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EXECUTIVE SESSION  
COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND  
GOVERNMENT REFORM,  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEPOSITION OF: RUBEN BARRALES

Wednesday, July 11, 2007

Washington, D.C.

The deposition in the above matter was held in room  
2157, Conference Room J, Rayburn House Office Building  
commencing at 10:13 a.m.

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Appearances:

For Committee on Oversight and Government Reform:

- KRISTIN AMERLING, CHIEF COUNSEL
- SUSANNE SACHSMAN, COUNSEL
- ANNA LAITIN, PROFESSIONAL STAFFER
- STEPHEN R. CASTOR, MINORITY COUNSEL
- J. KEITH AUSBROOK, MINORITY GENERAL COUNSEL

Also Present:

REPRESENTATIVE DARRELL E. ISSA

For Mr. Barrales:

CHARLES T. KIMMETT, ESQ.  
HARRIS, WILTSHIRE & GRANNIS LLP  
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

1 Ms. Amerling. Good morning.

2 Mr. Barrales. Good morning.

3 Ms. Amerling. On behalf of the Committee on Oversight  
4 and Government Reform, I thank you for being here today.

5 This proceeding is known as a deposition --

6 Mr. Barrales. Right.

7 Ms. Amerling. -- and the chairman of the committee has  
8 sought this deposition as part of the committee's  
9 investigation of Jack Abramoff's contacts with the  
10 White House.

11 My name is Kristin Amerling, and I have been designated  
12 majority counsel for the this deposition. The person  
13 transcribing this proceeding is a House reporter and a  
14 notary public who is authorized to administer oaths.

15 She will now administer the oath to you.

16 [Witness sworn.]

17 Ms. Amerling. Let me also note for the record the other  
18 staff and members of the committee who are present.

19 I'm accompanied by Anna Laitin, who is a professional  
20 staff member for the committee; Susanne Sachsman, who is  
21 counsel for the majority staff --

22 The Witness. Hello.

23 Ms. Amerling. -- on the committee.

24 Mr. Castor. Steve Castor, counsel for the Republican  
25 staff.

1 Ms. Amerling. And also Congressman Issa.

2 Congressman, would you like to make any opening  
3 statements?

4 Mr. Issa. Briefly. I guess maybe just briefly.

5 I'm here both because Ruben, in the private sector now,  
6 represents my constituency on behalf of the greater San Diego  
7 Chamber but also because I knew him before, during his time  
8 in government, and I have a keen interest both in the  
9 continued investigation of Abramoff and also, in this case,  
10 the belated nature of this deposition. Meaning, long after  
11 individuals have left government, you know, the Abramoff  
12 scandal really began and ended well before -- well, more than  
13 2 years before Mr. Barrales left public life. So I hope  
14 today we can bring to a close, you know, a single deposition  
15 of this individual and anyone else since it is such an old  
16 case.

17 Having said that, I do have a keen interest, because the  
18 Congress has not yet reformed itself as to lobbying by  
19 government entities. The reforms we have done so far do not  
20 stop an "Abramoff" from representing in secrecy to a great  
21 extent government entities in a government-to-government  
22 relationship. We failed to do that reform under our ethics  
23 rules; and, therefore, we are still just as vulnerable today  
24 to somebody like Jack Abramoff.

25 Ms. Amerling. Thank you, Congressman.

1           Mr. Kimmett. I might just introduce myself for the  
2 reporter. I'm Charles Kimmett from Harris, Wiltshire &  
3 Grannis. I represent Mr. Barrales today.

4           Ms. Amerling. Before beginning, I want to go over some  
5 standard instructions and explanations regarding the  
6 deposition.

7           The Witness. Okay.

8           Ms. Amerling. Mr. Barrales, because you have been  
9 placed under oath, your testimony here has the same force and  
10 effect as if you were testifying before the committee. If  
11 you knowingly provide false testimony, you could be subject  
12 to criminal prosecution for perjury, for making false  
13 statements or for other related offenses. Do you understand  
14 this?

15          The Witness. Yes.

16          Ms. Amerling. Is there any reason that you're unable to  
17 provide truthful answers in today's deposition?

18          The Witness. No.

19          Ms. Amerling. The deposition will proceed as follows:

20           I'll ask a round of questions for up to an hour on the  
21 subject matter of the committee's investigation; and then,  
22 when I'm finished, minority counsel or the minority member  
23 will have the opportunity to ask you questions for up to  
24 1 hour; and then additional rounds of questioning may follow  
25 in this manner.

1           The Witness. Okay.

2           Ms. Amerling. The reporter will be taking down  
3 everything that you say and will make a written record of the  
4 deposition. You need to give verbal, audible responses,  
5 because she can't record nods or gestures.

6           Also, for the record to be clear, please wait until I  
7 finish each question before you begin your answer; and I'll  
8 wait until you finish your response before asking you the  
9 next question. Do you understand?

10          The Witness. Yes.

11          Ms. Amerling. If you don't hear or understand a  
12 question, please say so, and we'll repeat or rephrase it.

13          If I ask you about events or conversations in the past  
14 and you're unable to recollect the exact words or details,  
15 you should testify to the substance of the conversations or  
16 events to the best that you can remember; and if you recall  
17 only a part of a conversation or of an event, you should give  
18 us your best recollection of those events or parts of  
19 conversations that you recall. Do you understand that?

20          The Witness. Yes.

21          Ms. Amerling. Okay. Do you have any questions before  
22 we begin?

23          The Witness. No.

24          Ms. Amerling. Okay.

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EXAMINATION

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BY MS. AMERLING:

Q Mr. Barrales, could you start by stating your full name for the record?

A Ruben Barrales.

Q And where are you currently employed?

A I'm employed in San Diego at the San Diego Regional Chamber of Commerce.

Q And what is your position there?

A President and CEO.

Q And do you report to anybody?

A I report to a board of directors.

Q And where did you work before you held this position?

A I worked at the White House.

Q And what position did you hold there?

A Deputy Assistant to the President.

Q During what period of time did you serve there?

A From 2001 until the end of 2006.

Q Did you hold the same position throughout your tenure there?

A Yes.

Q Can you talk a little bit about what the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs does?

A Uh-huh, I can tell you what it did when I was

1 there. I'm not sure it still does.

2 The Office of Intergovernmental Affairs within the  
3 White House is the White House liaison to non-federally  
4 elected officials around the country.

5 Q Where does this office fit within the structure of  
6 the White House? Is there an office that supervises that  
7 office?

8 A My direct report was Karl Rove, and he was  
9 Assistant to the President.

10 Q What does the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs  
11 do with respect to Indian tribes?

12 A We are the liaison to the elected tribal leaders.

13 Q And what about with respect to U.S. territories?

14 A The same. We are also liaison to the elected  
15 leaders within those jurisdictions as well.

16 Q Can you describe your duties while you were at the  
17 White House?

18 A My duties at the White House involved many, many  
19 meetings and, again, serving as the liaison with the  
20 non-federally elected officials throughout the country.

21 Q And to whom did you report?

22 A I reported to Karl Rove, who was Assistant to the  
23 President.

24 Q Did you interact regularly with him?

25 A Yes.



1 Q Can you describe the frequency with which you  
2 interacted with Mr. Rove?

3 A Daily. I met with, spoke with, reported to on a  
4 daily basis.

5 Q And did you interact regularly with others on  
6 Mr. Rove's staff?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Who?

9 A It's a long list of people who served throughout  
10 the White House, the Executive Office of the President, the  
11 many different offices within the White House.

12 Q And how many staff were in the Office of  
13 Intergovernmental Affairs?

14 A There were anywhere from five to eight over the  
15 period of time that I was the Director of Intergovernmental  
16 Affairs.

17 Q And all of these individuals reported to you?

18 A Yes.

19 Q How was it organized? Did you have certain people  
20 designated to be liaisons to certain regions or to certain  
21 tribes?

22 A The way that it was organized is that different  
23 individuals would be responsible to different levels of  
24 government or to different jurisdictions.

25 So, for example, a tribal liaison, a liaison to the

1       governors, a liaison to the State legislators, to the  
2       territories, to mayors, to city officials, to county  
3       officials, to other elected officials throughout the country.

4           Q     And who was the staff person who was the liaison to  
5       the tribes or staff persons?

6           A     Primarily Jennifer Farley for most of that time.

7           Q     And what about for the U.S. territories?

8           A     Primarily, it would be Toby Burke.

9           Q     When you made a decision with respect to an issue  
10       relating to Indian tribes --

11          A     Yes.

12          Q     -- did you have authority to make that decision  
13       yourself or did you have to clear that with anyone else at  
14       the White House?

15          Mr. Kimmett. Can you answer that generally or do you  
16       need to know specifics?

17          The Witness. I think I need to know specifics.

18          If it related to meeting with individuals, I would, you  
19       know, decide who I'd meet with or not meet with, if that's  
20       what you're referring to.

21                BY MS. AMERLING:

22          Q     If it involved a policy decision?

23          A     I think you would need to be more specific in terms  
24       of -- I mean, there were -- most of the issues that came to  
25       us somehow involved policy, one type of policy or another.

1           Q     Who else at the White House was involved with  
2 making decisions relating to Indian tribes besides you and  
3 Jennifer Farley?

4           A     I think it would depend on what the policy was. So  
5 it would depend on the particular policy. We have a number  
6 of policy offices at the White House.

7           So, for example, if it were an energy-related issue  
8 policy, then it may be someone who dealt with energy or --  
9 you know, depending on the different issue, there would be  
10 different people involved in those issues.

11          Q     How often were you in contact with Indian tribes?

12          Mr. Kimmett. Do you mean him or his office?

13          Ms. Amerling. Him, first of all.

14          Mr. Kimmett. Okay.

15          The Witness. It's hard for me to say exactly.

16          Let me put it this way. I was available daily to  
17 receive calls or to meet with elected representatives from  
18 Indian country. Whether I did every day speak with someone  
19 from Indian country -- I can't say specifically how many  
20 times I met with or spoke with elected leaders from Indian  
21 country.

22                   BY MS. AMERLING:

23          Q     Would you say it was at least on a weekly basis?

24          A     Probably. It could be more frequent than that,  
25 actually.

1           Q     How about lobbyists for Indian tribes? How  
2 frequently did you communicate with them?

3           A     The same -- I think it would be in the same  
4 description, which is as often as they would communicate with  
5 us, and we would communicate with them if we had issues that  
6 we were trying to communicate, messages or issues that we  
7 were trying to let them know about, initiatives that we were  
8 taking at the White House. So it's hard for me to quantify  
9 exactly how often -- a number -- but, yes, weekly, sometimes  
10 daily. We had very frequent conversations with folks from  
11 Indian country. That was our job, to be the liaison to  
12 Indian country.

13          Q     I was asking that question with respect to your own  
14 communications. Is your answer the same with respect to the  
15 communications of your office, the Office of  
16 Intergovernmental Affairs?

17          A     I don't quite -- I guess I don't quite understand  
18 when you say "our communication." For example, what do you  
19 consider a "communication"?

20          Q     If a lobbyist for an Indian tribe e-mails you or  
21 e-mails your office, makes a phone call, has a meeting.

22          A     Right. Right. I would -- specifically about  
23 lobbyists for Indian tribes, probably I would have less  
24 interaction than other people on staff would, only because,  
25 you know, my portfolio included many other non-federally

1       elected officials. So I think the actual absolute number  
2       would be less in terms of my specific interaction, but I did  
3       try to be involved as much as possible with Indian country.

4               Q     How often do you think your staff had communication  
5       with lobbyists for Indian tribes?

6               A     Well, I can't say specifically for lobbyists for  
7       Indian tribes, but my expectation was that my office would  
8       communicate daily with federally elected officials or  
9       non-federally elected officials from the tribes, in other  
10      words, tribal-elected officials. Our job was to communicate  
11      with them, in essence, daily, as it was with mayors, with  
12      governors and the like. So the whole -- I guess my point is  
13      we tried to communicate daily with our constituency, which  
14      are the non-federally elected officials.

15              Q     Okay. I'm going to turn to --

16              A     It seems like a long way to answer that question,  
17      but --

18              Q     I'm going to turn to some questions about Jack  
19      Abramoff's contacts with the White House --

20              A     Okay.

21              Q     -- and contacts between the White House and Jack  
22      Abramoff's associates.

23              A     Okay.

24              Q     How did you first hear about Jack Abramoff?

25              A     That's a good question. I've learned a lot about

1 Jack Abramoff since the issue has become public in terms of  
2 the investigation and the like. I may have heard his name  
3 before then, but I can't say specifically when. I don't  
4 recall specifically when I first became aware of him.

5 Q You don't remember how or the circumstances under  
6 which you first heard his name?

7 A No. No.

8 Q Do you recall any instances in which Jack Abramoff  
9 or one of his lobbying associates contacted you concerning  
10 business interests that he represented in the Commonwealth of  
11 the Northern Mariana Islands?

12 A I do in the context of the report that you all have  
13 issued, reading about some of those contacts that were made,  
14 but I guess I need clarification on the question.

15 Q I'm asking generally if you recall any contacts  
16 with him or his associates about --

17 Mr. Kimmett. When you say "his associates," do you have  
18 people who you have in mind who, perhaps, you could list for  
19 him to help him?

20 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

21 BY MS. AMERLING:

22 Q Kevin Ring, Neil Volz, Shawn Vasell, Padgett  
23 Wilson, Tony Rudy, Duane Gibson, Todd Boulanger.

24 A Specifically regarding the Northern Mariana  
25 Islands, I don't recall a specific meeting with those

1 individuals on that particular topic.

2 Ms. Amerling. Okay. I'm presenting the witness with  
3 two e-mails.

4 Mr. Kimmett. Are you marking this?

5 Ms. Amerling. Yes.

6 Please take a minute to look at them.

7 The Witness. Okay.

8 Ms. Amerling. Have you had a chance to look at these?

9 The Witness. I'm reviewing it right now.

10 Yes, I've reviewed them.

11 BY MS. AMERLING:

12 Q In the first of these e-mails, which is dated  
13 May 24th, 2001, it is an e-mail from Jack Abramoff to Kevin  
14 Ring and others. It is an exchange between Jack Abramoff and  
15 Kevin Ring.

16 A Right.

17 Q Mr. Ring mentions he has an upcoming meeting with  
18 Ruben Barrales to discuss, quote, "CNMI and the DOJ letter  
19 and Admin view."

20 Then in the second e-mail, which is dated May 30th -- it  
21 is from Kevin Ring to Jack Abramoff, dated May 30th, 2001 --  
22 he mentions the meeting is, quote, "next Tuesday," which  
23 would have been June 5th, 2001.

24 A Right.

25 Q Do you remember a June, 2001, meeting with Kevin

1 Ring?

2 A No, I don't.

3 Q This doesn't refresh your recollection?

4 A No. I don't recall this meeting specifically.

5 I do -- I know I've had meetings about CNMI during my  
6 time at the White House. I do not remember meeting with  
7 Mr. Ring about it specifically.

8 Q Do you remember the DOJ letter that was referenced  
9 in this e-mail?

10 A I'm not sure what that refers to.

11 Ms. Amerling. Okay. Let's mark these for the record --  
12 the May 30th, 2001, e-mail as Exhibit 1 and May 24th e-mail  
13 as Exhibit 2.

14 [Barrales Exhibits No. 1 and 2  
15 Were marked for identification.]

16 The Witness. Do you want to make them chronological?  
17 It doesn't matter? Okay.

18 BY MS. AMERLING:

19 Q Do you have any knowledge of any interest by  
20 Mr. Abramoff in preventing the Department of Justice from  
21 releasing a 2001 threat assessment relating to the  
22 Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands?

23 A Threat assessment. Do you know what "threat  
24 assessment" relates to?

25 Q The security threats in the islands.



1 A Oh, a Homeland Security threat assessment, no.

2 Q Do you have any knowledge regarding Jack Abramoff's  
3 interest in the administration's replacing Frederick Black,  
4 who was the interim U.S. Attorney for Guam?

5 A No, I don't.

6 Q There was a 2006 Inspector General report that was  
7 done by the Inspector General at the DOJ that noted that  
8 Leonard Rodriguez of the Office of Political Affairs at the  
9 White House was asked by Ken Mehlman to, quote, "reach out  
10 and make Abramoff aware of issues related to Guam."

11 Do you know why Mr. Mehlman tasked Mr. Rodriguez to  
12 communicate in this way with Jack Abramoff?

13 A No.

14 Q Were you ever instructed to reach out to  
15 Mr. Abramoff on any issues?

16 A No, I don't believe I ever reached out to  
17 Mr. Abramoff. I don't believe I ever -- I don't think I ever  
18 met him.

19 Q Let's turn to a different subject, the Choctaw  
20 Jail.

21 A Yes.

22 Q Do you have any knowledge about the decision to  
23 release \$16 million in funding for a jail for the Mississippi  
24 band of the Choctaw by the Department of Justice?

25 A I do. I guess my knowledge has been enlightened

1 because of the reports that you all have issued, so I'm aware  
2 of it most specifically through the reports that I've seen.

3 Q What knowledge do you have independent of our  
4 report?

5 A Independent of it, I recall the issue that the  
6 Choctaw were interested in -- I don't recall if it was in  
7 rehabilitating or in building a new facility, and the outcome  
8 of that -- it wasn't until I read the report that I either  
9 remembered or saw specifically what the outcome was.

10 Q How did you become aware that the Choctaw had an  
11 interest in this jail?

12 A I believe it was a meeting with Kevin Ring; and,  
13 again, I think that -- I am helped in that belief by the  
14 report that mentions a meeting with Mr. Ring.

15 Q And do you recall how that meeting came about?

16 A How the meeting came about? No, I don't remember  
17 how it came about. No.

18 Q Do you remember what was discussed at the meeting?

19 A Well, my recollection is the Choctaw Jail. That's  
20 not inconsistent with my memory in terms of that particular  
21 issue. So I believe that's a meeting that I had with  
22 Mr. Ring, and I believe that's a topic that came up. At  
23 least that's what I recall.

24 Q Do you remember the content of his comments to you  
25 in that meeting?

1           A     Yes.

2           Q     Could you elaborate on what you remember about the  
3 discussion?

4           A     Well, I suspect it was that he was supporting the  
5 requests from the Choctaw to receive financial resources to  
6 build or to rehabilitate this jail, but I don't remember the  
7 specific conversation.

8           Q     Do you remember who else was there?

9           A     No.

10          Q     You don't remember who else from the White House  
11 was there?

12          A     No.

13          Q     Do you recall whether there were any steps taken to  
14 follow up on this meeting?

15          A     I don't recall any specific steps to follow up on  
16 the meeting.

17          Q     Do you recall anything about what happened after  
18 this meeting on the issue of the Choctaw Jail?

19          A     No. Other than what I've read in the report, I  
20 don't remember anything related specifically to the follow-up  
21 of it.

22          Q     Do you recall whether there were any other subjects  
23 discussed at that meeting?

24          A     I don't recall other subjects being discussed at  
25 the meeting.

1 Q Do you remember any other meetings being held on  
2 the issue of the Choctaw Jail than the one you described with  
3 Kevin Ring?

4 A No.

5 Q Okay. Let's turn to a different subject, the  
6 Saginaw Chippewa School for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe.

7 Were you aware of efforts by Jack Abramoff or by any of  
8 his associates at Greenberg Traurig on behalf of the Saginaw  
9 Chippewa in 2002 to secure \$3 million for a school  
10 construction program?

11 A I'm not specifically aware of that.

12 Q Do you recall any efforts by White House officials  
13 to contact Appropriations Committee staff on this issue?

14 A No.

15 Ms. Amerling. I'm presenting the witness with a  
16 document that's an e-mail dated July 30th, 2002, from Neil  
17 Volz to Jack Abramoff and others.

18 Please take a minute to review it.

19 The Witness. Okay. I've reviewed it.

20 Ms. Amerling. Have you had a chance to review it?

21 The Witness. Yes.

22 BY MS. AMERLING:

23 Q Okay. This is a schedule. It is titled Sag-Chip  
24 Schedule, and it includes Wednesday. There's the notation of  
25 11:00 o'clock -- "Meet with Ruben Barrales and Jennifer

1 Farley."

2 It appears from the e-mail that the chief of the  
3 Saginaw-Chippewa would be at the meeting along with Todd  
4 Boulanger and the Greenberg Tribe. Do you remember anything  
5 about that meeting?

6 A I don't remember the meeting specifically.  
7 Do you recall the name of the chief or the chairman?

8 Ms. Laitin. Oh, not off the top of my head.

9 Ms. Amerling. We don't. We'll see if we can get that.  
10 The Witness. Okay. That might help me recall.

11 BY MS. AMERLING:

12 Q So you don't remember what subjects would have been  
13 discussed at that meeting?

14 A I don't recall the particular subjects, but --

15 Q Chris Petris is one of their representatives who  
16 may have been there.

17 A That does not ring a bell with me.

18 Ms. Amerling. Okay. Let's mark this as Exhibit 3 for  
19 the record.

20 [Barrales Exhibit No. 3

21 Was marked for identification.]

22 BY MS. AMERLING:

23 Q Were you aware of the interest with the Sandia  
24 Pueblo in protecting the mountain lands in New Mexico?

25 A I can't detail anything specifically, but, in

1 general, yes.

2 Q What do you recall about this issue?

3 A Well, as I recall, it is an issue that's not  
4 uncommon in Indian country, especially for the Pueblos,  
5 relating to the land around the reservations and Federal  
6 Government's ceding some of that land back to the  
7 reservations. I don't remember the specifics of that  
8 particular situation, but that would be my recollection.

9 Q How did you learn about that issue? How did you  
10 first learn about that issue?

11 A I don't recall.

12 Q Do you recall whether Jack Abramoff or his  
13 associates contacted you on this issue?

14 A No. I do think I need to say that, especially  
15 during that time frame, I didn't know there was such a thing  
16 as Jack Abramoff and his associates. I didn't know the  
17 connections between any of these people, some of whom I've  
18 never met, some of whom I may have met, but to answer your  
19 question directly, no.

20 Mr. Kimmett. Do you recall that list of people -- I  
21 think the question is meant to -- the list of those persons  
22 she spoke of earlier?

23 The Witness. Right.

24 Mr. Kimmett. If you want, I could write them down so  
25 you could have them with you.

1           Ms. Amerling. When I use the term "or his associates,"  
2 I'm referring to that list that I mentioned earlier.

3           The Witness. Okay.

4           Ms. Amerling. I'm presenting the witness with an e-mail  
5 dated July 17th, 2002. It is from Todd Boulanger, who is one  
6 of the associates of Mr. Abramoff's, to Kevin Ring, who is  
7 another of Mr. Abramoff's associates, and others.

8           Could you please take a minute to look at that e-mail?

9           The Witness. Yes. Okay.

10           BY MS. AMERLING:

11           Q     In this exchange, Kevin Ring reports that Jennifer  
12 Farley called a Senator's office, quote, "at our urging on  
13 the Sandia issue."

14           Does this e-mail refresh your recollection regarding the  
15 involvement of the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs on the  
16 Sandia matter?

17           A     The e-mail doesn't really help my recollection in  
18 terms of the specifics of the issue, but I assume it's an  
19 issue related to that particular Pueblo.

20           Q     Were you familiar with Jennifer Farley's contacts  
21 with any Senate offices on this issue?

22           A     I don't recall this interaction specifically, but  
23 it wouldn't be unusual, I think, for staff to reach out to  
24 the Hill necessarily --

25           Q     In this e-mail --

1           A     -- to gather information.

2           Q     In this e-mail, Kevin Ring reports, quote,  
3           "Jennifer is calling to tell the Senator's people that the  
4           President is planning to go to New Mexico for Wilson again  
5           and wants to know if the mountain issue will be completed by  
6           the time of the visit. Will be interesting to hear the  
7           response. Goal here is to show the New Mexico delegation  
8           that there is some interest from parties other than Pueblo."

9           Then Todd Boulanger responds. "Wow, that would be huge  
10          and a nice, sly way to get the project jump-started."

11          Do you think it would have been appropriate for Jennifer  
12          Farley to discuss this issue with a Senate office in the  
13          manner that is described in this e-mail?

14          Mr. Kimmett. Should it be necessary, I'm going to lodge  
15          an objection to that question. Because I think you're asking  
16          about an e-mail that he wasn't on and that he didn't receive  
17          that is characterizing someone's actions of who isn't even  
18          herself part of the e-mail. My main objection is you seem to  
19          have read two e-mails. I'm not sure what part you're asking  
20          about as being appropriate or not in Mr. Barrales' opinion.

21          Ms. Amerling. Let me rephrase the question.

22                   BY MS. AMERLING:

23          Q     The e-mail from Kevin Ring to Governor Stewart  
24          Paisano -- that's at the bottom of this chain -- reports that  
25          Jennifer Farley is calling to a Senate office to tell them,



1 quote, "the President is planning to go to New Mexico for  
2 [REDACTED] again and wants to know if the mountain issue will be  
3 completed by the time of the visit." Then it says, "Goal  
4 here is to show New Mexico delegation that there is some  
5 interest from parties other than Pueblo."

6 I understand this is Mr. Ring's characterization.

7 A Right.

8 Q I'm asking do you think -- assuming that  
9 characterization is accurate, is that an appropriate way  
10 for -- would that have been an appropriate way for Ms. Farley  
11 to contact the Senate?

12 A Well, I wouldn't assume that, so it makes it very  
13 difficult for me to answer that because that would be, I  
14 think, giving some credence to the particular e-mail. So it  
15 would be difficult for me to answer kind of a hypothetical or  
16 something that someone is characterizing. If your name were  
17 put in there in place of Jennifer Farley's, I think it would  
18 be hard to characterize just as much.

19 So this is a third party's saying this is what Jennifer  
20 Farley did and this is why she did it and this was the goal,  
21 but I don't know how accurate that is and the motives and the  
22 goal, so I would not want to comment on that. So maybe  
23 there's another way to ask the question or to get to it.

24 Q Are you aware of any other contacts by the staff of  
25 the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs -- Jennifer Farley or

1 others -- with Members of Congress on this topic?

2 A On this topic, not specifically. But I guess I can  
3 say this. I don't believe it would be inappropriate for a  
4 staff member to notify someone in a particular delegation  
5 where the President was going to go visit and get information  
6 related to what is the status of this -- I don't know what  
7 the project is here that's referred to, but -- and get a  
8 status of "is that likely to move," what is the status of  
9 that particular issue in that State, in this case in  
10 New Mexico, and to get it from someone on staff, in this case  
11 in the Senate, so that we can be better informed when the  
12 President goes to visit that particular State and there's a  
13 constituent, in this case, apparently the Pueblo, who would  
14 be interested in that.

15 So, in that regard -- maybe this answers the question --  
16 I don't think that would be inappropriate. I just hate to  
17 characterize this, because I don't know how accurate this  
18 characterization is of that particular situation or whether  
19 it specifically happened.

20 Q If the President were going somewhere for one  
21 purpose but it was communicated -- if your staff communicated  
22 to a Senate office the President were making that trip and  
23 suggested that the purpose of the trip was to take a  
24 particular position on a tribal matter, do you think that  
25 would be appropriate communication?

1           Mr. Kimmett. I guess that's a hypothetical question  
2 because that doesn't even seem to be, clearly, what is  
3 indicated here.

4           Ms. Amerling. It's a hypothetical question, yes.

5           BY MS. AMERLING:

6           Q     I'm wondering if you would answer it.

7           A     Hypothetically, if the President were traveling, we  
8 would want to -- as the President's staff, we would want to  
9 know what's happening in the jurisdiction that he was  
10 traveling in. We would want to know that.

11          Ms. Amerling. Let's mark this as Exhibit 4.

12                                   [Barrales Exhibit No. 4  
13                                   Was marked for identification.]

14          BY MS. AMERLING:

15          Q     Do you have any knowledge of a gaming compact for  
16 the Jena Tribe of the Choctaw that the Department of Interior  
17 was considering in 2002 and 2003?

18          A     Not specifically, but the Department of Interior --  
19 Bureau of Indian Affairs, I assume -- was constantly  
20 considering gaming compacts around the country. I don't  
21 recall in that time frame that particular gaming compact or  
22 the details of it.

23          Q     You do not recall any discussions in the  
24 White House about this compact?

25          A     No.

1           Ms. Amerling. I'm presenting the witness with an e-mail  
2           dated February 20th, 2002.

3           Please let me know when you have had a chance to look at  
4           it.

5           The Witness. Okay. Thank you.

6           Okay. I've reviewed it.

7           BY MS. AMERLING:

8           Q     Okay. This is an e-mail exchange between Todd  
9           Boulanger, who is an Abramoff associate, and Susan Ralston.  
10          It is dated February 20th, 2002. If you'll look at the first  
11          e-mail in the chain, which is really on the second page --

12          A     Yes.

13          Q     -- Boulanger asks Ms. Ralston regarding, quote,  
14          "the Department of Interior signing new Indian gaming  
15          compacts," and he says he has prepared a briefing book that  
16          he wants her to give to Rove.

17          I'm providing you with another e-mail exchange which has  
18          a date of the next day, February 21st, 2002. In this e-mail,  
19          Ralston thanks Boulanger for breakfast and lets him know that  
20          she showed the binder to K.R., who, quote, "gave it to  
21          Mehlman to read cover to cover."

22          This exchange occurred just a few weeks before the  
23          Department of Interior announced the decision to reject the  
24          gaming compact for the Jena. Were you aware that Jack  
25          Abramoff or any of his associates provided a briefing book to

1 the White House on this issue?

2 A No, I don't recall that. No.

3 Q Do you recall seeing such a briefing book?

4 A I do not recall seeing a briefing book like that.

5 Q Would it be unusual for someone in the White House  
6 to read a briefing book on the subject from a lobbyist?

7 Mr. Kimmett. Are you asking about his office or the  
8 White House? I'm just a little puzzled because neither of  
9 these e-mails seems to deal with him or with his office right  
10 now.

11 Ms. Amerling. Let me start with Mr. Barrales' knowledge  
12 of his own office.

13 BY MS. AMERLING:

14 Q Would that have been unusual in your office for  
15 somebody to get a briefing book on a subject from a lobbyist?

16 A I think we would get information in different  
17 configurations from, in our case, non-federally elected  
18 officials or their advocates.

19 As to a binder specifically, I couldn't say if that were  
20 unusual or not. It wouldn't be unusual for us to receive  
21 documents or information, printed information, from folks on  
22 a variety of different issues.

23 Q What about other White House officials? Would it  
24 have been unusual for them to receive briefing binders?

25 A I can't speak to what others may have received.

1           Q     Would Mr. Mehlman have talked to you about a  
2     subject like the Jena if he had received a briefing book from  
3     a lobbyist? Generally, would he have discussed this with  
4     you?

5           A     He may discuss something like that with me. I  
6     don't recall his discussing this particular issue with me.

7           Q     Do you recall that, in 2003, the Department of  
8     Interior approved the gaming compact for the Jena?

9           A     I know that through what I'm reading. I'm  
10    assuming, at the time, I was aware of it as well.

11          Q     You don't have an independent recollection of it?

12          A     The time frame -- when was it, 2003?

13          Q     They approved it in 2003.

14          A     Yes.

15          Q     In 2002, they had decided not to approve it. So  
16    they changed their position in 2003.

17          A     I'm assuming I would have been made aware of that.  
18    I would have been informed about that, but I don't recall  
19    that specifically.

20          Q     You don't recall why they made a decision to change  
21    their position?

22          A     No, I don't.

23                Ms. Amerling. Let's mark these two e-mails for the  
24    record. We'll mark the February 20th, 2002, as Exhibit 5 and  
25    the February 21st, 2002, e-mail as Exhibit 6.

1 [Barrales Exhibits No. 5 and 6  
2 Were marked for identification.]

3 Ms. Amerling. I'm presenting the witness with another  
4 e-mail. This one is dated February 6, 2003. It is an e-mail  
5 exchange between Jack Abramoff and Susan Ralston.

6 Please take a minute to review it.

7 The Witness. I've reviewed it.

8 BY MS. AMERLING:

9 Q Do you have any recollection of seeing this e-mail  
10 or seeing an e-mail similar to this?

11 A I may have seen this, but I think I've seen it in  
12 the reports from the committee, I believe, or a reference to  
13 it in the committee report, I think.

14 Q Let me show you an additional e-mail that may  
15 refresh your recollection to this. It's an e-mail exchange  
16 between Kevin Ring and Jack Abramoff, dated February 7th,  
17 2003. This is just one day after the e-mail I previously  
18 gave you; and in this exchange, which has a subject line  
19 e-mail on Jena, Ring says, "Your e-mail to Susan was  
20 forwarded to Ruben Barrales and on to Jen Farley, who read it  
21 to me last night. I don't know what to think about this, but  
22 she said it is better to not put this stuff in writing in  
23 their e-mail system because it might actually limit what they  
24 can do to help us."

25 Does this refresh your memory about the previous e-mail?

1           A     It doesn't refresh my memory about the previous  
2 e-mail, but I do remember reading this one as well in the  
3 report, in the committee report.

4           Q     Do you know why Jennifer Farley might have wanted  
5 to keep this e-mail out of the White House system?

6           A     No.

7           Mr. Kimmett. Counsel, I don't know if you are able  
8 to -- I'm just trying to understand the foundation that the  
9 e-mail referred to in the second exhibit that you handed him  
10 and the foundation of the e-mail in the first one. They  
11 don't seem to have the same subject lines.

12          Ms. Amerling. The e-mail in the first exhibit includes  
13 a discussion. It's an e-mail to Susan Ralston at the  
14 White House from Jack Abramoff --

15          Mr. Kimmett. Right.

16          Ms. Amerling. -- which discusses the Jena Tribe and a  
17 gaming compact for that tribe.

18          Then the very next day Jack Abramoff talks to his  
19 associate about his e-mail on the Jena, about the e-mail he  
20 sent to Susan on the Jena, and he says it was forwarded to  
21 Ruben Barrales. That's the connection.

22          Mr. Kimmett. I guess I thought my client testified he  
23 had not seen the first e-mail.

24          Ms. Amerling. That's right.

25          Mr. Kimmett. Okay.



1           Ms. Amerling. There is a second e-mail the next day  
2 that appears to refer to the first e-mail, and we are showing  
3 it to him to see if that may refresh his recollection  
4 further.

5           Mr. Kimmett. Okay. I understand.

6           BY MS. AMERLING:

7           Q     Now, Mr. Abramoff responds to Kevin Ring in the  
8 second e-mail. He says, "It was sent to Susan on her RNC  
9 pager, and it was not supposed to go into the White House  
10 system." Do you know why Mr. Abramoff --

11          Mr. Ausbrook. I'm sorry.

12          Ms. Amerling. I'll just note for the record that Keith  
13 Ausbrook, Republican general counsel, has joined us.

14          Mr. Ausbrook. Thank you.

15          BY MS. AMERLING:

16          Q     Mr. Abramoff's response was, "It was sent to Susan  
17 on her RNC pager, and it was not supposed to go into the  
18 White House system."

19                Do you know why he, Mr. Abramoff, would have  
20 intentionally sent an e-mail to a nongovernmental account of  
21 a White House official?

22          A     No.

23          Q     Were you aware of anyone at the White House  
24 instructing Mr. Abramoff or any of his associates to send  
25 e-mails to nongovernmental accounts?

1           A     No, I was not aware that people were instructing  
2     him to do that.

3           Q     In the next e-mail of this same chain that's in  
4     front of you, Kevin Ring notes "Maybe she sent it to Ruben  
5     and others on their RNC addresses, too."

6           Did you have an RNC address?

7           A     No.

8           Q     Would you have received official e-mails on a  
9     nongovernmental account?

10          A     No. I think all of my e-mails would have been on  
11     my official account. I didn't have an RNC or a campaign  
12     account.

13          Ms. Amerling. Okay. Let's mark those two e-mails for  
14     the record. The February 7th, 2003, e-mail we'll mark as  
15     Exhibit 7; and the February 6th we'll mark as Exhibit 8.

16                                 [Barrales Exhibits No. 7 and 8  
17                                 Were marked for identification.]

18                                 BY MS. AMERLING:

19          Q     I would like to ask you about a couple of other  
20     meetings. I'm presenting the witness with a document  
21     entitled Schedule for Hopi Chairman Wayne Taylor, February 20  
22     through 28, 2002. If you'll look at the entries under  
23     Thursday, February 21st, it notes a 10:00 a.m. meeting with  
24     you and Jennifer Farley in the Old Executive Office Building.  
25     Do you recall this meeting?

1           A     I recall meeting Chairman Wayne Taylor. I assume  
2           it was at this meeting, but I don't remember the meeting  
3           itself, specifically.

4           Q     You don't remember anything about the content of  
5           the discussions at that meeting?

6           A     No.

7           Q     Do you recall how the meeting got arranged?

8           A     The details of the arrangement of the meeting I  
9           don't recall.

10          Ms. Amerling. Let's mark that as Exhibit 9.

11                               [Barrales Exhibit No. 9

12                               Was marked for identification.]

13          Ms. Amerling. I'm presenting the witness with an e-mail  
14          exchange dated December 12th, 2002.

15          Mr. Castor. Kristin, it's been an hour. Do you want to  
16          see if Ruben wants a break?

17          Ms. Amerling. If you'll permit, let's finish the  
18          questions on this exhibit; and then, if you would like, we  
19          can take a break.

20          The Witness. Sure, that's fine.

21          Ms. Amerling. Okay. This is an e-mail exchange between  
22          several different Greenberg tribal lobbyists. Do you want to  
23          take a minute to review it?

24          The Witness. Yes, thank you.

25          Okay. I've seen it.

1 BY MS. AMERLING:

2 Q Okay. This e-mail, as you have seen, mentions a  
3 lunch on December 12th, 2002 --

4 A Yes.

5 Q -- that you were having with the chairman of the  
6 Agua Caliente Tribe. Do you remember this meeting?

7 A I do remember hosting Chairman Milanovich at the  
8 White House mess.

9 Q Do you recall what was discussed during this lunch?

10 A As I recall, it was mainly social.

11 Q Do you recall who else attended? Did anyone else  
12 attend?

13 A I believe Chairman Milanovich's wife also attended  
14 the lunch.

15 Q Did any of Jack Abramoff's associates or did  
16 Mr. Abramoff?

17 A Again, I don't believe I ever met Mr. Abramoff. At  
18 least I don't recall ever meeting him, and I don't think any  
19 of these people on this list -- I can't imagine that any of  
20 them were a part of that as well.

21 Q Do you recall how the meeting got arranged?

22 A Do I recall how the meeting got arranged? I don't  
23 remember the specifics of how it was arranged, no, but I  
24 would host many people at the mess. It was something I would  
25 try to do for folks, especially folks from out of town, if I

1           could accommodate them in bringing them to the White House  
2           mess.

3           Ms. Amerling.   Okay.   Well, we've reached the end of the  
4           first hour, which means my first round is over, and we could  
5           either take a break, if you would like, or we could go right  
6           into questions by minority counsel.   It's up to you.

7           Mr. Kimmett.   It's good to take just 5 minutes.   It  
8           gives your counsel a chance to use the restroom.

9           Ms. Amerling.   Let's go off the record.

10          [Recess.]

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1 RPTS MERCHANT

2 DCMN ROSEN

3 Mr. Ausbrook. Let me introduce myself. I am Keith  
4 Ausbrook. I am general counsel for the chief Republicans on  
5 the committee.

6 Ms. Amerling. Before you start let me mark for the  
7 record the last exhibit we were discussing. We'll mark it as  
8 Exhibit 10, an e-mail dated December 12, 2002.

9 [Barrales Exhibit No. 10  
10 was marked for identification.]

11 Mr. Ausbrook. Mr. Barrales, thank you for coming and  
12 answering questions. Mr. Castor from our staff is going to  
13 ask a few questions before the majority resumes their  
14 questioning.

15 BY MR. CASTOR:

16 Q Mr. Barrales, you testified earlier that the Office  
17 of Intergovernmental Affairs served as a liaison to all  
18 nonFederal elected officials, is that correct?

19 A Yes.

20 Q And you listed -- you went through a fairly sizable  
21 list that included governors, mayors, city councils, State  
22 legislators. Could you expand on that list of the various  
23 types of entities that your office served as liaison to?

24 A Yes, I can. We at the Office of Intergovernmental  
25 Affairs would interface with, again, all nonfederal elected

1 officials. So those individuals who were governors or  
2 statewide elected officials, for example, lieutenant  
3 governors or State treasurers or State attorney generals, for  
4 example, with legislators, so legislative leaders,  
5 legislators from different States, capitals obviously. Also  
6 with municipal elected officials, mayors and city council  
7 members, with elected members of boards of supervisors or  
8 county commissioners throughout the country, and other  
9 municipal elected officials.

10 Also, with the elected leadership Indian country tribal  
11 chairman and the like. And with the elected officials in the  
12 territories as well. And it was for a relatively small  
13 staff. We were very busy, as you might imagine, having many,  
14 many meetings with those elected officials during the time  
15 that I was there.

16 Q In a typical week, how many meetings would you have  
17 with these types of officials, face-to-face?

18 A I would have many meetings. I think at one point I  
19 calculated realistically probably 30 to 40 or more meetings a  
20 week with folks from around the country who were these  
21 elected officials.

22 Q And how about telephone conversations?

23 A Right. Many telephone conversations daily. Again,  
24 our function was to make sure that these nonfederal elected  
25 officials were aware of the policies of the administration in

1 the White House. And also to receive from them issues that  
2 were important to them so that we would be aware and can make  
3 others aware of issues that were of importance to these  
4 particular officials.

5 Q And is it fair to say when you described nonfederal  
6 elected officials that you would also meet with their  
7 appointed representatives and speak with them on the phone?

8 A Yes. For example, the U.S. Conference of Mayors is  
9 an organization that represents the mayors throughout, many  
10 of the mayors throughout the United States. There are many  
11 organizations, and we would meet with their representatives,  
12 their lobbyists. Also many jurisdictions would then also  
13 hire advocates or lobbyists in Washington, D.C. and many of  
14 them would reach out to us. And sometimes we would reach out  
15 to them if there was information we were interested in  
16 getting to better inform the administration at the White  
17 House.

18 Q So is it fair to say if a particular city was  
19 interested in executive branch policy and they wanted to  
20 communicate their interests to the White House, is your  
21 office the place to go to communicate those concerns and  
22 interests?

23 A Yes, it would be. But obviously we wouldn't be  
24 exclusive in that regard. Anyone could call the White House  
25 switchboard, I guess, and get through to other folks. But we



1 would be that primary liaison with those Federal nonelected  
2 officials and issues that affected them.

3 Q You were at the White House from 2001 to 2006?

4 A Yes.

5 Q So that is about 7 years, is that fair to say?

6 A 6 years. Just under 6 years.

7 Q Okay, 6 years. So during the course of those  
8 6 years, you probably had a lot of meetings and a lot of  
9 telephone conversations?

10 A Yes. Very many.

11 Q So today when we were asking you about events that  
12 happened in 2001 and 2002, is it fair to say that it is hard  
13 for you to recall a lot of details of a lot of those  
14 meetings?

15 A Yes, it is. I had many meetings daily, many phone  
16 calls every day, many, many e-mails every day. And I did my  
17 best to keep on top of all of them. So it's fair to say that  
18 I can't recall the details of all of them.

19 Q Now, you testified that you don't recall meeting  
20 Mr. Abramoff while you were a -- before he became in the  
21 news, is that fair to say?

22 A Yes. I don't recall him.

23 Q And since Mr. Abramoff became newsworthy, a number  
24 of his associates also have popped up in the news.  
25 Specifically Neil Volz, Tony Rudy. Do you have a

1 recollection of ever meeting those individuals, specifically  
2 Mr. Volz or Mr. Rudy?

3 Mr. Kimmett. I know you are looking at this list, but  
4 he is asking about two in particular.

5 The Witness. Yeah, right, right. I don't recall  
6 specifically meeting with either of the two of them. Their  
7 names are familiar. It could possibly fall in the category  
8 of people that I have met, but I don't even know their names  
9 or don't recall their names. But I don't recall any specific  
10 meetings with either of those gentlemen?

11 BY MR. CASTOR:

12 Q The types of communications that Mr. Abramoff and  
13 his associates have had with your office, for example, these  
14 e-mails that we have looked through this morning, do you see  
15 anything unusual in these types of purported contacts with  
16 the White House for a duly-appointed representative of an  
17 Indian tribe or commonwealth insular territory?

18 A I am not sure I understand. Do I see anything  
19 unusual.

20 Q Well, we are looking at some e-mails representative  
21 of Indian tribes in insular territories.

22 A It is not unusual for us to receive e-mail  
23 contacts, information from folks who represent Indian tribes  
24 and again other officials around the country.

25 Q And these e-mails appear to show that the

1 representatives of some of the Indian tribes in insular  
2 territories were reaching out to the White House, perhaps  
3 people in your office, to communicate. That wouldn't be  
4 unusual, would it?

5 A Oh, no. I mean, the advocates for, again, from the  
6 mayors to the legislators to the Indian tribal-elected  
7 officials would constantly communicate with us on a variety  
8 of issues. Many of those issues, obviously related to  
9 Federal funding of particular projects or issues. And then  
10 there were the policy issues. So a wide variety. But that  
11 was the large bulk of the communication that we had from  
12 those entities. For example, a particular mayor might  
13 request funding from a particular department. Or come to  
14 Washington, meet with us and then assume other folks within  
15 Washington in the legislature and the administration in  
16 trying to get a favorable outcome related to a Federal  
17 policy.

18 Q So if a large entity such as the Mississippi Band  
19 of Choctaw, which is a large entity in the State of  
20 Mississippi. I believe the second largest nonstate employer  
21 down in Mississippi. If they were to hire a representative,  
22 would it make sense that they would try to interface with  
23 your office?

24 A Yeah, I think so yes.

25 Mr. Castor. That is all my questions that I have.

1 BY MS. AMERLING:

2 Q Minority counsel was just asking about questions  
3 today and whether or not they were unusual. One of the ones  
4 we looked at was the February 7, 2003 e-mail where Kevin Ring  
5 says that an e-mail they had sent to Susan had been forwarded  
6 to Ruben Barrales and on to Jen Farley, and that Jen Farley  
7 said it is better not to put this stuff in writing in their  
8 e-mail system because it might actually limit what they can  
9 do to help us, especially since there could be lawsuits.  
10 Does this e-mail strike you as an unusual e-mail?

11 Mr. Kimmett. Counsel, I am going to object because this  
12 is an e-mail about an e-mail that may have been sent. I  
13 don't know if you are characterizing this as an e-mail that  
14 Mr. Barrales received, but what you just quoted from isn't  
15 something he received.

16 Ms. Amerling. Well, we were talking a little bit  
17 earlier about whether the e-mails that we referred to were  
18 usual or not unusual. Let me rephrase this.

19 BY MS. AMERLING:

20 Q You mentioned a few times that you read our  
21 bipartisan --

22 A I have read some of the report. Sorry for  
23 interrupting.

24 Q -- report. And that report from September 2006,  
25 the staff report that our committee did on the Abramoff

1 matter, includes a decision of the e-mail I was just  
2 referencing where it says Jennifer Farley says it is better  
3 not to put this stuff in writing in their e-mail system  
4 because it might actually limit what they can do to help us,  
5 especially since there could be lawsuits. When you read our  
6 report, were you concerned when you read that  
7 characterization of what Jennifer Farley had purportedly  
8 said?

9 A Well, she purportedly said it, so I am not sure if  
10 it is accurate.

11 Q Did it cause you concern that it was reported that  
12 she said that?

13 A I think it might be -- I am not sure how accurate  
14 the e-mail is. But it's fair to say that these issues  
15 related to, if I understand correctly, a decision that would  
16 be made at DOI, Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian  
17 Affairs. There were many issues that we as a White House  
18 staff, as intergovernmental affairs staff, would, in essence,  
19 allow them to make without our interference.

20 Mr. Kimmett. Who do you mean by "them"?

21 The Witness. The Department of Interior. And partly  
22 because of the legal implications. There might be lawsuits  
23 obviously related to decisions made for or against, say a  
24 tribe's application or issues related to Compact. So in that  
25 regard that would be a concern. We don't want to be involved

1 in influencing those decisions.

2 BY MS. AMERLING:

3 Q So asking somebody to communicate over  
4 nongovernmental e-mail is an appropriate way to address that  
5 concern?

6 A Well, I don't know that that was actually done.  
7 That is my concern about the questions related to this. I  
8 don't know if this is accurate, so I don't want to accuse  
9 someone of doing something if I am not sure that they've done  
10 it or not.

11 Q When you read the report, did you follow up with  
12 Jennifer Farley to ask about that issue?

13 A That specific issue, no, I don't believe I did.

14 Q Let's turn to a different subject. Do you recall  
15 any meetings at the White House that involved State  
16 legislators, tribal representatives, representatives of the  
17 group Americans for Tax Reform?

18 A I'm sorry, could you repeat the question?

19 Q Do you recall any meetings held at the White House  
20 that included tribal representatives, State legislators and  
21 representatives of Americans for Tax Reform?

22 A Yes.

23 Q How many such meetings do you recall?

24 A I recall three or four meetings I believe that were  
25 held. And I think to characterize them as meetings probably

1           isn't accurate. They are more like events, I think would be  
2           a good description.

3           Q     And did the President attend all of these events?

4           A     I can think of three that I believe he did attend,  
5           yes.

6           Q     And what was the purpose of these events?

7           A     Like many events at the White House, it was to  
8           bring in, in our case, nonFederal elected officials to come  
9           in and to highlight areas where we might have agreement,  
10          highlight areas that the administration was pursuing, areas  
11          of interest that we were pursuing.

12          Q     And were you involved in arranging these meetings?

13          A     My staff was. We were involved in arranging those  
14          meetings.

15          Q     Did they have any interaction with Americans for  
16          Tax Reform in arranging those meetings?

17          A     I believe so. I think the Americans for Tax Reform  
18          was the lead group that assembled the legislators or  
19          identified the legislators. And in this case, tribal leaders  
20          who were part of those events.

21          Q     And are you aware of any solicitation of funds from  
22          tribes for Americans for Tax Reform in connection with these  
23          events?

24          A     No, not independent of the report, that I have seen  
25          in the report. I was not aware of any, no.

1 Q I am showing the witness an e-mail exchange between  
2 Jack Abramoff and Susan Ralston and Todd Boulanger is also on  
3 this chain. It is dated February 12 and February 11, 2002.  
4 Please take a minute to read it.

5 A Okay I have read it.

6 Q This e-mail exchange, Todd Boulanger says, "Rove is  
7 trying to put together some sort of Indian submit, and  
8 suggests trying to get the submit held at 'Saginaw.'" Do you  
9 have any knowledge about whether such a submit took place?

10 A I don't believe that such a submit took place.

11 [Barrales Exhibit No. 11

12 was marked for identification.]

13 BY MS. AMERLING:

14 Q Okay let's mark this e-mail as Exhibit 11.

15 Do you recall receiving any ethics briefings regarding  
16 communications with lobbyists while you were at the White  
17 House?

18 A I received many ethics briefings. And I do recall  
19 questions about lobbyists coming up in ethics briefings. And  
20 counsel's office provided us information regarding lobbyists  
21 as a component of other ethics issues that we dealt with.

22 Q And what information do you recall being provided?

23 Mr. Kimmett. On all the issues or the lobbyists issues?

24 Ms. Amerling. On the issues related to lobbyists.

25 The Witness. Well, again, reading the report, I recall



1        what was mentioned there. But I do remember a discussion or  
2        maybe discussions regarding lobbyists. And I guess the  
3        preference of counsel, particular counsel, to not have  
4        lobbyists involved in meetings that we held with officials.

5                    BY MS. AMERLING:

6            Q        Was that a preference counsel expressed from the  
7        beginning of your time at the White House, or was that  
8        preference expressed at some particular juncture when you  
9        were there?

10          A        Well, it wasn't at the very beginning. I don't  
11        recall when that particular issue came up or when that was  
12        made. I don't recall a date.

13          Q        And why did counsel have that preference, what was  
14        the rationale given for that?

15          A        I think like with many of these issues, we would  
16        often go to counsel on different questions that would come  
17        up. You know, can we go to this event, can we not go to that  
18        event. You know, can we do certain things. And so we would  
19        go to counsel and ask, you know, is this okay or is this not  
20        okay. And so I think it was out of the context of that we  
21        thought let's have an ethics briefing. I am not sure how,  
22        the mechanics of how the ethics briefing itself came  
23        together. But it was something that we would interface with  
24        counsel's office fairly regularly.

25          Q        Meaning you would have calls with counsel's office

1 on individual subjects that came up?

2 A Yes, yes. And then briefings as well. I think  
3 some of the briefings were just scheduled. Normally, I think  
4 it was a schedule counsel's office had in terms of updating  
5 different offices in the White House about ethics issues.

6 Q I am showing the witness an e-mail exchange dated  
7 March 1, 2003. Please take a minute to review it.

8 A Okay.

9 Q Now, this is an exchange that included Kevin Ring,  
10 who writes -- he is reporting on a recent ethics briefing  
11 provided to the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs.  
12 According to Kevin Ring's e-mail the staff was informed,  
13 quote, they should never call lobbyists anymore, will call  
14 tribes directly, and will never have lobbyists sit in  
15 meetings. Do you recall this briefing around February 2003?

16 A I don't recall specifically when it happened or the  
17 specific briefing, but yes I do recall conversations with  
18 counsel along these lines.

19 Q And was Mr. Ring's characterization of it accurate?

20 Mr. Kimmett. I just want to be careful there is a part  
21 where Mr. Ring says this is ridiculous.

22 Ms. Amerling. I understand. Let me read you the  
23 sentence I am referring to.

24 Mr. Kimmett. Right.

25 BY MS. AMERLING:

1           Q     The White House staff was apparently informed that,  
2     "they should never call lobbyists anymore, will call tribes  
3     directly, and will never have lobbyists sit in on meetings."  
4     Was that characterization accurate?

5           A     Well, I don't think the word "never" was  
6     capitalized. I think it was a suggestion basically that we  
7     should be dealing as much as possible directly with even not  
8     just tribes, but directly with nonFederal elected officials  
9     as much as possible.

10          Q     And do you recall what prompted that briefing?

11          A     Probably foresight on the sight of counsel.

12          Q     Was there any discussion of specific lobbyists at  
13     that briefing?

14          A     No. I don't recall -- to the best of my knowledge,  
15     it wasn't based on any particular lobbyist or any particular  
16     issue, situation that prompted this and said, oh, well, now.  
17     I think it was, again, counsel providing us with the best  
18     advice that they could.

19          Q     In this e-mail, the lobbyists talk about making  
20     contacts with people in the White House to talk to them about  
21     this briefing. Are you aware of any contacts between  
22     Mr. Ring and Susan Ralston or between any of Mr. Abramoff's  
23     associates and White House officials about this ethics  
24     briefing?

25          A     No, I am not aware of anything that they did

1 related to this.

2 Q Do you know whether -- did you or your staff meet  
3 with lobbyists after this briefing?

4 A Yes, we did. And mainly because we discovered it  
5 was very impractical not to. Again, as I mentioned before,  
6 nonFederal elected officials from governors to mayors to  
7 tribal leaders, many, many of them employ lobbyists. And as  
8 much as we worked to deal directly with the officials, they,  
9 many times, delegated or insisted that we deal with their  
10 advocates in town in Washington, D.C.

11 So it became very difficult to do business without  
12 working with lobbyists who represented these constituents of  
13 us which were these elected officials.

14 Q Did White House counsel express any concern about  
15 the continuation of that practice subsequent to those  
16 instructions?

17 A I don't recall any specific concern that was  
18 expressed. Again, I think it was advisory and an attempt to  
19 help us do what we wanted to do, which was dealing directly  
20 with these officials. It is an interesting thing that I  
21 found in Washington. We were delighted to work with  
22 officials directly. And, again, found it logistically  
23 difficult. If an elected official was coming from out of  
24 town and they had somebody in town, they often, again, would  
25 delegate those responsibilities to that person for arranging

1 meetings or those kinds of things.

2 Q Let's mark this e-mail as Exhibit 12.

3 [Barrales Exhibit No. 12  
4 was marked for identification.]

5 BY MS. AMERLING:

6 Q Do you know who Alan Stayman is?

7 A Alan Stayman. The name is familiar. Should I know  
8 who Alan Stayman is?

9 Q Do you have any knowledge regarding his removal  
10 from his position at the Department of State in 2001? He was  
11 then in chief negotiator for Compact of Free Association on  
12 Marshall Island and Federated States of Micronesia?

13 A No, I don't recall him.

14 Q Do you have any knowledge regarding the  
15 consideration of Angelo Williams as a candidate for the  
16 Office of Insular Affairs in the Department of Interior?

17 A I don't have any specific knowledge regarding that.  
18 no.

19 Q Any knowledge?

20 A I don't have any nonspecific knowledge of that.

21 Q Do you have any knowledge regarding the appointment  
22 of Juan Carlos Benitez to be special counsel for immigration  
23 related unfair employment practices at DOJ?

24 A I do know Juan Carlos Benitez. I don't have any  
25 specific knowledge about that process or consideration for

1 that particular position. Or I should say I don't have any  
2 particular recollection of that. Juan Carlos I think was, I  
3 think he had been nominated for a couple of different  
4 positions, I believe, assuming that is one of them.

5 Q Do you remember when you first heard his name?

6 A No I don't remember when I first heard his name.

7 Q Do you know of any occasions in which White House  
8 officials received tickets or other items of value from Jack  
9 Abramoff or any of his associates? Again, I am referring to  
10 the list of associates I gave you?

11 A I don't have any specific knowledge of White House  
12 officials receiving gifts -- what was the question?

13 Q Tickets or other items of value?

14 A Yes, from these individuals. I don't recall.

15 Q I am showing the witness an e-mail exchange dated  
16 July 17, 2002. Please take a minute to review it.

17 [REDACTED] reviewed it.

18 Q This is an e-mail between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
19 Bozniak. And he authorizes, Jack Abramoff authorizes Ms.  
20 Bozniak to purchase four tickets to an Orioles game for Kevin  
21 Ring's, quote, White House contact, Jennifer Farley. Does  
22 this refresh your recollection of any instances you may  
23 remember when staff in the Office of Intergovernmental  
24 Affairs may have received items of value from Jack Abramoff  
25 or his associates?



1 BY MS. AMERLING:

2 Q I am showing the witness an e-mail exchange between  
3 Jack Abramoff and Susan Ralston. The subject line is Rove  
4 staff post-holiday party. Why don't you take a minute to  
5 review it. Did you review it?

6 A Yes.

7 Q As you can see in this e-mail, Susan Ralston  
8 indicates an interest in holding a post-holiday party of  
9 Rove's staff at Signatures restaurant?

10 A Yes.

11 Q It looks like January of 2004. Do you know if this  
12 party took place?

13 A I believe it did.

14 Q Did you attend?

15 A If it is the party that I am thinking of, yes.

16 Q And what do you remember about the party you were  
17 thinking of? First of all, what approximate time of year  
18 when it occurred?

19 A I don't recall, but I am assuming it was in this  
20 time frame. But I don't recall exactly, but I assume it was  
21 in this time frame. I don't have the date.

22 Q But in the holiday of 2003 going into January 2004,  
23 that sounds right to you, that time frame?

24 A Yeah. I don't even recall the year, but that could  
25 be correct, yes.



1 Q Do you recall who else attended?

2 A Not specifically, but it was -- let me think if I  
3 can recall who attended. A number of individuals from the  
4 White House, Intergovernmental Affairs Office, and most  
5 likely from the Political Affairs Office. Although I can't  
6 say specifically. I don't remember exactly who all was  
7 there.

8 Q Did Mr. Rove attend?

9 A At that party I am thinking of he did attend.

10 Q Did Mr. Mellen attend?

11 A I don't recall if Mr. Mellen was there. I don't  
12 recall specifically if he was there.

13 Q Do you recall approximately how many people were  
14 there. Was it dozens or hundreds or fewer than 10?

15 A No, I don't recall how many people were there. I  
16 believe it was more than 10, I don't know the number. I  
17 wouldn't want to state a number because I don't know how many  
18 people were there.

19 Q Do you recall whether you paid for food or drink  
20 that you received at this party?

21 A I don't recall if I did. I don't believe we paid,  
22 say, at the door. I am not sure if we paid for drinks.

23 Mr. Kimmett. It did ask about a cash bar in there.

24 The Witness. Yeah. I don't remember if there was a  
25 cash bar in there or not. But I don't think people were

1 charged walking in the door for this particular event that I  
2 am thinking of.

3 BY MS. AMERLING:

4 Q Was food served?

5 A At the event I am thinking of, yes.

6 Q And were there beverages available as well?

7 A There were, yeah. I just don't recall if it was a  
8 cash bar or not.

9 Q Do you recall ever receiving any items of value  
10 yourself from Mr. Abramoff or any of his associates?

11 A No.

12 Q Did you ever eat at Signatures, Mr. Abramoff's  
13 restaurant?

14 A Well, the party I am thinking of, I think was at  
15 Signatures, so I think it was this one.

16 Q Other than that party?

17 A Other than that, quite frankly, I am not sure that  
18 I have. I may have. Again, at the time I was not conscious  
19 of Mr. Abramoff and, as I understand, his ownership of  
20 Signatures and all that. So it did not leave an impression  
21 on me. I think I have eaten there, but I don't recall when.  
22 And I would have paid for my meal, most likely a lunch or  
23 something like that.

24 Q And do you recall whether other White House  
25 officials ate at Signatures?

1           A     No I don't know.

2           Q     Let me just go back to a discussion we had a little  
3 earlier in this deposition. We were talking about the fact  
4 that you read our September 2006 report --

5           A     Yeah I have read most of the report.

6           Mr. Kimmett. Let her finish the question.

7           The Witness. Sorry.

8                     BY MS. AMERLING:

9           Q     And you mentioned you don't think that you followed  
10 up with Jennifer Farley about this specific issue that I  
11 pointed out about sending an e-mail to a nongovernmental  
12 employee. Did you follow up with her on any other issues in  
13 the report?

14          A     Well, let me remind you that she was no longer at  
15 the White House at the time when the report came out. I  
16 don't recall specific conversations with her regarding this.  
17 There may have been some reference to it, but I don't recall  
18 any specific reference to, say, particular issues in the  
19 report between myself and Jennifer Farley.

20          Q     Do you recall following up with any other White  
21 House officials, current or former, and discussing the report  
22 that this committee did on Jack Abramoff?

23          A     I don't recall any particular specific conversation  
24 related to the report. No, I don't recall any specific  
25 conversation related to the report.

1           Ms. Amerling. Let's mark the e-mail we were last  
2 discussing as Exhibit 14.

3                               [Barrales Exhibit No. 14  
4                               was marked for identification.]

5           BY MS. AMERLING:

6           Q     I have one question. I think it is my last. You  
7 said you didn't, when you read the report from last  
8 September, you don't recall discussing specifically the  
9 report with any current or former White House officials. Did  
10 you follow up and discuss any issues relating to lobbying  
11 generally, or Mr. Abramoff, with anyone once you read that  
12 report, with any White House official?

13          A     Do you have any particular White House officials in  
14 mind.

15          Q     I am asking if you talked with anyone, current or  
16 former that you recall?

17          A     I don't recall having -- I don't recall any  
18 specific conversation with anyone -- you know, with folks in  
19 the White House regarding the report after I read the report.  
20 No particular conversation comes to mind.

21          Ms. Amerling. Okay. I don't have any further questions  
22 in this round.

23          Mr. Ausbrook. I don't have anything more.

24          Ms. Amerling. Okay. Well, thank you very much for  
25 coming in?

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The Witness. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

Certificate of Interviewee

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I have read the foregoing \_\_\_\_ pages, which contain the correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded.

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Witness Name

**ERRATA SHEET**  
**FOR DEPOSITION OF RUBEN BARRALES**

<b><u>PAGE</u></b>	<b><u>LINE</u></b>	<b><u>CORRECTION</u></b>
3	12	Remove "the" after "for." Change noted by Committee staff.
21	4	Change "and the Greenberg Tribe" to "from Greenberg Traurig." Change noted by Committee staff.
21	15	Change "Petris" to "Petras." Change noted by Committee staff.
35	22	Change "tribal" to "Traurig." Change noted by Committee staff.
38	4	Remove "chief" before "Republicans." Change noted by Committee staff.
42	10	Change the question mark "?" to a period "." Change noted by the witness.
43	1	Change "in" to "and." Change noted by the witness.
43	14	Change "assume" to "some." Change noted by the witness.
45	1	Change "decision" to "discussion." Change noted by Committee staff.
48	7-10	Change "submit" to "summit." Change noted by Committee staff.
51	11	Change "sight" to "part." Change noted by the witness.
52	13	Change "us" to "ours." Change noted by the witness.
53	6-8	Change "Alan" to "Allen." Changes noted by Committee staff.
53	11-12	Change "Compact of Free Association on Marshall Island" to "the compacts of free association regarding the Marshall Islands." Change noted by Committee staff.
53	15	Change "Angelo" to "Angela." Change noted by Committee staff.
55	9	Change the question mark "?" to a period "." Change noted by the witness.
55	20	Change the period "." to a question mark "?". Change noted by the witness.

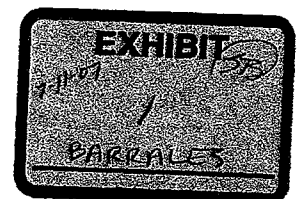
- 57 10-11 Change "Mellen" to Mehlman." Change noted by Committee staff.
- 60 25 Change the question mark "?" to a period "." Change noted by Committee staff.



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**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 30, 2001 4:58 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov);  
Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Wilson, Padgett (AstDir-DC-Gov); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-  
Legis)  
**Subject:** CNMI – White House intergovernmental affairs

I am meeting with intergovt'l affairs director Ruben Barrales next Tuesday at 3PM.



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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 24, 2001 6:02 PM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: White House Intergovernmental Affairs

Super. He should have met Ben Fitial during the ATR event with the President.

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 24, 2001 6:10 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** White House Intergovernmental Affairs

Thanks to Susan Raiston, I will soon have a meeting with Ruben Borales (sp?) who is head of intergovernmental affairs at the White House to discuss CNMI and the DOJ letter and Admin view.



---

**From:** Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 30, 2002 1:07 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Crisler, Linsey C. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm); Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Cc:** Litwack, Maury (Intern-DC-Gov); Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** Updated SagChip schedule ( added lunch for tomorrow )

I will give updated schedule to Chris, Chief and their driver ( anyone else ) when I see them this afternoon on the Hill. Please let me know if I need to do anything else, or if the schedule needs to be changed, etc. Thanks.

#### Sag-Chip Schedule

##### Tuesday

Arrival - 1:30 PM - Reagan National

3:30 - Meet with Mike Olsen, Staff Director House Resources ( Linsey and Neil to staff ) 1324 Longworth HOB

4:30 - Meet with Geoff Bowman, Indian Affairs for Congressman Walter Jones. ( Neil to staff ) - 422 Cannon HOB

6:00 - Dinner with Jack Abramoff @ Signatures

##### Wednesday

11:00 - Meet with Ruben Barrales and Jennifer Farley, White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, Old Executive Office Building ( Todd to staff )

12:30 - Meet with Greg Mauer, Coalitions Director House Education and the Workforce Committee - Signatures Restaurant ( Neil to staff )

Departure - Chief early evening

2:30 Meet with Jason Grove, appropriations staffer Chairman Regula ( Todd and Neil to staff ) 2306 Rayburn HOB

3:30 Meet with Ashley Hoy, Congresswoman Myrick's Chief of Staff ( Neil to staff ) 230 Cannon HOB

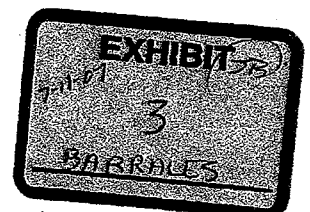
5:30 - Dinner @ Signatures with Mike Scanlon and Jack Abramoff

##### Thursday

10:30 AM - Meeting with Eleas Phillips, Senior Legislative Counsel for Congresswoman Melissa Hart ( Linsey and Neil to staff ) 1508 Longworth HOB

11:00 AM - Meeting w/ Adam Fromm - NRCC ( tentative )

2:00 - Departure Chris



GTG-R005918

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**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 3:10 PM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Assoo-DC-Legis); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: WH [REDACTED]

Wow, that would be huge....and a nice, sly way to get the project jump started.

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 4:06 PM  
**To:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Assoo-DC-Legis); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** FW: WH [REDACTED]

FYI

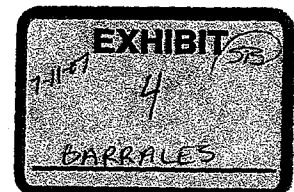
-----Original Message-----

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 4:05 PM  
**To:** Governor Stewart Palsano (E-mail); David Mielke (E-mail); Tom Susman (E-mail); Mark L. Lezell (E-mail); Reid Chambers (E-mail)  
**Subject:** WH [REDACTED]

Jennifer Farley at White House Intergovernmental Affairs Office called [REDACTED] in [REDACTED]'s office last week at our urging. Jennifer did not get a return call. She tried again today and [REDACTED] wasn't taking the call, so Jennifer said that she would hold and told receptionist that it was urgent matter. Receptionist came back on line and said that [REDACTED] said the Chief of Staff was person to talk to and that he would call her back.

FYI: Jennifer is calling to tell [REDACTED]'s people that the President is planning to go to NM for [REDACTED] again and wants to know if the mountain issue will be completed by time of visit. Will be interesting to hear Bell's response. Goal here obviously is to show NM delegation that there is some interest from parties other than Pueblo.

I will keep you posted.



GTG-R008283

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**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 20, 2002 5:10 PM  
**To:** Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** RE: Hello

leave it in.

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

**From:** Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 20, 2002 6:09 PM  
**To:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: Hello

Am working on the binder now. Do you think Rove needs all of the legal and statutory backing to support the citations or can I lighten the book on that?

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

**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 20, 2002 6:02 PM  
**To:** [REDACTED] Ralston@who.eop.gov'  
**Subject:** RE: Hello

8 a.m. You bet. I will have the briefing book ready by then.

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

**From:** [REDACTED] Ralston@who.eop.gov [mailto:[REDACTED] Ralston@who.eop.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 20, 2002 5:56 PM  
**To:** boulangerT@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: Hello

Sure. Can we get together for coffee? 8 AM, 1 PM or 6 PM

(Embedded  
image moved boulangerT@gtlaw.com  
to file: 02/20/2002 05:45:03 PM  
pic01960.pcx)

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:  
Subject: Hello

Hi Susan,



79

GTG-R001478

257

003871256

Do you have time to meet tomorrow briefly? Something is coming your way regarding the Department of Interior signing new Indian gaming compacts and the conservatives are ready - and soon will - be pouncing on the Administration.

I have a briefing book for you to give to Karl (it is not yet fully updated, but it will be by COB tonight). Rep. [REDACTED] is involved in a huge fight with [REDACTED] regarding a gaming compact that was negotiated under the cover of night. Not that I'm a saint, but the politics of this stinks to high heaven.

It's going to be brought up at the VAT meeting on Monday and the CATs are going to send something on Wednesday after their meeting to the Administration basically saying that the expansion of Indian gaming is un-checked and that it's an embarrassment to Bush, and that Sec Norton is basically a rubber stamp for gambling. Eagle Forum has already weighed in.

As you probably know, a similar situation just happend to Rep. [REDACTED] and he was very upset about it.

Anyway, don't do anything drastic until you have a chance to review the material....it speaks for itself....but you may want to put it on Karl's radar screen.

Thanks,

Todd

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [postmaster@gtlaw.com](mailto:postmaster@gtlaw.com).

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**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 21, 2002 8:42 AM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is meeting with Rove on Tuesday. This meeting is confirmed. Just an fyi. If there are any ways to "bolster" Mehlman before that time, than we should do it.

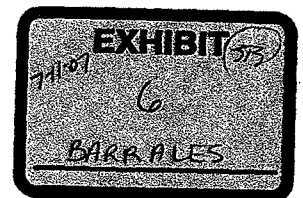
-----Original Message-----

**From:** Susan Ralston - @GWB [REDACTED] Ralston@rnchq.org]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 21, 2002 9:35 AM  
**To:** boulangert@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** [REDACTED]

Thanks for breakfast. I showed KR the binder and gave him a quick brief so he is aware. He gave the binder to Mehlman to read cover to cover and to be prepared. Mehlman will be at the meeting.

Susan Ralston

-----  
Please send all replies to [REDACTED] ralston@georgewbush.com



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**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 07, 2003 10:43 AM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: email on jena

Maybe she sent it to Ruben and others on their RNC addresses, too. Maybe Jennifer is just paranoid.

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

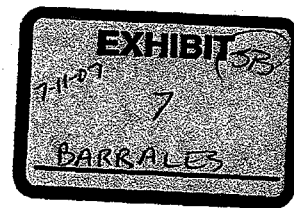
**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 07, 2003 11:42 AM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: email on jena

Dammit. It was sent to Susan on her rnc pager and was not supposed to go into the WH system.

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 07, 2003 10:26 AM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** email on jena

Your email to Susan was forwarded to Ruben Barrales and on to Jen Farley, who read it to me last night. I don't know what to think about this, but she said it is better to not put this stuff in writing in their email system because it might actually limit what they can do to help us, especially since there could be lawsuits, etc. Who knows? Just letting you know what she said. Anyway, I had called her to talk about Jena. She has not heard from anyone on the other side of this issue.



GTG-R004481



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**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, February 06, 2003 5:02 PM  
**To:** 'Susan Ralston'  
**Subject:** RE: Louisiana

Thanks.

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

**From:** Susan Ralston [mailto:ralston@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 06, 2003 5:59 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: Louisiana

Will tell him

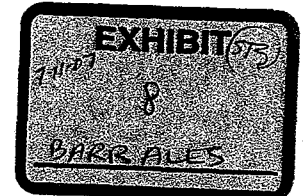
-----Original Message-----

**From:** abramoff@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoff@gtlaw.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 06, 2003 4:24 PM  
**To:** Susan Ralston  
**Subject:** Louisiana

I don't want to bother you guys with a meeting request, so I was hoping you could pass on to Karl that Interior is about to approve a gaming compact and land in trust for a tribe which is an anathema to all our supporters down there. It's called the Jena tribe, and the politicians (!) at Interior (low - mid level) are agreeing to this. It will cause a major backlash from our coalition and is something which they should not do on the merits. I believe that Steve Griles over there would be opposed, but it's important, if possible, to get some quiet message from WH that this is absurd. Thanks Susan.

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GTG-R002246

5/8/2004

000901325

**Schedule for Hopi Chairman Wayne Taylor  
February 20-28, 2002**

**Trip Participants:**

Chairman Wayne Taylor, Jr.  
Monica Nuvamsa  
Scott Canty  
Cedric Kuwaninvaya

**Wednesday, February 20**

- 3:51 pm            Monica Nuvamsa and Cedric arrive at Reagan National  
American Airlines Flight 2700  
Driver will be there to pick up
- 4:10 pm            Chairman Taylor and Scott arrive at Reagan National  
Frontier Airlines Flight 724  
Driver will be there to pick up
- 4:45-5:00 pm      Check-in at hotel  
Holiday Inn  
1155 14th Street, NW  
(202) 737-1200
- 7:00 pm            Dinner – Jordan's Restaurant  
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Reservation under name Ring

**Thursday, February 21**

- 9:00 am            [Optional] Meet at Greenberg Traurig  
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite 500
- 10:00 am           Meet with Ruben Barrales and Jennifer Farley, White House Office of  
Intergovernmental Affairs  
Old Executive Office Building
- Noon                Working lunch with GT Team regarding private sector partnerships and  
economic development opportunities  
Conference room 5-11
- 2:00 pm            Meet with [REDACTED] Professional Staff Member  
[REDACTED]  
Longworth House Office Building



GTG-R005979

**7:00 pm**

**Washington Wizards v. New Jersey Nets**

**MCI Center – Suite 204**

**Confirmed attendees:**

[REDACTED]

**Reid Chambers and Harry Sachse(2), Sonosky Chambers**

**Friday, February 22**

**10:00 am**

**Meet with Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Neal McCaleb**

**Department of Interior**

**Contact: Jean**

**11:30 am**

**Meeting with Darren Mollot, U.S. Department of Energy**

**– Fossil Energy Division**

**1000 Independence Ave. Room 4G39**

**Contact:**

**1:00 pm**

**Lunch Meeting with [REDACTED]**

**Capital Grille**

**6<sup>th</sup> and Pennsylvania, NW**

**2:30 pm**

**Meet with [REDACTED]**

**[REDACTED] Cannon House Office Building**

**9 – 5:00 pm**

**[OPTIONAL] NCAI Alcohol & Substance Abuse Task Force Meeting**

**Saturday, February 23**

**9 – 5:00 pm**

**NCAI Alcohol & Substance Abuse Task Force Meeting.**

**Sunday, February 24**

**1 – 5:00 pm**

**NCAI Executive Committee Board Meeting**

**Monday, February 25**

**1 – 3:00 pm**

**NCAI Winter Session**

**GTG-R005980**

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 12, 2002 7:42 AM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Cc:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: AGUA - Milanovich

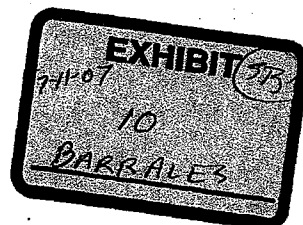
I can't believe he would want to be BIA AS, but I am not sure the administration would want to ever consider it. anyway, I am not sure of the issues, but I'll forward you Duane's report and you can pick a few issues based on what's flying. Hopefully Duane will weigh in before 10 am. have Jennifer try to get him in his hotel now.

—Original Message—

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 12, 2002 8:35 AM  
**To:** Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Cc:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** AGUA - Milanovich  
**Importance:** High

He is eating lunch with Ruben Barrales at noon today in the WH mess. Jennifer called early this AM to say that she heard from Scott Dacey that Milanovich was interested in the BIA AS position. She wanted to know if it was true, but didn't want us to tell Milanovich that the WH was asking. Is this true?

Otherwise, as with Sag yesterday, they want to know what Ruben should talk to him about - at least know what their big issues are. I know what I've been working on, but I don't know what they consider their top issue(s). Duane or Jack, please advise ASAP. They want an answer before 10AM Eastern. Thanks.



---

**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 12, 2002 7:29 AM  
**To:** [redacted]ralston@aol.com  
**Subject:** FW: FW: FW: Saginaw: Rove

Todd makes a good point: if they are doing an Indian conference, it really should be at either Choctaw, Saginaw Chippewa or Coushatta (Louisiana) since these are the tribes who are giving serious money for our team. The rest of the tribes need to be shown that, if you help, you get helped and this would be a subtle yet effective way to make that point without anyone ever saying anything. Also, and this is between us, no one on the outside thinks Ruben has any juice inside. Might not be the case, but that is the wide perception. Anyway, thanks for anything you can do on this.

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

**From:** [redacted]ralston@aol.com [mailto:Suzralston@aol.com]  
**Sent:** Monday, February 11, 2002 8:09 PM  
**To:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: FW: Saginaw: Rove

I haven't heard specifics about this but it must be a project Terry Miller and Ruben Barrales are working on. I'll ask.  
SR

In a message dated 2/11/02 7:05:32 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@gtlaw.com writes:

**Subj:** FW: Saginaw: Rove  
**Date:** 2/11/02 7:05:32 PM Eastern Standard Time  
**From:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**To:** [redacted]ralston@aol.com

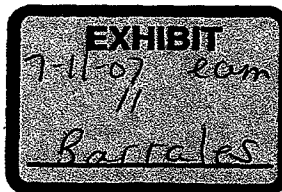
Any thoughts on how we can move this to Saginaw in Michigan?

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

**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Monday, February 11, 2002 5:32 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Saginaw: Rove

Rove is trying to put together some sort of Indian summit (Chris told me about it). Is he doing this with the RNC? From what I know, there are no specific plans yet. We should try to get this summit to be held at Saginaw. A council member (not usually on our side) mentioned it to Chris....

Anything we can do to influence this process?



GTG-R005330

000314671

**From:** Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Monday, March 03, 2003 7:23 AM  
**To:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); DCCasino  
**Subject:** RE: Problem at White House

I will call Barry Jackson with this today. Unacceptable.

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

**From:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 02, 2003 11:21 PM  
**To:** Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); DCCasino  
**Subject:** RE: Problem at White House

I will talk with Matt as well. This is bullshit.

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

**From:** Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); DCCasino  
**Sent:** 3/1/2003 11:14 PM  
**Subject:** Re: Problem at White House

Like I said earlier, WH folks are getting really arrogant lately. Not sure who is driving that train but they need to remember who there friends are.....or they risk the fate of Bush 1.

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>; DCCasino <DCCasino@gtlaw.com>  
**Sent:** Sat Mar 01 23:09:45 2003  
**Subject:** Re: Problem at White House

It's not about us, but we are included. Need to straighten out. Neil, this is definitely something Barry Jackson needs to hear about.

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

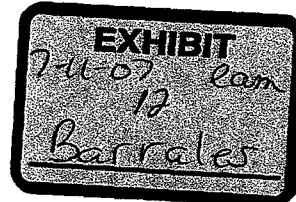
**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>; DCCasino <DCCasino@gtlaw.com>  
**Sent:** Sat Mar 01 23:06:51 2003  
**Subject:** RE: Problem at White House

This is horrible. Why would they fuck us like this?

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 01, 2003 7:55 AM  
**To:** DCCasino  
**Subject:** Problem at White House

Just wanted to let everyone know of a disturbing problem I just learned about at the White House. The Intergovernmental Affairs Office just received their ethics briefing, and when all was said and done, they concluded that they should NEVER call lobbyists anymore -- will call tribes directly -- and will NEVER have lobbyists sit in meetings, EVEN WHEN the client is meeting with the IGA office. Obviously, this is ridiculous. (P.S. The new guy doing tribes over in that office, Jim Kelly, arranged a meeting with Gov. Paisano of Sandia without telling me, but fortunately I was given a heads-up by someone else over there).



**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 4:48 PM  
**To:** Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** RE: Friday's game against the White Sox

Ok, get him tix

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

**From:** Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 5:38 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Re: Friday's game against the White Sox

White house contact, Jennifer Farley.

Allison Bozniak

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

**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>  
**To:** Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) <bozniaka@gtlaw.com>  
**Sent:** Wed Jul 17 17:36:28 2002  
**Subject:** RE: Friday's game against the White Sox

Who does he need them for?

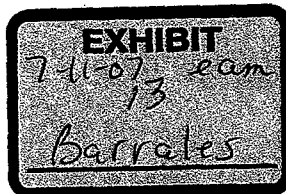
-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 3:17 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Friday's game against the White Sox

Duane has the suite and Mike Williams has the Sickles. We don't have any more tickets and Kevin is desperate for four, and neither Mike or Duane can give any up.

Should I just buy four for him?

Allison Bozniak  
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs  
Greenberg Traurig, LLP  
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite 500  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
ph: 202. [REDACTED]



GTG-R002435

001611733

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 3:27 PM  
**To:** Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** FW: Rove Staff Post-Holiday Party

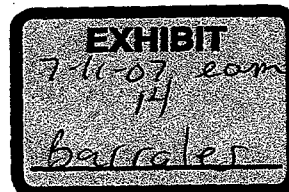
Please note this on the calendar.

—Original Message—

**From:** Susan Ralston [redacted] [ralston@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 4:19 PM  
**To:** signatu [redacted]  
**Cc:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Rove Staff Post-Holiday Party

We would very much like to have our post-holiday party at Signatures on Thurs, Jan 8th from 6:30 – 8 PM.  
Is the room available?  
Can we decorate?  
Can you send a menu?  
Can we do a cash bar?

Thanks.



GTG-R005082

7/23/2004

007709575