
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 7:38 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

I'll just talk to him on the phone after this trip

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

Wed morning. I'm leaving early to pack...then get engaged.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:34:14 2002
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

When does he depart next week? I am out Sunday through Wed in CA with the AC.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

I don't know. In person is probably better.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>
Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:31:24 2002
Subject: RE: the Grover dinner with Rove

Should I do it in person or on email?

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 8:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

U 100 percent need to tell him he can't come back until post august. Approps staff are getting mad at us.

 Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@ [REDACTED]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@ [REDACTED]>

Sent: Tue Jul 02 20:22:29 2002
Subject: FW: the Grover dinner with Rove

Host an official for dinner at Signatures? What the hell is this?

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@██████████]
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 1:31 PM
To: abramoffj@██████████
Subject: Re: the Grover dinner with Rove

Thanks Jack. Unfortunately, I am unable to attend the Wednesday meeting since I return to Michigan that morning. I was actually hoping you and I would attend the dinner together. Perhaps on the next visit, you and I can host an official for dinner at Signature's. I will call you later. ----- Original Message -----

From: <abramoffj@██████████>
To: <cpetras@██████████>
Sent: Tuesday, July 02, 2002 1:11 PM
Subject: the Grover dinner with Rove

> Grover asked that I not send anyone else from the office, since the
> seats are tight and he really needs mine if I am not using it. he
> said he would take good care of you, and has invited you to come to
> his Wednesday
meeting

> (Linsey attends) the next day. do you want to go ?

>
>
>

>-----
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> ██████████
>

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 9:15 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: AC

No prob

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:11 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: RE: AC

Need 30 mins.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:11a
 Subject: RE: AC

Can you call me at home?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:07 AM
 To: abramoffj@██████████
 Subject: Re: AC

Oh shit!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 2, 2002 8:22p
 Subject: AC

Call me asap. things are not as hunky dorey as we thought out there. I just got off the phone with Candace. I have to be out there to meet them on Sunday. Do you want to meet me there later in the day? we have to figure this out. give me a call at home.

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AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:00 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: AC

We're going to get paid. We have the votes. We can ram it through, but Moraino and Candace want to get the others on board. They have 3 votes, though. Anyway, I really think at least I need to be there on that Sunday to work with them. do you want to meet me out there?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:55 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

I hear ya on the chairman- I'm I'm purto rico and my cell battery is dead. Ill call whn I have the juice. I'd love to not run cross country again unless I have too-in fact I'm really dredding it- are we gonna get paid?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:29a
 Subject: RE: AC

No, we're going to be fine, but we have some work to do. The chairman and the woman are not with us so far. Call me when you can and we'll discuss.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:23 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

There is no way we are hauling our asses out there unless the are coffing it up. Are we screwed?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:15a
 Subject: RE: AC

No prob

-----Original Message-----
 From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@████████████████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 03, 2002 10:11 AM
 To: abramoffj@████████████████████
 Subject: RE: AC

Need 30 mins.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Sent: Jul 3, 2002 10:11a
 Subject: RE: AC

GTG-E000057397

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 5:54 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: CAF

Please let's talk before the Sabbath or Saturday night. Try me on cell, as I have a - gag - 10 pm Sat night meeting. Regarding departure, I had worked out being wheels up here at 10 am. Can you do it? if not, should we just meet out there? Candace said I should be find in covering Monday morning, but Tuesday is essential. In any event, can you email me the proposal you have prepared for them so I can be aware of where we are going on this, and push it?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:51 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

Hey cell battery is dead - charging now. I can move things around with Little Jack on Sunday - what time do you want to leave - the later the better like 2 or 3?

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:06 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: CAF

You around on cell?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 12:08 PM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

Hey - Just got off the phone with William -we may not need to go there next week - I think they are in on the new work - and he mention a scheduling issue. Hes calling back shortly - CHA CHING!!!!!!

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

From: abramoffj@redacted [mailto:abramoffj@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 11:07 AM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: RE: CAF

Do you think it would look weird my asking for this? doesn't she sort of view me as the "outside validator" of what you are doing?

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 10:33 AM
 To: abramoffj@redacted
 Subject: RE: CAF

I will - do you want to try her also - Sorry for the dealy.

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

From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj]
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 8:44 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: CAF

We still don't have this. can you tell her that we are going to lose the ability to use this group as a front if we don't get this current?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike]
Sent: Friday, June 28, 2002 11:22 AM
To: abramoffj
Subject: RE: CAF

Its coming net week.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [mailto:abramoffj]
Sent: Friday, June 28, 2002 9:52 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: CAF

How do we get Nell to get us that \$500K?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 6:42 PM
To: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Palm Springs Itinerary, July 7-10

All of this should have been put into calendar as well. from now on, please do that. I want it in there as soon as arrangements are made. I use calendar to see if there are other things I can schedule, and if things are not in there immediately, I create conflicts. OK?

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

From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 1:02 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Palm Springs Itinerary, July 7-10

Travel Itinerary for Palm Springs, July 7-10

Sunday, July 7

10:00 AM Depart Frederick (FDK)
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]
 Airport address: #2 Rudder Lane
 Charter Operator: East Coast Jets
 Phone: [REDACTED]
 Pilot: Tom Nielsen
 Co-Pilot: Joseph Bauer
 Tail Number: N139ST
 Travel time: 6 hrs, 30 min.

*Refuel in Safina, Kansas (SLN)
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]

1:30 PM Arrive Palm Springs (PSP), Million Air
 Airport phone: [REDACTED]
 Airport address: 145 S Gene Autry Trail
 DRIVER: Bennett Simon
 Driver cell phone: [REDACTED]

Best # to call anytime: [REDACTED] (these people are on constant radio contact with all of the drivers, and can ALWAYS be reached 24/7)

2:00 PM Check in: The Lodge at Rancho Mirage
 Hotel phone: [REDACTED]
 Hotel address: 68-900 Frank Sinatra Drive
 Jack Reservation # RR603183-1 (Sun-Mon)
 Mike Reservation # RR603207-1 (Monday)

Monday, July 8

8:30 AM Depart for Agua Caliente Tribal Office from hotel

9:00 AM Meeting with Richard Milanovich - Chairman,
 Barbara Gonzalez Lyons - Vice Chairman,

Jeanette Pierto-Dodd - Council

Member

Moranio Patencio - Tribal Secretary
 Candice Patencio - Council Member
 Agua Caliente Tribal Council Offices
 600 E Tahquitz Canyon Way

GTG-F000059380

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 6:39 PM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: CREA

Did you speak with Jared on this at all? How much was the first one, cost wise?

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:04 PM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Exactly how much of these lunches did you want to pick up? There's another one scheduled for July 16.

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
 Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:56 AM
 To: laner@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Pick up tomorrow's entirely, but put him aside and tell him that we have to work out something for the future lunches.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:41 PM
 To: abramoffj@dc.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Spoke with Jared. I get the sense that they were hoping we would "take care of things." It sounds to me like they are planning on doing these lunches about twice a month. There are only about 10 or less coming in for lunch tomorrow. To avoid any embarrassment on either side, maybe we should pick up at least half this tab (as it will be a fairly small party anyway) and then I'll work with Jared going forward to give them a discount for every subsequent event.

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

From: abramoffj@dc.gov [mailto:abramoffj@dc.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 3:56 PM
 To: laner@crea.gov
 Subject: RE: CREA

Can you chat with Jared and find out what he has in mind? Then tell him you'll chat with me.

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

From: Rodney Lane [mailto:laner@crea.gov]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 1:04 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff
 Subject: CREA
 Importance: High

Are we paying for their get togethers? I only ask because Jared has a party set up for tomorrow but wanted Jennifer to touch base with me to see if everything was "worked out." Just curious if you had made an arrangement with Italia.

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GTC-0000105140

Agua Caliente Global Political Strategy

July 8, 2002

MICHAEL SCANLON
SCANLON, GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS



From our previous meetings we have concluded that there are currently two major reasons for implementing a global political strategy for the Agua Caliente tribe;

- 1) To support and secure all federal objectives of the council
- 2) To successfully negotiate an unlimited slot position compact for the tribe.

To achieve all the objectives we have identified in our previous meetings we will follow a simple strategic model to get you where you need to be. It is important to note, that to be successful on the federal level as well as in our compact negotiations you must execute all of phases of the program and we strongly recommend that they are executed in sequence. The strategic phases are as follows:

- Organization
- Identification
- Research
- Recruitment (Third Party Allies)
- Execution.

The pages that follow will walk you through each stage and explain the individual tactics to be executed therein.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For the compact negotiation campaign we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will compile, classify and organize the tribe's existing natural resources into a national political network.

The second component will identify, classify and organize allies of the tribe that currently exist, but have yet to be included in any public efforts waged by the tribe. Both will be imported into your new custom built political databases. As we execute our campaigns, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the individuals in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate (or redirect) them into a custom built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities that already benefit economically from the tribe, and that have support bases outside the state.

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from U.S. Senator down to State Representative.

Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments. At this point you will have a national political network.

Depending in the amount of vendors you have and their physical locations, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously. This is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Qualitative Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of our efforts. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the allies and opponents related to our campaign and we store this information into this database.

The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents.

Once the qualitative research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To put things in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

 Identification / Research

Once we have both political databases in place we can begin the identification process. What we do in this phase of the program is identify a series of allies not contained in to data currently in the tribe's possession. For example, we will actively recruit not only the owners of the hotels in Palm springs, but their employees as well - - and taking it a step further those employees family members as well. Generally speaking, we are going to take what you have now -- and expand on it by a series of thousands.

Our political matrix also allows you to build a power base outside the state. For example, lets say that your long distance carrier is sprint communications. Sprint benefits by having you as a client, they make thousand of dollars a year on commutations services and hardware they provide to the tribe. Our system we will immediately tell us that Peoria, Illinois is the home of Sprint Communications. Given this fact we no know that we can call on The Speaker of The U.S. House and two powerful U.S. Senators from another state to support the tribe in a political push.

Instantly, we have identified a power base outside of your own community that you never knew existed, and if we educate them and properly, two powerful U.S Senators and the Speaker of the House are now on our team. This process is repeated with every vendor that does business with the tribe. From paper clips, to the manufacturer of your slot machines, our identification process will tell us where our NATIONAL power base truly is.

The identification process is important because it helps us strategically target supporters, but its most important aspect is the fact that it allows you to build a large network in a very, very short period of time. Without this process it would take you years to determine who may or may not help the tribe. Our system does it almost overnight. Perhaps the most time consuming part of this process is the anti-gaming cross-referencing portion. Once we have imported the data identified our potential political allies, we immediately run a legislative cross-reference on the politicians identified. This cross-reference immediately tells us if the elected official has a voting history that could clearly be construed as anti-Indian or anti-gaming. This helps identify potential enemies, and helps determine if we should "write off" certain Members of Congress as potential allies even though we have supporters in their districts.

Recruitment

As we complete our organizational phases and make public the tribes intention to achieve unlimited slot positions It's now time to go after our targets and lock down the support we need.

We will due this largely through the vendor portion of the database we built you. We will make contact with your key suppliers and vendors in the target districts and recruitment them for the cause.

Put plainly, the vendors who have benefited financially from the tribe over the years are about to thank the tribe in a very political way. Its time they pay a little back, and all we are going to ask these companies to do is lobby their assembly members, state senators, and the Governor on our behalf.

We will do this by utilizing a series of tactics. We will call them, write them a letter and in many cases place a personal visit. In our communications we will educate them as to what the issue is, and how they can help. We will inform them that we need them to contact THEIR representative and support the tribe.

When an elected official gets a call from a home district employer asking for their support for the granting a compact the tribe with unlimited slots positions because their companies future depends on it – they will listen. In addition we may not need them leading up to a such a deal, but after the fact, and when the local business owners are supporting them, they will be much more likely to stand behind a decision they made.

This out reach effort is the largest part of the program. We will be reaching out to not only your vendors and suppliers, but to their individual employees as well. We could find ourselves drafting tens of thousands of letters soliciting their support, and an equivalent number to their employees, and their family members. The multiplier effect of this program is enormous. If you have one supplier in Orange County, and a hundred employees at that supplier, you have a nice power base there. When you add the employees' family members to the count you have gone from nothing to 250 voters in someone's district fighting for you.

Now imagine that nationwide.

Execution

The execution phase of this program is very unclear at this point. Over the next two months we will need to work with the tribal Council and the negotiating teams to establish our formal positions, the detail of this position and all relevant pit-falls.

We know for certain, that there will be several times during this campaign that we unleash the full force of our political army. But who we hit, when we hit them, and with what are strategic decisions that will be made by the council and will only become clear after we have entered the political battlefield.

That said, below we have outlined the steps we follow up to the full blown mobilization phase:

Organization

- 1) We will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer program that houses your database. This database will be for your use only, available on-line for your use, and will be the permanent property of the tribe.
- 2) We will have a team come to Palm Springs to gather all relevant data so that we can import it into your database. Ordinarily we simply ask for data such as vendor lists, employee list etc. In some cases customer lists can be helpful, but they are not required. Furthermore, if we do believe this information will be helpful we will sign any confidentiality documents to ensure the lists safety.
- 3) In one month to six weeks we can have your data fully integrated and the system in place.

Identification

- 1) Before the system is even completed we can get the data sets necessary to being the identification process. At this point we will report to you our preliminary target lists.
- 2) We will dispatch a field research team to conduct research on the allies identified (such as how many employees, if the financial support the member of congress etc).
- 3) We will establish criterion or goals for member contact in each targeted district.

Research

- 1) When we establish the list of opponents we will conduct a comprehensive opposition research program on the individual. This research is intended to keep our opponents "in line".
- 2) In targeted "friendly" districts we will conduct polls to determine the strength and weakness of our position. Our objective here is to compile data that shows each member that the public favors our position. This data will be shared with the Members of Congress in certain districts.

Execution

At this point we are roughly two weeks in to the program. We have built a national network, identified our targets, gathered the appropriate research to win with "honey and vinegar" it is now time to mobilize in their districts. This portion of the program is a very gray area; our efforts will vary from district to district. However, the following is what we typically do in the targeted districts.

1) ***Business owner letter and follow up call campaign.***

We will make contact with the owner of the business who supply you with services and provide them a letter to sign and send to their members. We will then provide call script for that person to follow up. Field visits to the identified businesses.

2) ***Employee phone bank.*** For the companies with large employee bases we will conduct a phone-bank operation to their member.

3) ***Employee letter writing campaign.*** We will have each employee in each targeted districts write an individual letter to their member.

4) ***We recruit third parties*** to write and call in the targeted districts, these individuals include large donors, other large business owners former staffers etc.

5) ***Third party advocacy campaigns.*** In some districts we will encourage large employers to take out advertisements under their name advocating our position.

 Budget / Timeline

***Note:**

Due to the time sensitivity, we will conduct the Organization, Identification and Research phases on a rolling basis.

Organization

Cost: \$1,875,000.00

Timeline: July 8, to September 8, 2002.

Identification

Cost: \$845,000.00

Timeline: August 1, 2002 – September 1, 2002

Research

Cost: \$935,000.00

Timeline: July 8, 2002- completion of program

Execution / Advocacy

Cost: \$1,745,000.00 – \$3,745,000.00*

October 1, through program completion

Total Base Line Cost: \$5,400,000.00

The spread in the advocacy component represents unknown factors in the compact fight, specifically advertising costs. We hope to avoid an advertising fight, however, it is likely that one may occur, therefore we suggest setting aside an additional \$2,000,000.00 for the Chairman and Council.

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 08, 2002 11:50 PM
To: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Catching up!

Thanks Michael. It was GREAT meeting you as well. I hope that all goes well tomorrow. hopefully it will. Let's chat on the phone afterwards (maybe later in the week) so we get you set up with a consultancy with us.
Regards.

—Original Message—

From: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 12:28 AM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: Catching up!

Jack -

It was great finally meeting you! You have lived up to my expectations and I am so glad that Aqua seems ready to retain you! My one cautionary note is that tribal politics is fickle, so be as ready as you can be for the meeting with the membership tomorrow. My impression is that Richard will not give up too easily, in that he has a long standing relationship with Pace and namely Scott Dacey, and he is nothing if not loyal to those who have been loyal to him. In that vein, I recommend you pull out all the bells and whistles!

I am glad I was able to broker this relationship, little did I realize it would evolve into such a major contract! If this works out, I am eager to move forward on your behalf and watch you work your magic on behalf of those friends I hold near and dear.

Anxious to talk with you soon.

Kind regards,

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000059404

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
Page 1 - Version 9/20/04

DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

CAVEAT

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BY COMPARISON TO THE ORIGINAL RECORD**

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: I'd like to call the Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002 to order at 9:33 a.m. For the record those present are Richard Milanovich, Chairman, Barbara Gonzales-Lyons, Vice Chairman, she is here somewhere, Moraino J. Patencio, Secretary/Treasurer, Jeannette Prieto-Dodd, Council Member, Candace Cherie Patencio, Council Member, which constitute a quorum.

.....

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Item C is the 10:00 o'clock, proposed contract agreement from Greenberg Traurig attorney at law returned from the 7/2/02 Agenda. They're not here yet. There they are.

.....

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Gentlemen? Michael, would you introduce yourself, please?

JACK ABRAMOFF: Yes. I'm Jack Abramoff of Washington, D.C., with a firm called Greenberg Traurig, and this is Michael Scanlon who is Scanlon Gould, works very closely with our firm. Chairman, should I –

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Please, yes.

JACK ABRAMOFF: Would it be appropriate to stand?

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: I do want to apologize, gentlemen, for taking, I know we, you were scheduled to be here at ten and you were here at ten but we've just been having a –

JACK ABRAMOFF: No problem at all.

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: – discussion.

JACK ABRAMOFF: Where is an appropriate place for me to be?

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
Page 4 - Version 9/20/04

DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

they had had other threats, the Governor and other people had sort of been threatening and saying to them look it's just not fair that you all can have a casino and not pay state taxes, and the tribe of course responds with we don't have a tribe to state relationship, we have a Federal Government relationship, and we don't owe you taxes. And that went on. So we decided on that basis to implement a system that Mike developed which we successfully implemented a couple other times and it's actually what we're here in part to talk about you about today. To organize the tribe so that even though the Choctaws were politically powerful in the sense of their local area we decided to implement a program to make them most the powerful political machine in the State of Mississippi so that if a threat did come up such as we were hearing they would be in a position to respond to it. And in fact that threat did come up. And what we did was we organized their assets, their political assets. They had a bunch of vendors and a bunch of customers, they had eight thousand members of the tribe, but eight thousand voters or members of the tribe is not big in the context of the whole state, but all the vendors and all the customers and all the supporter groups, and we organized them all. We developed a, a, Mike did, a certain matrix, a certain way to do it so that we could have instant access to people who were directly impacted by the business of the tribe. And they had other businesses too but the primary business and employment was the casino. And so when this man got up and he was from a different part of the state, he was a typical Southern State Legislator who had been in forever, you know, he ran once and then he was re-elected unopposed forever and he was the Chairman of Appropriations Committee which is the most powerful member in lot of these, these State Legislatures. He got up and said I'm going to tax this tribe and I don't care what their, he didn't say it was about the Constitution and all this, so he got up and did that and Mike went to work and activated the network and all the folks that we had organized, and I probably mean employers, employees, county officials, mayors, and within I'd say forty eight hours the man's office was so inundated with phone calls that they couldn't, they shut off the phones. His home, because we contacted his contributors and his friends who were also owning companies that were supplying the tribe with stuff, were calling him at home so he couldn't get any calls at home, he couldn't get any calls at, at work. Everywhere he went he was greeted by a couple dozen people saying what are you doing, why are you, why are you destroying the opportunity, that the State of Mississippi doesn't have a lot of job opportunities especially where the tribe is near Philadelphia, Mississippi, that the (inaudible) point is that the tribe has been solely responsible for putting people to work. It's all these people were mobilized to contact him. He had never had an opponent. Within four days Mike had an opponent announced to run against him and we had a poll a couple days later that showed his opponent pulling even with him, and eight days later he went on public radio and publicly apologized to the tribe and said he was unaware of how

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
Page 20 - Version 9/20/04

DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

MIKE SCANLON: certainly the four to eight million dollars is essentially

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Pardon me I think we should take a short recess
Hope has been going quite a while five minute

MIKE SCANLON: Sure

11:30 to 11:38 break

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Like reconvene meeting it is twenty what twenty
two minutes to twelve we have another presentation had asked would you
ask question again please

[TRIBAL MEMBER]: Hope would you repeat it

(Read back)

MIKE SCANLON: well the

RICHARD M. MILANOVICH: Would you identify your self

MIKE SCANLON: My name is Michael Scanlon from Scanlon and Gould. My
firm is in a strategic alliance with Jack and Greenberg meaning we only provide
services to the clients of Greenberg Traurig. No other law or lobbying firms in
Washington DC. We work exclusively for his clients and provide our services to
~~Jack exclusively. What we do we call public affairs it's a combination of political~~
strategy, grass roots public relations, and polling. Essentially what we are is sort
of the ground Army for what Jack does. Jack works in conjunction with the
Council to define objectives such as compacting negotiation and setting
parameters to work on language our job is to collect all your natural resources, all
the good will you've built up here in this area over several years and turn that into
a political force. A force a grass roots Army of people of employees, of business
owners, of people who live on your lands and anybody who's made a buck off of
you over the last ten to fifteen years and has a vested interest in seeing your
future be better. Our job is to go out and find those people, educate those
people on the issues that are important to the Tribe and objectives of Tribe as
identified. Most importantly it is to mobilize those people to ensure that the
politicians get the message that the people are behind the position of the Tribe.
That's the people being the Tribal Members, the employees, the vendors, the
vendors employees, and anybody who has a vested interest or anybody who
receives anything from the Tribe has a vested interest in seeing the Tribe
succeed in whatever endeavor they're doing those people are all voters. What

Verbatim Excerpt – Tribal Council Meeting of Tuesday, July 9, 2002
Page 21 - Version 9/20/04

DRAFT – CONFIDENTIAL

my job is to do, just as Jack's is the retail side of working directly with politicians, I do the wholesale side. I want to show these politicians you're more than just a Tribe more than just a casino you employ thousands of people thousands of people that have livelihoods that depend on you. Thousands of business owners rely on you to keep their business up and running all of these people make difference in elections when Jack mentioned earlier money is important the second thing important is voters. I don't mean to be crass but money and public opinion is what drives these people we can do what I do through very technical labor intensive expensive systems. We want to find them all. Everybody who likes you who has vested interest seeing you do well. It is my firm's job to go out and find those people corral them find out who will call or write or meet with their local elected officials, federal officials, state officials on your behalf. Say you wanted a compact that had five casinos in it, my job is to work with the Council, work with the Tribe and corral everybody who will support you in that endeavor. Then my job is to have their voices be heard how do we do that several different ways one start with custom built data base which I designed myself what this data base does it is a political data base and takes raw data such as employees - takes raw data and we insert that data into our system soon to become your system if we work together - when that data is inserted we know where employees live what their political affiliation is when they have last voted if they have their home phone number and to a couple other methods when they're going to be home. So say you have a thousand employees we now have thousand registered voters who can contact by Legislative District state Assemblyman or state Senator know when they're going to be home we call them up we say this is the education portion this is what the Tribe is looking for **do you support the Tribe in this endeavor do you think this is a good idea if they say yes we have an employee who is a supporter of your objective we ask them a second question would you call or write your elected officials on behalf of the Tribe's position if they say yes that is an active voter who will contact a decision maker on your behalf on an objective which you've identified yourself imagine hundred thousand people if you can take a hundred thousand people that you know are going to call write contact meet with a politician in favor of a position that you hold that politician nine times out of ten actually ten times out of ten is going to see things your way. Our job is to bring that to you - you can give all the political money in the world you can have best lobbyists in the country but some times most of the times what you need is you need the people. You need the bodies behind you to convince elected official this isn't about contributions is not just about retail relationships this is not about playing golf this is real people whose futures depend on what Tribe's objective is and my job is to get those people in contact with their elected officials. And that's what we do over course of campaign broad pretty broad generalization of what we do and how we do it fairly labor intensive data portion of it we have to custom design your data base take**

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:45 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Congratulations!

Wisconsin here we come baby! We should give this guy a small tip out of the gimme five money too. I want him to have mega incentive to scan the nation and hook us up with all his friends. I'll get a huge bouquet to Candace for us and figure out something for Moraino.

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

From: MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]mailto:MCNATIVE@[REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 8:56 PM
To: abramoffj@[REDACTED]
Subject: Congratulations!

Jack:

Congratulations! It did not sound pretty, but when the dust settled you had the votes - which is what counts when the day is done!

Anxious to move on to new frontiers, including looking at Prairie Island Indian Community! Meanwhile, you should know that Candace is very fond of flowers - and a big bouquet might be in order, in light of what she endured!

Take care, lets talk later in the week - maybe Friday morning - since I don't fly out until early afternoon!

Kind regards, as always,

Michael

* P.S. I will be back at Menominee on Thursday night!

5/6/2004

GTG-E000057372

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

Jack Abramoff
[REDACTED]

July 9, 2002

VIA FACSIMILE: 760-325-4954

Honorable Richard Milanovich
Chairman
Tribal Council
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Chairman,

It was an honor to meet you and I greatly appreciate your decision to retain Greenberg Traurig, LLP and look forward to working with you and the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. This letter will confirm the terms of our representation.

Greenberg Traurig ("the Firm") will primarily assist the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians ("the Tribe") with all political and lobbying activities related to obtaining a satisfactory outcome to gaming compact renegotiations, environmental matters and other policy and political goals in California. In addition, at the Tribe's discretion, the Firm shall assist the Tribe with federal issues, including but not limited to matters concerning federal appropriations, specific needs of the tribe related to the US Postal Service and tax matters, general Washington, DC and selected national public relations activities, federal-Tribal relations and promotion of sovereignty. We will look to you for our direction on all issues.

As part of our routine in opening new matters, we provide an engagement letter to our clients setting forth our understanding of the services we will be expected to perform, and the basis for our compensation. The firm will perform the work described above at \$150,000.00 per month plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses.

The Tribe may terminate the agreement at any time. If the Tribe terminates the agreement, the Tribe shall pay to the firm a pro rata amount plus reasonable out-of-pocket expenses for the month during which the contract is terminated.

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP
[REDACTED]

AC-0276

Honorable Richard Milanovich
 July 9, 2002
 Page 2

An advance fee deposit of \$150,000.00 is requested. We will deposit the advance in a trust account, and bill the first portion of our work against it. In accordance with our understanding, please forward to us a payment of \$150,000.00 representing the first month's payment of our fees.

In the event that your account should become more than sixty (60) days past due, we reserve the right, in our sole discretion consistent with the rules of professional conduct, to cease doing any work on any matter we are working on for the Tribe until past due amounts have been paid.

I will personally be in charge of the firm's role, and will assure that all necessary tasks are undertaken and complete. We anticipate that several of our attorneys and government affairs professionals will be involved in this representation to ensure that the representation is carried out in the most effective but efficient manner.

The representation may entail some work that is considered lobbying under the federal lobbying disclosure law. Consequently, where appropriate we will register the tribe as our client and report our activities on your behalf under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

The firm has conducted a review in order to assure that no conflict of interest exists between our representation of you and any representations of any of our clients. Our firm in its entirety represents a number of clients, both private and governmental entities, with multifaceted interests in many issues. These clients include, as you know, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. We do not currently, and would not in the future, represent another client in connection with any of the specific matters in which we were representing you, if that other client's interest in those matters was adverse to yours. Furthermore, the firm undertakes to not represent any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California during the duration of our representation of the Tribe.

Existing or new clients may in the future seek our services in connection with matters which are not substantially related to our work for you. In some instances the interests of those clients may be adverse to yours. It must be clearly understood that our firm cannot undertake to represent the Tribe without assurance that the Tribe will not seek, on the basis of this representation, to disqualify us from representing other clients in any matter that is not substantially related to our work for you. We recognize that your prospective consent to conflicting representation contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply in any instance where as the result of our representation of you we have obtained sensitive proprietary or otherwise confidential information that, if known to any other client of ours, could be used in another such matter by that client to your material disadvantage, nor will said consent apply in the instance of any other tribal government located within the geographical borders of the State of California, as noted in the preceding paragraph.

Both we and you must be continually alert to the development of any conflicts. Please contact us immediately if you become aware of a conflict or potential conflict, or take actions that would make a fresh conflict check prudent.

GREENBERG TRAUBIC, LLP

100 CANNON STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10048

NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER, CHICAGO HOUSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
 SAO PAULO FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

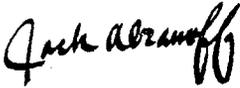
Honorable Richard Milanovich
July 9, 2002
Page 3

We believe that the above provisions and the attachment hereto outline in reasonable detail our agreement as to this representation. If you find these arrangements satisfactory, please sign this letter and return it to me, keeping a copy for your files. Our representation will conform to the terms of this agreement. We sincerely appreciate the opportunity to represent you, and we look forward to a successful relationship.

Very truly yours,

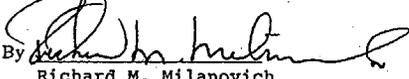
GREENBERG TRAURIG

By:



Jack Abramoff
Senior Director of Government Affairs

Accepted and agreed to this 9th day of July, 2002.



Richard M. Milanovich
Chairman, Tribal Council

Date 7/11/02

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP

AC 0278

NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO BOSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
SAO PAULO FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

July 9, 2002

Honorable Richard Milanovich
 Chairman
 Tribal Council
 Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
 600 E. Tahquitz Canyon Way
 Palm Springs, CA 92262

Dear Mr. Chairman,

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal July 8, 2002. Both parties agree that the primary goal of Scanlon Gould is to execute public affairs and political strategies to ensure successful re-negotiation of the Tribe's gaming compact.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Data Base/Organization: \$1,875,000.00

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Identification: \$845,000.00

Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Research and Messaging: \$935,000.00

Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary. Scanlon Gould will also conduct all opposition research and issues research (qualitative research).

Execution/Advocacy: \$1,745,000.00 - \$3,745,000.00

Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in our presentation including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Chairman and Council.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a base line total \$5,400,000.00. In addition, the Tribe agrees to budget an additional \$2,000,000.00 for advocacy efforts.

should the compact renewal campaign become intensive. Scanlon Gould agrees to provide the tribal council with a recommendation on this budget authority no later than January 30, 2003. Scanlon Gould understands that the additional budget authority is subject to approval by the council.

Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the nature of this campaign, payments for the first two phases (Organization and identification \$2,720,000.00 total) are due in advance and are non-refundable. The remaining balance will be due based upon the progress of the campaign. Scanlon Gould will provide at least 20 days notice for final payment

All materials generated by Scanlon Gould in the compact campaign are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential. The tribe agrees that Scanlon Gould is hereby indemnified and held harmless when acting on behalf of the tribe.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Chairman Richard Milanovich

Date

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

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

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

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

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

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

You IZ da man.

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

I can think something up- let's chat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GTG-E000011746

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 2:54 PM
 To: 'Rodney Lane'
 Subject: RE: CREA

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 3:35 PM
 To: abramoffj@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@... [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 7:39 PM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Did you speak with Jared on this at all? How much was the first one, cost wise?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Friday, July 05, 2002 2:04 PM
 To: abramoffj@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Exactly how much of these lunches did you want to pick up? There's another one scheduled for July 16.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@... [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:56 AM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Pick up tomorrow's entirely, but pull him aside and tell him that we have to work out something for the future lunches.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Rodney Lane [mailto:lane@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 4:41 PM
 To: abramoffj@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Spoke with Jared. I get the sense that they were hoping we would "take care of things." It sounds to me like they are planning on doing these luncheons about twice a month. There are only about 10 or less coming in for lunch tomorrow. To avoid any embarrassment on either side, maybe we should pick up at least half this tab (as it will be a fairly small party anyway) and then I'll work with Jared going forward to give them a discount for every subsequent event.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@... [mailto:abramoffj@...]
 Sent: Wednesday, June 26, 2002 3:56 PM
 To: lane@...
 Subject: RE: CREA

Can you chat with Jared and find out what he has in mind? Then tell him you'll chat with me.

GTG-E000105146

From: Volz, Neil G. (AsDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 7:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Election Reform Update

Election Reform negotiations have slowed. Ney, Paul and Chet all think it is possible to finish negotiations before August, but now not likely until later. There are several reasons for this including senate democrats insistence on unacceptable provisions, house republicans not feeling the pressure on the issue yet because of other more prominent issues, a lack of funding now has the state and local officials ready to pull their support. With that being said, Ney and Paul have said things are moving and would like to get all our specifics in line, so I am working to get a meeting with Tony and Paul and Bob this week to exchange specifics - since Paul was not in original meeting. Clearly, this remains must pass legislation, unfortunately it is not progressing quickly enough. I will let you know what I hear.

NV

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

GTG-E000089523

**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 10, 2002

**CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM
TIME SENSITIVE MATERIAL**

To: Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
From: Marc Schwartz
RE: SCOTLAND GOLF TRIP SPONSORSHIP

The Chairman of the committee handling our issue, and several of his Congressional colleagues have had an opportunity presented to travel to Scotland for a fact-finding mission during the August recess. You will recall that he and his colleagues have committed themselves to a solution to the dilemma faced by the Tigua Tribe and Alabama-Coushatta Tribe.

Toward this end, I have determined that the cost for the delegation, their wives, and senior staff will be \$100,000. Neither the Tiguas nor the Alabama-Coushattas has been solicited to underwrite this educational trip abroad, but I would strongly recommend that both Tribes consider a donation towards this effort.

The chairman is the one person who has taken on our issue and has single-handedly carried the effort to this point. I believe it would be a very powerful vote of confidence if this contribution were made. There is an educational foundation that will actually be sending the delegation abroad and if you and the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe were to divide this cost, it would send a very strong message to a very powerful member of the Congressional leadership team.

As the date of the trip is rapidly approaching, I would recommend your immediate consideration as well as to counsel with Chairman Battise to determine if they can assist as well. I will provide you with the information on the entity you will make your checks payable to at the appropriate time.

Please let me know as soon as practical so that I will be able to have the Washington team put this in motion.

MJS:wbm



Educating Jewish Children with Learning Disabilities

4445 Old Court Road, Baltimore, MD 21208 • tel.: 410.486.5323 • fax: 410.653.9830

email: [REDACTED] • website: www.jewishspecialied.org

July 11, 2002

Capital Athletic Foundation
c/o Mr. and Mrs. Jack Abramoff

[REDACTED]

Washington, D.C. [REDACTED]

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff:

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation and gratitude for your gift of \$47,500 from the Capital Athletic Foundation to be utilized as a deposit on the proposed campus on Marriottsville Road in Marriottsville, Md.*

Your participation in this exciting endeavor is greatly appreciated, and we look forward to being able to avail our services to an even greater number of children in need.

May you be blessed in the merit of your efforts and involvement on the behalf of so many Jewish children.

Sincerely,


Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

* No goods or services were rendered in connection with this donation.

GTG001762-JA-P

Rabbi Yeshia A. Benstein
Principal

Brian A. Caplan
Executive Director

Jacob L. Szajowitz
Director of Development

Paulette A. Pollack
Administrator

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@mcnative.com] on behalf of
Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, July 12, 2002 10:53 AM
To: MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com]
Subject: RE: Follow-up

I think we can organize \$10K/month on a Agua Caliente sized representation (the firm's profit on that kind of representation is around 20%, which is \$30K/month, and I can probably get them to give up 1/3 of that). On the grassroots budget, it is a little trickier, because the margin is very tight (Mike gets his fee from the Greenberg side) and most of that is spend as direct costs. Once the total numbers are in and Mike does his budget, I should be able to pull some bucks out of that one too. Does this sound OK?

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

From: MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com] (mailto:MCNATIVE [mailto:jack@mcnative.com])
Sent: Friday, July 12, 2002 11:39 AM
To: abramoff [mailto:jack@mcnative.com]
Subject: Re: Follow-up

Jack:

Thanks for the call - though, after we hung up - I thought I know no more now than before! What are you thinking the terms of a consultancy might be? Curious, and want to know what the incentives might be in assisting you in landing new clients - especially, since I may be able to pitch your services later tonight!

Let me know, meanwhile, I will try and line up a meeting with Audrey at Prairie Island.

Take care,

Michael

5/8/2004

GTG-E000057342

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 7:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, July 13, 2002 10:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 11, 2002 10:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAFI

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Choctaw CAFI

Can you call her again today? Thanks buddy.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 01, 2002 9:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Choctaw CAFI

Mike, what do we have to do to get this money in?

GTG-E000110378

AC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: AC

Spoke with Candace. Give me a buzz and I'll fill you in. not much you don't know, though.

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

From: Mike Scanlon (mailto:mike [REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 10:13 AM
To: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: AC

Not yet - they are supposed to sign off on it today. The chairman is trying to sink it - he has a whole bunch of Suncruz articles he is handing out at the meeting.

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

From: abramoffj [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 8:37 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: AC

We got a signed retainer back and a check. Did they sign your retainer yet? as soon as they do we have to get moving to prove to them that we were right and that stinker Chairman is wrong. Let me know.

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

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

GTG-E000059386



**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 18, 2002

**CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM
TIME SENSITIVE MATERIAL**

To: Chairman Kevin Battise
Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: TRIP SPONSORSHIP

Thanks to you and your Council for agreeing to assist in the effort. Your \$50,000 check should be made payable to the Capital Athletic Foundation, [REDACTED]

It would be easier if you would FedEx the check to me at the address on this sheet and I will include the Tigua Tribe, and forward to them. As time is critical, please process as quickly as possible.

For your information, the language is set and now we are waiting for a floor date which we believe will come in the next 7 days or so. Keep your fingers crossed. So far everything is moving well without any hiccups. Call me if you have any questions.

MJS:wbm

c: Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 23, 2002 5:16 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: DeSoto Parish

forget Ralph, but this poll is very interesting. Can you get to William and get us some \$ so we can fight this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph [REDACTED])
Sent: Tuesday, July 23, 2002 6:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: DeSoto Parish

here is the DeSoto parish website, scroll down to the online poll and look at current results. 60% say they support the casino, and the Desoto Parish Police Jury will not tell our supporters on the ground the timeline for a vote. That suggests we may want to put a more substantive grassroots campaign against the casino into gear so we don't get surprised by a last-minute vote that is effectively rigged against the pro-family forces.

<http://www.desotoparish.net/index.htm>
<<DeSoto Parish.url>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=██████████ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 11:27 AM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
 Subject: FW: TX

Forget about Ralph, but you should call Lovelin and William (call them both, and maybe call Aubrey too) and claim victory on this one, but warn that the AC are not going away. They have a ton of money from oil and are really working the state very hard. That's from Subcom. He said that their DC lobbyist is also pushing for them to get a federal fix, but the moron is doing it publicly, so forget that (of course don't tell William/Aubrey/Lovelin!). We need more \$\$\$\$. Call them and let me know how it goes.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph.██████████]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 9:24 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: TX

This is total victory and should lead friends in TX to now want to launch the grassroots effort to insure that those elected officials who stood up for families and against casino gambling have support this fall. It is critical. The Governor's race is too close to call and the Senate race is within the margin of error---and the Lt. Governor's race will literally decide this issue legislatively.

>
 > House of cards July 19, 2002 The Beaumont Enterprise SHANE GRABER
 >
 > U.S. District Judge John Hannah Jr. in Lufkin ordered the
 > Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas casino shut down by midnight July 25.
 > LIVINGSTON - Jodie Kubena sits in silence as bells jingle and clang
 > around him. He is fixed on a stool here, working two slot machines at
 > the same time. He can't hear the quarters fill his tray, but he sees
 > them fall. Kubena, an 84-year-old Caldwell man who can't hear or
 > speak, has been travelling the 40 miles to the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe
 > of Texas' casino since it opened nearly nine months ago. He is wearing
 > Velcro sneakers, a snap-button shirt and a hat his nephew made that
 > says, "World's Greatest Gambler, Marksville, La." He spells his name
 > in sign language but doesn't chat much otherwise. He and the slots are
 > one. His sister, Eunice Dotson, 78, brings him here twice a week: They
 > pull in at 9:30 a.m. and stay until 4 p.m., 6 p.m. if Kubena's slots
 > are hitting. In less than a week, though, they'll have to find another
 > diversion. This tribe's cash cow might be heading out to pasture
 > and maybe for good. "I hate to hear that," Dotson said. She then
 > looked at her brother. "And he's so upset about it." U.S. District
 > Judge John Hannah Jr. in Lufkin ruled last month that the casino is
 > illegal under the 1987 Native American Restoration Act. That act bars
 > on reservations any type of gambling that isn't legal in the state.
 > Hannah ordered the casino shut down by midnight July 25. The tribe
 > Thursday filed an appeal in the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, said
 > Tribal Council Chairman Kevin Battise. That court, however, already
 > shut down another Texas tribe's casino earlier this year in a nearly
 > identical case. As an option, Hannah said the Alabama-Coushatta should
 > lobby Congress and the Texas Legislature to change the laws rather
 > than appeal to the 5th Circuit. But lawmakers don't appear eager to
 > roll the dice on reservation gambling. A bill that would legalize
 > casinos on Indian land died before it could get to the floor for
 > debate last legislative session. Local leaders like Rep. Dan Ellis,
 > D-Livingston, and Sen. Todd Staples, R-Palestine, have both said
 > they're against the casino. The tribe is already making plans for

GTG-E000020107

SCANLON GOULD
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

July 24, 2002

Honorable Richard Milanovich
Chairman
Tribal Council
Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Chairman,

By this letter, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal July 8, 2002. Both parties agree that the primary goal of Scanlon Gould is to execute public affairs and political strategies to ensure successful re-negotiation of the Tribe's gaming compact.

Scanlon Gould will execute its duties by employing its internal political team (full time employees) and reserves the right to sub-contract with external firms when necessary. As they are sub-contractors they will not represent an additional cost to the Tribe. Scanlon Gould will provide the names, and any contractual language, of the third party vendor at the time of its employment. Scanlon Gould will contact the Agua Caliente Gaming Commission to determine what if any licensing may be required as it pertains to California gaming law.

Scanlon Gould further agrees to provide monthly reports to the Tribal Council (via a designee of their choosing) describing the progress and expenditures associated with the campaign. In addition, Scanlon Gould agrees to seek and receive Tribal approval for any communication to be made public that contains the Tribe's name or can be attributed to the Tribe.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Data Base/Organization: \$1,875,000.00

Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software on behalf of the Tribe, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Timing: Effective Date - September 15. Scanlon Gould will provide to the client the entire political database complete with all electronic functions and general data lists, including state and federal elected officials and their contact information. This database will be delivered by September 15.

AC 0287

[REDACTED]

Identification: \$845,000.00

Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Timing: Effective Date - September 15. Scanlon Gould will deliver, as part of your political database, all political assets including your identified supporters, and any anti-gaming opposition. All data will be loaded into your electronic database and will be searchable by elected official, committee and political opinion. The database and phone scripts will be delivered by September 15 complete with any training that may be necessary. The database will include the data generated from your resource lists as well as data generated from Scanlon Gould survey instruments.

Research and Messaging: \$935,000.00

Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary. Scanlon Gould will also conduct all opposition research and issues research (qualitative research).

Timing: September 16 - October 15. Scanlon Gould will deliver, by October 15, its comprehensive research package as well all of its polling results to provide the Tribe with an overview of the campaign message(s).

Execution/Advocacy: \$1,745,000.00 - \$3,745,000.00

Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in our presentation including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Chairman and Council.

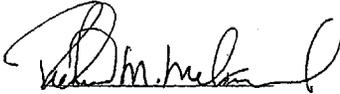
Timing: October 16 - March 1. The tribe will receive monthly reports outlining the results of our phone and letter-writing campaigns. In addition, Scanlon Gould will provide, in its monthly reports, copies of any and all correspondence generated to elected officials as part of the final phase.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a base line total \$5,400,000.00. In addition, the Tribe agrees to budget an additional \$2,000,000.00 for advocacy efforts should the compact renewal campaign become intensive. Scanlon Gould agrees to provide the tribal council with a recommendation on this budget authority no later than January 30, 2003. Scanlon Gould understands that the additional budget authority is subject to approval by the council and will be paid to Scanlon Gould directly.

Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the nature of this campaign, payments for the first two phases (Organization and Identification \$2,720,000.00 total) are due in advance and are non-refundable. Scanlon Gould will provide monthly reports to the Tribal Council (via a designee of their choosing) describing the progress and expenditures associated with this phase. The remaining balance will be due based upon the progress of the campaign. Scanlon Gould will provide at least 20 days notice for final payment.

All materials generated by Scanlon Gould in the compact campaign are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential. The Tribe will indemnify and hold harmless Scanlon Gould from all losses, liabilities and other costs actually incurred by Scanlon Gould regarding third parties in the performance of its authorized duties under this contract, to the extent that such losses, liabilities and costs are not the result of negligence or non-compliance with applicable law or other fault of Scanlon Gould. Furthermore, each party will be responsible for its own compliance with applicable law.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

 7/29/02

Chairman Richard Milanovich

Date

 7/24/02

Michael P. Scanlon

Date

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of
 Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:32 PM
 To: 'Mike Scanlon'
 Subject: RE: Agua and [redacted]

Great.

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

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:27 PM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: RE: Agua and [redacted]

I am totally fine with 100k - lets keep him working!

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

From: abramoff@redacted [mailto:abramoff@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 1:29 PM
 To: Mike Scanlon
 Subject: FW: Agua and [redacted]

This guy delivered for us. he wants to know what he can get from the pot. I will give him \$10K/month from GT, but we should give him a tip from the grass roots. I think we should do \$100K, but not from the first tranche. I told him that you budget this stuff very, very tightly, but might be able to eek out something. I don't want to waste money, but he clearly has a lot of contacts and could get us a ton of biz. I want him to feel like he has all the incentive in the world. Agree?

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

From: MCNATIVE@redacted [mailto:MCNATIVE@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 11:58 AM
 To: abramoff@redacted
 Subject: Agua and [redacted]

Jack:

Congratulations to you and Mike on landing the political organizing contract with Agua! Candace called yesterday to share the good news!

I am eager to learn what the final dynamics of a consultancy might be with Greenberg, while also hearing what might be a practical consideration for the political organizing contract. Both have bearing on how many not-for-profit clients I choose to retain - clearly, those that are smaller are more demanding, so the fewer I need on that front the better! Sorry for being so forth coming - I am having hell with one client and would love to extract myself from that situation pronto!

By chance did you get to share the [redacted] election information with Mike? I plan on going down to [redacted] in two weeks - in part to take in the Friday session relating to strategy around the delegate to Congress concept and then on Saturday to participate in another of [redacted] campaign strategy sessions. I assume you received the research regarding the delegate concept by FedEx? If you're so inclined to come to [redacted] it would be great to see you again and if you do I will orchestrate a dinner at [redacted] and [redacted] - [redacted] is one of the shrewdest Indian leaders I know. You would enjoy [redacted].

5/6/2004

GTG-E000059446

A C

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 5:16 PM
To: MCNATIVE@
Subject: RE: Agua and Cherokee!

All sounds great. Yes, of course, on the additional funds on the effort at Agua. I don't know how he will cash flow it, but I'll get him to do it as fast as possible. On the Greenberg thing, it will run the life of the representation of Agua, which I hope will be a long time. We have represented Choctaw for seven years, and the others years as well. Can I put Jon in touch with you regarding the conference? Mike is checking his schedule. Look forward to seeing you soon and doing Prairie Island. Hey, if we can line up 7 more of these, you'll be making more than \$1M a year! Then I can come work for you!!! :-)* *****

*
-----Original *****

***** :-)*

Jack:

***** :-)*
***** :-)*
***** :-)*

**PARTNERS GROUP
CONSULTANTS**

July 26, 2002

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Albert Alvidrez
Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa
Tribal Council

From: Marc Schwartz

RE: OPERATION OPEN DOORS

Late last night, I received a report from Jack regarding the movement of our issue. Senate Democrats and House Republicans are at odds over one issue that cropped up. The issue is whether the Justice Department (Democrats favor) or individual state's Election Departments (Republicans favor) will have jurisdiction over precinct approval, ballot design, etc.

There is a plan for a conference call today between the parties, but it doesn't appear that the conference report will make it to the floor before recess. As developments unfold, I'll update you further and regardless, I will have a complete report for Tuesday's council meeting.

Jack is arranging a meeting between us and Chairman Ney for, possibly, next week. Chairman Battise will also join in the meeting. As soon as that is scheduled, I will let you know. Also, Jack is planning to be in El Paso shortly after that meeting to discuss what will occur when Congress reconvenes.

I have sent a copy of the information I received from Michael Scanlon to each of you for your review. We can discuss any of those issues on Tuesday as well.

MJS:wbm

c: Tom Diamond
Karl Maahs

Broder, Hillel (Intern-DC-Gov/Adm)

From: octagon1 [octagon1 [REDACTED]]
Sent: Monday, July 29, 2002 10:08 AM
To: broderh [REDACTED]
Subject: camo suit.

BH

Hillel, I want to order a GHILLI SUIT.
 from this company so that we have
 the basic structure to copy from.

These are made well and will help us to
 no end.

I want to get the FULL MILITARY GHILLI SUIT
 in (light) BROWN DICIDOUS colors just like the
 one displayed in the photo on their site.

The sizes go by BDU (battle dress uniform)
 So the bottom should be XXX long and
 the top should be XXXX long.

Now the order form on their site gives a
 buba misa about these suits needing a
 special state department licence and
 blah, blah, blah.

These suits are used by goyim who do
 alot of hunting. PLEASE don't get freaked
 out about this warning, suits of similar design
 can be bought from any of the hunting
 suppy catalogs.

**Anyway when you box it up and send it to
 me, send it as THE GRANDMOTHER TREE
 COSTUME for the play POCAHONTAS.**

Here is the Custom Concealment web site.

If you have to call them and they ask you what
 you need it for just tell them that it is a present
 for a relative who goes DEER HUNTING.

http://[REDACTED]

Order

[Handwritten signature]

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 31, 2002 7:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); 'Mike Scanlon (E-mail)'
Subject: Sandia update

We expect the bill to be marked-up today without our changes, but with an understanding that we will negotiate between now and the floor. The press coverage has been very good for us - articles yesterday and today and an editorial today.

Client is proposing 3 changes to the compromise [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] reached. Details of those changes aren't important, but truth is the bill has moved our direction significantly. Client is fixated on things the other parties got, even though those things don't affect us. We keep saying that we do what they want - push for changes, kill it, whatever. Frank Chaves, who is here with the Governor and one other leader, is most pessimistic person on planet. The truth is that if they don't like this bill, it's because they have buyer's remorse over the settlement agreement.

My recommendation for today is simply to listen. We should keep telling them that we will do everything possible to achieve their objections. If they want some additional firepower in state, Mike, you should just tell them to talk to you.

One important note: besides a general feeling that they didn't get \$2.5+ million worth of ground war effort,

REDACTED

Anyway, Frank can be infuriating. But he is a leader in the group. So we have to listen and nod a lot. Thanks. Let me know if you have any questions.

GTG-E000002779

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 31, 2002 7:03 PM
To: 'Chris Petras -- Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Just wanted to remind you about getting the Capital Athletic Foundation contribution to me asap per the delay request. Thanks so much.