitely need to devise a strategy to help Candace - it is now or never! Since there are so few tribal members we should be able to do a breakdown of each potential vote to be cast.

Let me know what I can do to help.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 8:43 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: FW: please call [REDACTED] in Scanlon's office

It's just not going to happen.

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

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 9:36 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: FW: please call [REDACTED] in Scanlon's office

my guess is that he has been doing this all along, but maybe didn't mention it. do you have the spreadsheets on this stuff from 2002? if you can send them to me I can see what he did.

If you agree that you operate your LLC from MD, I would take the approach that the DC taxes should be his problem, at least going forward. do you have that kind of leverage with these business deals and Mike, where you can tell him that you basically are getting more than 50% b/c of these DC expenses? getting your own check from the client would resolve that and over the long run would save big bucks. If you actually "conduct" that business in DC, however, that would put a wrinkle in this plan.

In a message dated 2/20/2003 8:17:07 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj [REDACTED]

I think I understand what he did. We received \$5M into CCS, from which (I guess - am I right?) DC requires a gross receipts tax/franchise tax. He divided the \$5M into three piles: \$1M for actual expense, and \$2M for each of us. then he deducted from each of these the taxes due to DC. under that approach, did he err? I don't recall our having paid this amount in the past, though he may have in the past deducted it from the actual expenses side. As for having the client pay CCS and Kaygold separately, that is very hard to do, but I'll try.

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

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 10:34 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: FW: please call [REDACTED] in Scanlon's office

I would be interested in seeing his excel spreadsheet when he sends it over.

you need to tell me what the arrangement is with him. you are not a member of CCS, LLC. (if you were a 50% member, then you would get 1/2 of the net, after expenses). you are paid like a contractor. if your deal with him is you get 1/2 the take, before expense, then he shouldn't deduct this.

5/9/2004

GTG-E000012115

do you have any old email from when you two made the CCS deal?

the DC tax issue is the reason why KayGold is not a DC LLC, but rather a MD LLC. I don't have you paying these extra taxes. his LLC is a DC entity. My rationale is that you work KayGold out of your house each day. He has got the CCS office in DC, so he is stuck.

and why is he taking out only 1/2 of the tax on 2M. if your take was 2M, and your chunk is supposed to be net of the DC franchise tax, then you should be responsible for the entire tax on 2M. (not that I'm complaining, I just don't understand your arrangement).

Maybe you should work things so that the folks you are cutting these business deals with pay Mike's LLC called CCS \$x dollars, and pay your LLC called KayGold \$y dollars. then DC doesn't get a chunk of your take. so long as you don't operate in DC. then it is just mike's problem and he is stuck with the DC taxes.

In a message dated 2/19/2003 3:47:57 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@██████████ writes:

Should he be making those deductions?

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike.██████████]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 3:42 PM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: RE: please call ██████████ in Scanlon's office

██████████ is sending a check over. Her is the quick math and as usual I'll get it to you in excel shortly

Check is for 1,965,000.00 to KayGold. The reason the deductions are so small in this pay out is because we had no travel expenses etc, and campaign costs are coming out of the 1 mil held back.

So the overall Payout is 2 million less 1/2 of the gross receipts tax of .009 and less 1/2 of the DC franchise tax of .005.

The math works like this

2 mil
Less 22,500 - 1/2 share of 45,000 which is .009 of 5 mil
Less 12,500 - 1/2 share of 22,500 which is .005 of 5 mil.

Talk to you soon my friend!

—Original Message—

From: abramoffj@██████████ [mailto:abramoffj@██████████]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:07 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Fw: please call ██████████ in Scanlon's office

5/9/2004

GTG-E000012116

Mike!!! I need the money TODAY! I AM BOUNCING CHECKS!!!
Jack Abramoff

—Original Message—

From: Laura Lippy <lauralippy [REDACTED]>
To: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] <abramoff [REDACTED]>
CC: Rodneylane [REDACTED] <Rodneylane [REDACTED]>
Sent: Wed Feb 19 13:01:36 2003
Subject: RE: please call [REDACTED] in Scanlon's office

Chris said they are working out some details down South & we should have it by the end of the week.

—Original Message—

From: abramoff [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoff [REDACTED]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 12:30 PM
To: lauralippy [REDACTED]
Cc: Rodneylane [REDACTED]
Subject: please call [REDACTED] in Scanlon's office

And track when we are supposed to get our check today from CCS for Kaygold.

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

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Business: [REDACTED]
Fax: [REDACTED]
Email: gshalpern [REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 4:33 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting \$10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used aqua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we will not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press releases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that will do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] (fax)
[redacted] cell)
mike [redacted]

5/7/2004

GTG-E000011000

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 11:58 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Gone??

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

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Gone??

Thanks - She's a little spastic - im getting used to her a little more - but it does drive me nuts. We are totally kicking ass out there - but my synopsis is correct. No matter what happens in the end - Richard will try to take credit - so we just have to do the best we can and make sure the gov says it was our team - which he will.

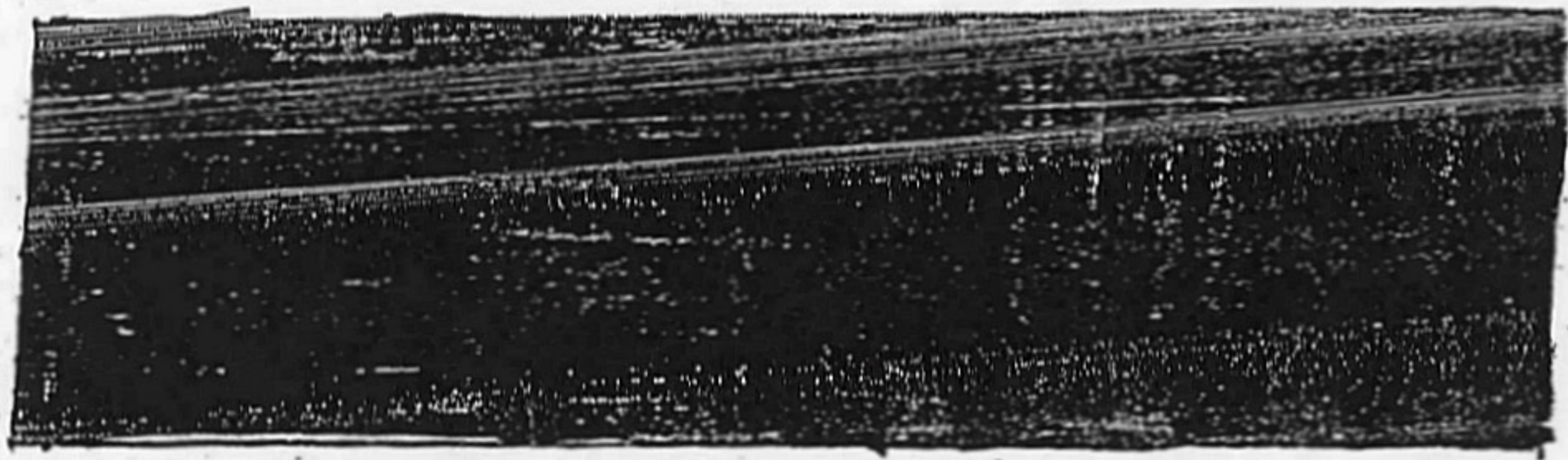
—Original Message—

From: abramoff
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 10:28 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Gone??
You are the total man. great response.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 9:07 AM
To: Candace Patencio; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov);
Subject: RE: Gone??

Candice - I am no longer out of the country. As for the other items - I have been on top of this the whole way and I will continue to do so.



[REDACTED]

—Original Message—

From: Candace Patencio [REDACTED]

Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:15 AM

To: Mike Scanlon; Jack Abramoff; [REDACTED]

Subject: Gone??

Okay, you are out of the country Where???? I thought you were handling our negotiations???

[REDACTED]

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5/9/2004

GTG-E000057879

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:21 AM
To: [REDACTED] Tesler, Shana [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

Call me

—Original Message—

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]; Tesler, Shana [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

cash

—Original Message—

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:20 PM
To: Tesler, Shana [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

Shana, get him money for this from one of my accounts.

—Original Message—

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:13 PM
To: [REDACTED]; Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Subject: More on Saginaw - confidential

They are less than 50 signatures short of the recall. Maynard has been pounding them with mailings...which to be honest with you, aren't that bad.

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

[REDACTED]
Director of Government Affairs
Greenberg Traurig LLP
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:29 PM
To: ██████████
Subject: FW: Post Article

Hi ██████████ I hope you are well. I wanted you to see this piece which was in yesterday's Washington Post. As you can tell, the reporter was quite biased, and frankly fairly bigoted. Anyway, I am sure this will come up and I am happy to discuss it with you, though it is pretty obviously a slanted piece. Regards.

—Original Message—

Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid \$45 Million Over 3 Years
By Susan Schmidt

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

A powerful Washington lobbyist and a former aide to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) persuaded four newly wealthy Indian gaming tribes to pay their firms more than \$45 million over the past three years for lobbying and public affairs work, a sum that rivals spending to influence public policy by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests.

Touting his ties to conservatives in Congress and the White House, lobbyist Jack Abramoff persuaded the tribes to hire him and public relations executive Michael Scanlon to block powerful forces both at home and in Washington who have designs on their money, according to tribe members.

Under Abramoff's guidance, the four tribes — Michigan's Saginaw Chippewas, the Agua Caliente of California, the Mississippi Choctaws and the Louisiana Coushattas — have also become major political donors. They have loosened their traditional ties to the Democratic Party, giving Republicans two-thirds of the \$2.9 million they have donated to federal candidates since 2001, records show.

The payday for the GOP is small though, compared with the \$15.1 million the tribes have paid Abramoff and his law firm, Greenberg Traurig, which has rocketed to the ranks of top lobbyists on the fees it has charged gaming tribes, lobbying records show.

And those fees — 10 or 20 times what the tribes paid their former lobbyists — are about half of what Scanlon has taken in. Scanlon, 33, himself a former Greenberg lobbyist who was recommended by Abramoff, has been paid \$31.1 million, according to documents and interviews with tribal members.

The fees are all the more remarkable because there are no major new issues for gaming tribes on the horizon, according to lobbyists and congressional staff. The tribes' payments for lobbying and public affairs work are comparable to what large corporations spend on lobbying in Washington: General Electric Co. paid more than two dozen lobbying firms \$30.4 million over the same three-year period, according to federal records. The nation's top four pharmaceutical companies paid dozens of lobbying and law firms \$34.8 million between mid-2002 and mid-2003, according to the records.

"Those fees would certainly stand out as greater in magnitude than what rank-and-file tribes pay," said Phil Hogen, chairman of the National Indian Gaming Commission, which regulates Indian gaming. "I guess they have been persuaded there is some value or return for that, but what that is, I'm not aware," Hogen said.

Abramoff has also advised tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to obscure groups whose connections to Indian concerns are unclear, according to documents and numerous tribe members. One of those organizations, located at a Scanlon property in Rehoboth Beach, Del., paid \$1.5 million in lobbying fees to

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:29 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: FW: Post Article

Not sure if [REDACTED] had sent this to you yet, but this hit piece was in yesterday's Post. Let me know if you want to chat about it. The reporter was a real racist and bigot, but that seems pretty obvious with the implication that Native peoples don't have the same rights that companies do to defend themselves. Oh well.

—Original Message—

**A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid \$45 Million Over 3 Years**
By Susan Schmidt

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

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Abramoff has also advised tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to obscure groups whose connections

5/6/2004

GTG-E000000260

From: Abramoff, Jack [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, February 25, 2004 8:57 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: letter from Maynard

I just chatted with Chris and he agrees that we must have a letter from Maynard as the chairman of the tribe while we represented them outlining what a great job we did for them and attacking the racism. Can you get a draft moving from someone? The ones [REDACTED] did were all the same, basically. This needs to be different. Can you get this going?

1
GTG-E00000283



OFFICE OF THE TRIBAL CHIEF
PHILLIP MARTIN

MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS
CHOCTAW, MS 39350

August 9, 2004

BY FACSIMILE (202) 224-5429

Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
SH-838 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6450

BY FACSIMILE (202) 228-2862

Senator John McCain
Ranking Majority Member
United States Senate
Committee on Indian Affairs
SR-241 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-0303

RE: Senate Indian Affairs Committee Lobbying Investigation

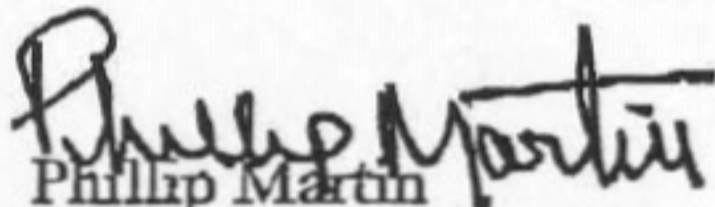
Dear Senators Campbell and McCain:

Thank you for your letter of July 14, 2004 concerning the Committee's investigation of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. In light of information we have recently obtained from various sources, it now appears that our Tribe may in fact have been the victim of serious wrongdoing by Abramoff and Scanlon. Without your efforts it is unlikely that this misconduct would ever have come to light. Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your Committee's work on this matter.

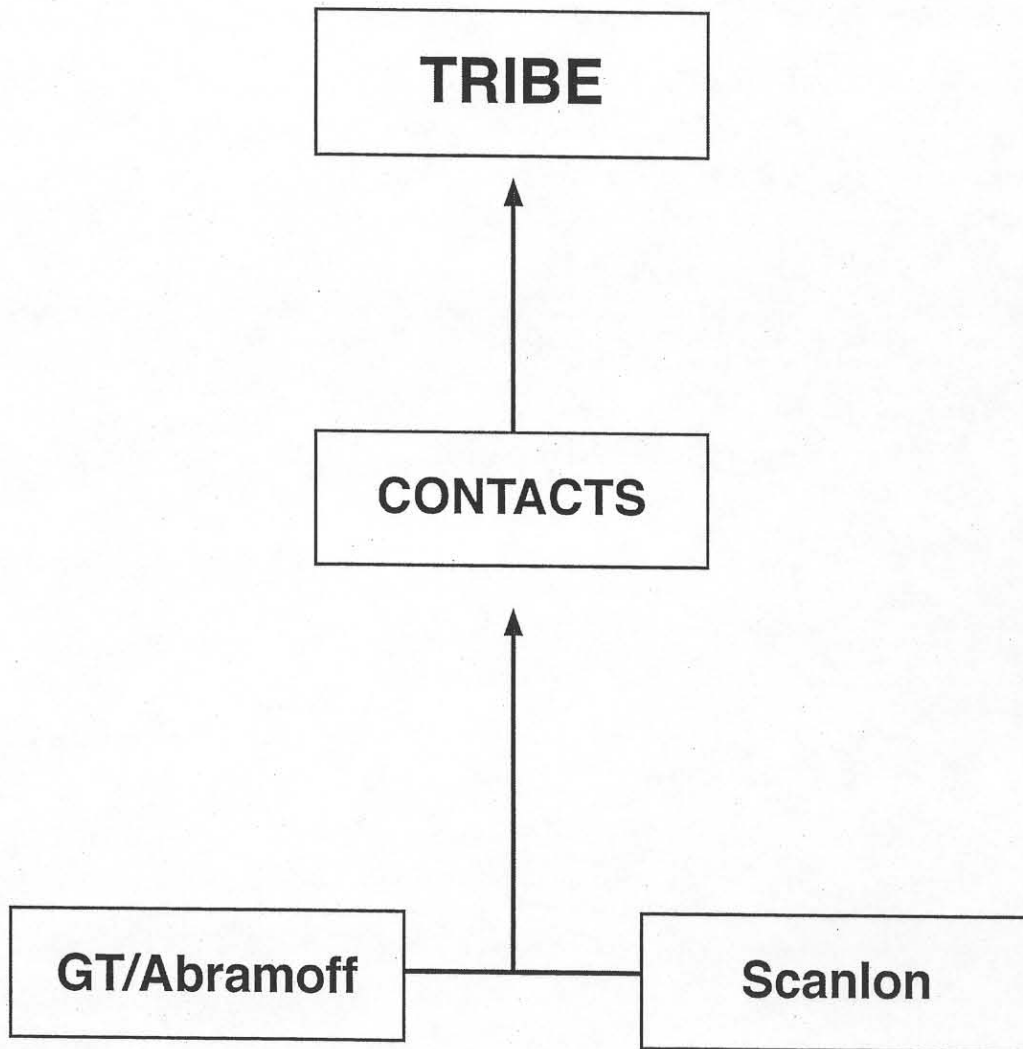
Since we last met on this matter in Washington, our attorney C. Bryant Rogers and your Staff Investigator Matt Tallmer have worked together to find a way to facilitate your investigation without jeopardizing our First Amendment rights or otherwise compromising the confidentiality of this Tribe's lawful participation in the political process. This includes formalizing our cooperation with the Committee's investigation pursuant to email exchanges between Mr. Rogers and Mr. Tallmer of July 16 and 24, 2004 (copies enclosed). As you know, this matter is also subject to a federal grand jury process. We have also fully cooperated with the U.S. Attorney and will continue to do so.

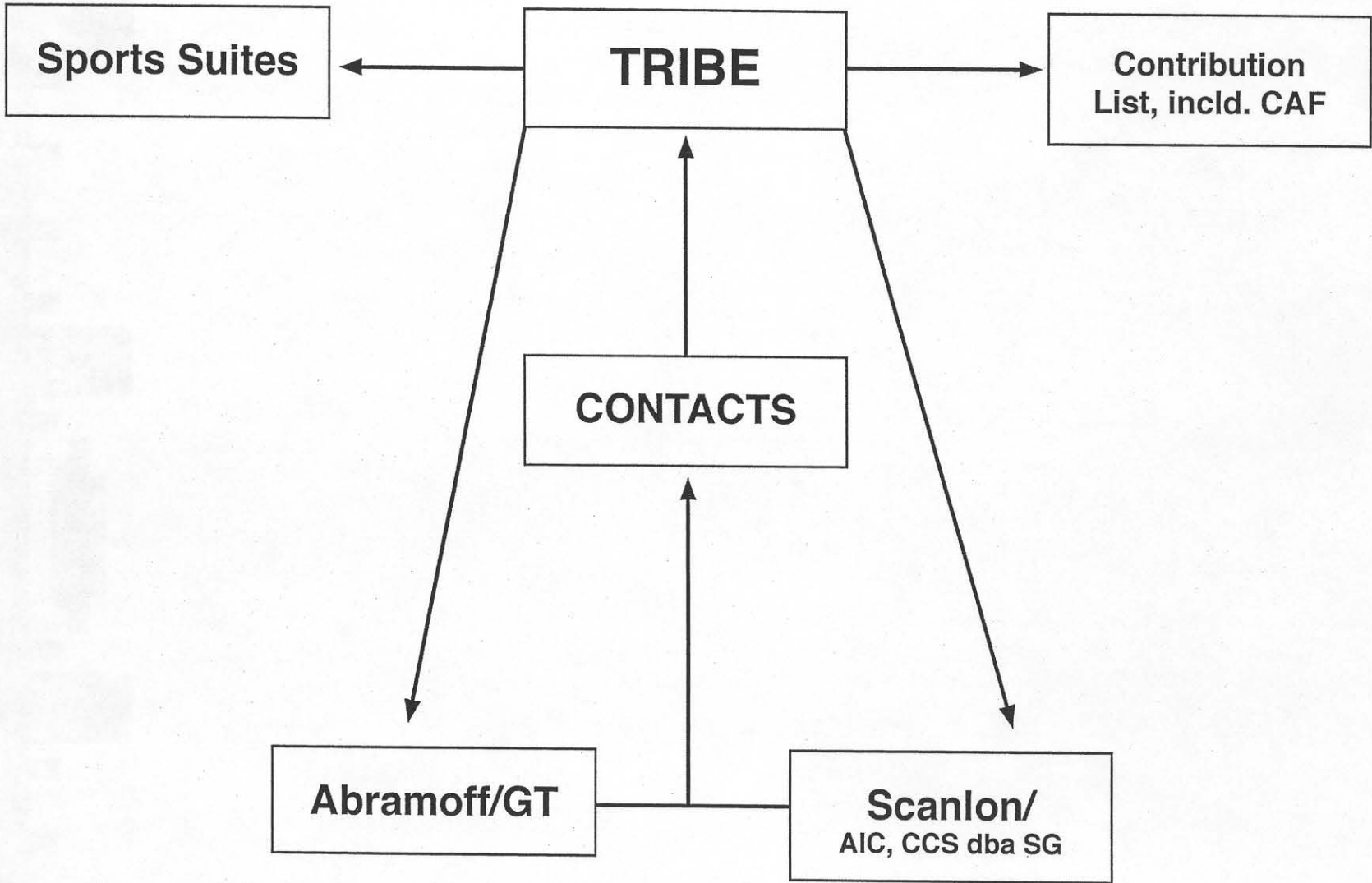
I appreciate your leadership in this matter and trust that our mutual concerns are accommodated by the arrangements reflected in the previously referenced emails of July 16 and 24, 2004. Thank you for your long history of working to improve the lives of Indian people throughout the country.

Sincerely,


Phillip Martin
Tribal Chief

Attachments





Payments by Tribes to Capitol Campaign Strategies (dba Scanlon Gould) from 2001-04

- Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana \$26,363,500
- Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians \$15,855,000
- Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan \$10,007,000
- Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians \$7,195,000
- Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso \$4,200,000
- Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico \$2,750,000
- Total **\$66,369,500**

Sports Suites

TRIBE

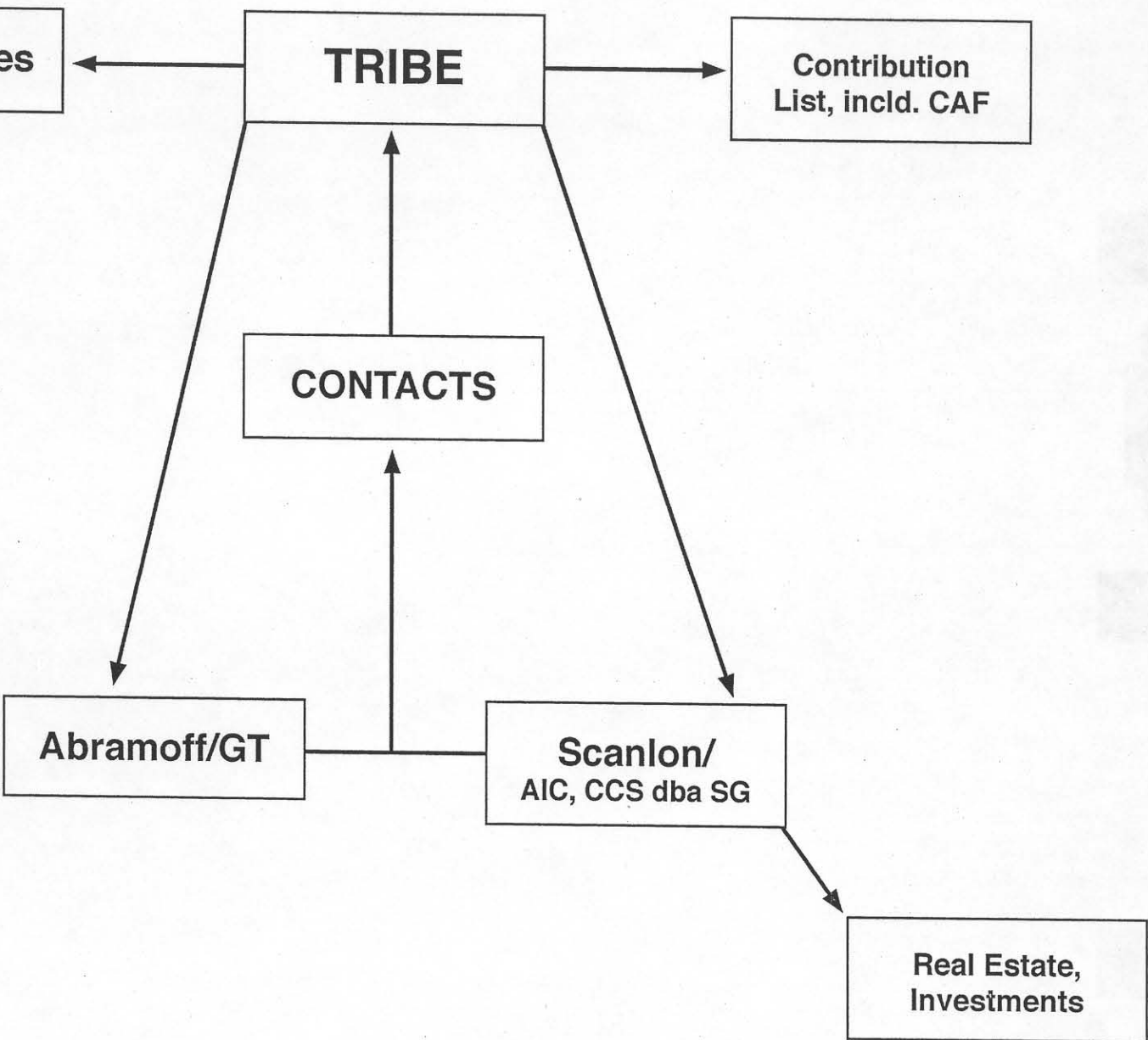
**Contribution
List, incld. CAF**

CONTACTS

Abramoff/GT

**Scanlon/
AIC, CCS dba SG**

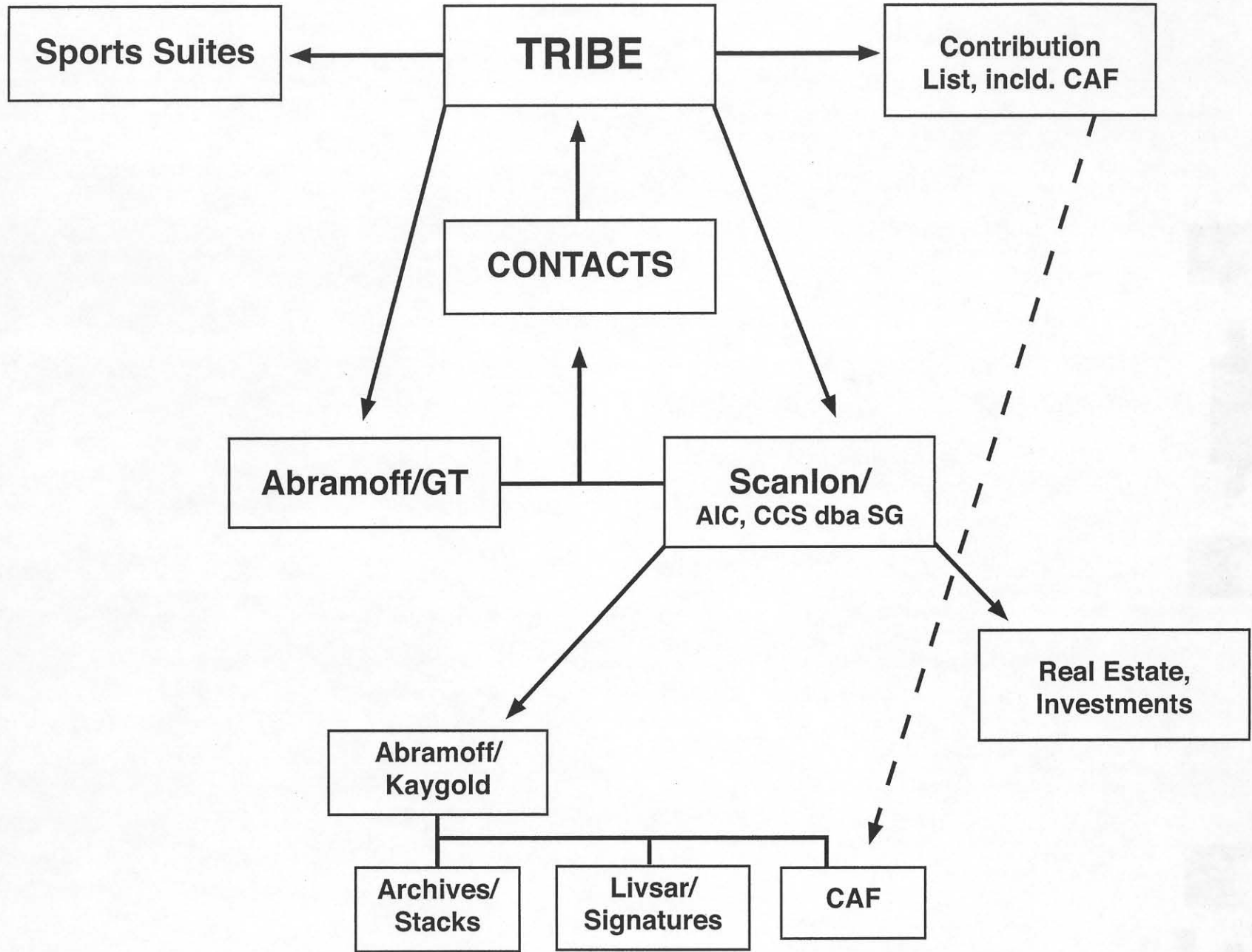
**Real Estate,
Investments**



Sub Rosa Payments by CCS to Abramoff/Kaygold, et al. from 2001-2004

•	4/30/01	Abramoff	\$75,000	CCS Check 1041
•	5/20/01	†CAF	\$182,000	
•	6/10/01	Abramoff	\$50,000	CCS Check 1094
•	10/4/01	Abramoff	\$100,000	
•	10/25/01	Abramoff	\$428,000	CCS Check 1247
•	12/19/01	Abramoff	\$300,000	
•	12/31/01	Abramoff	\$1,718,125	
•	2/22//02	Kay Gold	\$2,779,925	
•	3/21/02	Abramoff	\$4,080,997	
•	4/8/02	Kay Gold	\$2,138,025	
•	6/12/02	Kay Gold	\$150,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	\$800,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	\$20,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	\$44,000	
•	9/16/02	Kay Gold	\$2,266,250	
•	11/11/02	Kay Gold	\$1,078,649	
•	12/03/02	Kay Gold	\$87,907	CCS Check 2075
•	12/31/02	Kay Gold	\$1,000,146	
•	12/31/02	Kay Gold	\$53,000	CCS Check 2109
•	2/19/03	Kay Gold	\$1,965,000	
•	4/01/03	Kay Gold	\$991,000	(from AIC)
•	10/27/03	Kay Gold	\$750,000	
•	Total		<u>\$21,058,024</u>	

Unless otherwise indicated, all transactions are support by copies of checks, etc. Transactions appearing only in CCS' accounting records, but unsupported by a copy of a cancelled check, are itemized with a check number. The \$100,000 payment by CCS/SG to Abramoff on 10/4/01 is itemized in only CCS/SG's accounting record only and has no corresponding check number.



Payments by Tribes to AIC from 2001 through 2003

•	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana	\$3,653,200	
•	Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	\$1,130,654	
	Total		<u>\$4,783,854</u>

Payments by AIC to CCS/SG from 2001 through 2003

•	3/19/01	\$25,000	
•	3/30/01	\$125,000	
•	5/20/01	\$185,800	
•	6/25/01	\$120,000	
•	8/1/01	\$40,000	
•	8/24/01	\$30,000	
•	12/18/01	\$80,000	
•	1/30/02	\$10,000	
•	3/15/02	\$1,000,000 (memo: "MS")	
•	10/31/02	\$207,859.72 (according to AIC ledger)	
•	4/1/03	\$1,300,000 (according to AIC ledger)	
•	4/18/03	\$15,000 (Michael Scanlon)	
•	Total		<u>\$3,138,659.72</u>

Payments by AIC to Kay Gold (Abramoff) from 2001 through 2003

•	4/1/03	\$991,000	Kay Gold	
•	Total			<u>\$991,000</u>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I'm here.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I will call this evening!

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, June 14, 2002 8:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: can you smell money?

I just spoke with Candace. The tribe is calling us Monday to schedule our coming out for a pitch on the whole shooting match. They want Choctaw/Coushatta power. They think that if they don't hire us Barona is going to do so. They are scared about that one! call me Saturday night or Sunday so we can plan out our pitch. We need to go out there with a full blown plan.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

:)

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) *
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Haahahhhaah. I love how we all act: You team...and the rest of greenberg. It's gotta piss them off.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 15:01:50 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sock it to them.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I'm gonna sink some of the costs to the firm..screw them. I used \$500 in Bus Dev money last year!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:59:17 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Or here!

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

They are going to be rescheduling it, but I sucked up some losses on Jess's ticket. Oh well. There are worse things than being stuck in Vegas until thursday.. I could be stuck at Saginaw.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <[REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:57:04 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sorry to hear it.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Staff trip got canceled because of weather. I'm heading home wed night/thirday morning...this sucks.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 12:48:39 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Neither rain, nor snow, nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy.

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

This is one of his best one's!!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Chris <cpetras@[REDACTED]>
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [REDACTED]
CC: boulangert@gtlaw.com [REDACTED]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 11:42:59 2003
Subject: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 5:37 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

I think the iron is hot in Michigan, and the legislature going out of session (3 weeks) is impelling them to action. Waiting another week will cool their jets, and we won't be able to play this pressure point, which is what has made Otto and Maynard focus. I really think we need to go. You can't travel 2 weeks in a row?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

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

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

From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 5, 2002 5:32p
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

Would 7:30 work? I have a reception at Sigs for Duane Gibson at 6 PM.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 4:35 PM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

630 tommorow night? Dinner?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 9:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Let's discuss. You in town next week?

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 8:54 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Cool - well talk it over. He tried that - well give you a bid project bullshit on us last year - and we wound up spending 100k of AC money to beat back the tracks - and he never even presented our proposal to the council.

He pretty much full of shit. I would rather squeeze him for retainer work - as I don't believe we will get a project from them. Hes a loser.

—Original Message—

From: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 5:42 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting \$10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

—Original Message—

From: Mike Scanlon [REDACTED]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press releases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
mike [REDACTED]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:23 AM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

Is Scanlon involved? We should be pounding these guys.

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

From: Chris [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:17 AM
To: volzn [REDACTED]
Cc: abramoffj [REDACTED]; boulangert [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

The Gun Lake state House resolution (HR 606), allowing the Governor to negotiate a compact with the Tribe, is scheduled this week for a vote. Timing is everything this week. If the Michigan delegation on the West side of the state want to impact, they must do so now.

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

From: <volzn [REDACTED]>
To: <cpetras [REDACTED]>
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 7:57 AM
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

> Thanks Chris

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

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Chris <cpetras [REDACTED]>
> To: volzn [REDACTED]
> CC: abramoffj [REDACTED]; boulangert [REDACTED]
> [REDACTED]
> Sent: Mon Dec 09 07:13:03 2002
> Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

> Calls from the Michigan congressional delegation to state legislators
> is very important. Several state legislators have indicated that the
> congressional delegation holds weight on this issue. The Members can
> emphasize the legal implications for the state should the state
> Supreme Court rule that the last compacts were illegal when approved
> by resolution and not statute. Also, the horse tracks in Michigan are
> attempting a back-door strategy to create casinos at their facilities.
> Their goal is to amend the Michigan Lottery Act to allow video lottery
> machines that give

the
> winner slips of paper (vouchers) good for cash or prizes. They are
> doing this so that they do not have to amend the Michigan Gaming
> Control Act
(gave
> Detroit their casinos), which allows for Class III gaming (slots) and
would
> allow the machines to dispense coins to winners. We have the polling
> data
to
> show Michigan voters do not want Class II or III gaming at horse
> tracks.