
ATR MATERIALS

 From: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Cc: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
 Subject: RE: Brown Forman
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 7:00PM

I talked to Kerry about this. \$50,000 would be a big hit for her, but may be able to sell it to Discus. The big question is how active would he be on the issue, especially with everything else he is doing now. For example, would he send letters, make calls, do meetings, and offer advice?

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: FW: Brown Forman
 Date: Monday, October 23, 1995 8:40AM

Pamela:

Would you please raise this with Kerry?

Mark

 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 To: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 Subject: RE: Brown Forman
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 9:32PM

I spoke this evening with Grover. He said that, if they want the taxpayer movement, including him, involved on this issue and anything else which will come up over the course of the year or so, they need to become a major player with ATR. He recommended that they make a \$50,000 contribution to ATR. It seems that, on another "sin tax" matter, he is getting a similarly large contribution to get involved. It is possible that we could get away with less -- possibly even half -- but I'll have to push, which, of course, I am happy to do. He does not want to do any additional personal representations. He would prefer donations to ATR. Please let me know what you want to do on this. Thanks.

 From: Ruge, Mark (DC)
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
 Subject: Brown Forman
 Date: Sunday, October 22, 1995 11:26AM

Here's the deal:

Grover was very helpful last week in sending the wine/spirits letter to Senate Finance Committee Chairman Roth. Now we urgently need Grover to get even more involved as this issue goes to conference. The onerous provision is in the Senate bill; it is not in the House bill. So it will be a conference issue.

Ideally, we'd like Grover to make this a threshold issue as this reconciliation bill is hashed out. We'd like him to send the same

letter to Republicans on the Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee. Most importantly, we'd like him to weigh in with Gingrich and the rest of the Leadership.

Please tell Grover that Brown Forman is more than willing to make this a paid representation. It strikes me as a perfect match since opposing this change to Sec. 5010 is entirely consistent with Grover's personal philosophy and represents the longstanding position of Americans for Tax Reform. We need a decision soon -- the conference battle is right around the corner and we are already working it.

We need you to get this on Grover's priority list and get him to decide on a level of commitment on his (or ATR's) part.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
To: Garvie, Pamela (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]
Date: Tuesday, October 24, 1995 12:40AM

Yes, he would do everything they need for him to do to win. He would be very active. What is most important, however, is that this matter is kept discreet. ~~We do not want the opponents to think that we are trying to buy the tax payer movement.~~ This approach should be kept as close to the vest as possible and, in any event, might be best achieved by doing it indirectly. Let's discuss if they are interested to move forward.

REDACTED

GTG-E000106492

Via Telefacsimile

~~Private Field~~

Mr. Jim Lucier, Jr.
Director of Economic Research
Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Jim:

I have had an opportunity to review the independent expenditure campaign memo regarding the effort in New Jersey and while it is most impressive, I would like to have a discussion on the telephone regarding re-focusing this memo on expenditures which can be properly made by a 501 (C) (4). Unfortunately most of our money would be coming from very few large grants. Therefore any need to file the independent expenditure campaign as a political action committee will obviate our ability to impact the race. The memorandum regarding the New Jersey race really needs to focus on only the activities which are possible as a consequence 501 (C) (4) expenditure activities.

Please discuss this with Grover. I had an opportunity to discuss this with him last evening. I look forward to talking with you soon.

Kindest regards,

Jack Abramoff
Government Affairs Counselor

JA:jas

GTG-E000031388

MEMORANDUM

TO: JACK ABRAMOFF
 FROM: JIM LUCIER
 SUBJECT: INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REP. BOB TORRICELLI
 DATE: [TIMEFIELD]

cc: grover Norquist

Congressman Bob Torricelli will run this fall as the Democratic candidate for the New Jersey Senate seat left open by Sen. Bill Bradley's retirement. Torricelli could be a difficult candidate for Republicans to defeat unaided. He is an entrenched incumbent with powerful support among the ethnic voters in his district, notably Cubans and Jews. His strong support among Cubans generally in northern New Jersey could assist him greatly in running statewide.

Further, the contrast between Torricelli and his most likely Republican opponent, central New Jersey and Princeton Congressman Dick Zimmer, is not as strong as many Republicans would like. Both are pro-choice in a state with strong Catholic and pro-life voting blocks. Both are also bad on guns, in a state which is actually surprisingly strong for the NRA and home to the Coalition of New Jersey Sportsmen, which boasts a membership of 250,000. Zimmer has signed the Americans for Tax Reform Taxpayer Protection Pledge and has a strong conservative voting record on most economic issues -- though he voted against the Contract with America Medicare Reforms. Torricelli has a generally liberal voting record on taxes and spending. But Torricelli did vote for the Contract with America budget reconciliation package, and he has been given political cover on taxes by Jude Wanniski, who has praised Torricelli as a reasonable Democrat and hosted a dinner for Torricelli with Wall Street supply-siders.

An anti-Torricelli independent expenditure (IE) campaign is not necessarily an easy thing either. New Jersey is an expensive media state, dominated by both the New York and the Philadelphia media markets. Campaigning effectively in a conventional IE here could require substantial sums. The money, message, and media buying will also have to be carefully targeted to avoid wasting precious resources. It is possible that a tightly focused effort using direct mail and telemarketing on a narrow segment of independent voters could be enough to ensure Torricelli's defeat. But concentration on too small a voting population entails the risk that not enough anti-Torricelli voters will be mobilized, and the inherently "stealthy" nature of direct media means the campaign would not have the effect of publicly inflicting punishment on Torricelli, if that is the desired result.

This memorandum outlines an IE to be conducted against Torricelli in highly visible fashion. As a supplement to the IE, we recommend a grassroots issues campaign to systematically activate all constituencies in the "Leave Us Alone" coalition which makes up the current Republican party base. Not all Republican voters will enthusiastically support Zimmer, should he be the Republican nominee. Therefore, it will be necessary to stimulate the turnout of anti-Torricelli voters through other means. The defeat of Torricelli could very depend on whether

1) Polling and Research

GTG-E000031381

Given the need to develop an effective message and target media wisely, polling and research will be an important part of the IE. We recommend that you retain The Polling Company to conduct statewide polls and focus group research as needed, to assist in message development, and to monitor sentiment in each constituency of the broad coalition to be activated. Tracking the race in its final days will also be essential. We recommend The Polling Company for its very substantial expertise in New Jersey politics.

For initial opposition research on Torricelli's voting record, we recommend commissioning a report by Gordon Jones.

2) The Independent Expenditure

An IE is subject to the same FEC election rules that govern a campaign. The IE must be organized as a PAC. Individual contributions are limited, corporate contributions are forbidden, all activities must be reported on the FEC's Schedule B, and all advertisements must bear a disclaimer naming the PAC and its Treasurer. Your clients may wish to retain an FEC lawyer to determine the optimum structure for their campaign.

The basic media available are Philadelphia TV, statewide radio, direct mail, and telephone banks. Some combination of these is probably optimum, depending on the message selected and the constituencies to be mobilized.

For \$600,000, one could buy enough Philadelphia TV to effectively communicate two messages (one major and one minor) in the southern part of the state, or one could saturate statewide radio for a month, which is probably the better option. Purchasing New York City television would not be cost effective. Some detailed suggestions from the Murphy, Pintak, Gautier Agency present the available options. Please find them attached to this memo. The suggestions are based on experience from the 1992 Whitman for Governor campaign, which the firm directed.

Timing of the media buys will be an issue of vital concern. Television stations may not wish to sell time to an IE in the final weeks of the campaign, making it necessary to buy time on TV or radio in the summer instead. But running spots well in advance of the election means they must effectively frame the entire race and have lasting impact. Otherwise their effect will be lost.

To coordinate the IE, you will need a management team comprised of your PAC; the Polling Company; Murphy, Pintak, Gautier; and any other outside advisers you require.

3) Grassroots Issues

Taxes were central to the successful Whitman for Governor campaign in 1992. They should be so again. An excellent way to energize the taxpayer movement in New Jersey would be to conduct statewide rallies on Tax Day (April 15), New Jersey Tax Freedom Day (mid-May), New Jersey Cost of Government Day (mid-July), Taxpayer Action Day (TAD), and Get the Government Off Our Backs Day (October 10, the anniversary of repealing Prohibition.) A drive to enlist all state legislators as signers of the state-level New Jersey Taxpayer Protection Pledge is worth considering.

School choice and home schooling. The school choice movement led by Mayor Bret Schundler of Jersey City expected school choice legislation from the Republican-controlled state assembly but have been disappointed in receiving it. Home schoolers are an extremely well-organized group everywhere.

Property rights are an especially significant issue in the coastal areas of New Jersey. Organized property rights activists would most likely oppose Torricelli and support a Republican opponent. Crime and quality of life. These are issues on which Torricelli may be vulnerable.

Social welfare spending. Torricelli may be vulnerable on votes such as for midnight basketball.

Commuters in Torricelli's home district would be sensitive to his vote on a gasoline tax.

Cuba. Advertising may possibly tie Torricelli to President Clinton, who could be portrayed as soft on Castro.

Collapse of the welfare state. This would be a major issue in New Jersey's depressed urban areas.

Research and communications materials promoting the achievements of Governor Whitman, Mayor Schundler, New York Governor George Pataki, and New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani might help frame the election as a referendum on "pro-tax" candidates "anti-tax" candidates. Zimmer, possible alternative Republican challenger Richard DuHaine, or another Republican challenger could run as a team state of Tax Pledge signers vs. non-Pledge signers.

4) Other Considerations

Torricelli's antagonism to Indian gaming is well-known throughout the state. A strong IE has the upside potential of throwing Torricelli's campaign off its stride and forcing it to squander resources. But Torricelli could also run against the campaign and cite the IE as a sign of his opposition to "special interests." This is yet another reason for exercising extreme care in the development of the message and in developing as much of an issue-based anti-Torricelli GOTV as possible.

BUDGET FOR ANTI-TORRICELLI EFFORT

The Polling Company	\$75,000.
Opposition Research by Gordon Jones	\$6,000.
Independent Expenditure	\$600,000.
Taxpayer Coalition Activities	\$300,000.
Total	\$981,000.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 31, 1996 7:18 AM
 To: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure

thanks. retainer was at 10k per month. if they make such a contribution to atr it will i think seem fairly large in the scheme of things (right jack?) although in fact they would not be controlling anything....hmmmm

 From: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 31, 1996 7:28 AM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure

I'll take care of Kimberly and Becca.

On ATR, I'll talk with Jack A. Under the new law, ATR would have to disclose anyone who contributes \$10,000 or more to their activities, provided the contributing entity "in whole or major part plans, supervises, or controls" ATR's lobbying activities. I have already checked with the House Clerk's office who report that this "supervision and control" test has not been clarified to provide registrants any guidance on how much control is necessary to trigger disclosure.

 From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 To: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: Lobby Disclosure
 Date: Tuesday, January 30, 1996 3:26PM

thanks much. please go ahead and send copies to kimberly and becca directly. i like them to hear from more of us (not just me) and YOU are the expert. also: i think you should offer Becca additional copies for her members if she would like them....see no reason why we couldnt individually advise other companies if they wwere interested....

re ATR -- I have urged jackA to get Grover to read your stuff and talk to you re his filing. We have a reall interest in keeping Grover clean and frankly I am concerned that he will simply be too busy to focus.

re MS. as you may know, MS retained Grover awhile ago for strategic advice etc. Under IDA will have to register. That raises other issues (publicity). So one question occurs whether they could instead contribute to ATR. However, I thought that if it would be more than 10K and they were asking ATR to get involved on issues that their contribution to ATR would have to be disclosed. can you check in with jackA about this so you can discuss with jackK at your meeting? Also I need to send email to Kimberly.

many thanks.

 From: Peckinpaugh, Tim (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 30, 1996 1:08 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: Lobby Disclosure

Over the past year or so, I have sent our update memos on government ethics to two of your clients: MS and BSA.

For MS, I'm meeting with Jack Krumholtz (at his request) this Thursday to discuss whether he and others within MS should register. I will give him a copy of our booklet at this time. But it's probably more appropriate for YOU to send a letter along with the booklet to Kimberly (or others) in Redmond regarding the firm's determination that we will re-register on behalf of MS. (I will also send a copy of the booklet to Julie Irman who made a special request to have one).

For BSA, the presentation I was scheduled to give to the BSA group on lobby reform was cancelled; it may be rescheduled in a couple of weeks. I have already mailed a copy of the booklet to JD Marple (at his request), but I have not sent one to Becca. As billing attorney, probably YOU should send a letter along with the booklet to Becca regarding the firm's determination that we will file on behalf of BSA.

I hope all of this works for you. Please advise me if I can help.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, March 10, 1996 7:53 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Grover

I spoke to Grover this evening. He asked me, again, the status of the \$10K for ATR for Jim Lucier. Is there any way to get this done? I know it is not your fault, but it is getting a bit embarrassing with him asking me constantly. He has not let Lucier know yet, since he wants to have the money in hand. Lucier is doing a great job on this. I hope that they can issue this check in the next few days. Please let me know. Thanks.

Also, on Grover. I saw the rather nasty (in my view) response of Kimberly on the request for the ATR tax series. Grover has agreed to apply one of the monthly payments to MS coming to these events (the first is this week), but wants to know why it is that they are taking so long to get him paid for the past many months. He has received one check -- for \$10K -- from last year. They have not been able to provide any documentation to the contrary. They owe him \$40K for last year. I understand from Kimberly's email that they are supposed to be paying him \$120K for this year (\$10K a month), so they owe him, already, \$20K and will owe him \$30K by the end of this month. Again, this is getting to be a real source of embarrassment for me. I do not know what to tell Grover as to why MS cannot pay this amount or why they are late. Furthermore, he cannot understand why he is not being asked to do more for them. He points out -- ironically -- that he spends more time advising the Washington Post than he does MS. Surely for this money they want him to do something. He has offered to go to MS headquarters or meet with people here if that will help. What can he do to help?

Finally, Grover will be in Seattle April 5 - 13 helping Randy Tate do town meetings. He would like to co-host, with MS, a small dinner with Tate to raise some funds. He is hoping that MS would consider putting together a dozen execs (or friends) at \$1K each to help out Tate. I did not have the heart to tell him how these amounts are beyond the MS wallet, or will.

Help, Bruce! I am losing my grip with my friend. Please at least give me some answers so that I can respond to the above. These lack of payments are really disgusting. Please help me out here as soon as possible. Thanks,.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 1996 12:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: FW: paying grover norquist

The new invoice is the one for the ATR dinner.

I will make sure the check from BSA gets issued early next week (Becca is out of the country and I need to beat up on her)

From: Jack Krumholtz
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 1996 10:47 AM
To: "'Heiman, Bruce (DC)'"
Subject: RE: paying grover norquist

A check for \$60K was mailed on 3/26; he should have it any day. I forwarded the new invoice to Redmond and it is being processed.

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC) [SMTP:extnet!bruceh@dcpo.preston.infonet.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 1996 8:58 PM
To: Jack Krumholtz
Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: paying grover norquist

Can you tell me where this stands? Grover still has not received anything further and has now raised the issue on a couple of occasions. Is it possible to get this pulled to the front of the payment line if the check has not already been issued?

Also, Grover sent over an ATR invoice for the tax dinner series which I will bring to tomorrow's meeting. The next dinner will be in April with Archer. MS should send a separate check to ATR for the dinner series. Recall that Grover agreed to forgo one of his monthly retainers, so he'll skip a month.=====

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [PRESTON/DCPO/jacka]
 Sent: Sunday, May 10, 1998 5:56 PM
 To: James Lucier
 Subject: RE: Very Important!!! Confidential

I spoke with him and he acknowledged that the \$10K is for you, but then was complaining that they (BSA) were shortchanging him by \$30K (!?). I offered to see what was happening with that (the money from Americans for Computer Privacy) but he told me to wait on it. Bottom line, though: he recognizes that this \$10K is for you. let me know how it plays out.

From: James Lucier[SMTP:jlucier@atr.org]
 Sent: Sunday, May 10, 1998 9:04 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Very Important!!! Confidential
 Importance: High

The annual \$10,000 BSA check to ATR just came in three weeks ago and we just received an additional \$30,000 from Americans for Computer Privacy.

As you know, the annual bonus I receive from BSA is the single most important thing that allows me to continue working at ATR. I really count on this.

ACTION ITEM. Can you call Grover at home today or soon and remind him that the funding ATR gets to support me and my work on encryption and other high tech issues really needs to go for this purpose?

BACKGROUND: Last year, the BSA check came while I was out of town and no one told me it had arrived. (In fact, I was specifically told on two occasions that we had _not_ received it, which is disappointing to me but not something I am prepared to make an issue of.)

As a result, I went back to Heiman and BSA repeatedly over the next two months to ask where it was. I cc'd all these communications to you and you helped make some of these inquiries. I was very embarrassed when I found out that BSA had sent the check exactly when they said they would and that the holdup was in my own office.

After that, it was nearly another two months (a total of 14 weeks in all) before the check was passed on to me. There were some legitimate reasons for this. The legal bills ATR incurred during the Thompson Committee hearings put a significant drain on our cashflow.

But another reason is that ATR does not run on a formal budget that Grover sticks to, despite elaborate planning exercises by Audrey. In practice, everything is on an out-of-pocket basis. If there is no cash on hand to do something, we simply don't do it. Bottom line: if the ACP and BSA money gets spent on other things before I get my bonus check, I may never see it.

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

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Thanks for your help. You can email back or call me on my (encrypted) cell at (703)926-8977 if you want to talk. This is very, very important.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 7:38 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show
 reads like something from the grates on lafayette park.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 14, 1999 10:12 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Where are we with Gregg Hilton in getting this out? By the way, what in the world is Jeff ~~panicking~~ about below?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 13, 1999 10:23 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: D-Day show

!!
 -----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:17 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

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

Jeff

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 9:23 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: D-Day show

Don't worry. I just spoke to Greg Hilton and he said that he will remind his chairs again tomorrow. I asked him if he expected this to be a problem and he said "absolutely not."

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 > Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:00 AM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: RE: D-Day show
 >
 > Good. I was getting a little nervous after our last conversation.

DOF SE 000467


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> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 11:06 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I do not think he is backing away.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:43 AM
> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
> Please get Jack into this if you think he's backing away.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 10:41 AM
> To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
> Subject: RE: D-Day show
>
>
> I talked to him yesterday and will call again today. He is clearing the
> letter with his co-chairs.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
> Sent: Tuesday, January 12, 1999 8:23 AM
> To: Berger, Amy (DC)
> Subject: D-Day show
>
> Where are we w/Gregg Hilton?

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From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 1999 7:07 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Call Council Nedd and/or Tom Schatz or even Grover to get a statement that Ch 1 is a huge and creative tax savings!!!!

Bug, bug , bug, bug

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 11:53 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: FW: Folkemer on C-SPAN

Please bug me non-stop tomorrow to make sure I get this done. Thanks.

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

From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Monday, January 18, 1999 1:39 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Folkemer on C-SPAN

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 6:50 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW
 too late. this info went to peter ferrara immediately after you requested it yesterday. of course there still is no reason why we can't do both. i iwll ask daniel to draft.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 7:48 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 7:37 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW

Excellent. Thanks, Jack. ALSO -- tell Grover he can redeem himself by blasting the coalition in a letter to the NYT responding to today's story. (see my prior e-mail)

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 1999 8:30 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: CAGW

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

I called Grover to tell him this (which should push him to move it). I am really upset at Grover on this. Oh well. I'll keep on him.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [SMTP:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, January 20, 1999 2:27 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: CAGW

Don't slug me -- but, now that we have CAGW's letter I just need you to reassure me that we are not going to get into more trouble from our association with them than it is worth. I know they are controversial, I just don't know who is a less controversial tax watchdog group.

Also -- I
still hope that Grover's piece will be published at some point -- 2
voices
are far better than one.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); 'Jeff Ballabon'
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter
 I saw Grover as I headed into the Capitol. He said he has assigned Peter Ferrara (!) to draft his NY Times letter. Amy please coordinate with Peter {705-0266}. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

What do you think???

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

<< File: GroverNYTletter.doc >>

From: Jeff Ballabon [JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 6:12 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Terrific. I really mean it. If either one gets published it is a big, big victory. Now, the odds of that are always slim, so do not think that I expect them to be published. Still, hope springs eternal. Good work getting this turned around, Amy -- thank you.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:14 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

We are trying to get them out today. Heather is going to walk them through the organizations and, assuming Grover and Counsel can get it done fast, they'll be out today.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Friday, January 22, 1999 9:05 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Jeff Ballabon; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Grover NYT letter

Do we know if ATR &/or CAGW sent their letters out?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC) [mailto:AmyB@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:41 PM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: FW: Grover NYT letter
 Importance: High

What do you think???

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 > Sent: Thursday, January 21, 1999 12:27 PM
 > To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 > Subject: Grover NYT letter
 > Importance: High
 >
 > <<GroverNYTletter.doc>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, January 24, 1999 7:06 AM
 To: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Cc: Ralston, Susan (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC); Walker, Franklin (DC)
 Subject: Edits on the presentation
 TO GET ME BEFORE MY FLIGHT DEPARTS AT 10:30, PAGE ME. I AM AT THE AIRPORT.

I am doing this off a print out I made this morning, since I am in the car and don't want to have the hassle of moving through the large document. The job you did editing was very good. You caught most of what I had seen over Shabbas. Here are some additional thoughts (I'll give the first few words of the slide I am editing):

Why Have our opponents gone to Congress; the first sentence is not worded well, "act according in certain ways". It needs to be changed. Either act accordingly or act in certain ways.

Their tactics.. to Embarrass.. you might want to add that they want legislation in addition to hearings, or that they might try to get the administration to push for something either in the budget process or through regulatory action.

Eagle Forum: change the first part to: Phyllis Schlafley led conservative group, strong grass roots, Schlafley is a national columnist. [I think we should not call her ultra conservative]

~~Channel One is Countering the Coalition's efforts. Add "Majority Whip Delay and scores of conservative Congressmen" after the mention of Hastert.~~

New Allies for Channel One: I think you should have a panel for these groups, or at least 2 per panel and add some material on them:

Americans for Tax Reform: the nation's largest taxpayer organization with 70,000 activists and affiliated tax payer groups

CAGW: The nation's largest organization attacking government waste and abuse; Grew out of the Grace Commission from the '80's.

Traditional Values Coalition: one of the nation's largest Christian conservative groups encompassing 40,000 churches

Toward Tradition: the most influential and respected think tank of the religious conservative movement, most significant organization comprised of Jews and Christians on the right.

New Allies (In Development): I think you should move National Security Caucus Foundation to new allies. They are more than developed. Description: the largest pro-defense Congressional member organization with over 250 Republican and Democrat members of Congress involved". You might want to put something about their distribution of the tape, coming up, and the up coming reception (which we need to get moving on).

Retail Lobbying: our lobbying effort on Capitol Hill and among the influential public policy organizations must be one on one. Bold will signify additions.

Third Party Support: you should make this slide more presentable by splitting it into 2 and putting the groups list into bullet form. Also, add Toward Tradition.

Facts on the Ground: Under the leverage of Mastert add a line about using the positive experience to do more members of Congress, building allies.

Grassroots/Grasstops: I would consider adding Ralph next to Martin Christie.

Educate the Educators: typo should be "establishment" educators, not educator

Find Congressional Champions: I would have a DeLay slide on this after Goodling, as long as you make it clear that you are working to have a Democrat similar to DeLay involved. He hates Ruskin, he and his staff have already helped us get Mastert and he wants to be wired up. This guy is a powerful ally (most powerful in the House) and really goes to bat for his friends. This is important especially since the Goodling commitment as noted in the slide is iffy.

Ralph Reed: I would put the following: Most significant leader in history of religious conservative movement. Works closely with PG on many things (you can note my history with him if you want). Very close to Shelby and all Alabama religious conservatives. Can aid overall national plan to reach out to allies on the right. Significant presence and contacts with governors in 20 states. This should get you through this slide OK.

I hope this helps. Please send this group the final version. Thanks Jeff.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, February 03, 1999 5:22 PM
To: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
Subject: Americans for Tax Reform Dinner series

I understand that Primedia has been invited by Americans for Tax Reform (ATR) to participate in its annual dinner series. I want to take this opportunity to recommend strongly that you do this if possible.

I have attended these events each year and can tell you they are quite valuable. They are wonderful opportunities to get one-on-one discussion with the guests of honor. I believe Grover would be willing to invite some of the committee chairmen we would like (Goodling, for example). He normally has Trent Lott, the Speaker and others.

Please let me know if you would like additional information, but, especially in light of the huge hit Grover delivered, I think this would be a very nice gesture on your part.

Regards.

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 7:45 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE:
 he won't believe it. my bargain days ended when i left long island. i will
 arrange the peter ferrara meeting.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:47 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE:

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:22 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE:

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 9:10 AM
 To: '2740949@skytel.com'
 Subject: RE:

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: 2740949@skytel.com [mailto:2740949@skytel.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 1999 8:53 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject:

Where are we on the Ferrara economic analysis? We need to have that done by next
 week at the latest. We want to run ads based on it,atr and cagw.

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 6:41 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); 'Jeff Ballabon'; Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 I will tell Peter this is what we need to see in his press release. I believe he will be willing to deliver whatever we need.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 10:03 AM
 To: 'Jeff Ballabon'; Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Dennis, can you work this out with Peter Cleary? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 9:24 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeff Ballabon
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

This is vital -- good work. Should we see if ATR will do a "press avail" a la -- this is about anti-technologists and the schools and taxpayers suffer?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 7:18 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Dennis, this is just super. Great work!!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 2:01 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Peter with ATR is in, Council with CAGW is in, David Almasi with National Center is in (Amy and David R. are out this week on travel) and I have a call into Andrea with TVC. Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 10:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Yes.

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)

Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 9:55 PM

To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)

Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)

Subject: one pagers by conservative groups
(Ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

(Jack-- is this still what you want?)

Dennis,

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

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 7:18 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 When I talked with Peter this morning, he was planning to draft a press release hammering the "anti technology" crowd per Jeff B's request and will also be distributing Grovers nice piece on Channel One. A nice balance, a positive piece on the good guys and a hit piece on the bad guys. Sound good?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, May 17, 1999 3:39 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)
 Probably not. I would imagine we have to draft something. Dennis am I right?

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Sunday, May 16, 1999 2:38 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

When you say "Peter .. is in" etc. do you mean that they have one-pagers which they are willing to distribute at Thursday's hearing?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 7:18 PM
 To: Stephens, Dennis (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: Jeffery Ballabon -- Office
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Dennis, this is just super. Great work!!!

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

From: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Sent: Friday, May 14, 1999 2:01 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Peter with ATR is in, Council with CAGW is in, David Almasi with National Center is in (Amy and David R. are out this week on travel) and I have a call into Andrea with TVC. Hope to get our groups wrapped up today and follow up, follow up all next week.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 10:01 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC); Stephens, Dennis (DC)
 Subject: RE: one pagers by conservative groups (ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

Yes.

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)

Sent: Thursday, May 13, 1999 9:55 PM
To: Stephens, Dennis (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: one pagers by conservative groups (Ridenauer, ATR, CAGW, TVC)

(Jack-- is this still what you want?)

Dennis,

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 10:04 AM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: FW: Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students

Thanks Grover!

-----Original Message-----
From: Peter Cleary [mailto:pcleary@erols.com]
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 10:00 AM
To: 'Friends of ATR'
Subject: Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students

Americans for Tax Reform
 1320 16th Street, NW, Suite 200
 Washington, DC 20036
 Tel: 202-785-0266 Fax: 202-785-0266
<http://www.ATR.org>

For Immediate Release: 5/19/99
 Contact Peter Cleary: 202-785-0266

Channel One is Good for Taxpayers and Students
 WASHINGTON- Today, the opponents of Channel One are busy using the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions to accuse the company of committing what they believe is a mortal sin: capitalism.
 "Opponents of Channel One are using half-truths and misinformation to sully the reputation of Channel One. They are behaving like anti-technology Luddites. Despite their objections, the fact is that in a free-market society commercial programming is key to funding the distribution of information whether it be television or the Internet," said Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform.
 "Twenty years ago, teachers were limited to the options of outdated films and filmstrips as visual aides. Today, teachers have a wide variety of current information to choose from, including the Internet and Channel One," added Norquist. Each school that signs up for Channel One receives \$50,000 worth of telecommunications equipment, including a fixed KU band satellite dish, 19 inch color TVs in every classroom, VCRs, and internal wiring, with complete maintenance by Channel One. Apart from Channel One's daily news program, the school can use this telecommunications network for any other educational, training, or student programming they choose.
 Indeed, Channel One provides an additional two hours per day of optional educational programming, including historical documentaries, biographies, and programs on mathematics, science and art. After the school receives the Channel One service for six years, all the telecommunications equipment becomes the property of the school.
 "And what does Channel One charge the students for this entire service? Absolutely nothing. The entire operation is financed at a profit by two minutes of commercials in the daily 12 minute broadcast," noted Norquist.
 "Schools that do not have Channel One are missing out on a good deal for the taxpayers as well as their students," concluded Norquist.
 Americans for Tax Reform is a non-partisan coalition of over 90,000 taxpayers and taxpayer advocates who are opposed to all tax increases at the state and federal levels.

###

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 6:09 PM
 To: Grover, H.
 Subject: RE: Ft Grover

Thanks Grove. Let's chat. I won't give him anything before we chat. Regards.

----- Original Message -----
 From: Grover, H. (mailto:Grover.H@...)
 Sent: Thursday, May 19, 1999 4:28 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Re: Ft Grover

Jack,
 got your email.
 I do want to talk about [REDACTED]
 I want to speak with you before anything else is done there.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 10, 1999 5:08 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Woodmore bill
 I have to have a list of non-Hill staff who are relevant to include for each of these. I have added Ed where I think I can. Otherwise, add Ralph Reed, activists from Americans for Tax Reform, Traditional Values Coalition, Citizens Against Government Waste without putting names. Would that work?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, June 08, 1999 4:14 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Woodmore bill

In order to reimburse for the guest fees, I need to know the names of the guests for each of these dates and who to bill it to:

Sun, 5/2
 Tues, 5/4
 Fri, 5/7 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists
 Fri, 5/14 Ed Buckham, United Family Network activists
 Fri, 5/28 - Michael Mann (anyone else? bill to?) don't put Michael Mann, put
 Mon, 5/31

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, August 23, 1999 1:45 PM
 To: 'Ed Buckham'
 Subject: RE: Richard Scaife funding

Great. I am not sure if the grants have to go to c3's or can go to c4's as well. I'll find out.

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

From: Ed Buckham [SMTP:ed@]
 Sent: Monday, August 23, 1999 2:33 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Richard Scaife funding

Curt Anderson with RMC. Without help and this group we will probably lose the majority.

Bob Mills with US Family Network. DeLay's favorite C-4. In a half million dollar pr campaign to defeat prescription drug entitlement.

Jim Ellis—Americans for Economic Growth. DeLay's second favorite C-4 that is pushing for tax cuts and energy deregulation.

Americans For Tax Reform. Grover Norquist. Helping our tax cut strategy with White House.

Toward tradition- You know who should be there and why.

Ed

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

> From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jack@]
 > Sent: Sunday, August 22, 1999 9:46 AM
 > To: Ed Buckham
 > Subject: Richard Scaife funding

>
 > He has brought on a new guy to handle his giving and they are working
 > with
 > my friend John Rees. They are going to come to town to meet a half
 > dozen or
 > so heads of organizations whom they will want to consider for funding.
 > John
 > would like me to create a list.

>
 > Can you give me a list (no more than sbx) of folks you think should be
 > at
 > this meeting? Please give their group name and a one line
 > justification for
 > their being included.

>
 > I know I don't have to tell you that Scaife funding is a major deal.
 >
 > Thanks so much.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 11:10 PM
 To: 'Peter Ferrara'
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

Peter, I just got a call from Grover and it is in no way sorted out. Please call me tomorrow on this. Grover wants the money which is to be paid to you to be paid to ATR. We need to have a conference call with him to sort this out.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 11:20 PM
 To: 'Peter Ferrara'
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

That's very good to hear. Thanks Peter.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Peter Ferrara [mailto:peterferrara@redacted]
 Sent: Friday, November 12, 1999 12:19 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Re: Reply to test

Boy you are tough, I'll be checking this line for lucrative opportunities every day, I promise. I think we're safe on the Grover front.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@redacted>
 To: 'Peter Ferrara' <peterferrara@redacted>
 Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 4:13 AM
 Subject: RE: Reply to test

> Thanks Peter. Are you planning on checking this more than once every four
 > days? If not, then it is probably not a useful means of communication.

If

> you check it daily, then I think we can use it. Please let me know. I
 > guess I'll see the answer for myself quite soon (I hope)! :-). Thanks.

>

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Peter Ferrara [mailto:peterferrara@redacted]
 > Sent: Thursday, November 11, 1999 4:13 AM
 > To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 > Subject: Reply to test

>

>

> -----Original Message-----
 > From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@redacted>
 > To: <Peterferrara@redacted>
 > Sent: Monday, November 08, 1999 11:08 AM

>

>

> > test

>

> Sorry I didn't reply earlier, but I have gotten your
 > message. Keep in
 > touch, particularly with highly lucrative, overpaying
 > projects.

>

> Peter Ferrara

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, September 24, 1999 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, October 03, 1999 8:42 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); as Abramoff, Jack (Sky)

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 4:00 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
 keep me posted.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 6:58 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...

We should not hand over our friends to this guy. In fact, we should tell our friends to stand clear of him. We will not work on this bill until we have something worked out with Jeff. I will email him and keep you on this.

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 6:51 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: As per your instructions, I talked to Jim Halpert...
 Importance: High

He told me that they are meeting with Miller on Tuesday. He also has a meeting set up with Petri. He would love us to get Largent off of the bill. He discussed CAGW, ATR, and TVC are Channel One supporters that he would like to get to oppose Miller. It sounded like he might call them. What do you want me to tell Jeff (who asked me to call Jim)? I am sure that he wants to enlist our friends in their coalition.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 7:32 AM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: FW: Miller bill -- Jim Halpert

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jeff Ballabon [mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:JBallabon@ChannelOne.com]>
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 10:27 AM
 To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
 Subject: RE: Miller bill-Jim Halpert

ABSOLUTELY! We are not sharing our friends.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]
 <mailto:[mailto:jacka@prestongates.com]>
 Sent: Thursday, October 14, 1999 7:05 PM
 To: 'Jeffery Ballabon-Office'
 Subject: Miller bill-Jim Halpert
 Importance: High

Hi Jeff. As I regain consciousness, I am hearing about some lobbyist named Jim Halpert who works for ZapMe. Apparently this guy has been hired by these folks to work on the Miller bill and called Amy to solicit our help, including getting us to get ATR, CACW and TVC to help him.

This is, in my view, a very dumb thing for us (as in PG and CI) to do. First of all, this guy does not strike me as the brightest bulb on the lobbying circuit. He does not have a clue as to what he is up against with Miller (he apparently thinks he will talk Miller down from this bill).

We should not fully (or perhaps even partially) trust this guy and certainly we should not be giving our hard won assets or contacts. The quickest way to lose the interest of Sheldon, Grover et al is to "hand them over" to another lobbyist.

Furthermore, if we are to engage on this Miller bill (which I assume we will at some point - soon I hope) we should really work out a deal between PG and CI on this. I know we will do this and have nothing but trust in you, but with this clown Halpert in the tent, we need to figure this out soon.

We need to decide on OUR strategy and ZapMe be damned. They certainly would throw us over the side as soon as it is convenient.

Anyway, let me know when you want to chat on this so we can work out what we should be doing on this one.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 12:48 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Probably Pat, though Dennis might know him.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:48 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

who is friendly with him here?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:47 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

He would be ideal.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:46 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

He works for Peter Flaherty at the National Legal and Policy Center.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:42 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

You are right on Ferrara. Who is Dan renee?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:41 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

what group is ferrara? we already have atr. how was dan renee with?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:28 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters

I don't want Rabbi Lapin to do this. We are going to need him to discreetly call Dobson to get Jeff a meeting, so I don't want to put him out publicly again yet. How about Ferrara?

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 3:14 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: Ok to send these on to Jeff? New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ritter, Daniel (DC)
 Sent: Monday, October 18, 1999 2:52 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: New Republic Response Letters
 Importance: High

<< File: DFR_G201BNew Republic Response Letters.doc >>

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:04 AM
 To: [redacted]
 Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, let me know on the other one as soon as you can.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:37 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: [redacted]

Any, Grover, Lapin, and one other I will get to you.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:34 AM
 To: 'ralph@redacted'
 Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, thanks. Please get me the groups we are using, since I want to give this to her all at once.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:30 AM
 To: Jack@redacted
 Subject: [redacted]

Here is the program we are recommending to our folks in [redacted] and they agree:

Mail One self-mailer x \$5,000 @ .52
 One postcard x \$5,000 @ .39
 \$79,550

Television
 10 days, 750 gross rating points statewide @ \$281 per grp. \$391,500

Radio
 2 weeks, statewide 3 frequency
 \$142,500

Radio/television Production
 5 spots
 \$28,500

List Rental
 \$5,000 x .08 x 3
 \$5,000 x .08 x 2
 \$20,000

Grassroots Phone Bank
 Live Operator \$5,000 @ .32
 Taped Messages \$5,000 @ .42
 \$45,020

OTC-0000020303

Legislative Counsel
40,000

Management Fee
\$40,000 per mo.
120,000

TOTAL: \$87,511

Remember that the session begins on Tuesday and the Bills are expected to pass the State House as early as Friday unless we move now.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:18 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Great. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed (SMTP:ralph@reedy.com)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 12:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

The [REDACTED] is what we need right now. We would only need more if the bill passes the House. This is a House only program--the Senate becomes a target only if it passes the House.

Will get you a group.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jack@reedy.com]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:09 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: [REDACTED]

Rabbi Lapin does not have a c.f. Please give me the name of the c.f. you want to use (include address) and we'll divide it among the three groups. Can I assume that we only need \$60,511, or is that what we need right now? Please let me know. Also, if we will need more soon, please let me know when and how much as best you can. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 4:45 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: amy Ridenour

She does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only. I have to go out, but let's chat later tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.

Ralph Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [jacka@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 11:39 AM
 To: ralph@redacted
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

Super. Thanks Ralph.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:27 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

I believe so. If we can kill it in the House definitely. If it goes to the Senate, the worst case scenario is what the pro-family groups spent to defeat video poker and the lottery--each about \$1.3 million. Again, if it dies in the House, \$1 million max, and maybe less. If it goes to the Senate, probably \$1.3 million max. We will keep doing all we can to raise money from national anti-gambling groups, Christian CEO's, and national pro-family groups.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 11:12 PM
 To: Ralph@redacted
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

Spoke with Niel. They have a budget issue. They want to know if we can get through to October on \$1 million. Can we? If not, let me know.

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

From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@redacted]
 Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:50 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: amy fidanour

Yes, it will.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 [mailto:jacka@redacted]

Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:45 PM
 To: Ralph E. Reed Jr.
 Subject: amy fidanour

She does not have a car, only a car, so we are back to ATR only. I have to get out earlier and later tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR and we can find another group.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:21 AM
 To: Ralph@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Yes. I need to give Grover something for helping, so the first transfer will be a bit lighter. No fear, though, since I have already started the next transfer.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:10 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Remember radio goes up today and the first mail piece in [REDACTED] dropped on Friday. So we are off to the races.

I assume we are all still go on the contributions from the DC anti-tax groups to [REDACTED] reaching them when--tomorrow or Wednesday?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:12 AM
 To: Ralph@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Just want Pam hepes for More kids! ;)

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:10 AM
 To: Jack [mailto:jacka@ [REDACTED]]
 Subject: FW: Be Prepared

I figured you could use this.

-----Original Message-----
 From: [mailto: [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:08 AM
 To: [mailto: [REDACTED]]
 Subject: Be Prepared

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 9:50 AM
 To: 'ralph@[REDACTED]'
 Subject: RE: [REDACTED] update

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

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

From: Ralph Reed (mailto:ralph@[REDACTED])
 Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 10:49 AM
 To: jack@[REDACTED]
 Subject: [REDACTED] update

The [REDACTED] pro-gambling forces went up yesterday with a statewide saturation ad campaign, running out buy through March 3. Spot is high quality, says [REDACTED] casinos trying to buy up high-price lobbyists to deny people their right to vote on video poker. We are getting a script.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 11:34 AM
 To: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

Thanks for clearing this up. Be more guarded about people getting to speak with me on the phone for the next week.

-----Original Message-----
 From: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:33 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

ATN is sending check FedEx today to the [REDACTED]. Little confusion over there because John is on vacation (I think) and when I left a message yesterday, I said I was OK now. However, you are still on his cell at (202) [REDACTED]. He's getting on a plane in an hour. If he misses you, he will call you Sunday. I'm calling Ralph now.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:24 PM
 To: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Subject: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way
 Importance: High

OTC-E000020453

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another \$25K!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2006 8:50 PM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Subject: FV: grover kept another \$25K

Please put Grover on the call sheet re chockaw contribution [REDACTED] updated call sheet. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2006 9:21 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: grover kept another \$25K

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 19, 2000 6:28 AM
 To: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 19, 2000 7:08 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 5:46 PM
 To: [REDACTED] (DC)
 Subject: FW: Alabama 17-17-1

Please see if you can track down Nell to ask if she got this one. If not, offer to fax it to her. Tell her it's important and about Alabama.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 5:52 PM
 To: Nell Rogers
 Subject: FW: Alabama 17-17-1

We have to get him more money asap, but he thinks that, after this transfer we should be OK for a while. Can you get me a check for \$500K for Americans for Tax Reform asap?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@atlantic.net]
 Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 10:23 AM
 To: Jack@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: FW: Alabama 17-17-1



From: Abunish, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 9:27 AM
 To: [REDACTED]
 Subject: FWE [REDACTED]

Please check to see if we get the check for Atr today and if not, let me know asap.
 Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Ralph Reed, Institute for Liberty
 Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 10:19 AM
 To: Jack [REDACTED]
 Subject: [REDACTED]

Do you know if the [REDACTED] has received additional contributions and when?

CHESCU002150

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:27 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA IS A GO!

Congrats Bruce! Great work!

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Monday, March 13, 2000 12:40 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC); Glasscock, Margaret M. (DC)
 Subject: MPA IS A GO!

Jim called -- we're on! Congratulations and thanks to all of you! Board approved a six month total budget of \$750k -- that's for us, PR, think tanks, and ad placements in DC. They are also trying to raise another \$300-500 for the rest of the year so the total would be \$1.0M to 1.2M.

It also seems they will be looking to us for who to use on PR (and we know already that Jim is very comfortable with Gloria), think tanks, etc.

Obviously we also need to start immediately!

My initial thought re budgeting is as follows. Your thoughts are welcomed. Need to get back to Jim asap.

	lobbying(400)	PR (170)
M	100	35
A	100	35
M	50	25
J	50	25
J	50	25
A	50	25

grass tops (30): assuming help in 6 districts at 5K apiece.

think tanks (80): ATR 20; Am.s for Econ. Growth 25; CAGW 10; CNPPR 10; PPI 15.
 leaves 70 for print ads.

whatever we don't spend for grass tops/print would go for lobbying -- but i think we want to use those tools.

If they raise the additional funds I would think 50 month for us (200) with a potential huge month in september if they really go for an end of session play. [recall that we cited 75/month for the year originally, so we would end up with 600+ instead of 750...not too bad] Have to see what PR needs would be at that time (and whether to work with additional think tanks (CATO would be next i think) as well as additional advertising or grass tops.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 4:56 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: RE: MPA budget update

still havent heard from jim. however, pierce called and said that jim was very pleased with our earlier conversation and his discussion with Gloria. Also: Q/G did give them (today i think) a 2 month proposal that was at least as much as our proposal! Sent jim a mock press release bashing postal service for losing academy awards! (clever). I was glad i gave

jim a new idea this morning -- get a letter to congress (R's) sent from the editors/publishers of 6 conservative weekly mags (e.g. weekly standard) talking about hardship rate increase will impose (apparently actually pushes standard into the red). could also work up an ad in W.Times with the mastheads -- that should get some R attention.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 10, 2000 9:22 AM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget update

jim called -- he's got a conf call with 6-8 Board members this pm. We went through the scaled back scenario (cut back on PR, think tanks, ads, and focus our efforts). He has in mind an "ave" hourly rate of 300 for calculations. Threw out 120 or 100 in first two months -- i said that sounded in the range if they were reducing scope of work. I said in subsequent months could be 1/2 that with looking to a long term representation of say 25 month (we can always come back to that...). He knows we are very interested -- and i am more confident will come back to us following the call. I also told him PR could be reduced and had talked to Gloria who agreed if they wanted to move slower. Was also looking for explanation/justification of what a PR firm did for its money (saying one board member had thought it was all for creative ad design!). Gave him my pitch (essentially lobbying the press) but he will also call Gloria.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 2:28 PM
To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

pierce talked to jim. jim is going to call some of the other firms to get their budget estimates (feels he owes it to board to check around). pierce thinks jim is actually hoping numbers come in similarly large to back up our numbers....but if they don't pierce says he will come back to us. of course, i wonder about others coming in much lower to get the business....

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

good idea

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 10:44 AM
To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

I think the way to handle this is to have Pierce intervene. He should find out if the price is a killer and tell Cregan to let him (Pierce) play the intermediary and get Preston to the table at a price with which MPA can live. Let them come back with an offer which we can consider. We should not go back in my view at all. We have Pierce in this mix and we should use him. He is ideal to broker this.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:50 AM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

Good re #1. Re #2, I think what you outlined is fine, but I would not PRESENT with a lot of month-by-month detail (just like you guys CORRECTLY telling me not to go into detail on What members we had relationships with and how the meetings would be scheduled.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 09, 2000 9:36 AM
To: Brandt, Werner (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA budget Q's --pls respond

ok, 2 issues.

1. timing: i think i should wait until he gets back to me to come down if necessary -- downside is they talk to others before coming back to us (and i explained situation last night to pierce to try to make sure they come back to us first -- i'll call him again to tell him all of us are really interested in this fight and we want to work something out).
2. amount: how bout cut proposal by a third. 100 for each of first two months (we bill against it, if less then less (for the 2 months)). 50 in May, June, July, Sept and 25 in Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec (total 500). [only concern is that if we are pushing end of session rifle shot rider on approps or other bill it will take bigger effort -- tell them to keep 50/100 in reserve?] Also sets up for long term retainer then at 25 month (when they started thinking about a firm to help them longer term with postal reform, increasing profile etc, we told them (and others did as well) that it would be 20 - 30 month.

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

From: Brandt, Werner (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 9:29 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA

Agree with Jack and Manny for following reasons. This is a prestige client and will raise firm profile a notch (Besides, beating Quinn-Gillespie is really good for our rep. I am not the business person but, having a client with attractive magazine resources only good for us. We should consider lower number and get client on the masthead. My read on the body english when the price came up was, they seemed to register... "way more than others". 50 month plus expenses still sounds good and with R/D team on this caper we can do a lot with a narrow band of PGERM resources.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 7:09 PM
To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA

Agreed.

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

From: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:44 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Heiman, Bruce (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA

If we have to, I would favor doing that rather than letting the representation go because I think that 1) exposure to the members of the association could have real long term business generation potential; 2) the prestige of having beaten the other competitors (worth a press mention somewhere?) will help put us on more "short lists" for corporate lobbying. BUT I think Bruce's approach is the correct one for now.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 5:16 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC); Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
Cc: O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
Subject: RE: MPA

Should we think about taking less for a few months to get in there and prove our worth and then moving it up after that?

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, March 08, 2000 2:37 PM
 To: Rouvelas, Emanuel (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC); Brandt, Werner (DC)
 Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC); O'Malley, Cindy (DC)
 Subject: MPA

Well, to confirm what i told some of you, the MPA folks were greatly impressed with us -- but a bit taken aback with the proposed budget (recall 75k/month). case of sticker shock.

I just met with Cregan to go over budget numbers. explained to him that 75/mo was our estimate of work needed to be done during the year -- an average. in fact we envisioned 150k for each of the first two months and slower months to make it up (aug/nov/dec). we could bill them more earlier and less later as an alternative (particularly if we won during the first two months -- then they would only need to make sure it stuck). also told him 100 for think tanks, up to 100 for PFR and grass roots (again first 2 months), 100 for print ads -- basically 2 month "crash" budget of 600. re pac -- said 100k (which is what he had in mind) coupled with individual contributions (again he agreed). soft money i said minimum 100k to get noticed, really needed 250k (per side). I think Jim understands and agrees with all this -- but doesnt know how his board will react (they have to raise the money -- they havent done so already and are ready to spend).

also: i started with the point (and i dont think Jim had thought about this way but said he would use) about going from 15 to 8% saved them 100M -- so that if they spend 1M+ on the effort that was a damn good ROI -- much better than they could get elsewhere. realizing nothing is a sure thing, even a 50% prob. of success was still 50:1 -- better than other investments they could make.

finally, he posed the hypothetical what if the Board says "tell us what you can do for 50 a month?" I didn't engage -- simply repeated that we, like them, wanted to win and wanted to fight with the resources needed to fight. Also he was wondering whether maybe they didnt have to do ads -- i said couldnt tell until we were into it but at least had to have them ready. I think we could engage for less -- but decided (with some advice) not to negotiate against ourselves at this point.

stay tuned -- we've apparently beaten out the competition -- THANKS ALL -- but now they need to belly up to the bar (but hey, what do i know about drinking...)

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2000 10:45 PM
To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
Subject: Grover

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

From: Abiamoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 16, 2000 9:31 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: FW: groups

When Ralph next needs money, it is going to this group instead of ATR. Please remind me at the appropriate time. Thanks.

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

From: EAHoback6 [mailto:EAHoback6]
 Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2000 4:24 PM
 To: jackab
 Subject: Re: groups

The address for National Conservative Alliance is

68 Oxford Court
 Walkersville, Maryland 21793

Contact: Chairman, Timothy Fisher

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 5:00 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: CAGW and CNPPR

This is great. Let me recommend that Dennis call both. He is equally close and since he will most likely be dealing with them on this, it would give him good standing.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Friday, March 17, 2000 10:41 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Cc: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: CAGW and CNPPR

would you like to call schatz and ridenour re MPA (we have 10k budgeted for each)

I could then follow up with each (I would use Dennis too) re doing an article

would like to get CAGW to put it in their next monthly "Waste Watcher Monthly"; Ridenour to distribute op-ed through Knight Ridder and her National Policy Analysis.

I have in mind some angles for each -- CAGW would be a cross subsidy argument -- USPS is zapping magazines (and books and rural newspapers) to pay for ecommerce forays -- Leslie Page did a letter to ed of W.Post criticizing USPS ecommerce in february so this is a good follow on. CNPPR: something along the lines of abuse of power -- supposed to cover costs but here going way beyond and in fact seem to have ignored identified cost savings.

Havent run either by client yet so need to be tentative.

Would also like to make each avail to do talk radio (grover too).

let me know.

thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 30, 2000 9:09 PM
 To: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Subject: RE: atr

No problem.

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

From: Heiman, Bruce (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, March 30, 2000 11:35 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: atr

met with grover and damon ansell. rev'd up and ready to go. will do ATR fact sheet, letter to leadership and gov reform committee R's, and oped for Investors Bus Daily. Grover outlined his substantive thoughts/approach. sounded good. Damon will draft. Hopefully we can look at review before it goes out. ty! grover is doing quick trip to kuwait. many thanks again for all your help!

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 9:12 PM
 To: Grover Norquist
 Subject: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington Tells Channel One to Get Out of Schools

Hi Grover. I have not yet been able to nail down anything on Peter's piece, but just today a need for a hard hitting op ed has arisen and, before I go to him with it, I wanted first to see if you wanted to do it, and if not, to ask your permission to contact him. Arianna Huffington has now joined Ralph Nader and George Miller in attacking Channel One. You can see her column below. We want to do an op ed which smacks her big time, and also swipes at Nader's guy and the other loonies on this. We have \$1500 to do this piece and get it placed. Are you interested (we can write it for you)? If not, let me know if I can approach Peter. Thanks.

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

From: Salomone, Mary Beth (DC)
 Sent: Monday, April 24, 2000 11:35 AM
 To: "Channel One (DC)"
 Subject: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington Tells Channel One to Get Out of Schools

Arianna Huffington
 Arianna Online- Columns
 For Sale: America's Students
 Filed April 17, 2000

An amendment by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), approved last week by the House Education and the Workforce Committee, requires schools to obtain parental permission before students can take part in classroom-based market research, which is sold to advertisers to help target children with smart-bomb precision. Miller described the vote as "an important step toward protecting student privacy. If parents do not want their children to be objects of market research firms while in school, they should have the right to say 'No.'"

In fact, the commercialization of our nation's classrooms is taking insidious forms not addressed by Miller's modest amendment. Nearly 40 percent of America's schools start their day with a brief news show transmitted by Channel One that includes two minutes of commercials for products such as Snickers bars, Juicy Fruit gum, Pepsi and Kellogg's Corn Pops. This use of our schools to deliver a captive audience of kids to advertisers has at least succeeded in uniting Ralph Nader and Phyllis Schlafly, who both testified against Channel One at a Senate hearing last year -- and Commercial Alert, a Nader-backed group, with Obligation, Inc., a conservative child-advocacy group.

Miller's amendment will make things much harder for companies like ZapMe!, a marketing firm that provides schools with free computers -- and asks in exchange only to monitor their students' Web-surfing habits, break down the data down by sex, age and ZIP Code and link the information to a specific student's name, address and, potentially, parents' credit card numbers. Sort of a new take on the word free. One would think that something so odious wouldn't have much of a chance of catching on. But ZapMe! has its computers in 1,784 schools, with company officials planning to infect double that number by the end of 2000.

Leading the way into this Shameless New World of Campus Commercialism is Colorado Springs School District 11, which has signed up 50 companies as corporate partners -- including Coca-Cola. For \$8.4 million, the school district has agreed to help the soda giant sell 70,000 cases of its fizzy, sugary products a year -- going so far as recommending that teachers allow kids to guzzle Coke during class. ("This quadratic equation is brought to you by Coca-Cola -- the next time you are breaking down square roots, break open a clean, fresh can of Coca-Cola.")

Being able to directly reach consumption-crazed kiddies is, of course, a sponsor's dream come true. In 1999, kids spent \$28 billion of their own money. So it's no longer "School days, school days, Dear old Golden Rule days." It's now "School days, school days, Principal's selling out the kids for a shiny new computer days."

We have students in a Massachusetts elementary school spending two days tasting cereal and answering a follow-up questionnaire; students in a New Jersey elementary school filling out a 27-page booklet, "My All About Me Journal," as part of a cable channel's marketing survey; and students in Jefferson County, Colorado, analyzing soda samples as part of a Pepsi-backed science course called "The Carbonated Beverage Company."

Where will this end -- aside from bad education and bad teeth -- unless what is happening is exposed and vigorously challenged? Here's a sneak preview of the gory future that could easily lie ahead. Before long, little corporate logos will appear on the corner of take-home tests, and glossy full-color report cards will feature fold-out booze and cigarette ads on the back. Our classrooms will be covered with more corporate symbols than a NASCAR racer. And like sports stadiums, schools will auction off the naming rights to their playground equipment. So, we'll have the FedEx Monkey

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 1:44 PM
To: Groveratr@aol.com
Cc: Berger, Amy (DC)
Subject: RE: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington...

Thanks Grover. We're going to draft up something and get it to you asap. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Groveratr@aol.com [mailto:Groveratr@aol.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 7:59 AM
To: jacka@prestongates.com
Subject: Re: FW: CHANNEL ONE: Obligation, Inc.: National Columnist Arianna Huffington...

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

From: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 3:22 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....
 I assume you think we should go ahead.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 6:17 PM
 To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Perhaps. I still think we should take a shot at her.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 5:43 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Let's not obsess on Huffington---Grover can't stand her because she always bashes Newt---but she has hardly any credibility with conservatives (whereas Schalafy does)...and there is probably nothing more that would benefit her profile and credibility with the establishment press than a pissing contest with Grover....I subscribe to the theory she is best ignored.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 4:49 PM
 To: Pizzella, Patrick (DC); Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: RE: Shelby...outside contacts....

Also, Grover is going to do an op ed attacking Huffington's piece.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Pizzella, Patrick (DC)
 Sent: Tuesday, April 25, 2000 3:50 PM
 To: Berger, Amy (DC)
 Cc: *Channel One (DC)
 Subject: Shelby...outside contacts....

Rabbi Lapin (Toward Tradition)---Jeff is talking to personally...plan is to submit column to Human Events

Dan Rene (NLPC)---I will see in Chicago...he will submit guest column to Investor's Business Daily

Brent Bozell (MRC)---we need to supply some talking points to counter Schalafy and he will do a column...appears in various conservative periodicals including HE

Nina Shokrati (Heritage)---faxed talking points and she will use them as she visits congressional offices to brief them on ESEA over the this week and next

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

Andy LeFevre (ALEC)---Andy LeFevre indicated they could do a letter to senate once there is some amendment to oppose...we have sent him talking points and Shelby budget amendment resolution.

Dennis was handling CAGW....

By Monday I would like to be able to e-mail a few points to Washington Times for potential editorial....please give this some thought.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 6:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: Bob Daum

Have checks come in for this?

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 14, 2000 12:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Bob Daum

(212) 980-5172
 ATR \$80K
 Radio fee \$20K
 Radio campaign
 TVC \$25K

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 1:21 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

They do not want credit.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 2:16 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Do you know if elot wants credit for making a contribution to ATR?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 11:13 AM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Copy all. Send TVC check to Lou. Call Grover, tell him I am in Michigan and that I have two checks for him totaling 160 and need a check back for Faith and Family for \$150K. If that is OK, send over to him via courier. If you don't get him or there are any problems, try to get me on the cell constantly.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Sent: Thursday, June 22, 2000 10:45 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Have a check for 160K payable to ATR and (2) 1 check to TVC for \$25K. Let me know exactly what to do next. Send to Grover? Send to Rev. Lou?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 21, 2000 5:30 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Prob receive 2momo fed ex 2 checks for atr for \$80k each. If no let me know. If yes, I have to call grover first be4 u send over to get atr checks for faith and family

Jack Abramoff

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC) <SusanR@ [REDACTED]>
 To: Abramoff, Jack (DC) <jacka@ [REDACTED]>
 Sent: Wed Jun 21 17:27:49 2000
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

What's the status of this? Ralph was checking.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
 Sent: Wednesday, June 07, 2000 7:54 PM
 To: Ralston, Susan (DC)
 Subject: RE: Faith & Family Alliance

Thanks. We are going to get a check from elot to ATR and then a check from ATR to Faith and Family. We'll get it from ATR and fed ex it from our office. Keep this address handy. Thanks.

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

From: Ralston, Susan (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, June 07, 2000 7:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Faith & Family Alliance

Ralph gave me this address:

Faith & Family Alliance
5908-102 Jake Sears Circle
Virginia Beach, VA 23464
Attn: Robin Vanderwall
(757) 523-6379

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 12:00 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon AOL'
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR \$25K check

Please get this to Rodney asap.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [REDACTED] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 12:01 PM
 To: [REDACTED] (Admin-DC-Gov)
 Subject: FW: DC Campaign - ATR anti-tax effort

Nell approved this. Please get from [REDACTED] and get to Grover asap with a cover note.

Grover,

Here is the first of the checks for the tax event at the White House. I'll have another \$25K shortly.

Regards,

Jack

----- Original Message -----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2001 12:35 PM
 To: Nell Rogers
 Subject: Contribution - ATR anti-tax effort

They are launching a new anti-tax campaign, which will include a good component about taxation of tribes. They are trying to raise funds and have asked whether Choctaw could underwrite \$25K of this. Please let me know if this is possible.

Americans for Tax Reform
 [REDACTED]
 Washington, DC [REDACTED]

67C-ED001126-5

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 7:14 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: ATR \$25K check

Did he get it to you?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 1:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon AOL
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR \$25K check

Please get this to Rodney asap.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 06, 2001 8:23 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR check
Importance: High

If you did not get this already from Mike, or did not give it to Grover, please don't! Hold on this check. Tell Mike that he should write a \$35K check to sports suites and \$15K to Committee to Elect Ben Filial. Please confirm that this is OK.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 2:50 PM
To: Farrakh@aol.com
Subject: RE: Function on April 30 - Adam and Grover Invited

OK, but the more they get access to my guys without having to hire us, the less likely it will be for them to hire us.
gnorquist@afr.org

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

From: Farrakh@aol.com [<mailto:Farrakh@aol.com>]
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 1:37 PM
To: abramoff@otlaw.com
Subject: Function on April 30 - Adam and Grover Invited

Hi Jack:

The Embassy (in collaboration with PABA) is holding a business/investment promotion function on April 30. The Finance Minister will be the chief guest. I had included Adam Kidan and Grover Norquist in the invites list. The invitations have been sent by the Ambassador. I am sending an email to Adam. Could you give me Grover's email - it will be good if they could attend and meet with the Finance Minister and the Ambassador. Thanks. Farrakh.

5/12/2004

GTG-E000069098

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 23, 2001 2:26 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: couchatta

Political budget
May 9 trip
Atr contribution
Burns—

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:45 AM
 To: Italia Federici
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Oh, one more thing. Did you have a chance to get a meeting for Chief Poncho of the Coughatta's with Secretary Norton yet? Can you attend that meeting as well? It would be so nice if she could thank him for the contribution. He is in town May 9 and 10 and will see the President as well, as part of Grover's group meeting. They also contributed (less, so don't tell Grover!) to ATR.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 10:08 AM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

FYI - he is not on Gale's two week schedule as of yesterday.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:47 AM
 To: italia@crea-online.org
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

No, but some time in the next week or so I believe.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@crea-online.org]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:46 AM
 To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
 Subject: RE: YIKES!!! help!

Do you know when this meeting is?

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:06 AM
 To: italia@crea-online.org
 Cc: Italiacrea@aol.com
 Subject: YIKES!!! help!
 Importance: High

I just found out why the opponents of the CNMI and Speaker Ben Fitial did all they could to kill his visit with Secretary Norton.

As you recall, Ben is running for Governor. Although he is the former chairman of the Republican Party, the current Republican Speaker in the House and was the chairman of the Bush Cheney Campaign in the CNMI, he has decided to run for Governor under a local party banner (the Covenant Party) because the Republicans there nominated a liberal who also serves as the Resident Representative in DC for the CNMI, Juan Babauta. [I have copied a memo about Babauta which was presented internally to DeLay when former Sec of Interior Manny Lujan - now on Babauta's payroll - tried to get a meeting (unsuccessfully) for Babauta with DeLay.]

I just found out that Babauta is on his way to DC with his running mate and that they are being helped internally at Interior to secure a meeting with Secretary Norton. If this

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 10:53 AM
 To: Jennifer Kuhn
 Subject: RE: may 9th

Thanks Jennifer.

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@redacted]
 Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 10:19 AM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: may 9th

<< File: Choctaw.doc >> Jack-

I received Choctaw's check yesterday and sent out this thank you to Chief Martin.

Thanks!

Jen

<<Choctaw.doc>>

Jennifer Kuhn
 Vice President, Finance
 Americans for Tax Reform
 1920 L Street, NW, Suite 200
 Washington, DC 20036
 ph: 202-785-0266
 fax: 202-785-0261
 www.atr.org

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 5:14 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: RE: WH reception

Yes, three tribes will be coming: the Chitimachas, the Coushatta and the Kickapoos. I am also going to get the Choctaws to pass the resolution. The other issues would be great too. I think a lot of the tribes would pass these resolutions. How about if I ask the chiefs of these tribes to do a joint letter to Indian country to get people on board?

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 2:48 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: WH reception

jack,
 We have three tribes. Correct?
 How many others do you think would be willing
 to pass such a resolution.
 We will also be doing this for other issues...SDI,
 fast track free trade, etc.
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 1:31 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

All responded positively. Their meetings will be as soon as they can get them. Great idea. We should get others to do so as well, even if they are not part of this event.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Friday, April 27, 2001 10:26 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: WH reception

Jack,
 Can we get these tribes to endorse the tax bill and pass a resolution like the states did. Then I can insist that the tribal leaders be in the meeting not just as financial supporters of the effort, but as republican leaning governments that endorse the bush tax legislation. I intend to get all seven in. Robert Funk was given a push back by Kurt Blaylock who was worried about numbers. As leaders of tribal governments I think we can make this case. grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 5:46 PM
To: jkuhn@atr.org; abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Cc: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

The Kickapoos just told me that they too would put up \$25K. Each of these would have 2 folks to come (Choctaw would not come, but I would like to come in their stead, so 7 would be the number). Is that possible? If not, please let me know asap, since I am going to have to do some quick backtracking to get through the embarrassment. Thanks.

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, April 26, 2001 5:14 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Cc: Grover Norquist
Subject: RE: WH reception

Jack-

Grover is negotiating with the WH but they are being very stingy about numbers. (I know Grover is calling you about this).

On another note - the evening before on May 8th we have a Tech dinner with Rove. (The tech dinner series is like the tax series) We would like to have you and up to 4 guests join us for the dinner.

I will keep you posted on any developments.

Jennifer

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:05 AM
To: jkuhn@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

Thanks. Actually, I am going to hold back Shawn and Tony from the WH event. Instead, the Coushatta chief is bringing someone from his tribe. I hope that will be OK. The head of the Chitimacha tribe is a chairman and the head of the Choctaw and Coushatta tribes are chiefs. By the way, I am still also trying to get the third contribution (so far we have \$75K) from the Kickapoos. They would also want to come if it works for them. There would be 2 of them for sure since their Chief does not speak English! Ouch. Anyway, let me know if I should continue to pursue. So far, it would be 5 of us (Chairman LeBlanc and Terry Martin from Chitimacha, Chief and other leader from Coushatta and me).

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

From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:36 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: WH reception

Hi Jack-

Sorry about tonight but I completely understand. If you can't make it - you can send someone in your place - actually 2 people - Choctaw and Coushatta.

For May 9th - right now, we don't know what sort of room/space we have to work with so I will have to say no to having Tony and Shawn escort but if things change I will let you know and we can work something out. BYW - are the tribes reps Chiefs or Chairman? Which is proper?

I will let you know when I received the checks. Do you want/need an invoice?

Thanks!

Jen

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 11:31 PM
To: jkuhn@atr.org
Subject: RE: WH reception

Thanks Jennifer. You should have the Choctaw check. I received the Chitimacha and Coushatta checks today (I believe) and you'll have them tomorrow. I have to check as to how much of the day we'll be with you, but let me do so and get back to you. Let me know if it would work to have Tony Rudy and Shawn Vasell also attend, escorting the Coushatta Chief and Chitimacha chairman. If not, no problem.

Tomorrow night might be a problem with me. Pam (my wife) just informed me that I parental duties (have to take one of our boys to his hockey game). I'll check to see who is coming and we'll get back to you asap. Thanks again.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 9:28 AM
 To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
 Subject: RE: WH reception

<< File: May 9 Event Schedule.doc >> Jack-

We have not gotten a specific time from the WH. We have asked for 6PM. I hope to have resolution on this today.

I have attached our working schedule. I will keep you posted on all developments. I have been working with the assumption that you and the Tribe representatives will be joining us for dinner that evening. Please let me know how much of the day you wish to take part in.

I have not seen anything from Choctaw yet but will let you know when I do!

Thank you so much for all of your help!

Jennifer

PS I will see you tomorrow night for the Army dinner 6-8PM, correct? Also you have the Coushatta seat to fill if you want to send Kevin or some other representative.

-----Original Message-----
 From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 9:32 AM
 To: jkuhn@atr.org
 Subject: WH reception

Jennifer, can you remind me as to when this is again (I mean what time on the 9th)?

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

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, May 01, 2001 8:17 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: did we get the Coughatta contribution to ATR yet?

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-509)
 Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 7:07 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-509)
 Subject: FW: ATR state resolution project



permanent tax
 relief resolution.

Get other tribes.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jennifer Kuhn (jkuhn@kuhn.com)
 Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 4:33 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff (D-DC-509)
 Subject: ATR state resolution project

Hi Jack,

As I believe you are aware, ATR is again doing the state resolution project (support SRI, make the Death Tax permanent, make the tax cut permanent and commending the FISA on the war on terrorism). Last year your support made it possible. Not only Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole, as well as many other tribes, passed resolutions and came to Washington for a meeting with President Bush. And the nations helped to underwrite our expenses. We expect to have another meeting with President Bush this year. Do you think the nations and tribes would again all pass resolutions and come to Washington for the meeting and help to underwrite our expenses to bring everyone to get them up to date later. Also, since we have more than anything we want as many Indian nations as possible to express their support for the President's policies. Please let me know if I can provide you with any additional information - I can have copies of the resolutions forwarded to you. Governor will be traveling but can be reached on his cell phone. Thank you!

See
 permanent tax relief resolution.docx

Jennifer Kuhn

Executive Director

Washington, DC 20001

(2) 202-462-1111

(3) 202-462-1111

(4) 202-462-1111

RECEIVED

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:52 AM
To: 'gnorquist@atr.org'
Subject: Re: another possible attendee tonight

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

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

From: Grover Norquist <gnorquist@atr.org>
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com' <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
CC: Jennifer Kuhn <jkuhn@atr.org>
Sent: Tue Jul 09 11:36:31 2002
Subject: RE: another possible attendee tonight

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

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 9:40 AM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: another possible attendee tonight

I think Holly from my office has been in touch with Jennifer about another possible attendee tonight. I am not sure we can pull it off on our end, but if we can, it will be a representative of the Congo. I have asked them for \$100K for ATR. If they come, I think we'll get it. If he is there, please go up to him (he'll be African) and welcome him. It will probably not be the person with whom I have been dealing (their Special Ambassador), but will probably have heard my name from him. If you could introduce him to Karl and make sure he gets a picture, that would be great. I am in California. Please email me tonight if you can as to whether he does come and if it goes smoothly, since I want to hit them fast on the ATR \$. Thanks Grover.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an

email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 6:02 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: thanks so much!

Grover, thanks so much for accommodating Scott Hamilton and Ambassador Nkashama last night. I am only sorry I was unable to attend. I spoke with the Ambassador today and he is moving my ATR request forward. Hope to see you soon.

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov) [mailto:jack@abramoff.com] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:45 AM
 To: Chris
 Subject: RE: ATR

Thanks.

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

From: Chris Hamilton [mailto:chris.hamilton@petra.com]
 Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:37 AM
 To: abramoffj
 Subject: Re: ATR

The Council has not voted on the Capital Athletic Foundation item. They have not had a quorum to do so (vacations, etc.). Hopefully this week. With regard to ATR just let me know the amount and I will bring it to Council. Our department budget may have the funds for the event. Are you available to talk now?

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

From: abramoffj
 To: chris.hamilton
 Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:33 AM
 Subject: ATR

> Last year Grover set a meeting for certain select tribal leaders
 (Coushatta
 > and Chitimacha were the only ones) and the speakers of the House of
 > several
 > legislators to meet with the President in a small meeting for photos,
 > etc.
 > the tribes paid for the event (total cost was \$100K for the entire
 > thing, and each tribe put in \$50K). Grover has asked me to line up a
 > few tribes
 > to
 > do so again. I am sure Choctaw would be willing to do so, and I know
 > that Coushatta will do it. Agua Caliente might also want in, but I am
 > not sure yet. Let me know if you guys want in. It would be either a
 > \$25K or \$50K contribution to ATR for this. Let me know as soon as
 > possible. Thanks Chris.
 >
 > Also, please get me that \$25K to Capital Athletic Foundation for the
 > thing. Then is.
 >
 >
 >
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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 11:56 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

Just the chairman and possibly one other.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 8:57 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

would we be able to swing the entire tribal council at the meeting with Bush--or just the chairman/"chief" as your e mail states. If you do not know I will leave the letter vague until we find out.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 12:40 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua meeting with Bush

There is no set time yet. it is October 11, probably in the morning. The attendees will be 6 speakers of the House for state legislatures and the chiefs of 4 tribal governments. The organizing group is Americans for Tax Reform. The contribution is \$25K to pay for the cost of bringing the speakers of the House to Washington for this meeting. this should be enough for your letter.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 9:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua meeting with Bush

For the letter for the agua meeting with Bush, I need some basic info from grover's group--time, date, number of attendees, name of the organizing group, contribution, etc.

Who in grover's group is organizing this?

Can you ask them to e mail me specifics asap tomorrow. The letter needs to be done by 1 pm and I will need to draft it pronto tomorrow morning.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLaw/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:29 PM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

We can probably get the info they need. Have Allison track it down.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 4:38 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

called here but no return call yet.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:00 PM
 To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Jennifer Kuhn.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 7:18 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Agua is a go on the grover bush event. They need the info below. Who is dealing with this in grover's shop.

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Simon, Judi <JSimon@aguacaliente.net>
 To: gibsond@gtlaw.com <gibsond@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Tue Sep 24 19:09:28 2002
 Subject: RE: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members

Duane

Tribal Council approved participation with the October 11th meeting with President Bush. Please advise information for the \$25,000.00 check so I can prepare a check request from accounting department. Need Who it should be made out to - Address - and Fed ID No.
 Thanks Judi

-----Original Message-----
 From: gibsond@gtlaw.com [mailto:gibsond@gtlaw.com]
 Sent: Tuesday, September 24, 2002 8:06 AM
 To: Simon, Judi
 Subject: Trip Report For Tribal Council Members
 Importance: High

Judi--this is the trip report for the Tribal Council Members who visited DC last week.

Please ensure that the appropriate people get this. Thank you.

<<Agua Trip Report.doc>>

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 1:38 PM
To: zz-Terry Martin
Subject: ATR meeting with Bush

Hi Terry. Do you recall last year when AJ and you came to that meeting in the White House with Bush, and speakers of the house from across the country, and got pictures with Bush?

Grover is hosting a similar meeting this year and has asked me to see if four of the tribes were interested in sponsoring the costs, at \$25K each. I have three in already (Coushatta, Agua Caliente and Choctaw), but wanted to see if you guys wanted to be the fourth. If not, no problem, as Saginaw Chippewa was very anxious to participate; but I told them that I would offer this to you first.

The meeting with Bush will be on October 11, but there will be other meetings on the 10th in DC. best to arrive on the 9th. It's actually perfect, since that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game. anyway, please let me know. Regards.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 27, 2002 1:39 PM
To: Holly Bowers (E-mail)
Subject: fax for William Worfel

Fax to 337-639-9902

Dear William,

Per our discussion, on October 9 through 11th, Americans for Tax Reform is once again hosting a meeting of selected Speakers of the House of numerous state legislatures. They have invited us to include in the meetings (which will include a private meeting with the President) four tribes. The tribes must agree (like the state governments being represented) to pass resolutions in support of President Bush's tax reduction initiatives (you did this last year as you recall). In addition, the tribes will divide up the sponsorship cost of the event, which will come to \$25,000 per tribe. The sponsorship will be in the form of a contribution to Americans for Tax Reform.

If you guys can come - which I hope you can - please get me via Federal Express a check for ATR, as well as the names, social security numbers and birthdates of the two representatives of the tribe who will attend (please fax that to me at 202-452-4885). The meeting is coming together quickly, so please let me know at your earliest convenience. By the way, that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game here in DC.

Thanks so much.

Look forward to seeing you here on the 9th.

Regards,

Jack Abramoff



September 27, 2002

Dear William,

Per our discussion, on October 9 through 11th, Americans for Tax Reform is once again hosting a meeting of selected Speakers of the House of numerous state legislatures. They have invited us to include in the meetings (which will include a private meeting with the President) four tribes. The tribes must agree (like the state governments being represented) to pass resolutions in support of President Bush's tax reduction initiatives (you did this last year as you recall). In addition, the tribes will divide up the sponsorship cost of the event, which will come to \$25,000 per tribe. The sponsorship will be in the form of a contribution to Americans for Tax Reform.

If you guys can come - which I hope you can - please get me via Federal Express a check for ATR, as well as the names, social security numbers and birthdates of the two representatives of the tribe who will attend (please fax that to me at 202-452-4885). The meeting is coming together quickly, so please let me know at your earliest convenience. By the way, that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game here in DC.

Thanks so much.

Look forward to seeing you here on the 9th.

Regards,

Jack Abramoff

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, September 29, 2002 7:44 PM
To: 'Tmartindc@aol.com'
Subject: RE: ATR meeting with Bush

Sounds good.

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

From: Tmartindc@aol.com [mailto:Tmartindc@aol.com]
Sent: Sunday, September 29, 2002 7:23 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: Re: ATR meeting with Bush

I'll check with Al. Probable will not get to him until Tuesday morning. Will let you know.

5/8/2004

GTG-E000393398

From: Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-600) [mailto:jack.abramoff@house.gov] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (D-DC-600)
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 9:28 PM
To: Chris Pappas - Saginaw Chippewa
Subject: tying up loose ends

I am getting serious pressure on the Capital Athletic Foundation grant. Please let me know if this is going to happen, and if not, I need to try to find a replacement. I am really out of time on this and am getting edited daily. Thanks Chris.

I also need to know about the ATR thing for sure asap. I have you guys down for two slots, but if there is going to be a delay much longer, I have to find another tribe. Grover is really pressing me for the names of the tribes who are coming. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 6:32 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

Great. We need date of birth and soc sec info on them.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 7:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

ATR was approved. Check is either cut or being cut. Richard and Jeanette are doing the Bush meeting. Don't know if Candace and Moraino are coming.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 1:16 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Agua Museum

You call her. Find out about the ATR event. We need to lock this in.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 11:22 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua Museum

Firm gave \$15000 for the Agua Museum.

I have the check in hand. Will take to event on Saturday.

Do you want to tell Candace or should I?

Duane R. Gibson
 Greenberg Traurig
 800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
 Suite 500
 Washington, D.C. 20006
 202.533.2377 (Phone)
 202.261.0159 (FAX)
 gibsond@gtlaw.com

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 10:53 AM
To: 'Jennifer Kuhn'
Subject: RE: White House visit

Yes, but they have an intra council fight going on. They'll do it next year. They are going to contribute anyway, though it will be in a few weeks (I emailed grover).

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:47 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: White House visit

that works. coel.
 chris petras must be devastated!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:51 AM
To: jkuhn@atr.org
Subject: RE: White House visit

Yes, but the SagChips are not coming at all, so we have 2 slots. This is the only way we can get their funds.

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 11:38 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: White House visit

yes - the WH is asking for home addresses as well. Is Candance with Agua Caliente? That would make her the 3rd rep from that tribe.

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: White House visit
 Jen, do we need their home addresses? Also, please add to the list:

Candace Cherie Patencio
 2159 Caliente Road
 Palm Springs, CA 92264

SS: [REDACTED]
 DOB: 10-3-65

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, October 02, 2002 9:27 AM
To: Jennifer Kuhn (E-mail)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: White House visit

Jennifer--here are the birthdates and SSNs for the Agua Caliente Tribal Council Members who will be attending the meeting with the President.

Do you have a program available that I can share with them for their time here?

Duane Gibson

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

From: Simon, Judi [mailto:JSimon@aguacaliente.net]
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 8:02 PM
To: gibsond@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: White House visit

Duane

Richard M. Milanovich
Birthday: 12/4/42
S/S # [Redacted]

Jeannette Prieto-Dodd
Birthday: 11/6/66
S/S # [Redacted]

Judi

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

From: gibsond@gtlaw.com [mailto:gibsond@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 4:33 PM
To: Simon, Judi
Subject: White House visit

For entry into the White House for the meeting with President Bush, we need the names, birthdays, and social security numbers of those who will be having the discussion with President Bush.

Can you please e mail them to me?

Thanks.

Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.533.2377 (Phone)
202.261.0159 (FAX)
gibsond@gtlaw.com

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 10:03 AM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: Grover Norquist called

OK. I will call you later. Right now, only Choctaw (Chief Martin and Steve Gleason) and Agua Caliente (their chairman and two board members) are going to be able to be there. Coushatta wanted to come, but the hurricanes have devastated them; Saginaw Chippewa are having political problems internally at the tribe. Both are going to send checks, as are Choctaw and Agua of course. Choctaw did pass the resolutions last year, but I am not sure where we are yet this year (the chief is running for re-election and is holding as few meetings as possible until this is done). but they did pass it last year. Agua is a brand new client, but we will try to get them to pass it orally before Friday (they only have five members of the council, three of whom are coming). I hope this is OK.

Regarding the Standard, it is the same jerk as from the Forward. he is calling everyone on the planet. I am not speaking with him, given the lies from last time. we are still putting together a legal case against them, and we are watching this one possibly to add Weekly Standard into the mix.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 9:57 AM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Subject: RE: Grover Norquist called

Jack,
 I told the white house that all the indian tribes passed resolutions like the state legislators. That is why they are invited to the White House.
 Am I to understand that this is not true?
 Which indian nations have actually passed which resolutions? Also. I would like to talk to you about the weeeekly standard --peter roff called me about this. my cell is 289-8717. I should be at office all afternoon. grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 6:20 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: FW: Grover Norquist called

Sorry I could not get back to you today. I have a ton of clients here from Europe. Driving me nuts!

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 10:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Grover Norquist called

He wants to talk to you about the Indians, the Resolution and the Weekly Standard piece.

cell
 202-258-8717

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 6:47 PM
 To: Jennifer Kuhn
 Subject: RE: thank you

Pleasure . I still have checks to collect, but I'll get 'em for you as soon as possible.
 Did you get the Choctaw check?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Jennifer Kuhn (mailto:jkuhn@ [REDACTED])
 Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 5:30 PM
 To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
 Subject: thank you

I just wanted to drop a quick note to thank you for all of your help and support with the resolution project. I really appreciate it. Thanks! Jen

Jennifer Kuhn
 Americans for Tax Reform
 1920 L Street, NW, Suite 200
 Washington, DC 20036
 (o) 202-785-0266
 [REDACTED]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: grover/pac stuff

Time to act

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: grover/pac stuff

Jack,
 A few months ago you said you could get each of your indian tribes to make a contribution to NTR's pac. Jane Zysk of my office sent over the material and letters your office requested. Is this still possible? grover norquist

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:07 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: grover/pac stuff

Right now everyone is tapped out having given directly to the campaigns. After the election we'll be able to get this moving.

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 7:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: grover/pac stuff

Jack,
A few months ago you said you could get each of your indian tribes to make a contribution to ATR's pac. Jane Zysk of my office sent over the material and letters your office requested.

Is this still possible?

grover norquist

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o= [REDACTED] /ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, November 11, 2002 10:55 AM
 To: 'Grover Norquist'
 Subject: RE: various

Tried you earlier today and left a vmail. Let me know when you can chat. Regards.

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, November 08, 2002 7:53 PM
 To: 'abramoffj@ [REDACTED]'; [REDACTED]
 Subject: RE: various

1. Thanks for the news on the saginaw chippewa.
2. Maury Litwack is most delighted to come to the wedf meeting..he should set up a pre-meeting interview with me through jane zysk.
3. REstaurant would be fun. Kerri is out west for two weeks...
4. I met with interior secretary today. She is very concerned with indian things. I would like to speak with you on this. I am on cell 289-8717 all weekend. grover

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

From: abramoffj@ [REDACTED] [mailto:abramoffj@ [REDACTED]]
 Sent: Friday, November 08, 2002 8:41 AM
 To: gnorquist@ [REDACTED]
 Subject: various

The Saginaw Chippewa check for \$25K should be here next week. I'll get it over as soon as it comes.

Maury Litwack from my office has moved up from the time he was an intern and is probably going to be taking a job soon on the Hill. He would very much like to attend the Wednesday meetings so he can start getting in the swing of doing things on the agenda of the movement. Would it be OK if he were to attend for us, in addition to Linsey? Should he come up to introduce himself to you?

Finally, let me know some dates so I can have you guys come to the restaurant.

Onward.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTIAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 1:43 PM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Requests

You're great. thanks.

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

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@]
Sent: Tuesday, November 12, 2002 2:27 PM
To: abramoff, Jack
Subject: Requests

I was just informed that the CAF and ATR checks will be ready by 3:00 PM tomorrow. I will overnight them to you for Thursday delivery. I am still waiting on the status of the new requests. I spoke with both the Chief and Sub-chief. I also prepared a memo on the requests and their importance. They no this is time-sensitive material.

Take care.

5/8/2004

GTG-E000031979

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, February 24, 2003 6:24 PM
 To: Smith, Michael D. (SHd-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: RE: Check per your request

It's fine to come from whomever, but it is not a tax deductible donation; they are c4. it's Americans for Tax Reform.

-----Original Message-----
 From: Smith, Michael D. (SHd-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Monday, February 24, 2003 6:25 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Subject: Check per your request

I spoke to Steve -- \$50,000 is doable within a week to ten days and possibly sooner. Please provide the name of the group and I will turn it around ASAP.
 One question he asked -- would it be acceptable to come from one of the investors directly? There is an African American Republican investor who he believes may like the opportunity to donate to this group and would certainly appreciate the benefit of the charitable donation in his name. If it is not possible, he does understand and it can come from the tribe.
 Please advise. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 26, 2003 11:40 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Americans for Tax

Super!

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

From: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, February 26, 2003 9:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Americans for Tax

Return check will be sent by a check from tomorrow, \$50,000.00 Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
(202) 331-3158

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 9:34 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

:) well, then they are in for a fun time! Give me a buzz if you find it tomorrow. It's \$50K.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 6:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

Jack,
 I am here alone.
 I will check with staff Friday morning.
 Maybe they got the check and have left town.
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 5:09 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: did you get the check we sent over?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 9:35 PM
To: 'Grover Norquist'
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

I had dinner tonight with Senator Specter. He is going to be calling you. Let's discuss.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 6:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did you get the check we sent over?

Jack,
 I am here alone.
 I will check with staff Friday morning.
 Maybe they got the check and have left town.
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 06, 2003 5:09 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: did you get the check we sent over?

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

From: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
 Sent: Thursday, May 15, 2003 10:51 AM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Wilson, Padgett (AsDir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Op-ed update

so should i tell hill and knowlton to go after local papers in the states of the finance committee members for the placement of grover's piece? should i get them to try to get the conservative papers in those states to offer their own editorial on the matter?

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 9:44 PM
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Pony up?

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 7:10 PM
 To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Op-ed update

Can't hurt. Will they pony up for that?

Todd Anthony Boulanger

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

From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>
 To: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayoube@gtlaw.com>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed May 14 19:08:47 2003
 Subject: Re: Op-ed update

I like the idea of hitting their home state papers and districts if the articles hit upon potential job loss, economic downturns, etc.

Shawn M. Vasell
 Director of Governmental Affairs
 Greenberg Traurig, LLP
 (202) 533-2345

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

From: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayoube@gtlaw.com>
 To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>

Sent: Wed May 14 18:30:26 2003
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

ok, putting the diva debate behind us, i just got a call from out favorite pr shop stating that the washington times has agreed to run grover's piece this weekend. i, like you, am shocked. but we should probably start thinking about home state newspapers if the best they can do in dc is the washington times. oh, maybe fox news will run a fair and balanced report on the issue! seriously, what about putting in key members' home state/district papers to bolster their support: thinking oklahoma, utah, mississippi, north carolina. what are your thoughts? e

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:24 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Like your hairline

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:23 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Op-ed update

Weak!!!

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@gtlaw.com>
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@gtlaw.com>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayooobe@gtlaw.com>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <vasells@gtlaw.com>; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Wed May 14 15:19:20 2003
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

No, you were wearing N'Sync

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Easy pal, I wasn't the one wearing a Britney Spears t-shirt this weekend....

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

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 2:57 PM
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayooob, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

Good point...long-winded like a girl, but still a good point.

Who is the best/most respected CAT-member?

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

From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 2:01 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

I think I agree, but believe we should put some thought into it before moving and/or potentially even coming up with someone else. Actually, first off, let's just remember Hill and Knowlton sucks, because we shouldn't be having this discussion.

Anyway, here goes. Clearly, Toomey has massive credibility on this issue but I think it's worth working through the politics to make sure it does not backfire on us. For example, will this really pressure Specter our way? I would say probably because of conservatives and home state jobs, but maybe not. I mean, if this was such a great issue for Pa. why hasn't anyone championed it publically (as opposed to private help which is just as good) already? If I am wrong on that and Specter is with us publically, stop reading and I totally agree with the Toomey suggestion.

Absolute worst case is if Specter decides to go on the offensive against Toomey over this issue (and he is a good campaigner so he will attack Toomey soon). Under that scenario, his thought would be to make this a populist issue by getting the Philly, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh papers to paint Toomey into an anti-U.S./corporate tool corner - with Specter looking out for the little guy. That may be very doubtful but unless we know already (which I don't) that Specter will publically be with us, I would make sure that will be the case before turning this issue into primary fodder in the most important electoral state in the country. After all, I believe if it backfires in this important state, we will then have problems on 1600 Pennsylvania. Full disclosure I admit to being paranoid, and having not read the actual article - but I do know Pennsylvania is a moderate state where this issue may not work to our advantage even in a Republican primary.

With that being said, I just think we need to make sure this will drive Specter our way instead of the other way if we do go with Toomey.

NV

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

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 1:18 PM
To: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Op-ed update

What is the question? Are we looking for a House Member to run op-ed? If so, I recommend Toomey. He is hardcore on this issue, could hit on jobs in PA, and help to push Santorum and Specter in the right direction. Thoughts?

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

From: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2003 1:15 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: Op-ed update

<< File: hklogo_red2.gif >> Fyi. Thoughts?
Eddie Ayoub

Greenberg Traurig
202-533-2381

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

From: George Evanko <GEvanko@HillandKnowlton.com>
To: Ayoub, Edward (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <ayoub@gtlaw.com>
CC: Paul Clark <Pclark@HillandKnowlton.com>; Kelli Parsons <KParsons@HillandKnowlton.com>
Sent: Wed May 14 12:42:04 2003
Subject: Op-ed update

Eddie:

The Wall Street Journal has not shown interest in the article so we have therefore moved on to the Washington Times. They have the article and we will check with them shortly to gauge interest. We are now preparing a second article to be submitted to Roll Call ASAP. Given their deadlines, our most likely publication date is Monday. Do you have a Congressman to whom we can claim authorship of this article? We'll have a draft by the end of the day. Thanks.

George Evanko
Vice President, Corporate Communications Group
Hill & Knowlton Washington, DC
p: +1 (202) 94-3364
c: +1 (703) 627-3037
f: +1 (202) 944-1960
mailto:george.evanko@hillandknowlton.com

"Public Relations Agency of the Year"
--The Holmes Report

From: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, November 07, 2003 9:53 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Senator Gregg

They did it right when Meskwaki did it before I knew any better. And ATR has done nothing to this point. If there is a way to get Grover to call Norton I can get the cash gates back open.

Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
(202) 331-3198

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 12:51 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: DH2

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 2:27 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Can you make a list?

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 18, 2003 1:57 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: DH2

Ok, we should get political money from him as well!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Nov 18 13:50:43 2003
Subject: DH2

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

From: GRHalpern@aol.com
Sent: Wednesday, December 03, 2003 6:53 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis); lauralippy@earthlink.net
Subject: Re: GRI

\$45,246.07 on 9/12/03. but again, I am missing data from Ed. I will try to call him on the phone and make sure he got my email. he hasn't responded yet from last night.

In a message dated 12/3/2003 11:01:38 AM Eastern Standard Time, TeslerS@gtlaw.com writes:

What was the last wire transfer amount from GRI to Fieldworks?

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

From: Laura Lippy [mailto:lauralippy@earthlink.net]
Sent: Wednesday, December 03, 2003 10:51 AM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Cc: Gail Halpern
Subject: RE: GRI

I do know that I closed the ST GRI account at the end of September so that last Field Works wire should have been in that time frame. Thanks.

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

From: TeslerS@gtlaw.com [mailto:TeslerS@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, December 02, 2003 10:12 PM
To: lauralippy@earthlink.net; gshalpern@aol.com
Subject: GRI
Importance: High

I need to know asap to the extent possible what payments were made out of GRI to any vendor or non-profit from Ed miller. Laura, pls check the last transfer made to Fieldworks. Gail - do you have for the Barbour Group, ATR, others?

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
 Estate and Financial Planning Services
 11604 Monticello Avenue
 Silver Spring, MD 20902
 Business: (301) 996-3436
 Fax: (301) 593-3462
 Email: gshalpern@aol.com

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6/5/2004

GTG-E000356798

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 7:25 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

When are we getting the contribution?

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 8:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

Meeting with them today. Have you spoken with Grover about our issue??

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Saturday, December 13, 2003 11:48 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Fw: Additional information

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

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

From: Peter Ferrara <peterferrara@msn.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Sun Dec 14 00:44:03 2003
 Subject: Re: Additional information

Ok, let me try that. Are you happy with the content? Thanks, Peter

>From: <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 >To: <peterferrara@msn.com>
 >Subject: Re: Additional information
 >Date: Fri, 12 Dec 2003 16:41:31 -0500

>Peter,

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

>Mike Williams

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

>From: Peter Ferrara <peterferrara@msn.com>
 >To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 >Sent: Fri Dec 12 12:36:05 2003
 >Subject: Re: Additional information

>Attached is an op-ed I wrote on this issue for you. But having put the
 >time
 >in this now I feel I can't put my name on it because of my efforts on the
 >SS issue, even though I would like to screw the creeps. I don't want to
 >look like I am saying mutual funds are crooked and also associates of mine
 >are now asking for contributions to our efforts from the industry. If you
 >can come up with another name to put on it, I can submit that to the Wash
 >Times. Peter

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

>From: williamsme@gtlaw.com
 >To: Peterferrara@msn.com
 >Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 5:30 PM
 >Subject: Additional information

>Peter,

>Here's a couple other related pieces that have been published recently>

>
 > <<WSJ Smith article December 9.pdf>> <<WT Reynolds november 2,
 >2003.doc>>

>Spitzer overboard
>Alan Reynolds (back to web version <ar2003i211.shtml>) December 11,
>2003 While watching the news on a trip to New York City, I happened
>upon State Attorney General Elliot Spitzer being interviewed by NBC's
>Gabe Pressman. Spitzer was tossed a softball about his next crusade
>against Wall Street, as
>though no month should ever again go by without more financial firms being
>accused of something or other. Spitzer then began to rant on cue about
>mutual fund fees being exorbitant, unfair and biased against the little
>guy.
>
>Always one to overreach, Spitzer has clearly gone overboard this time.
>As UCLA law professor Steven Bainbridge points out, "N.Y. Attorney
>General Elliot Spitzer has no power -- none, nada, zilch -- to regulate
>mutual funds fees." To be more precise, he has "no constitutional
>right, statutory authorization or common law power" to tinker with such
>fees. What Spitzer might be able to do, though, is to persuade Congress
>or the SEC
>to adopt his ill-considered solutions to this ill-defined problem. In
>testimony before the Senate banking committee a few weeks ago, Spitzer
>proposed that mutual funds be required to disclose "the precise dollar
>amount of fees charged to each investor ... (for) advisory, management,
>marketing and other administrative costs. Armed with this knowledge,
>investors can begin to engage in true comparison shopping among funds."
>The idea is chimerical. Investors could not possibly compare "precise
>dollar
>amounts of fees" because only their own fund would provide such figures.
>Investors can't compare dollars, but they can easily compare percentages.
>Morningstar explains that all these fees "are included in the expense
>ratio,
>which is the most commonly used measure of a fund's overall expenses and a
>figure that is frequently used to compare mutual fund costs."
>Many newspapers and magazines publish quarterly comparisons of mutual funds
>that include each fund's ratio of expenses to investments. Nobody but
>Spitzer cares how these expenses are split between marketing and advice. We
>care only about total expenses and only to the extent they affect total
>returns. This information is readily available in many published sources,
>and in every mutual fund prospectus. It's a lot easier than comparing
>lawyers' fees.
>Nearly every newspaper also publishes daily figure on how each mutual fund
>is doing so far this year, and those results always subtract fees. If fees
>result in subpar returns, investors will switch to other funds that perform
>better with or without lower fees. If any fund's blend of returns and risk
>continues to attract investors, that means its fees are acceptable to its
>investors. The mutual fund business is extremely competitive and
>transparent.
>Funds that merely match the stocks held in the S&P 500 stock index should
>have low fees because there is no research and little work involved. In
>this
>case, comparing fees is uniquely relevant because one index fund is like
>another.
>Yet nearly all the largest mutual funds beat the S&P 500 handily over the
>past five years, and some routinely beat the S&P 500 for 10 years or more,
>including Legg Mason Value Trust, Meridian Value and Fidelity Contrafund.
>Fees for such well-managed funds are necessarily higher than for index
>funds, but returns have nonetheless been significantly better.
>Sector funds, like Vanguard's health fund, also require a lot of research
>and expertise, so fees are bit higher. Fidelity Select electronics had
>impressive gains before and after the tech crash, even though that fund
>charges a sales load (which isn't usually subtracted from returns). Funds
>specializing in international stocks or small companies have their work cut
>out for them, so their fees are usually high. But that doesn't mean
>investors should never invest in managed or specialized funds simply
>because

>simpler funds have lower fees. Investors understand the dollars involved in
 >a fee of, say, 1.2 percent and can decide for themselves whether or not
 >that
 >fund is worth its fees, even though Spitzer might prefer to ban that
 >choice.
 >
 >Aside from his Quixotic idea of requiring fund expenses to be broken
 >down
 >by
 >purpose and reported in dollars, Spitzer also gets agitated about the fact
 >that Putnam charged a higher "advisory fee" to its mutual fund customers
 >than to giant pension funds. Complaining about discounted services for
 >institutional investors makes no more sense than complaining that car
 >rental
 >companies get a better deal than retail car buyers. Folks with a 401k fund
 >should be glad if their fund managers negotiate low fees. Any Spitzerian
 >scheme to ban such volume discounts would be more likely to raise fees for
 >our pension funds than lower them for our taxable accounts.
 >If Congress or the SEC could be persuaded to tinker with mutual fund fees
 >in
 >some way that accomplished what Spitzer promises -- to limit fees -- the
 >"law of unintended consequences" would come into play with a vengeance.
 >Small investors would soon be foreclosed from the best mutual funds.
 >Administrative costs are much higher for funds with many tiny accounts than
 >for funds with fewer but bigger accounts. The Vanguard health fund thus
 >keeps fees down by refusing accounts smaller than \$25,000. Some outstanding
 >funds have minimums much higher than that. The first consequence of any
 >effort to cap mutual fund fees would be that most if not all funds would
 >adopt a similar requirement, and thus be closed to those with little to
 >invest.
 >Another handy way to cut costs, and thus comply with any new rules to limit
 >fees, is to charge an annual "maintenance fee" on accounts smaller than,
 >say, \$10,000 (as Vanguard index funds do). If fees were arbitrarily
 >constrained, we should expect such maintenance fees on small accounts to
 >grow larger and more prevalent, if small accounts are permitted at all.
 >Limits on fees would probably also result in fewer no-load funds and more
 >funds charging a sales commission (load) when the fund is purchased or
 >cashred out. Fees charged by no-load funds are largely for marketing
 >expenses. But commissions to brokers could replace advertising and other
 >marketing expenses if fees were constrained by law or regulation, thus
 >leaving a larger portion of the fee for other expenses.
 >Spitzer's latest crusade over mutual fund fees is literally none of his
 >business. If he nonetheless got what he claims to want, the predictable
 >result would be to keep small investors out of the best vehicles now
 >available to them, thanks to increased minimum investment requirements and
 >maintenance fees.
 >Endless and often baseless gripes from the Spitzer camp are pleasing the
 >press but spooking many unsophisticated Americans who most need to be
 >saving
 >and investing for the future. Despite his pretentious ritual incantations
 >of
 >intent to "restore investor confidence," Spitzer's unfounded claims that
 >the
 >entire mutual fund industry is untrustworthy and overpriced can only have
 >the opposite effect.
 >©2003 Creators Syndicate
 >-----
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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 6:20 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Cc: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

Super. I think Dan has been in touch with Mike Williams at our office who is running things from our side. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

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

Dan can we get this turned around on monday?
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

- not sure I understand that one). can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know.
 Thanks.

<<Fuel on the Fi

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 7:35 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: contribution

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

From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 7:40 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contribution

Jack.
 I have spoken this morning-monday-with Dan Clifton.
 The article is fine.
 We will speak today with Wash Times-mary lou forbes.
 Dan.
 would also like us to send something similar to
 investor business daily

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

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

I am trying to land a \$50K contribution from our client DH2, to cover some of the money on the event this week, since we are having some trouble getting the tribes interested. Don't worry, I will line up the money, but I might have to get a little creative, and I might need some assistance from your side. DH2 is interested in the mutual fund fight. They want an op ed, which we were going to have Ferrara do, but he now has a conflict of interest (says it will hurt his Social Security position - not sure I understand that one). Can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know. Thanks.
 <<Fuel on the Fire.doc>>

PS: turns out another of my clients are coming in from Europe on Tuesday, so I am not going to be able to join the meeting with the President! I am so upset. Oh well.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 10:25 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: contribution

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Clifton [mailto:dclifton@atr.org]
Sent: Monday, December 15, 2003 10:12 AM
To: Grover Norquist; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: contribution

Grover,

I am in the process of making some quick technical changes and will get this out the door today.

Thanks,
 Dan

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:03 PM
To: 'abramoffj@gtlaw.com'
Cc: Daniel Clifton
Subject: RE: contribution

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

Dan can we get this turned around on monday?
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Sunday, December 14, 2003 3:02 PM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: contribution

- not sure I understand that one). can we take his op ed and put you on as signatory for submission to the Washington Times? That should free up these guys to move forward. I have attached the draft here for you to review. Please let me know.
 Thanks.

<<Fuel on the Fi

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 9:19 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Grover ATR

Got it

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed Jan 07 22:17:57 2004
 Subject: RE: Grover ATR

50k

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 9:45 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Grover ATR

How much??

-----Original Message-----
 From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Wed Jan 07 21:10:52 2004
 Subject: RE: Grover ATR

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

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Wednesday, January 07, 2004 7:56 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Grover ATR

We have finalized the op-ed with them on Monday and Grover was to call Tony B at the Wash Times yesterday. I checked in today and yesterday, but Grover's guy is not answering my emails or calls. Should you call Grover?

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 08, 2004 10:46 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Re: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

Will do

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
 CC: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis) <slomowitza@gtlaw.com>
 Sent: Thu Jan 08 23:05:23 2004
 Subject: RE: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

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

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Thursday, January 08, 2004 6:21 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Cc: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
 Subject: Conference Call with Rob Rubin

Jack,

Rubin wants some of his legal eagles (Chuck Bergen from Chicago and Marty Cochran and David Freeman from Arnold and Porter DC) on the call tomorrow as well. He wants to pick your brain on legal/legislative strategy.

The SEC adopted a Rule in early December that requires mutual fund companies to fair value price their funds when market prices are not readily available. This kills market timers like Rubin. The House also passed legislation that calls for the SEC to implement Fair value pricing. Obviously, Rubin does not want them to implement fair value pricing. If it is implemented, he wants full disclosure of the process and methodology by which funds will fair value price.

Rubin is considering filing a formal appeal to the SEC ruling or possibly a lawsuit against the SEC for violating the Administrative Pro. Act. Rubin wants to talk strategy about these two options and how either action could impact our legislative strategy. He also wants to know if we think filing an appeal to the SEC rule or suing the SEC will cause them to come after Rubin and his financial services company.

Lastly, when we first started talking about market timing and fair value pricing on the Hill, everyone said we were the lone voice in the wilderness supporting market timing and opposing fair value pricing. In the last few weeks, we've started to see other people advocate our position, or at least parts of it. Attached below you will find an op-ed from today's WSJ that is favorable. You should read it.

I will prepare short memo for you to review before tomorrows call>

MEW

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 2:03 PM
To: Dan Clifton (E-mail)
Subject: OP-ED

Is there any word? I think Jack spoke to Grover at Signatures last night? Will it run Sunday?

MEW

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 15, 2004 1:16 PM
To: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: ATR

Do you guys have the address and tax ID number for ATR. A client wants to write them a check. Who do they make it out to?? ATR??

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 22, 2004 9:57 AM
To: Dan Clifton (E-mail)
Subject: Grover OP-Ed

Dan,

How's it going? Just checking in again on the Washington Times Op-Ed. I know you and Grover have called the WT so I'm trying to get a feel for when it will run. The Senate starts its mutual fund hearings next week which makes the piece very timely. Please let me know what you've heard back from the WT. This is very important to our guys.

MEW

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, February 02, 2004 5:38 PM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: Rubin

Let's discuss tomorrow.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, February 02, 2004 12:53 PM
 To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: Rubin

jack,

Rubin finally sent the 50k check from Grover. Checking on our bill now. Also, DH2 sued the SEC. See below

DH2 Inc. v. United States Securities and Exchange Commission
 1/30/2004 04c 0789 Shadur
 Complaint over the SEC's negligent adoption of the "Fair Value Rule" which directs investment companies to calculate the value of fund portfolio securities according to estimates, even when actual market prices are readily available. The Rule poses potential risks to investors in mutual fund and variable annuities and conflicts with requirements of the Investment Company Act and the Administrative Procedure Act.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 5:49 PM
To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
Subject: First thing tomorrow

We need to courier a check to ATR.

Very important

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 6:59 AM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: missed you last night

I think I called just as you were beginning a speech. I am in NY, but back later today. I have sent over a \$50K contribution from DH2 (the mutual fund client). Any sense as to where we are on the op ed placement? Let's chat later today to catch up on a few fronts, including the Mashpees. Thanks.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 7:14 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: ATR

Cool

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Tue Feb 10 05:32:01 2004
Subject: RE: ATR

No problem. We traded calls last night.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

I'm sending the contribution over in the morning. Can you talk to Grover about the op-ed?

Rubin is getting ticked that it has not been printed.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 12:50 PM
 To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
 Subject: RE: First thing tomorrow

Please tell me you have the check. If not, I've misplaced it or someone has taken it from my desk!!!

-----Original Message-----
 From: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
 Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 11:42 AM
 To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Subject: RE: First thing tomorrow

Are we still doing this?

-----Original Message-----
 From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
 Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 6:49 PM
 To: Johnson, Elaine (Secy-DC-LT)
 Subject: First thing tomorrow

We need to courier a check to ATR.

Very important

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 1:51 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: RE: missed you last night

Unfortunately, I am in NY. I hate NY!

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 2:17 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: missed you last night

Tonite.
 Cgn

Grover Norquist

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>
To: gnorquist@atr.org <gnorquist@atr.org>
Sent: Tue Feb 10 11:21:59 2004
Subject: RE: missed you last night

Don't think I am. When is that dinner?

-----Original Message-----
From: Grover Norquist [mailto:gnorquist@atr.org]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 9:19 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: missed you last night

The wash times told me they were running the piece.
 This is ms. Forbes.
 I will nudge again.
 Grover
 Thanks for the support.
 Are you going to aei dinner?
 grover

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 8:08 AM
To: gnorquist@atr.org
Subject: missed you last night

I think I called just as you were beginning a speech. I am in NY, but back later today. I have sent over a \$50K contribution from DH2 (the mutual fund client). Any sense as to where we are on the op ed placement? Let's chat later today to catch up on a few fronts, including the Mashpees. Thanks.

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From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 11, 2004 10:02 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

Jack,

When you talk to Grover you may want to recommend that the piece run a week from Sunday since Congress will be out of town next week and the Mutual Fund hearings start on February 25.

I will follow-up with Dan Clifton as well.

MEW

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 10, 2004 5:32 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: ATR

No problem. We traded calls last night.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: ATR

I'm sending the contribution over in the morning. Can you talk to Grover about the op-ed?
 Rubin is getting ticked that it has not been printed.

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 12:41 PM
To: 'Kenneth B. Newton'
Subject: RE:

okay, i understand.

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 11:56 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re:

Kevin, we just couldn't reach a consensus on getting Grover on board given what the expected donation would be. The real problem is that the economic substance proposal is really on the periphery of the fight and Grover will presumably not weigh in on the other provisions if they're in a tax bill. I think Ted is going to talk to Grover directly today.

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

From: ringk@gtlaw.com <ringk@gtlaw.com>
To: Kenneth B. Newton <knewton@comcapadvisors.com>
Sent: Thu Feb 19 11:17:24 2004
Subject: RE:

I am surprised to hear this. Do you think we should see if they would be willing to adjust the letter to make it more relevant? Or did you already discuss and dismiss that idea? I just want to make sure you all do not want this help.

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 10:57 AM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com; James R. Stahle; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re:

Hi Dan,

We appreciate very much your interest in our issue and your patience as we develop our strategy. We have determined, however, that we will not ask ATR to step into this on our behalf at this point. Instead, we will wait to see what develops with the Treasury proposals that we expect will be picked up in both houses. We feel it might be confusing and distract from the real fight to make too much of the economic substance provision that has passed the Senate.

Again, we appreciate your interest and remain hopeful that we will be able to find a way to have your support as this matter develops.

We will keep you informed of developments.

Best wishes,

Ken

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

From: Daniel Clifton <dclifton@atr.org>
To: Kenneth B. Newton <knewton@comcapadvisors.com>
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com <sdaniel@allcony.com>; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com <ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com>; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com <rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com>; James R. Stahle <jstahle@comcapadvisors.com>
Sent: Wed Feb 18 17:32:24 2004
Subject: RE:

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

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

From: Kenneth B. Newton [mailto:knewton@comcapadvisors.com]
Sent: Wednesday, February 18, 2004 5:28 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Cc: sdaniel@allcony.com; ted.lachowicz@babcockbrown.com; rich.umbrecht@babcockbrown.com; James R. Stahle
Subject:

Hi Dan,

Sorry for not getting back to you yet, but we have been flat out with meetings. Just got on a plane now. The sense of our Coalition right now is that we are still unsure whether to try to get ATR directly involved in the fight on economic substance since it has already passed the Senate. The real battle will more likely be joined over the Treasury proposals which we understand will likely come up in the FSC/ETI bill. From our meeting with you we understand that if these provisions are in a tax bill rather than a spending bill they don't violate the pledge. So, anyway, just a long way of saying we still have to talk a bit among ourselves before giving any direction to proceed. We did get the form of letter from Kevin Ring and will review. Thanks.

Ken

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From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 2:54 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Did you talk to Grover about the Washington times op-ed. What's their f'in problem

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:16 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: DH2

Yes, let's discuss tomorrow. how about 10 am next Tuesday?

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:04 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: DH2

Did you get my message that Rubin is coming to town next week??

If possible, can you block out an hour Tuesday morning between 9 and 11? just want to do a briefing with Rob before we set off on for the meetings.

Rubin wanted to know what the Post story fall out was. Told him we will weather folks in DC know these things happen sometimes.

Do you have a few minutes tomorrow to discuss?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 9:34 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: When are you available tomorrow

I'll contact Grover now.

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

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 7:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Crisler, Linsey C. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: When are you available tomorrow

Tried to catch you a couple times today but you were in meetings. Need to talk with you about DH2. The op-ed did not run in the Times this weekend. Also, Rubin is coming to town next week for a series of member meetings. Need to fill you in on that. He did not seem to be bothered by the Post story, nor did the Arnold and Porter folks who work on DH2.

MEW

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 10:03 PM
To: Grover Norquist
Subject: op ed

Any news? We're getting a lot of pressure on this from the client. Please let me know if you can. Thanks.

From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2004 6:58 PM
To: RRubin@lincolngroup.com
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Clifton <dclifton@atr.org>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@gtlaw.com>
Sent: Fri Feb 27 19:53:34 2004
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

ASA story on CBS Marketwatch on the SEC's rush to judgment on reforms.

Risky moves seen in fund reforms
 Is Washington's rush to fix the industry going off track?

By Leticia <<http://cbs.marketwatch.com/news/mailto.asp?siteid=mkw&x=108+119+105+108+105+97+109+115&y=Leticia%20Williams&guid=%7B97780B6B%2D1BE1%2D40EB%2DBE8B%2DBF2FCF63FAFE37D>> Williams, CBS.MarketWatch.com Last Update: 7:11 PM ET Feb. 27, 2004

WASHINGTON (CBS.MW) -- The mutual-fund reform train has steamed out of the station, but even some engineers of change are questioning whether it's on the right track.

"We're in a very difficult environment," Cynthia Glassman, one of five commissioners at the Securities and Exchange Commission, said in an interview. "We have to move at the pace we're moving. I just think we have to do it thoughtfully."

Securities regulators and lawmakers are rushing headlong to clean up an industry that once was viewed as being beyond reproach. Washington has hosted a parade of high-level hearings aimed at tightening regulations on fund trading, fees and sales.

While meaningful industry reform is likely, some policy-makers are wary that hasty alterations could do more harm than good for the individual investors they're designed to protect.

Earlier this week, such concern spurred SEC Commissioner Paul Atkins to break ranks with fellow commissioners over a proposal to curb fund-trading abuses.

SEC commissioners' decisions are frequently unanimous. So it attracted attention when Atkins voted against a measure to impose a 2 percent redemption fee on short-term "market-timing" fund trades, saying fund companies already have the authority to enforce such disciplinary measures.

Laughing to the bank

Addressing the SEC meeting, he said a redemption fee would hurt small investors even as it lines the fund industry's pockets.

"They'll laugh all the way to the bank," Atkins said of the fund companies.

"This mandatory fee will not fully prevent or protect investors from the recent market-timing abuses," he added. "It's a fund tax that will hit the unaware."

Only about 1 in 10 funds now require a redemption fee, but enforcement can be spotty over bulk trades through third-party "omnibus" accounts that can mask market-timers' identities.

"I have to wonder if the costs of a mandatory redemption fee will be far greater than any damage inflicted upon such investors from abusive market timing," Atkins said. "Omnibus accounts and fair value pricing -- those are the central ideas that we should be considering."

Forthcoming proposals are likely to meet similar skepticism. Glassman expressed doubt over a pending SEC proposal that would require fund boards to be 75 percent independent and to name an independent chairman.

"I haven't seen evidence that such a structure makes a difference in performance," Glassman. "Without solid evidence I don't see the point in imposing a rule like that."

Costs of a quick fix

The SEC is moving swiftly to patch up cracks in fund governance, offering nine proposals since December alone. Regulators are taking aim at trading improprieties that drive up costs for retail fund shareholders and hurt their investment returns.

In addition, several proposals would require funds to provide greater transparency in their fee structures and portfolio holdings so that investors can make more informed decisions.

Yet critics wonder if too much is being tackled too fast, resulting only in cosmetic makeovers of deep-seated problems. They say regulators and Congress run the risk of doing more harm than good by not giving enough weight to the financial impact of reforms on fund owners.

"The SEC has not done a cost-benefit analysis of how these mutual fund reforms would affect investors," said Daniel Clifton, executive director of the American Shareholder's Association. "We are at a very key threshold -- why not get it right the first time?"

For instance, a proposal for a 4 p.m. "hard close" deadline aims to thwart illegal late trading by requiring fund companies to process all transactions by the market's 4 p.m. closing time.

The matter passed the SEC unanimously, but not before drawing fire from opponents who said the rule would cause hardship for investors in earlier time zones. To meet the deadline, these shareholders would have to place orders, which are often moved through intermediaries, with the fund company hours before the closing time in order to receive same-day pricing.

Likewise, there's a belief that a 2 percent redemption fee hits small investors harder than hedge funds and other trading firms that have been accused of making off with short-term profits at the expense of ordinary fund shareholders.

"When you start to put hard and fast rules in place, you are going to start disadvantaging certain investors," said Geoff Bobroff, a fund industry consultant.

Policy-makers, he added, should be "mindful in their efforts to purify and sanctify the mutual fund industry. They run the risk of creating a greater burden for shareholders."

So far the impact of the new reforms on shareholders is not known, particularly when it comes to who ultimately foots the bill for new regulations.

"Sometimes a cleansing process can go too far," Bill Gross, the chief investment officer of bond-fund giant Pimco, and Bill Thompson, the firm's chief executive, wrote in a

jointly penned letter posted on the company's Web site.

In fact, the industry clean up has just begun. The question remains whether some of the most pressing issues will be swept under the rug.

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

From: williamsme@gtlaw.com [mailto:williamsme@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, February 27, 2004 3:41 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

Hey Dan,

Jack told me that the piece would probably run in IBD instead of the Times. Are you free to meet on Tuesday or Thursday of next week?

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

From: Daniel Clifton [mailto:dclifton@atr.org]
Sent: Thursday, February 26, 2004 1:59 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Wash Times OP-Ed

Oped will run in Investors Business Daily

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

From: williamsme@gtlaw.com [mailto:williamsme@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 4:21 PM
To: dclifton@atr.org
Subject: Wash Times OP-Ed

Dan,

Hope you had a good weekend. I noticed that the WT did not run Grover's piece this weekend. Do they plan on running it?

Secondly, I need to follow-up with you regarding Glassman and the possible congressional seminars regarding the SEC and their Reg process. In regards to Glassman, do you think you can get your hands on a copy of the testimony he plans to give at Senate Banking on Wednesday.

Give me a call on my cell, 703-963-0918

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