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

DEPOSITION OF: JENNIFER FARLEY

Wednesday, January 9, 2008

Washington, D.C.

The deposition in the above matter was held at Room 2157  
Lounge, Rayburn House Office Building, commencing at 10:05  
a.m.

1        Appearances:

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5        For THE COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM:

6

7        KRISTIN AMERLING, CHIEF COUNSEL

8        SUSANNE SACHSMAN, COUNSEL

9        ANNA LAITIN, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER

10       STEPHEN R. CASTOR, MINORITY COUNSEL

11       ASHLEY CALLEN, MINORITY COUNSEL

12

13

14       For JENNIFER FARLEY:

15

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1           Ms. Amerling. On behalf of the Committee on Oversight  
2 and Government Reform, I thank you for being here today.  
3 This proceeding is known as a deposition. The Chairman of  
4 the committee has sought this deposition as part of the  
5 committee's investigation of former lobbyist Jack Abramoff's  
6 contacts with the White House and contacts that his  
7 associates had with the White House.

8           The person transcribing this proceeding is a House  
9 reporter and a notary public authorized to administer oaths.  
10 She will now place you under oath.

11           [Witness sworn.]

12           Ms. Amerling. My name is Kristin Amerling. I have been  
13 designated as Majority counsel for this deposition. I am  
14 accompanied here today by Susanne Sachsman, who is a counsel  
15 for the committee; Anna Laitin, a professional staff member  
16 with the Minority.

17           Mr. Castor. Steve Castor with the Republican staff.

18           Ms. Callen. Ashley Callen with the Republican staff.

19           Ms. Amerling. Before beginning the deposition, I want  
20 to go over some standard instructions and explanations.

21           Ms. Farley, because you've been placed under oath, your  
22 testimony here has the same force and effect as if you were  
23 testifying before the committee. If you knowingly provide  
24 false testimony, you could be subject to criminal prosecution  
25 for perjury, making false statements or other related

1 offenses; do you understand this?

2 The Witness. I do.

3 Ms. Amerling. Is there any reason that you are unable  
4 to provide truthful answers in today's deposition?

5 The Witness. There is no reason.

6 Ms. Amerling. Under our committee's rules, you are  
7 allowed to have an attorney present to advise you. For the  
8 record, do you have an attorney who represents you present  
9 with you today?

10 The Witness. I do.

11 Mr. Aronica. I want to make note of our appearances.  
12 My name is Joe Aronica. I'm with Duane Morris. And along  
13 with me today are my colleagues Joe Ferretti and Robert  
14 Dietrick, also with Duane Morris, appearing on behalf of  
15 Ms. Farley.

16 Ms. Amerling. The deposition will proceed as follows:  
17 I will start by asking you questions for up to 1 hour on the  
18 subject matter of the deposition. When I am finished,  
19 Minority counsel will have the opportunity to ask you  
20 questions for up to 1 hour, and additional rounds of  
21 questioning alternating between the Majority and Minority  
22 counsel may proceed after that.

23 The reporter will be taking down everything that you  
24 say, and we will make a written record of the deposition.  
25 You need to give verbal, audible responses because the

1 reporter cannot report nods or gestures; do you understand  
2 that?

3 The Witness. I do.

4 Ms. Amerling. Also for the record to be clear, please  
5 wait until I finish each question before you begin your  
6 answer, and I will wait until you finish your answer before I  
7 begin the next question.

8 If you don't hear or understand a question, please say  
9 so, and we will repeat it or rephrase it.

10 If I ask you about conversations or events in the past,  
11 and you are unable to recall the exact words or details, you  
12 should testify to the substance of the conversations or the  
13 events to the best of your recollection. If you recall only  
14 a part of a conversation or event, you should give us your  
15 best recollection of those events or parts of conversations  
16 that you do recall; do you understand that?

17 The Witness. I do.

18 Ms. Amerling. Ms. Farley, do you have any questions  
19 before we begin the deposition?

20 The Witness. I do not.

21 Ms. Amerling. I understand that your counsel wants to  
22 make some preliminary remarks.

23 Mr. Aronica. Yes.

24 Ms. Amerling. You should do so at this point.

25 Mr. Aronica. Thanks, Kristin.

1 Jennifer is here this morning voluntarily; she's not  
2 here pursuant to a subpoena. Jennifer wants to assist the  
3 committee as best she can in its investigation. We  
4 understand that the purpose of the deposition this morning is  
5 for her to provide information she can on subjects where we  
6 believe she can testify without any preconditions or other  
7 assurances that we might require.

8 We also want to make a record for the committee on  
9 subjects on which she does not currently feel that she can  
10 testify without a grant of immunity based on concerns that  
11 the testimony on those subjects may reasonably form some link  
12 in a chain of evidence that someone could regard as  
13 inculpatory of her.

14 The subjects this morning that she will be unable to  
15 testify about on those grounds are, first, what benefits she  
16 may or may not have been offered; and, two, any  
17 communications between Ms. Farley and any member of the  
18 so-called Abramoff team. She is taking this position not  
19 because she believes she's violated the law or that we  
20 believe she's violated the law; nevertheless, in the  
21 situation where the factual issues and legal theories are  
22 continuing to develop, we do not have sufficient comfort that  
23 the testimony provided in this setting and on those subjects  
24 will not have some tendency to implicate her at least in the  
25 eyes of someone who is inclined to be distrustful or to put

1 the worst possible construct on events. So for that reason,  
2 and to the extent your questions touch upon those areas, I  
3 will instruct her to respectfully decline to answer those  
4 questions at the present time.

5 Notwithstanding that, however, Ms. Farley is willing to  
6 speak to her employment history and job titles, salary and  
7 job duties at the White House Intergovernmental Affairs  
8 Office; secondly, staff structure at the White House Office  
9 of Intergovernmental Affairs during her employment in that  
10 office; three, the circumstances surrounding her initial  
11 meeting of any individual members of the so-called Abramoff  
12 team; and finally, Ms. Farley's knowledge relating to the  
13 issue of the GeorgeWBush.com e-mail addresses by White House  
14 staff members.

15 That concludes my statement.

16 Ms. Amerling. Thank you.

17 EXAMINATION

18 BY MS. AMERLING:

19 Q Ms. Farley, would you please state your full name  
20 for the record?

21 A Jennifer Farley Gass.

22 Q And where are you currently employed?

23 A I have my own firm called The Farley Group.

24 Q Where did you work before you held that position?

25 A The White House.

1 Q What position did you hold there?

2 A I held two positions, in the Office of  
3 Intergovernmental Affairs I was a staff assistant, and then I  
4 was a deputy associate director.

5 Q And during what time periods did you serve in each  
6 of those positions at the White House?

7 A I was a staff assistant from 2001 -- from 2001  
8 until -- I'm not 100 percent clear when I was promoted to  
9 deputy associate director. I think it was in -- sometime in  
10 2002 or early 2003.

11 Q And when did you begin at the White House?

12 A In August of 2001.

13 Q And when did you leave?

14 A April of 2005.

15 Q Can you explain what the Office of  
16 Intergovernmental Affairs does?

17 A The Office of Intergovernmental Affairs acts as a  
18 liaison for all State elected officials and Indian tribes.

19 Q And what does it specifically do with respect to  
20 Indian tribes?

21 A We act as a liaison in the way that our Director  
22 used to call us the open door to the White House for elected  
23 officials, which meant that if a tribal leader or a Governor  
24 or a mayor or someone was having some type of issue where  
25 they needed to meet with folks in the agencies to talk about



1       them or get them resolved in some way, we helped them get to  
2       the right people to resolve those issues. We did not create  
3       any policy in our office, we were more -- my position was  
4       really an Indian help desk. They could call me and tell me  
5       about things that were going on, and I would direct them to  
6       the right person.

7               Q       So the Office of Intergovernmental Governmental  
8       Affairs didn't formulate policy on Indian matters?

9               A       No, no.

10              Q       And to whom did you report in your positions there?

11              A       Early on the Deputy Director Debbie Spagnoli, and  
12       also the Director Ruben Barrales, and then once Debbie  
13       resigned, I reported to Ruben Barrales.

14              Q       When you said you were a staff assistant, were you  
15       a staff assistant to a specific person?

16              A       I was more staff assistant, general support for the  
17       office, but I also helped Debbie Spagnoli, the Deputy  
18       Director, with her schedule, arranged conference calls,  
19       answered the phones, more administrative things.

20              Q       When she left, did you do that same -- perform  
21       those same tasks for Ruben Barrales?

22              A       By the time she left, I had started working on the  
23       Indian affairs portfolio, and I mainly did that, but I was  
24       still available. For instance, one of the things the Office  
25       of Intergovernmental Affairs does is that National Governors

1 Association, when they come into town, it's a week-long  
2 event, I guess you would say, and I would help out on that.  
3 Things that required more time and more staff, I would be  
4 involved in that.

5 Mr. Aronica. Let me --

6 [Discussion off the record.]

7 The Witness. The way I started working in Indian  
8 affairs, there was a gentleman named Terry Miller who was  
9 handling State legislators and tribal leaders, and I would  
10 help him out with the tribal issues. He was more interested  
11 in working with State legislators because that's what he  
12 had -- I think that's what he had done previously, so when  
13 things would come in that were tribal, he would bring me in  
14 to support him on that.

15 BY MS. AMERLING:

16 Q What was his position in the office?

17 A I -- I'm not sure if he was a special assistant to  
18 the President or if he was an associate director. I think he  
19 was an associate director, but I don't remember his title  
20 clearly.

21 Q Who is Katherine Rust?

22 A Ruben Barrales's executive assistant.

23 Q What about Jim Kelly?

24 A He was Special Assistant to the President for  
25 Intergovernmental Affairs, I think was his title.

1           Q     And how did the Intergovernmental Affairs Office  
2 fit within the structure of the White House; did that office  
3 report to anyone else within the White House?

4           A     The Office of Intergovernmental Affairs was  
5 under -- each office in the White House is under a deputy  
6 assistant to the President, which was Ruben, and then under  
7 the assistant to the President, which was Karl Rove.

8           Q     Did Karl Rove get involved with decisions involving  
9 Indian matters?

10          A     I don't know.

11          Q     Did you have any experience where you interacted  
12 with him on issues you were working on?

13          A     I very rarely dealt directly with Karl. I dealt  
14 with Ruben.

15          Q     Can you give us an overview of your duties when  
16 you're in that office and the percentage of your time that  
17 you devoted to those different duties?

18          A     Well, one --

19          Mr. Aronica. Which time frame are we talking about?

20                 BY MS. AMERLING:

21          Q     Well, let's take it starting with the first  
22 position you held.

23          A     In the beginning it was administrative, it was  
24 answering the phones, doing Debbie's schedule, the conference  
25 calls, supporting staff, that type of thing. Once I -- the

1 way that I started handling tribes more, that the portfolio  
2 became really mine within the office, was after September  
3 11th we had a lot of staff leave, and so there was a short  
4 time there where there were, I think, four people in the  
5 office total, and so I was handling calls and requests that  
6 were coming in.

7 Q By "the office," you mean the Office of  
8 Intergovernmental Affairs?

9 A Office of Intergovernmental Affairs.

10 They would come to me, and then I would give them to  
11 Ruben or Debbie or whoever was dealing with them. After  
12 that, once Terry Miller left, then that's when Jim Kelly came  
13 in. There was a very long period of time where there was not  
14 a special assistant for State legislators, and that person  
15 traditionally also handled tribal leaders, so there was  
16 really no special assistant specified for tribal leaders.  
17 Since I had worked on that with Terry, and that was an issue  
18 that I had learned and I really liked working with the tribal  
19 leaders, then once they hired more staff and those other  
20 positions were filled, then Ruben told me that I could start  
21 working on that issue as the contact for that within the  
22 office. So that's what I did. So although Jim Kelly, once  
23 he did come in, which I can't remember the year he did come  
24 in, he was supposed to be handling tribal leaders and State  
25 legislators, the majority of tribal material came to me.

1           Q     What did a typical day involve for you when you  
2 were playing that role?

3           A     I would meet with tribes on every issue from health  
4 care to issues of Interior, to -- you know, it would depend  
5 on what was going on with that particular tribe. There are  
6 568 federally recognized tribes, and they all have different  
7 issues. My days, some days I had meetings with Indian  
8 tribes, and other days it was more in the supporting other  
9 staff on things that they were doing. So it just would  
10 depend on the day.

11          Q     Did you work long hours?

12          A     I did. I was there more than -- I think once you  
13 leave the White House, you realize how long your hours are,  
14 because when you're there, you just think it is normal  
15 because that's what everybody does.

16          Q     How would you characterize your workload on a  
17 day-to-day basis?

18          A     It was -- I sort of felt like it was each day when  
19 I went in, I did not know what the day was going to bring.  
20 And it was more of, you know, what was happening that day is  
21 what I would work on. So it's -- you know, something would  
22 come up, and I would have to spend all day on it. Or it  
23 would be like if we had Governors in town or we had mayors in  
24 town, someone had to -- they had to be escorted around  
25 everywhere. So, as soon as I would get to work, they would

1 say, Mayor So-and-So is coming in, you need to go to West  
2 Wing and meet them and make sure they get to where they're  
3 going.

4 I mean, I don't know how to explain it. It would just  
5 depend on the day. And I really -- it was so long ago, I  
6 just don't recall specifically what the issues were. I did  
7 have meetings with tribal leaders, but if they would come in  
8 and they would be talking about -- for instance, Indian  
9 health care reauthorization was a big issue, and they really  
10 wanted that to happen, so they would come in to meet with us,  
11 but we didn't have anything to do with that, because we  
12 weren't working on the legislation, we weren't creating that  
13 policy. We had nothing to do with OMB. So they would come  
14 in and tell us what they needed and what was going on. All  
15 we could do is direct them to HHS, or usually we would set up  
16 a meeting with the intergovernmental affairs person within  
17 that agency, because within each agency there is another  
18 intergovernmental liaison, and we would have them go and meet  
19 with that person.

20 Mr. Aronica. And that's all, as far as you know.

21 The Witness. As far as I know.

22 Mr. Aronica. People not creating policy there.

23 The Witness. Right.

24 BY MS. AMERLING:

25 Q On a given day did you have to handle a lot of

1 phone calls?

2 A I had to answer the phone a lot if we didn't have  
3 interns. I was the person who did that.

4 Q In both positions that you held?

5 A Yes, yes. If it was a time between interns, I  
6 answered the phone. I handled -- on a given day, yes, I  
7 would handle phone calls from people who came in. I don't  
8 know how many. I can't really say.

9 Q Was your practice -- as far as following up on  
10 phone calls you received, did you try and return them in the  
11 same day?

12 A I did. I would go and speak at conferences. For  
13 instance, National Conference of American Indians has their  
14 conference every February, and I would go and talk and just  
15 sort of give sort of a report of what -- you know, what the  
16 President was doing in regards to what -- you know, if things  
17 that had happened in education that he was working on, like  
18 an update on No Child Left Behind or that kind of thing, and  
19 I would get all that information from our domestic policy  
20 folks. But once I was finished, I would say, you know, if  
21 you have any issues or need anything, please contact me  
22 directly, here's my office line, and here's my cell phone. I  
23 got some calls, but I got less than I thought I would. But  
24 people contacted me directly, and I did what I could to help  
25 them.

1           Q     Did you have a lot of contacts with lobbyists for  
2 Indian tribes?

3           A     I had contacts with the lobbyists that represented  
4 various tribes, yes, yes.

5           Q     And how frequently did you have those contacts?

6           A     I would say, I don't know, I guess every --  
7 every -- every couple of weeks maybe. It was -- if --  
8 especially if tribal leaders were coming to town and they had  
9 meetings on the Hill, they would ask if the tribal leader  
10 could come by and say hello to Ruben, our Director, and just  
11 with the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, sort of a  
12 meet-and-greet. And then a lot of times they wanted a White  
13 House tour. I did a ton of White House tours. But I would  
14 give a White House tour to anybody who asked for one if there  
15 was space and time available.

16          Q     On a given day did you have a lot of e-mails that  
17 had you to respond to?

18          A     I did have a lot of e-mails, but they were more  
19 of -- they weren't sub -- they weren't substantial as far as  
20 policy issues. They were more like -- I don't know. It  
21 really -- it really is hard to remember. I can remember  
22 having a lot of e-mail, but I can't remember specific issues  
23 of what the e-mail was about. All of my -- my e-mails are  
24 still on my White House -- all my e-mails were sent from my  
25 White House account, so I'm sure if you wanted to look at



1       them, they are all there. So --

2             Mr. Aronica. I don't how you define "a lot."

3             The Witness. Yeah.

4             Mr. Aronica. What do you mean by a lot of e-mail? I  
5       mean, I get a couple hundred a day, and somebody who might  
6       get 10 might think that's a lot.

7             Ms. Amerling. Sure.

8                     BY MS. AMERLING:

9             Q       You talked about how you had a heavy workload when  
10       you were at the White House.

11            A       Right.

12            Q       In light of that workload, were you able to be  
13       responsive to all the e-mails that you received? What was  
14       your practice; were you able to respond to e-mails within the  
15       same day that you received them, or did it take a few days to  
16       get back to people who contacted you?

17            A       I was -- I tried to do it in the same day, but I  
18       would get some e-mails, and I'm thinking, you know, I don't  
19       have time for that, that's not what I -- I'm not involved in  
20       that, I'm going to let someone else deal with that, because a  
21       lot of e-mails would come to not just me, but other people in  
22       the office. So if I got an e-mail about something going on  
23       with a Governor in, I don't know, some other State, that  
24       wasn't something that was going to be one of my priorities  
25       because I wasn't the Governor's person. So -- but if it was

1 tribal -- also requests for -- requests always came in.  
2 Tribal leaders always wanted to -- they wanted to meet with  
3 Ruben, or they wanted to, you know -- every -- every alleged  
4 official in the United States wants to meet with the  
5 President, so all of those requests also came to our office.  
6 So I would handle those usually by contacting the person that  
7 sent the request and saying, you come in, and you can meet  
8 with me. And then once they would meet with me, I'd figure  
9 out what the issue was, and I would direct them to the  
10 correct agency.

11 Q When did you first hear about Jack Abramoff?

12 Mr. Aronica. I'm not sure I understand the question.

13 The Witness. Yeah.

14 Mr. Aronica. What do you mean by "when did you first  
15 hear about"; in what context?

16 BY MS. AMERLING:

17 Q When did you first learn who Jack Abramoff was?

18 A I --

19 Mr. Aronica. Did you ever meet Jack Abramoff?

20 The Witness. I've never met him.

21 Mr. Aronica. Did you have any conversations with Jack  
22 Abramoff?

23 The Witness. No, never.

24 I think at some point when I had met -- after I had met  
25 Kevin Ring -- I met him initially in a meeting that I sat in

1 on -- I think at that point I didn't know what firm he worked  
2 for, I didn't know who he worked for, but I think eventually  
3 he might have mentioned that that's who his -- I sort of  
4 thought that Jack Abramoff was Kevin's boss, because I think  
5 Kevin had mentioned him a couple times, and I just knew  
6 that -- I just knew that he was Kevin's boss. I didn't know  
7 anything else about him.

8 Q When did you meet Kevin Ring?

9 A I met Kevin Ring in a meeting that was being held  
10 by Ruben Barrales and Terry Miller and Chairman Wayne Taylor  
11 of the Hopi Tribe, which was the tribe that Kevin  
12 represented. And I sat in on that meeting, and that was one  
13 of the first meetings where after that meeting Terry had  
14 asked me if I wanted to help out with the tribal issues, and  
15 I think he -- I think he just liked the idea of someone else  
16 helping him out so he didn't have to do both State  
17 legislators and tribal leaders. I think he really needed the  
18 support. So after that meeting is when he asked me if I  
19 wanted to help, and that's when I first met Kevin.

20 Q And do you know when that meeting took place?

21 A I don't. I would say it was early on. I would say  
22 it was early on.

23 When you asked about what my duties were, September 11th  
24 happened while I was in the White House, and after  
25 September 11th, nothing went on for a very long time as far

1 as meeting with people and -- you know. But our daily things  
2 that we were doing came to a screeching halt, and we started  
3 doing, you know, condolence letters to families. All of the  
4 shops under Karl Rove started doing whatever the directive  
5 was that day from the West Wing of what we were working on as  
6 far as what had to do with September 11th, the President was  
7 going somewhere, because any time the President would go  
8 somewhere, normally the Governor of that State would greet  
9 him as he came off of Air Force 1.

10 Or there were a lot of intergovernmental things after  
11 September 11th, because we had cities and counties, and  
12 Homeland Security was being formed. I think a lot of my time  
13 was spent just sort of in that kind of fog of what do we do  
14 now?

15 So I really -- the date when that meeting happened I  
16 don't know. I would assume it was before September 11th, but  
17 I can't tell you specifically, but it was early on.

18 Q After you met Kevin Ring, how frequently were you  
19 in contact with him?

20 Mr. Aronica. We're not going to go into those areas, as  
21 I mentioned earlier in my statement.

22 Ms. Amerling. So Ms. Farley is not willing to talk  
23 today about the volume of contacts with individual Abramoff  
24 lobbyists?

25 Mr. Aronica. You can ask her were there other Abramoff

1 lobbyists that she might have met or spoken to. We don't  
2 have a problem with that. You can talk about how often. I  
3 don't know how you define that --

4 Ms. Amerling. Well, I'm asking her to tell us how often  
5 she met or had contact.

6 Mr. Aronica. There's "met" or "contacts," okay?

7 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

8 Mr. Aronica. Ask the question again, and we'll see how  
9 far we can go on it.

10 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

11 BY MS. AMERLING:

12 Q How frequently were you in contact with Kevin Ring  
13 after you met him at that initial meeting that you described?

14 A Kevin would contact me when there was an issue  
15 going on with one of the tribes that he represented. Also if  
16 I contacted a tribe about, say, the President was going to be  
17 in their area, and we wanted the tribal leader at the event,  
18 9 times out of 10 I would not get a call back from the tribal  
19 leader themselves, I would get a call back from the  
20 Washington representative of that tribe. So if I was dealing  
21 with tribes that Kevin represented, then most of the time I  
22 would be dealing with Kevin.

23 Mr. Aronica. When you say "represented by," you're  
24 talking about our lobbyists as well?

25 The Witness. Right, and other lobbyists. Whatever

1 lobbyists represented. If I was trying to contact a tribe,  
2 and they had a lobbyist representing them, 9 times out of 10  
3 that lobbyist would call me and say, I heard you called  
4 Chairman So-and-So, what's going on, how can I help, what do  
5 you need? Because that's why tribes have them, so they can  
6 take care of things in Washington, and the tribes can take  
7 care of things at home.

8 BY MS. AMERLING:

9 Q And with respect to Kevin Ring specifically, how  
10 frequently were you and Kevin Ring in contact?

11 A I think it's hard to say. I don't know  
12 specifically. If there was something going on where I --  
13 where, you know, since -- if there was something going on in  
14 New Mexico, and we wanted the Pueblo Indians involved in it,  
15 then I was talking to Kevin a lot. If there wasn't anything  
16 going on with that, then I really -- I can't give you an  
17 amount of times because it was different. There could have  
18 been one week where I met with him twice and then not talked  
19 to him for a month and a half, and then talked to him again,  
20 you know, twice again in the next week. I just -- there was  
21 no set pattern. It was if I was dealing with one of his  
22 tribes, then I was dealing with Kevin.

23 Q How many times do you think that you met with him  
24 face to face?

25 A I don't know.

1 Q Would you say it was at least monthly, weekly?

2 A Um, I know you want an answer, but I don't have an  
3 answer because I don't know. I can't -- I cannot put it into  
4 a specific amount of times that I met with him. I do not  
5 know.

6 Q Did you ever meet him at his office at Greenberg  
7 Traurig?

8 A No, we didn't have meetings in his office, no, not  
9 that I recall.

10 Q So when you met with him, it was generally at the  
11 White House?

12 A No.

13 Mr. Aronica. Either at the White House or elsewhere?

14 The Witness. Yeah.

15 It wasn't always in one specific location, it was  
16 various locations. It wasn't always at the White House. It  
17 wasn't always anywhere.

18 BY MS. AMERLING:

19 Q If you weren't meeting at the White House, where  
20 would you be meeting?

21 A Um --

22 Mr. Aronica. I'm not sure we're going to get into that  
23 area. She didn't meet him in his office; met him in the  
24 White House and other locations.

25 Ms. Amerling. And can you explain what the basis is for

1 declining to go into that area?

2 Mr. Aronica. Because I -- it's an area that I think  
3 we're getting close to the areas of concern that I voiced  
4 initially.

5 Ms. Amerling. Meaning you think there may be a fifth  
6 amendment privilege?

7 Mr. Aronica. It's possible, and we're not asserting the  
8 fifth amendment, because we're not under a compulsion  
9 situation, but these are the areas, as I mentioned before,  
10 where we're talking about what benefits may or may not have  
11 been offered. That's an area that I'm not going to go into.

12 Ms. Amerling. But my questions are going to this --  
13 these questions go to the frequency of contact --

14 Mr. Aronica. Right, and she's addressed the frequency,  
15 and she's told you --

16 Ms. Amerling. -- and where they met.

17 Mr. Aronica. She told you that they didn't meet at  
18 Greenberg Traurig, that she met at the White House with him  
19 and occasionally in other places. One of the areas that  
20 we're not going to go into, as I mentioned earlier, is what  
21 benefits may or may not have been offered, and you can piece  
22 that together yourself.

23 She's also indicated to you the frequency or lack  
24 thereof of their contacts. And so that's where we're going.

25 BY MS. AMERLING:



1 Q When you had contact with Kevin Ring, was it  
2 generally for official business, or was it social contact?

3 A Well, as with Kevin and other lobbyists and people  
4 I worked with, I'm a friendly, social person. That's my  
5 personality. So when I would meet with someone, most of the  
6 time, since I was working with these people and meeting with  
7 them a lot, you know, Kevin and everyone else I met with, I  
8 would learn if they were, you know, married, had children, if  
9 they went on vacation, and, of course, we would talk about  
10 that. I know at the time Kevin and I were meeting, they had  
11 just had a baby. Sometimes he would talk about the baby and  
12 that kind of thing. So did we have social interaction? Yes,  
13 of course.

14 Q Was the purpose of your contacts generally for  
15 official business, or was it generally for social purposes?

16 A It was both.

17 Q Do you know Tony Rudy?

18 Mr. Aronica. Excuse me?

19 Ms. Amerling. Tony Rudy.

20 Mr. Aronica. Okay.

21 The Witness. I've heard his name.

22 BY MS. AMERLING:

23 Q Have you ever met Tony Rudy?

24 A Not that I recall.

25 Q Were you ever in contact with Tony Rudy over the

1 phone or e-mail or otherwise?

2 A Not that I recall.

3 Q Do you know Neil Volz?

4 A I've never -- I don't recall meeting him, no.

5 Q Were you ever --

6 A I will tell you this, though: There are a lot of  
7 people that I met at the White House that I don't recall  
8 meeting. I mean, to this day I will have people come up to  
9 me and say, Jennifer, how are you, what's going on, and I  
10 have absolutely no idea who they are. I think that's just a  
11 function of working there and meeting that many people.

12 So I do not recall meeting him, but I don't want to say  
13 I never met him, because I could have met him at a reception  
14 or cocktail party. I have no idea.

15 Q You don't recall being in contact with him?

16 A No.

17 Q Mr. Abramoff's lobbying team also included several  
18 other people, Todd Boulanger, Shawn Vasell, Duane Gibson,  
19 Michael Williams --

20 Mr. Aronica. Do you want her to answer each one of  
21 those?

22 Ms. Amerling. I will.

23 BY MS. AMERLING:

24 Q Stephanie Leger Short and Padgett Wilson. Did you  
25 know any of those individuals?

1           A     There are two times when I can recall meeting Todd  
2     Boulangier with Kevin. I do not recall meeting with Todd by  
3     myself.

4           Q     Can you describe those two occasions?

5           A     He was at a meeting I was having with Kevin.

6           Q     Do you remember when that was?

7           A     No, not specifically.

8           Q     Not for either of those two meetings?

9           A     I don't.

10          Q     Do you remember where they were?

11          A     I don't.

12          Q     Do you remember what they concerned?

13          A     I think one of them --

14                Mr. Aronica. We're not going to get into those areas of  
15     communications between these people. The fact of the meeting  
16     is as far as we're going to go. You went through the social,  
17     the business; okay, that was fine. But if you're talking  
18     about what specific topics might have been discussed or not  
19     discussed, we're not going to go into that.

20                She's identified the people she's met with. She  
21     indicated she met twice with -- how do you pronounce it --  
22     Boulangier -- Boulangier and then Ring on two separate  
23     occasions, and that's that. If you want to go down that list  
24     again and ask her whether she recalls her meeting them or  
25     having contact, go right ahead.

1 Ms. Amerling. Let's do that.

2 BY MS. AMERLING:

3 Q You mentioned Todd Boulanger.

4 A Uh-huh.

5 Q Shawn Vasell?

6 A I don't recall.

7 Q Duane Gibson?

8 A I don't recall meeting him either.

9 Q Michael Williams?

10 A I don't recall meeting him.

11 Q When you say "meeting," meeting or --

12 A Meeting or contact.

13 Q Stephanie Leger Short?

14 A I don't recall meeting her or any contacts with  
15 her.

16 Q Do you recall Padgett Wilson?

17 A I don't recall.

18 Q I think he was sometimes called Pat Wilson.

19 To your knowledge, how frequently did members of Jack  
20 Abramoff's team -- and by "team" I mean the individuals that  
21 I just went over, Tony Rudy, Neil Volz, Todd Boulanger, Shawn  
22 Vasell, Duane Gibson, Michael Williams, Stephanie Leger  
23 Short, and Padgett Wilson, and Kevin Ring and Jack  
24 Abramoff -- to your knowledge, how frequently did members of  
25 that team have contact with other individuals in the White

1 House?

2 A I have no idea.

3 Mr. Aronica. Yeah. It's not even clear she would  
4 recognize any of these people.

5 Ms. Amerling. Well, she's testified that she's met  
6 Kevin Ring.

7 Mr. Aronica. Yes. So if you want to ask that. I mean,  
8 if she could answer the question, did Abramoff meet somebody  
9 at the White House, I'm not sure she knew who he was or  
10 recognized the guy in that time frame. Of course, he's in  
11 the newspaper now, you see the fedora, back in that time  
12 frame.

13 Ms. Amerling. Well, if that's her testimony, she can  
14 tell us that.

15 Mr. Aronica. I would ask specifically down that list.  
16 I think that's the best way to do it. And it is all to her  
17 knowledge.

18 BY MS. AMERLING:

19 Q Do you know of any contacts between Jack Abramoff  
20 and any of your colleagues at the White House?

21 A I do not.

22 Q Do you know of any contacts between Kevin Ring and  
23 any of your colleagues at the White House?

24 A I do not.

25 Q You're not aware of any meetings that Kevin Ring

1           may have had with other people in the Office of  
2           Intergovernmental Affairs?

3           A     I only kept track of my meetings. I think I told  
4           you this before. When you're there, you're working on your  
5           things, and if you're not involved with it, you don't have  
6           time for it.

7           Q     When you met with Kevin Ring, there were never  
8           other White House officials in those meetings?

9           Mr. Aronica. We talked about the initial meeting where  
10          she met him with Ruben, and who else was there? Terry --  
11          Terry Miller?

12          The Witness. Right.

13          Mr. Aronica. Were there other times?

14          The Witness. There may have been an instance where if a  
15          tribal leader was in town, and they were coming in, then  
16          Ruben would meet with them because he was the Director. So  
17          if the elected official that they were representing, the  
18          tribal leader they were representing, was there, then they  
19          would come in and meet with Ruben. But as far as him having  
20          meetings with other people, I don't know.

21                   BY MS. AMERLING:

22          Q     How often do you recall Kevin Ring being in contact  
23          with Ruben Barrales?

24          A     I can only say for sure that one meeting, because,  
25          you know -- because I was there. As far as other meetings,

1 there may have been, but I don't recall any specific times or  
2 time frame or anything like that.

3 Q How about Tony Rudy, do you recall any contacts  
4 between Tony Rudy and any of your colleagues at the White  
5 House?

6 A I do not.

7 Q What about Neil Volz?

8 A I do not.

9 Mr. Aronica. Let me, because I just want to make sure  
10 the record is clear, she said she didn't know these people.

11 The Witness. Yeah. I wouldn't even know if he was  
12 there.

13 Mr. Aronica. Would you recognize them?

14 The Witness. No.

15 Mr. Aronica. Do you know what they look like?

16 The Witness. No.

17 Mr. Aronica. That individual may have been at a meeting  
18 that someone was having at the White House, but she wouldn't  
19 know whether it is Joe Schmoe or Neil Volz.

20 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

21 Mr. Aronica. You want to kind of make that clear on the  
22 record?

23 Ms. Amerling. Sure. These questions are about her  
24 knowledge, to the best of her knowledge.

25 Mr. Aronica. Right. To the best of her knowledge,

1 number one, did she know who the person was or recognize --  
2 in other words, we're sitting across from Kristin Amerling.  
3 I might not otherwise know who you are, but I'm sitting in a  
4 meeting with you, we've all been at meetings like that, but I  
5 don't know you.

6 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

7 Mr. Aronica. I want to sort of make that clear when she  
8 says what she says, it is in part that.

9 Ms. Amerling. Let's go through this list.

10 Mr. Aronica. Fine.

11 BY MS. AMERLING:

12 Q Did you know of any contacts between Todd Boulanger  
13 and any of your White House colleagues?

14 A I do not.

15 Q Shawn Vasell?

16 A Not that I recall.

17 Q Duane Gibson?

18 A Not that I recall.

19 Q Michael Williams?

20 A Not that I recall.

21 Q Stephanie Leger Short?

22 A Not that I recall.

23 Q Padgett Wilson?

24 A Not that I recall.

25 Q Let's turn to the subject of the Sandia Pueblo



1 boundary dispute. What do you know about the interests of  
2 the Sandia Pueblo Tribe and protecting lands in the Sandia  
3 Mountains in New Mexico?

4 A Hearing you say what the actual subject is of that,  
5 I do not know this was that issue or not. The only thing I  
6 remember is there was at one point a -- at one point there  
7 was a bill that was going to be signed by the President that  
8 had already gone through Congress. It was going to be  
9 signed, and it was going to benefit the Sandia in some way.  
10 And Ruben Barrales was going to be traveling to New Mexico on  
11 some other -- I don't remember if it was a conference or  
12 meeting or why he was going, but some -- one of the things  
13 that the White House would do sometimes is if a bill was  
14 signed, we would get what's called a red line printed of the  
15 bill, and then we would get the pen that the President had  
16 used to sign the bill and present it to whatever official,  
17 whatever city, county, reservation, whoever was in charge of  
18 that area they benefited. So since that was benefiting the  
19 Pueblo Sandia and it was in New Mexico, which was an  
20 important State to us, Ruben took a red line of the bill and  
21 went to Sandia and presented it to Governor Paisano, who was  
22 the Governor of the Pueblo Sandia at the time, and I think  
23 they had a photo op, and that was it. And that was a  
24 project, that was an event that I worked on.

25 Q I'm going to show the witness two e-mails and mark



1       RPTS JOHNSON

2       DCMN MAGMER

3       [11:08 a.m.]

4             Ms. Amerling. Let us go back on the record.

5             Let me start with a little bit of housekeeping. I  
6 believe I have gone about 40 minutes, or I have gone about  
7 40 minutes before the break. So I thought I could ask  
8 questions until about 11:30 and then turn it over to the  
9 minority.

10            Mr. Castor. Yeah. Sounds fine with me.

11            Ms. Amerling. Great.

12            Let me show the witness a third e-mail, which we will  
13 mark as Exhibit 3. Please let me know when you have had a  
14 chance to look that over.

15                                   [Farley Exhibit No. 3

16                                   was marked for identification.]

17                           BY MS. AMERLING:

18            Q     The first e-mail is a July 11th, 2002, e-mail, with  
19 the subject line Favor, in which Kevin Ring tells the  
20 witness, quote, I need one regarding Sandia. I can talk on  
21 the phone or take you to lunch, your choice. And the witness  
22 responds, call me now.

23            The second is an e-mail chain between the witness and  
24 Kevin Ring from July 12th, 2002, in which Ring asks whether  
25 you have received any feedback from a Senate office on the

1 Sandia Mountain issue; and you respond you are waiting to  
2 talk to someone and you have a message in to, quote, [REDACTED].

3 And the third e-mail that I have shown the witness is  
4 dated July 17th, 2002. It is from Kevin Ring to Sandia  
5 Pueblo Governor Stewart Paisano. And in this e-mail Ring  
6 tells Paisano that Jennifer Farley called, quote, [REDACTED] in a  
7 Senator's office last week, and that you were calling to say,  
8 quote, the President is planning to go to NM for Wilson again  
9 and wants to know if the mountain issue will be completed by  
10 the time of the visit. Goal here obviously is to show NM  
11 delegation there is some interest from parties other than  
12 Pueblo.

13 Did you contact a Senate office on the Sandia issue?

14 Mr. Aronica. We are -- as I mentioned earlier, if you  
15 want us to in a way authenticate some of these that, you  
16 know, are written to her on her White House e-mail and to ask  
17 whether there is any reason for her to believe that she  
18 didn't receive these e-mails, or any reason to believe it  
19 didn't come from here, we are fine with that.

20 However, we are not going to discuss, as I mentioned  
21 earlier, communications between she and any member of the  
22 Abramoff team. Okay? And that is across the board.

23 So if you want to show her a series of e-mails that are  
24 addressed to her and is there any reason to believe she  
25 didn't receive it, be my guest. But we are not going to talk

1 about the substance of the e-mails or any discussions she  
2 might have had about them. Okay?

3 Ms. Amerling. Just so we are --

4 Mr. Aronica. Because that's what I said from the  
5 beginning.

6 Ms. Amerling. -- completely clear -- well, the  
7 parameters of your concerns were not completely clear from  
8 what you said in the beginning. And my question -- my last  
9 question to Ms. Farley concerned her actions on the Sandia  
10 matter. My question did not concern did she communicate with  
11 a --

12 Mr. Aronica. I just want to let you know where we might  
13 be willing to go and where we are not going.

14 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

15 Mr. Aronica. So you know up front so I don't have to do  
16 this each time.

17 Ms. Amerling. Sure.

18 Mr. Aronica. Okay.

19 Ms. Amerling. And because it is not completely clear  
20 what the parameters are --

21 Mr. Aronica. Then you can ask, and I will let you know.

22 Ms. Amerling. Sure. And you can let me know as we go.

23 Mr. Aronica. Okay.

24 BY MS. AMERLING:

25 Q So to go back to that question, is your position

1 that --

2 Mr. Aronica. Why don't you repeat the question again?

3 BY MS. AMERLING:

4 Q My question is, did you contact a Senate office  
5 regarding the Sandia matter?

6 A I don't recall.

7 Q Do you have any reason to believe that you did not  
8 communicate with Kevin Ring as reflected in Exhibit 1 and  
9 Exhibit 2?

10 Mr. Aronica. We are not going to go into that. I told  
11 you.

12 Ms. Amerling. I thought you said she would be willing  
13 to --

14 Mr. Aronica. It was one thing you were asking -- you  
15 were asking the question, did she -- does she recall  
16 contacting somebody in [REDACTED]'s office? Her answer is, I  
17 don't recall. That is fine. It has nothing to do with the  
18 contents of the e-mails. Okay?

19 You are now asking her questions about the contents of  
20 the e-mails; and, as I mentioned at the very beginning, we  
21 are not going to go into that.

22 Ms. Amerling. What I understood you to be saying a few  
23 minutes ago was that she would be willing to confirm whether  
24 the e-mails that she has before her did or did not happen.

25 Is my understanding inaccurate?

1           Mr. Aronica. No, no, listen to what I am saying. If  
2 you are familiar with the term "authenticate" --

3           Ms. Amerling. Yes.

4           Mr. Aronica. Okay? And if the question to her is, is  
5 there any reason to believe you may not have received this,  
6 okay, or did you receive this, okay? She is not going to  
7 have any independent recollection of having received a series  
8 of e-mails. But, obviously, if it is addressed to her, all  
9 right, at her White House e-mail address, the answer will  
10 probably be there is no reason why I wouldn't have received  
11 it. But as far as the contents of what is in that e-mail, we  
12 are not going to be talking about that; and I think I am  
13 pretty clear about that. Okay?

14          Ms. Amerling. Okay.

15          Mr. Aronica. Because that is what I said. We are not  
16 going to be discussing communications. Okay? If you are  
17 going to ask the question whether she would have received  
18 this, the answer is probably, yes, I would have received it  
19 if it is on the e-mail account at the White House and was  
20 addressed to me. That is the extent of it. We are not going  
21 to talk about the contents of the e-mails.

22          Ms. Amerling. Let us turn to Exhibit 1.

23          Mr. Aronica. Okay.

24                   BY MS. AMERLING:

25           Q       Do you have any reason to believe that you didn't

1 receive this e-mail?

2 A No.

3 Q With respect to Exhibit 2, which is a chain of  
4 e-mails --

5 Mr. Ferretti. Can we hold on for one moment, please?

6 Mr. Aronica. I mean, obviously, if they are addressed  
7 to her, you know --

8 Mr. Ferretti. Okay. Pardon me.

9 Mr. Aronica. Yeah.

10 BY MS. AMERLING:

11 Q Do you have any reason to believe that you did not  
12 receive the e-mails reflected in Exhibit 2?

13 A No.

14 Q Let me ask you this. Would calling a Senate office  
15 be something that would be standard practice -- would have  
16 been standard practice in your job?

17 Mr. Aronica. What do you mean by "standard practice"?

18 Ms. Amerling. Would it be something that you would have  
19 done as a matter of course?

20 Mr. Aronica. That is another -- would you have done it?  
21 Was there any prohibition to not do it? I mean, somebody  
22 might on occasion call a Senator's office or a staffer on the  
23 Hill. Do they ordinarily do that? Maybe they do. Maybe  
24 they don't. You know?

25 BY MS. AMERLING:



1 Q Was it common for you to call a Senate office on a  
2 tribal matter?

3 The Witness. If I could just have a second.

4 [Discussion off the record.]

5 The Witness. I would on occasion.

6 BY MS. AMERLING:

7 Q Okay. Let us turn to some general questions about  
8 ethics guidance. Did the White House provide you and your  
9 colleagues with any guidance about accepting gifts or meals  
10 from lobbyists?

11 A Yes.

12 Q Were these in writing or by briefing or both?

13 A I think both.

14 Q When did you get such briefings?

15 A I think it was a few months after I worked there.  
16 It was within the first year, but I don't know the exact  
17 date.

18 Q You got a briefing or written guidance?

19 A Both. When you went to the briefing, then they  
20 gave you a handout.

21 Q And who gave these briefings?

22 A The White House Counsel's office.

23 Q Do you remember who specifically?

24 A You know, I remember his first name. I don't  
25 remember his last name. Moose.

1 Q Moose?

2 A That's why I remember it.

3 Q Could you please describe what you remember from  
4 that briefing?

5 A It was guidelines on what was allowed, what we  
6 could do as government employees as far as dollar limits of  
7 what you could accept or not accept. I don't remember  
8 specifically what the limits were.

9 Q You remember anything else about it?

10 A No.

11 Q Do you know if any of your colleagues at the White  
12 House accepted tickets to sporting events or concerts from  
13 Jack Abramoff or members of his lobbying team?

14 A I don't recall.

15 Q In 2002, Mr. Abramoff opened a restaurant called  
16 Signatures. Do you know if any of your colleagues at the  
17 White House had meals or drinks at Signatures at the  
18 invitation of Mr. Abramoff or his colleagues?

19 A I don't recall.

20 Q Do you know if any of your colleagues at the White  
21 House had meals or drinks at places other than Signatures  
22 with Mr. Abramoff or his associates?

23 A I don't recall.

24 Q Did any of your colleagues at the White House  
25 receive any other gifts from Mr. Abramoff or his associates?

1           A     I don't recall.

2           Q     Did you ever discuss joining Greenberg Traurig with  
3 anyone at that firm?

4           Mr. Aronica. Objection again to the -- as I laid out  
5 earlier, we are not going to be discussing communications  
6 between Ms. Farley and anyone at Greenberg -- at Abramoff,  
7 Abramoff team.

8           BY MS. AMERLING:

9           Q     Were you interested in seeking employment at  
10 Greenberg Traurig at any point while you were at the White  
11 House?

12          A     While I was at the White House, I would have days  
13 where I was seeking employment anywhere. But I wasn't  
14 actively -- I would have days where I was frustrated and I  
15 would want to leave, but I never formally talked to anyone or  
16 discussed anything about employment anywhere. I did not want  
17 to leave the White House and go work for them, no.

18          Q     Let's turn to the subject of nongovernmental e-mail  
19 accounts. Did you have an e-mail account provided by the RNC  
20 that you used while you were working at the White House?

21          A     No.

22          Q     Did you ever use any other nongovernmental e-mail  
23 account, such as a personal e-mail account, to conduct  
24 official White House business?

25          A     Not that I recall.

1           Q     Did you ever exchange e-mails discussing official  
2 governmental business with a White House official who was  
3 using a nongovernmental e-mail account?

4           A     If someone asked me to e-mail them on their  
5 georgewbush account, I would.

6           Q     And do you remember specific occasions where people  
7 would ask you to do that?

8           A     I can't remember a specific occasion, but I can  
9 remember -- I remember two people who asked me to e-mail to  
10 their georgewbush account.

11          Q     And who were they?

12          A     They were in the -- let me just think of names --  
13 Sara Taylor and Dave Thomas.

14          Q     And what was your understanding of why you were  
15 asked to e-mail to a georgewbush account?

16          A     They asked me to. I had no understanding as to  
17 why.

18          Q     Did anyone at the White House ever mention to you  
19 that e-mails on nongovernmental accounts such as -- let me  
20 rephrase that. Did anyone at the White House ever mention to  
21 you that e-mails on accounts provided by the RNC were not  
22 preserved?

23          A     No.

24          Q     Did anyone at the White House ever mention to you  
25 that e-mails on accounts -- other political accounts were not

1 preserved?

2 A No.

3 Q Did anyone ever tell you that any of your White  
4 House colleagues used RNC e-mail accounts to avoid creating a  
5 permanent record of their communications about official  
6 government business while at the White House?

7 A No.

8 Q Do you have any reason to believe that any of your  
9 White House colleagues used RNC e-mail accounts to avoid  
10 creating a permanent record about their official business  
11 communications?

12 A No.

13 Q Did anyone ever tell you that any of your White  
14 House colleagues communicated over campaign e-mail accounts  
15 or other nongovernmental e-mail accounts to avoid creating a  
16 permanent record of official business communications?

17 A No.

18 Q Do you remember an ethics briefing for the Office  
19 of Intergovernmental Affairs in which members of the office  
20 received instructions not to include lobbyists in meetings or  
21 call lobbyists about tribal matters?

22 A No.

23 Ms. Amerling. I am showing the witness an e-mail chain  
24 we will mark as Exhibit 4.

25

1 [Farley Exhibit No. 4  
2 was marked for identification.]

3 Ms. Amerling. Please let me know when you have had a  
4 chance to read it.

5 Mr. Aronica. One page?

6 Ms. Amerling. Yes, it is one page.

7 The Witness. All set.

8 Ms. Amerling. Have you had a chance to read it?

9 The Witness. I read it.

10 BY MS. AMERLING:

11 Q This is an e-mail from Kevin Ring to Greenberg  
12 Traurig colleagues dated March 1st, 2003. Ring says he just  
13 learned that the Intergovernmental Affairs Office, quote,  
14 just received their ethics briefing, and they concluded they  
15 should never call lobbyists anymore, and will never have  
16 lobbyists sit in meetings.

17 Does this description refresh your recollection of any  
18 briefing you might have received in early 2003?

19 A I don't recall a briefing on this.

20 Q Do you recall getting any instructions, other than  
21 in a briefing form, similar to those described?

22 A I don't recall. Huh-uh.

23 Ms. Amerling. I think that concludes my hour. Why  
24 don't I stop here.

25 Mr. Castor. You can keep going.



1 Ms. Amerling. Have you had a chance to look it over?

2 The Witness. Yes. I am sorry. I nodded. Yes.

3 BY MS. AMERLING:

4 Q This is an e-mail between Kevin Ring and David  
5 Mielke, a lawyer for the Pueblo Sandia, dated January 22nd,  
6 2004. And in this e-mail Ring notes that the Pueblo Sandia  
7 Governor Stewart Paisano had been approached by Howard Dean's  
8 folks. And he also says Jennifer Farley, quote, told me she  
9 wanted to invite SP to a political event. Keep that quiet,  
10 as Jennifer can't be doing political work.

11 Do you know what political event Kevin Ring is referring  
12 to?

13 A I don't know.

14 Q Did you reach out to Abramoff clients to invite  
15 them to fundraising or campaign events while you were working  
16 at the White House?

17 A Not that I recall.

18 Q Did anyone at the White House ask you to work on  
19 political events while you were at the White House?

20 A Not that I recall.

21 Q Did you have concerns about doing political work  
22 while you were at the White House?

23 A I don't understand the question.

24 Q Were there rules that limited political work that  
25 you could do when you were a White House employee?



1           A     Yes, there are rules that limit political work you  
2     can do.

3           Q     And did you receive briefings on those rules?

4           A     Yes.

5           Q     Is that part of the same ethics briefing that you  
6     got --

7           A     Yes.

8           Q     -- that you described earlier?

9           A     Yes.

10          Q     Let's go back to the subject of gifts offered by  
11     Jack Abramoff to White House officials. Now, I understand  
12     from the remarks of your attorney that there are limits on  
13     what you are willing to talk about on this subject. I am  
14     going to ask a handful of questions to make sure that we have  
15     a clear record about the scope of the subject area that you  
16     are not willing to discuss today.

17                 Are you willing to answer any questions regarding  
18     whether you accepted meals or tickets to sports or  
19     entertainment events from Jack Abramoff or his lobbying  
20     associates while at the White House without reimbursing the  
21     cost of these items?

22                 Mr. Aronica. The answer to that is, no, we are not  
23     going to be discussing, as I mentioned earlier, any benefits  
24     that might have been offered or may not have been offered by  
25     the Abramoff team to her.

1 BY MS. AMERLING:

2 Q Are you willing to answer any questions whether you  
3 accepted any gifts from Abramoff lobbyists for or because of  
4 any officials actions you took relating to the interests of  
5 Abramoff clients?

6 Mr. Aronica. No.

7 BY MS. AMERLING:

8 Q In several e-mails obtained by the committee --

9 Ms. Amerling. Let me get those e-mails out. The first  
10 e-mail we will mark is Exhibit 6.

11 [Farley Exhibit No. 6  
12 was marked for identification.]

13 Ms. Amerling. And that is an e-mail chain dated  
14 December 3rd, 2002.

15 The second we will mark as Exhibit 7 is an e-mail chain  
16 dated December 12th, 2002.

17 [Farley Exhibit No. 7  
18 was marked for identification.]

19 Mr. Aronica. Is something cut off on Exhibit 7? The  
20 back page two of six, two doesn't have a "from". I think  
21 something is missing.

22 Ms. Amerling. You mean at the top of it?

23 Mr. Aronica. Yeah.

24 Ms. Amerling. Sometimes these e-mails came out that  
25 way, at least the versions that we got.

1           Mr. Aronica.   Okay.

2           Ms. Amerling.   Have you had a chance to look these over?

3           The Witness.   Huh-uh.

4           Ms. Amerling.   I am sorry.   I didn't hear you.

5           The Witness.   I am looking at them now.

6           Okay.   I have looked at them.

7                       BY MS. AMERLING:

8           Q       In these e-mails there is some discussion about  
9           whether Ring has any, quote, fruit.   One of them, in the  
10          first, December 3rd, e-mail you e-mailed Ring and asked him  
11          to, quote, let me know about the fruit in the middle of the  
12          basket.   He replied the fruit is going to happen.   Just  
13          trying to make sure it is picked on the right day.

14          In the second e-mail exchange I put before you that is  
15          dated December 12th, 2002, you ask Ring if he has, quote, any  
16          kind of fruit tonight.   And Ring replies no games tonight.  
17          Are you willing to discuss what you mean by the term "fruit"?

18          Mr. Aronica.   No.   Again, it goes back to the statement  
19          I made at the beginning and we have discussed several times  
20          already.

21          Ms. Amerling.   Okay.

22                       BY MS. AMERLING:

23          Q       Did you ever talk to Debbie Spagnoli -- is that how  
24          you pronounce it?

25          A       Yes.   That's how you pronounce it.

1           Q     -- or anyone at the White House Counsel's office  
2     about the appropriateness of accepting tickets from  
3     lobbyists?

4           A     I don't recall.

5           Q     Do you recall ever asking permission about whether  
6     you could accept tickets from lobbyists from her or anyone at  
7     the White House Counsel's office?

8           A     I don't recall a specific discussion, no.

9           Q     Do you recall anyone ever telling you that you  
10    shouldn't accept tickets from lobbyists?

11          A     Just the ethics briefing is all I recall. We had  
12    an ethics briefing.

13          Q     Did you discuss the issue of accepting tickets from  
14    lobbyists with anyone else at the White House?

15          A     I don't recall.

16          Q     Could you please describe what you know about the  
17    interests of the Saginaw Chippewa tribe of Michigan in  
18    securing a \$3 million Federal grant for school construction  
19    in 2002 and 2003?

20          A     I don't recall anything specifically about that.

21          Q     You don't recall whether you or anyone else in the  
22    Office of Intergovernmental Affairs took any action relating  
23    to that issue?

24          A     School construction was I think one of the promises  
25    that the President had made while he was campaigning, that he

1 would fund school construction up to a certain percent. So  
2 there were several schools -- there were several Indian  
3 schools in several States that were looking to get their  
4 funding for school construction. And we were -- well, our  
5 office wasn't, but Strategic Initiatives, which is another  
6 office under Karl Rove, they were in charge of tracking what  
7 the -- that the campaign promises were fulfilled.

8 So one of the campaign promises was Indian school  
9 construction. So I do remember seeing a graph on that of  
10 what the funding was, but I don't remember specific funding  
11 to a school or from a school.

12 I probably had discussions about it because it had to do  
13 with Indian affairs, and it was also -- it was more handled  
14 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is an agency that I  
15 would refer people to quite often for those types of issues.  
16 But I don't remember anything specifically about that tribe.

17 Q Do you have any recollection of any effort to  
18 urge -- by anyone in your office to urge congressional  
19 appropriators to support funding for that school?

20 A I do not.

21 Q Do you have any knowledge of a 2002 grant of  
22 \$16 million from the Office of Justice Programs to the  
23 Mississippi band of the Choctaw for construction of a jail?

24 A I do not.

25 Q Let's turn to the subject of a potential gaming

1 compact between the Jena band of the Choctaw and the State of  
2 Louisiana, which was under discussion in 2002 and 2003. Were  
3 you aware -- do you have any knowledge of this issue?

4 A As a rule, the White House did not get involved in  
5 issues of gaming or compacts or anything like that. That was  
6 handled by the Department of Interior. That was not our  
7 office.

8 Q Do you know whether the White House had any  
9 involvement in this specific --

10 A I do not.

11 Q -- gaming compact issue?

12 A I do not.

13 Q Were you aware that Jack Abramoff wanted to stop  
14 approval of a gaming compact for the Jena?

15 The Witness. Can I have just a second?

16 [Discussion off the record.]

17 Mr. Dietrick. You are referring to in that time frame,  
18 contemporaneously?

19 Ms. Amerling. Yes.

20 Mr. Aronica. Why don't we, if we could, go on to some  
21 other questions, and then we will take a break and then get  
22 back to that.

23 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

24 Mr. Aronica. Because I just need to put that in  
25 context.

1 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

2 BY MS. AMERLING:

3 Q Let's turn to the subject of the Hopi. Was the  
4 White House involved in helping ensure that the Hopi tribe of  
5 Arizona obtain permission to collect golden eaglets from  
6 Federal or State lands for ceremonial purposes?

7 [Discussion off the record.]

8 Ms. Amerling. Part of my job was if a tribe would come  
9 to us and they had an issue that they needed help with, I  
10 would refer them to the right agency. I believe that the  
11 Hopi tribe did ask us about that issue, and I referred them  
12 over to the Department of Interior.

13 BY MS. AMERLING:

14 Q Did you take any other actions relating to that  
15 issue?

16 A Not that I recall.

17 Q Do you recall meeting with the Hopi chairmen and  
18 others at the White House on the eaglet matter?

19 A I recall meeting with them and then referring them  
20 to -- after they met with us and told us what they needed,  
21 then I referred them over to Interior.

22 Q And is my understanding of your -- hold on a  
23 minute. With respect to nominations of individuals to posts  
24 within the administration, what role did the Office of  
25 Intergovernmental Affairs play?

1           A     The Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, since we  
2 worked with Indian tribes and tribal leaders and in close  
3 contact with them, if a position were to come available, for  
4 instance, a position that they wanted to put someone in who  
5 was American Indian, they would ask us to put together a list  
6 of people that we thought were -- that would be good in that  
7 position.

8           Q     Who would ask you to put that list together?

9           A     The Office of Political Affairs. And then we would  
10 give the list to them, and they would send it over to  
11 Presidential Personnel.

12                Because all political appointees I think had to go  
13 through some -- not only do they have to go through the  
14 Presidential Personnel process, but I think they also had to  
15 be vetted politically for obviously political appointments.  
16 So we would give them names of tribal leaders or American  
17 Indians that we have worked with that we thought would be  
18 good for those positions.

19           Q     And how did you go about coming up with that list?

20           A     Just based upon our personal experience working  
21 with them.

22           Q     Did you consult with lobbyists as part of the  
23 process of developing that list?

24           A     I wouldn't say we consulted with lobbyists, but  
25 people would say, oh, you know, the chairman I work for is



1 interested in this. And then if I knew them and had worked  
2 with them and I thought that they would be, you know, a good  
3 potential nominee, then I would put their name forward.

4 But it wasn't always -- you know, it didn't always come  
5 from a lobbyist. It came from several sources. It came from  
6 people over at Interior; it came from people at, you know,  
7 other agencies, the other intergovernmental affairs offices  
8 that had worked with them. So it was a lot of different  
9 folks putting forward names.

10 Q Did you ever pass along information to lobbyists  
11 about who was under consideration?

12 A I didn't know who was under consideration. I mean,  
13 I had the list that we had put together. I didn't share that  
14 list with people. But it was put forward to the Political  
15 office. We did not make the decision on those positions at  
16 all. If you have to go through 10 lists, we were the first  
17 one.

18 Q So you never heard about who might be --

19 A No, I didn't know.

20 Q -- candidates --

21 A Before positions, people were announced, I didn't  
22 know who they were, and I didn't know, you know, who it was  
23 down to or who it was between or anything like that. I would  
24 hear things, but I wasn't involved in it.

25 Q Now, in January, 2006, after Jack Abramoff pled

1 guilty to multiple felonies --

2 A Yes.

3 Q -- the White House made a number of different  
4 public representations about the White House relationship  
5 with Jack Abramoff. Did anyone at the White House contact  
6 you before making those representations?

7 Mr. Aronica. About those -- about what would be said?

8 Ms. Amerling. Did anyone contact you about -- to  
9 discuss Jack Abramoff's contacts with the White House and the  
10 contacts that his team had with the White House before  
11 making -- before the White House made those public  
12 representations?

13 The Witness. Not that I recall, no.

14 BY MS. AMERLING:

15 Q And in September of 2006 this committee released a  
16 bipartisan staff report concerning Jack Abramoff's contacts  
17 with the White House. Did anyone from the White House  
18 contact you to discuss that report or follow up with you  
19 about that subject --

20 A Not that I recall.

21 Q -- after the release of that report?

22 A Not that I recall.

23 Ms. Amerling. We have a subject that we put to the  
24 side, and we have minority questions. Would you like to go  
25 through the minority questions first and then come back?

1 Take a break, take a lunch break and come back to mine?

2 Mr. Aronica. I hope we don't have to take a lunch  
3 break.

4 Ms. Amerling. We could take a break now and then have  
5 minority questions and then mine. What is your preference,  
6 Steve?

7 Mr. Castor. Whatever.

8 Ms. Amerling. Would you like to take a break now?

9 Mr. Aronica. Sure, we will take a break now and then  
10 come back. About 5, 10 minutes. Noon.

11 [Discussion off the record.]

12 [Recess.]

13 Mr. Castor. So I am going to go? Okay.

14 Mr. Aronica. Did we want to go -- okay. There was one  
15 question that you asked earlier that we want to just clarify,  
16 and that was a question that you asked about any  
17 conversations with the ethics office about issues outside of  
18 the briefings. I think it was something like that that you  
19 asked. And I think her response was she didn't recall any.  
20 All right? We want to add to that.

21 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

22 Mr. Aronica. Okay? And she recalls a discussion with  
23 Moose --

24 The Witness. Uh-huh.

25 Mr. Aronica. -- Moose about what are widely attended

1 events. That is the only thing I wanted to mention.

2 And then you had that other question that I said take up  
3 later or -- did you want to ask that question again?

4 Ms. Amerling. Well, I had a few questions about -- that  
5 was on the subject of the Jena gaming compact.

6 Mr. Aronica. Want to go back to that after Steve? We  
7 can do it now.

8 Ms. Amerling. I defer to the minority, since it is  
9 their turn for questions.

10 Mr. Castor. If you have got something on your mind that  
11 you want to, you know, close the book on or -- what is your  
12 preference?

13 Mr. Aronica. Since I said let's take a break and we are  
14 going to discuss a couple things, we can go back and deal  
15 with that.

16 Ms. Amerling. I may have a few follow-up questions.

17 Mr. Aronica. And we may or may not be in a position to  
18 answer those.

19 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

20 Mr. Aronica. So I don't care whether you do it now or  
21 Steve goes and we do it later. It makes no difference.

22 Mr. Castor. I will just go.

23 Mr. Aronica. Okay.

24 Ms. Amerling. Okay.

25

EXAMINATION

1 BY MR. CASTOR:

2 Q Ms. Farley, thanks for coming here today  
3 voluntarily.

4 Where did you work immediately before you came to the  
5 White House in August, 2001?

6 A I was with Luntz Research Companies.

7 Q And how long were you there?

8 A I think 5 months roughly.

9 Q And before that?

10 A I was at the National Republican Senatorial  
11 Committee.

12 Q And how long were you with NRSC?

13 A Two years, almost three.

14 Q Before that, where did you work?

15 A For Haley Barbour at Barbour, Griffin & Rogers.

16 Q So you were --

17 A I was executive assistant to Haley.

18 Q And how long were you with that lobbying firm?

19 A I think 5 or 6 months.

20 Q Before that, where did you work?

21 A Luntz Research again.

22 Q And how long were you with Luntz that stint?

23 A Six months.

24 Q And before that?

25 A Two years with John McCain.

1 Q Were you in his official Senate office?

2 A Yes. I was a staff assistant.

3 Q And I have lost track. So what years were you with  
4 Senator McCain?

5 A McCain, I think it was from '95 to I want to say  
6 '97 or '98. Frank Luntz or Luntz Research was from end of  
7 '97 to beginning of '98. Haley Barbour was '98. And then I  
8 went to the senatorial committee '98 to 2000. Frank from  
9 2001 until I went to the White House in 2000 -- August, 2001.

10 Q Fair enough. And these are ballpark figures.

11 A Yeah.

12 Q So before McCain where were you?

13 A I was in Arizona, and I was working at Jenny Craig  
14 as a weight loss counselor.

15 Q So you moved to Washington in '95, roughly?

16 A To work for --

17 Q And that was your first --

18 A Correct.

19 Q -- political job?

20 A Right. I worked for -- I moved to D.C. to work for  
21 John McCain.

22 Q Okay. You said you worked long hours at the White  
23 House. What does that mean? Did you leave work ordinarily  
24 8 o'clock, 9 o'clock, 10 o'clock at night?

25 A The thing is, if I had a west wing tour that night,

1 then west wing tours didn't start until 10 minutes before 8.  
2 So you could get a west wing tour at 9:50, and that would  
3 take you hour and go home at 11.

4 So just depending on the day and what was going on, I  
5 would usually get there in the morning around 8 o'clock,  
6 would have a staff meeting. I might have a couple meetings  
7 with folks. We would meet with other intergovernmental  
8 representatives from the agencies and just, you know, as the  
9 day went on, it would just depend on what was going on that  
10 day how late we were staying.

11 Q Did you have a pattern or practice in terms of  
12 eating lunch when you were at the White House?

13 A I would usually either eat at my desk or I would  
14 only have about 30 -- you know, 30 to 40 minutes probably.

15 Q So you would normally eat on site?

16 A Yeah, I tried to do that because it was the  
17 easiest.

18 Q Did you bring your lunch to work on a regular  
19 basis?

20 A Sometimes. If I remembered. If I could get to the  
21 grocery store to buy the groceries, yeah, sometimes. But  
22 there was also a cafeteria in the OEOP, and I ate there a  
23 lot, too.

24 Q When you would go outside of the White House to  
25 eat, did you use cash to pay for your lunches or did you use

1 money cards?

2 A Most of the time, it was cash.

3 Q So you came to the White House August, 2001. You  
4 reported to Ms. Spagnoli. Is that correct?

5 A Yes.

6 Q And at some point in time she left the White House?

7 A Right.

8 Q And did you fill her position?

9 A No.

10 Q Maybe you could just walk me through that. Do you  
11 remember when she left the White House? Roughly?

12 A She left, I would say -- I would say she left in  
13 2000 -- end of 2003, maybe, 2004. I think end of 2003 would  
14 be my guess.

15 But what happened was I was -- when I started working in  
16 tribal affairs and I was getting busier and busier doing  
17 that, then less time, you know, doing things for her, I would  
18 report to her, I was more reporting to Ruben.

19 Q What was your title again? You were staff  
20 assistant?

21 A It was staff assistant, and then it was the deputy  
22 associate director.

23 Q Okay. And --

24 A Which there really -- honestly, there is really no  
25 distinction between staff assistant and deputy associate



1 director, but deputy associate director sounds better, and  
2 when I would have meetings with tribal leaders they were not  
3 happy that they were meeting with a staff assistant. So I  
4 got that title to, you know -- I guess, basically, it looked  
5 more official.

6 Q Within Intergovernmental Affairs, is there any  
7 title lower, other than staff assistant, than deputy  
8 associate director?

9 A No.

10 Q So that is like the line, staff --

11 A Yeah, it is pretty much parallel. It is, you  
12 know --

13 Q Walk me through again how the Intergovernmental  
14 Affairs is divided up, the staff. Like, for example, is  
15 there a staffer that works mostly with States?

16 A There is -- the director was Ruben, and he oversaw  
17 the entire office.

18 Then there is three special assistant positions, special  
19 assistants to the President. There is one for governors, one  
20 for mayors, and one for State legislators. Now, with the  
21 State legislators, tribal leaders are supposed to be in that  
22 portfolio, also.

23 Then there is two associate directors, one for counties,  
24 and the other one is for -- I can't think what the other one  
25 is for. I don't remember the other constituency. Something.

1           Q     Now is it fair to say for the staffers in the White  
2 House --

3           A     Right.

4           Q     -- that are in the Office of Intergovernmental  
5 Affairs dealing with governors, dealing with mayors, dealing  
6 with State legislators and their staffs and counties, is it  
7 fair to say that the job responsibility is to reach out to  
8 these folks --

9           A     Yes.

10          Q     -- whether it is the governors or their staff --

11          A     Yes.

12          Q     -- or their Washington representatives --

13          A     Yes.

14          Q     -- to --

15          A     Our job was to touch as many people as possible on  
16 behalf of the White House.

17          Q     And with that, you know, part of reaching out is  
18 giving these different constituencies the sense that they  
19 have an avenue into the White House --

20          A     Exactly.

21          Q     -- to voice their concerns?

22          A     Exactly.

23          Q     And sometimes -- correct me if I am not -- part of  
24 the staffers -- the White House staff's job is to help these  
25 governors, these mayors and their staffs and their Washington

1 representatives feel good?

2 A Yes.

3 Q That they are having an opportunity to communicate  
4 with the White House?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Most of these constituencies -- is that a good word  
7 to use?

8 A Yes, we called them constituencies, yes.

9 Q I am trying to group all the -- I guess, governors,  
10 you have got the mayors, you have got the State legislators,  
11 counties. I mean, these constituencies for the most part --  
12 and correct me if I am wrong -- they have Washington  
13 representatives?

14 A Yes. Not all of them, but some of them, yes.

15 Q And is it fair to say that if they do have a  
16 Washington representative the person to talk to would be the  
17 Washington representative if you are the White House staff?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Obviously, there could be a specific set of  
20 circumstances, but, you know, it is kind of like -- and  
21 correct me if I am wrong -- but, you know, if someone has a  
22 lawyer and I am congressional staff, I am going to reach out  
23 and talk to their lawyer --

24 A Right.

25 Q -- as opposed to them directly.

1 A Right.

2 Q So that is sort of the way it was for the most  
3 part?

4 A Yes.

5 Q And so the staff of the Office of Intergovernmental  
6 Affairs, pretty much one of their major roles and  
7 responsibilities is communicating with these different  
8 constituency groups, often through their Washington  
9 representatives?

10 A Yes.

11 Q So is it also fair to say that one of your primary  
12 job responsibilities or the primary job responsibility of a  
13 staffer in the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs is to  
14 communicate with Washington representatives or lobbyists?

15 A Yes.

16 Q The Indian tribes, it is true that they also have  
17 Washington representatives, correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Do you remember sitting here today -- I think Akin  
20 Gump has an Indian affairs lobby shop?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Greenberg Traurig?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Can you think, as we sit here today, how many other  
25 lobby shops there were that dealt with Indian affairs?

1 A Probably eight.

2 Q Eight? And just what were they, if you don't mind?

3 A The names of the firms or the actual --

4 Q Right, if you can remember them.

5 A There was Holland & Knight. There was -- Holland &  
6 Knight, Akin Gump, Johnston & Associates. You know, there  
7 was -- I don't remember what firm it was, but it is now -- it  
8 is now called The Franklin Partnership, but I don't remember  
9 what the name of the firm was before.

10 There is another one -- also, there were individual  
11 people who kind of headed their own shops that lobbied for  
12 tribes. And I can tell you those individuals, but I don't  
13 know if there is names of their companies.

14 Q So there is eight, nine, ten different --

15 A Yeah. Yeah.

16 Q -- shops, whether it is sole practitioner or a  
17 firm?

18 A Right.

19 Q And is it fair to say that a staffer in the Office  
20 of Intergovernmental Affairs that would deal with the Indian  
21 tribes might end up speaking with any number of those eight  
22 to ten Washington representatives for Indian tribes?

23 A Yes. Yes.

24 Q And did you, as a staffer?

25 A Yes.

1           Q     In terms of other outreach efforts, I guess we --  
2     you told us a little bit about a help desk-like role. You  
3     mentioned a speech. Giving speeches, I guess, is another  
4     means of outreach?

5           A     Uh-huh.

6           Q     Can you think of any other -- telephone calls with  
7     different constituency groups? Can you think of any other  
8     outreach efforts that you participated in or that a typical  
9     staffer in the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs would  
10    participate in?

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1       RPTS DEAN

2       DCMN MAGMER

3           A     Letters from the President for birthdays,  
4     anniversaries, births of children. When they came to town  
5     giving them White House tours. If we were going out to their  
6     State.

7           For instance, I traveled to Arizona to speak at a  
8     conference. While I was there, I met with someone at the  
9     governor's office. I met with the mayor of the city. I met  
10    with the county officials that were there, pretty much tried  
11    to touch as many elected officials as I could while I was  
12    there.

13          Also, in following the events where if the President was  
14    doing an event in, say, Connecticut, making sure that the  
15    mayor knew, the governor knew, whoever -- whatever other  
16    elected official was there, to either greet of President when  
17    he comes off Air Force One or be with him on stage while he's  
18    speaking or be on rope line, including them in the event in  
19    some way. We coordinated that. So those kinds of things.

20          Q     Did Members of Congress -- did their staff ever  
21    reach out to your office to help coordinate that?

22          A     Members of Congress -- if there was something that  
23    the President was doing that was involving a Member of  
24    Congress and it was, say, within their -- whatever they were  
25    doing had do with that Member of Congress -- the State, the

1        tribe, the governor, whoever -- all parties involved in that  
2        would be involved in whatever the event was. So you would  
3        try to get as many people together in the same place just  
4        so -- you know, to commemorate the accomplishment, so to  
5        speak. It is possible that I would speak to congressional  
6        offices or that they would call us, yes.

7            Q        Did anyone in the Office of Intergovernmental  
8        Affairs ever encourage you or anyone on staff that they  
9        shouldn't be helpful, shouldn't conduct outreach or shouldn't  
10       return phone calls if a Democratic governor called or a  
11       Democratic mayor?

12            A        No, we were supposed to be equally helpful to  
13       everyone.

14            Q        Or a Democratic mayor?

15            A        No, equally helpful to everyone.

16            Q        I think it is probably fair to say that you  
17       interacted more with Republicans because it is for a  
18       Republican President, but did you also interact with  
19       Democrats on a regular basis?

20            A        Yes.

21            Q        And there was no instruction that you should not  
22       interact with Democrats?

23            A        No.

24            Q        How much interaction did you have as you sit here  
25       today, if you can recall, interacting with Democrats?



1           A    I can't really say how much I helped with  
2           Republicans or Democrats. I would say it was equal. A lot  
3           of times when I would meet with a tribal leader I would have  
4           no idea if they were Republican or Democrat. They don't --  
5           unlike our elected officials, you know what they are. When a  
6           tribal leader runs for office within his tribe, he doesn't  
7           say whether he Republican or Democrat, so I can't really  
8           speak to that.

9           Q    Is it fair to say Indian tribes are generally not  
10          necessarily Republican or Democrat?

11          A    Yes.

12          Q    They have their own unique political situation?

13          A    Yes. Individuals within the tribe could be  
14          Republican or Democrat, but the tribe itself is neither.

15          Q    Some of these e-mails that were shown to you  
16          earlier --

17          A    Yes.

18          Q    I'm just talking generally, especially some of the  
19          e-mails that you weren't on that were just in-house Greenberg  
20          guy, Greenberg guy.

21          A    Right.

22          Q    You have some experience here in Washington with  
23          how lobbyists operate?

24          A    Yes.

25          Q    You worked for Barbara Griffith. You worked in a

1 number of different -- in Senator McCain's office. Isn't it  
2 fair to say that oftentimes lobbyists amongst themselves and  
3 amongst themselves between their clients and folks they  
4 represent sometimes will puff up --

5 A Yes.

6 Q -- the communications they have, the influence they  
7 might think they have --

8 A Yes.

9 Q -- with staffers?

10 A Yes.

11 Q Whether it be a Senator's office, whether it be at  
12 the White House?

13 A Yes.

14 Q So this Nan Everson meeting that is discussed in  
15 Exhibit 4 -- you know who Nan Everson is, right?

16 A Yes.

17 Q White House Counsel's Office, she's like the ethics  
18 lawyer.

19 A Yes. She was -- she was -- she was after Moose,  
20 yes.

21 Q I forget what you said earlier, so I'm not trying  
22 to -- do you have any recollection of Nan having a meeting  
23 trying to get the word out that your office isn't supposed to  
24 be communicating with the Washington representatives?

25 A I don't recall that meeting.

1           Q     And I guess if such a meeting did occur, maybe a  
2 lobbyist would be exercised about it, but I imagine maybe a  
3 White House staffer might not have a recollection of that  
4 meeting, because it probably wouldn't have been a big deal to  
5 you if someone in the White House told you to deal directly a  
6 particular constituency group, right?

7           A     Yes.

8           Q     So this meeting could have happened or it could not  
9 have happened. It doesn't mean really much of anything; is  
10 that fair to say?

11          A     Correct.

12          Q     Whereas, on the lobbyist end of things, that's a  
13 big deal for them. They might have a better recollection,  
14 might be a more vivid event. Mr. Abramoff has colorful  
15 language here. Obviously, from other e-mail tracks that you  
16 haven't seen that this was a huge deal --

17          A     Yes.

18          Q     -- for them.

19                That's understandable. I think you might even sign up  
20 to that?

21          A     [Nonverbal response.]

22          Q     You don't have to answer that. That's a stupid  
23 question.

24          A     I'm sorry. Did you ask a question that I --

25          Q     I did, but I actually withdrew it.

1 A Oh, okay. I said something --

2 Q I deemed it stupid, so --

3 A I thought you might have heard me wrong, sorry.

4 Q Sure.

5 The folks that you worked for in the White House Office  
6 of Intergovernmental Affairs -- Ms. Spagnoli, Ruben Barrales  
7 and other folks -- did they ever give you any specific  
8 instructions about whether you ought to be talking with  
9 Washington representatives or talking with the constituency  
10 groups directly?

11 A No.

12 Q So it is fair to say that if you were dealing with  
13 Washington representatives of different constituency groups  
14 you would be, A, doing your job; is that correct?

15 A Yes.

16 Q B, you would be doing something that happens every  
17 day at the White House?

18 A Yes.

19 Q In different -- I'm sure the folks at the Office of  
20 Public Liaison are busy dealing with different constituency  
21 groups, correct?

22 A Yes.

23 Q And oftentimes their Washington representatives?

24 A Yes.

25 Q And it is fair to say Mr. Barrales, Ms. Spagnoli

1 and other people at the same level as you are also talking  
2 with the Washington representatives --

3 A Yes.

4 Q -- of different constituency groups --

5 A Yes.

6 Q -- every day --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- as their job?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Some of the specific matters that we discussed  
11 relating to Indian affairs, which is the Sandia Mountain  
12 boundary dispute and some of the other things, some of the  
13 other specific subject matters, is it fair to say that if we  
14 talked about five or six different topics that that -- that  
15 they were maybe a couple topics in several hundred topics  
16 that you dealt with --

17 A Yes.

18 Q -- or several thousand topics?

19 A Yes.

20 Q -- that you dealt with?

21 A Yes.

22 Q And whether several hundred or several thousand,  
23 they all had different constituency groups that were  
24 affected?

25 A [Nonverbal response.]

1           Q     They all probably had Washington representatives  
2 that were in the mix calling your office?

3           A     And so, with regard to the Sandia Mountain issue and any  
4 of the other issues that we've refreshed your recollection  
5 about here today, was there anything different about the ones  
6 we've asked you about or the staff's asked you about than any  
7 other topic that that would come across the plate of a given  
8 staffer in the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs?

9           A     No.

10          Q     With the exception of the Greenberg firm, some of  
11 the other firms you mentioned -- Akin, Gump, Holland &  
12 Knight -- they are the folks who dealt with -- that  
13 represented -- that served as the Washington representatives  
14 for Indian tribes. Do you have any recollection of anything  
15 that any of those lobbyists did or Washington representatives  
16 did that was out of the ordinary or particularly memorable?

17          A     As lobbyists?

18          Q     Right, right. Did you ever get a sense when you  
19 talked to people at Holland & Knight or Akin, Gump or any of  
20 the other firms that you mentioned that dealt with the Indian  
21 tribes, did any -- do you have any recollection of them ever  
22 asking you for a favor that you thought was inappropriate?

23          A     No.

24          Q     When you had meetings in the -- did you ever have  
25 meetings over lunch on the White House property?

1 A Yes.

2 Q At the mess?

3 A I did not have access to the mess.

4 Q If you were going to have a lunch meeting with  
5 someone --

6 A It was in the cafeteria downstairs in OEOB.

7 Q Did you ever go outside to Cosi --

8 A Yes.

9 Q -- or any other nearby location?

10 A Yes.

11 Q When you have lunch with a Washington  
12 representative perhaps, whether it is at the White House or  
13 Cosi, it is part of your job, is it not?

14 A Yes.

15 Q It is part of the outreach, it is just like making  
16 phone calls, it is just like getting out and making sure that  
17 the different constituency groups feel good about when the  
18 President comes to visit?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Just like the different constituency groups ought  
21 to feel good -- if there is a policy initiative with the  
22 President, they ought to feel like their voice is heard?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Part of your job, in effect, is to, at some level,  
-25 have lunch with folks?

1           A     Yes.

2           Q     And when people come into the White House there's a  
3     fairly cumbersome process -- maybe "cumbersome" is not the  
4     right word -- but you have to dial in to the security, you  
5     have to give your Social Security number?

6           A     Yes.

7           Q     What else do you have to do to get someone in the  
8     White House?

9           A     You have to get their Social Security number and  
10    their birth date and you have to put it into what's called  
11    the wave system, and they have to be vetted through the  
12    Secret Service.

13          Q     How long does that take?

14          A     They like you to do it the day before. Because if  
15    you don't it can take -- unfortunately. If you don't do it  
16    in advance. It can take longer than you need it to take.

17          Q     So it's fair to say to have lunch with someone at  
18    the White House it's not the easiest thing to do in the  
19    world?

20          A     No.

21          Q     You have to get their Social Security number?

22          A     Yes.

23          Q     You've got to call the wave's people?

24          A     Yes, you have to do it in advance.

25          Q     So it is easier to meet someone for a sandwich at



1       Cosi?

2           A     Yes.

3           Q     Have you ever been to Signatures, that you  
4     remember?

5           A     Yes.

6           Q     Was that a place that folks in the White House  
7     sometimes went to grab a beer or a drink?

8           A     When you say "folks", it's -- I mean.

9           Q     Staffers. Did you ever socialize with your  
10    coworkers from the White House from time to time?

11          A     I didn't really socialize with them as far as like  
12    big groups of us going out. I was -- mostly, it was within  
13    our office. A lot of times I was working too late to do  
14    that. I didn't do that on a regular basis.

15          Q     Any other places like Signatures that you might  
16    show up every now and then, like Old Ebbitt Grill?

17          A     Old Ebbitt Grill was closer and more White House  
18    staff would go there to get drinks after work than they would  
19    to Signatures. I can recall going to Signatures once.

20          Q     If you go to Old Ebbitt Grill, do you have a  
21    recollection of running into any Washington representative?

22          A     Yes, yes.

23          Q     And is it fair to say that if you ran into a  
24    Washington representative you would have no idea whether that  
25    person would in turn go back to the office and try to bill

1 the drink that they may have been consuming themselves when  
2 they happened to run into you?

3 A Yes.

4 Q That's something that lobbyists do to you in town?

5 A Yes.

6 Q Especially in the pre-Abramoff, 2001, 2002, 2003  
7 time frame?

8 A Yes.

9 Q So if your name showed up on some Washington  
10 representatives' billing records, that might not mean  
11 anything. That might mean that they happened to run into you  
12 and they may have just unilaterally, without your even  
13 knowing it, put that down?

14 A Yes.

15 Q And isn't it fair to say that lobbyists generally  
16 might go out of their way to include people in their billing  
17 records as completely as possible to demonstrate to the  
18 client that they are out in the mix, so to speak?

19 A Yes.

20 Mr. Castor. That's all my questions, thanks.

21 Mr. Aronica. I would add, even if they weren't there.

22 Mr. Castor. Yeah, and I wasn't even getting into  
23 whether -- you know, whether things are fraudulent,  
24 fraudulent billing records, because we've learned that that  
25 happens as well.

1           Ms. Amerling. You all set?

2           Mr. Castor. Yes, thank you.

3                       BY MS. AMERLING:

4           Q     Let's go back to the subject that we took a break  
5           from earlier in the deposition, and that was the Jena gaming  
6           compact. I believe the question that we took a break from  
7           was whether you knew that Mr. Abramoff wanted to stop  
8           approval of the Jena gaming compact. Do you have additional  
9           information that you want to discuss?

10          A     I became aware of the details of that when an  
11          e-mail was forwarded to me from Susan Ralston that had been  
12          sent to her from Mr. Abramoff.

13          Q     And what -- can you describe what you remember  
14          about that?

15          A     I remember getting the e-mail from Susan and once I  
16          looked through the contents of it realizing that she was --  
17          he was asking about -- the e-mail stated that they wanted to  
18          get the White House involved in this. And my response back  
19          to her was, absolutely not, the White House does not get  
20          involved in these issues, period. It was something along  
21          those lines. Because that was an issue that we would never  
22          get involved in.

23          Ms. Amerling. Let me show you two e-mails, and one of  
24          them might be the one that you're describing. You can  
25          clarify if that's not the case.

1 First is an e-mail that Susan Ralston received from Jack  
2 Abramoff on February 6th, 2003; and we'll mark this Exhibit  
3 8.

4 [Farley Exhibit No. 8  
5 was marked for identification.]

6 Ms. Amerling. The second is an e-mail chain from later  
7 that same day -- the next day, February 7th, 2003, between  
8 Jack Abramoff and Kevin Ring.

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

11 Mr. Aronica. The first one you gave us is exhibit what?

12 Ms. Amerling. Eight.

13 Have you had a chance to look that over, both of them?

14 The Witness. Yes.

15 BY MS. AMERLING:

16 Q In the first e-mail, dated February 6th, 2003,  
17 Abramoff describes to Ralston a gaming compact for the Jena  
18 tribe; and she forwards it to you and says FYI. Is that --  
19 is this e-mail the e-mail that you were just describing?

20 A This is the e-mail I received, yes.

21 Q And then in the second e-mail Kevin Ring and Jack  
22 Abramoff discuss an e-mail in the Jena. Ring tells Abramoff  
23 that his e-mail to Ralston was forwarded to Jennifer Farley,  
24 who read it to him and she said it is better not to put this  
25 stuff in writing in their e-mail system because it might

1 actually limit what they can do to help us, especially since  
2 there could be lawsuits.

3 Did you have concern about putting information on this  
4 subject in writing into the White House e-mail system?

5 Mr. Aronica. We're not going to go into discussion  
6 about that.

7 Ms. Amerling. And could you explain the basis for not  
8 discussing --

9 Mr. Aronica. Because of what I said earlier.

10 Ms. Amerling. I just have a couple of follow-up  
11 questions on a couple of other subjects.

12 BY MS. AMERLING:

13 Q You mentioned when we came back from the break that  
14 you had gotten some guidance from Moose relating to widely  
15 attended events. Can you describe what prompted that  
16 discussion that you had with Moose?

17 A I had asked him to clarify for me what a widely  
18 attended event is.

19 Q And why had you asked him that?

20 A To have a better understanding.

21 Q Did you seek this understanding because it related  
22 to an event or events that were going on at that time or that  
23 were about to occur?

24 Mr. Aronica. We're not going to go into that. She  
25 stated what she stated, and you can ask her questions about

1 the advice or whatever he told her about that.

2 Ms. Amerling. Are you saying she is not going to answer  
3 further questions about what this was --

4 Mr. Aronica. She's going to answer -- she's going to  
5 answer questions about what the conversation she and Moose  
6 had was about. We're not going to discuss her motivations in  
7 chatting with Moose about this topic, other than what she  
8 said to get a better understanding, what is meant by that.

9 Ms. Amerling. So she is not willing to answer why this  
10 discussion concerned a specific event?

11 Mr. Aronica. Correct.

12 Ms. Amerling. And what's the rationale for that?

13 Mr. Aronica. Just --

14 Ms. Amerling. Is there a privilege concern?

15 Mr. Aronica. What I said earlier in my opening  
16 statement.

17 Ms. Amerling. So with respect to that matter there is  
18 also a concern about her providing information.

19 Mr. Aronica. She is asking for information about what  
20 is a widely attended event.

21 Ms. Amerling. Right, but I'm trying to make sure that  
22 we understand what the rationale is here for declining to  
23 respond on this.

24 Mr. Aronica. The rationale is what I stated earlier in  
25 my statement.

1           Ms. Amerling. That there may be a concern about this  
2 information being --

3           Mr. Aronica. Certain issues.

4           Ms. Amerling. Leading to potentially --

5           Mr. Aronica. Sort of a mosaic issue.

6           Ms. Amerling. -- potentially incriminating information?

7           Mr. Aronica. Could be somebody might view it that way.  
8 We don't. But out of an abundance of caution, she's telling  
9 you about the conversation she had with Mr. Moose. What I  
10 said earlier today, you can continue to ask her about her  
11 conversation.

12                   BY MS. AMERLING:

13           Q     Can you tell me when this conversation occurred?

14           A     I don't recall the exact time frame now.

15           Q     Do you have a general sense of when it might have  
16 occurred, early on when you were there, toward the end?

17           A     Maybe -- I -- maybe 8 or 9 months after I started  
18 working there. I'm not 100 percent sure.

19           Q     And in that conversation did Moose instruct you not  
20 to do certain types of activities?

21           A     I think he just gave me a general description of  
22 what a widely attended event is.

23           Q     And that was the substance of the conversation?

24           A     Yes.

25           Q     You said earlier your current job you work for the

1 Farley Group?

2 A Yes.

3 Q That's your --

4 A That's my own firm.

5 Q What does that firm do?

6 A I handle government relations for -- I have two  
7 clients. [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 Ms. Amerling. I don't have any more questions. Do you  
10 have any more questions, Steve?

11 Mr. Castor. No. I'm good.

12 Ms. Amerling. Thank you very much again for coming in  
13 today.

14 Mr. Aronica. I assume we'll get a transcript of this.

15 Ms. Amerling. Off the record.

16 [Whereupon, at 12:53 p.m., the deposition was  
17 concluded.]

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## Certificate of Deponent/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 JENNIFER FARLEY**

<b><u>PAGE</u></b>	<b><u>LINE</u></b>	<b><u>CORRECTION</u></b>
6	20	After "believe she's violated the law" insert "neither is true; she doesn't believe that and we don't believe that." Start new sentence with "Nevertheless." Change noted by the witness.
8	22	Place quotation marks around "the open door to the White House." Change noted by the witness.
9	25	Change "that" to "the." Change noted by the witness.
12	4	Remove "there" after "time." Change noted by Committee staff.
12	19	Remove "then" before "once." Change noted by Committee staff.
12	20	Remove "then" before "Ruben." Change noted by Committee staff.
14	1	Insert "the" before "West." Change noted by the witness.
14	20	Change period at the end of the sentence to a question mark. Change noted by the witness.
14	22	Sentence should read "People were not creating policy there?" Change noted by the witness.
16	11	Insert "visit" before "with." Change noted by the witness.
16	17	Change "had you" to "you had." Change noted by the witness.
18	3	Change "alleged" to "elected." Change noted by the witness.
19	13	Add commas after "where" and "meeting." Change noted by the witness.
21	24	Change "our" to "other." Change noted by the witness.
22	21	Add dash between "was" and "if." Change noted by the witness.
27	22	Delete "then." Change noted by the witness.
50	2	Add "regarding" after "questions." Change noted by Committee staff.

- 55 8 Change "Ms. Amerling" to "The Witness." Change noted by the witness.
- 61 15 Change "Griffin" to "Griffith." Change noted by the witness.
- 62 16 Add "McCain" after "for." Change noted by the witness.
- 65 23 Change "is" to "are." Change noted by the witness.
- 71 16 Change "of" to "the." Change noted by the witness.
- 71 18 Add "the" after "on." Change noted by the witness.
- 73 7 Add "is a" after "he." Change noted by Committee staff.
- 73 25 Change "Barbara" to "Barbour." Change noted by the witness.
- 75 5 Add "with" after "directly." Change noted by the witness.
- 87 9 Delete "Mr." before "Moose." Change noted by the witness.
- 87 25 Add "in" after "earlier." Change noted by Committee staff.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jennifer M. Farley ( CN=Jennifer M. Farley/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 11-JUL-2002 17:08:46.00

SUBJECT: Re: favor

TO: ringk@gtlaw.com ( ringk@gtlaw.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Hi Kevin, I just got back from all day meetings. Call me now.

202- [REDACTED]

ringk@gtlaw.com

07/11/2002 09:17:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jennifer M. Farley/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

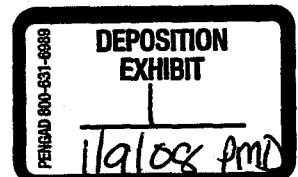
Subject: favor

I need one regarding Sandia. I can talk on phone or take you to lunch.

Your choice.

---

The information contained in this transmission may contain  
privileged and confidential information. It is intended only



HOGR003-02038

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: ringk@gtlaw.com ( ringk@gtlaw.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 12-JUL-2002 19:23:36.00

SUBJECT:: Re:

TO: Jennifer M. Farley ( CN=Jennifer M. Farley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Much appreciated.

Kevin Ring

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

From: Jennifer\_M\_Farley@who.eop.gov <Jennifer\_M\_Farley@who.eop.gov>

To: ringk@gtlaw.com <ringk@gtlaw.com>

Sent: Fri Jul 12 17:53:30 2002

Subject: Re:

still waiting to actually talk to someone. I have a message into [REDACTED].

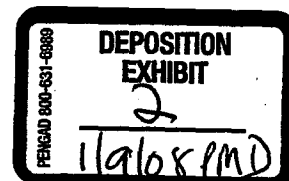
(Embedded

image moved ringk@gtlaw.com

to file: 07/12/2002 04:42:10 PM

pic00141.pcx)

Record Type: Record



HOGRO03-02050

To: Jennifer M. Farley/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject:

Any feedback from [REDACTED]'s folks on the Sandia mountain issue?

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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. (Assoc-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. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** FW: WH [REDACTED]

FYI

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

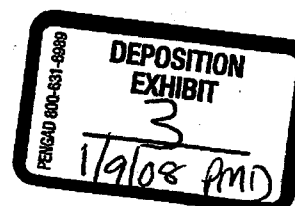
**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 17, 2002 4:05 PM  
**To:** Governor Stewart Palsano (E-mail); David Mielke (E-mail); Tom Susman (E-mail); Mark L. Lezell (E-mail); Reid Chambers (E-mail)  
**Subject:** WH [REDACTED]

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



5206034

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 01, 2003 10:07 PM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); DCCasino  
**Subject:** RE: Problem at White House

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

—Original Message—

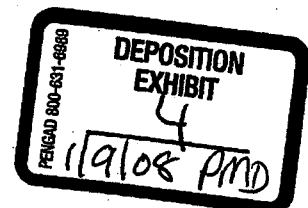
**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 01, 2003 7:55 AM  
**To:** DCCasino  
**Subject:** Problem at White House

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).

I am going to have lunch with Susan Raiston this week and explain the problem to her. I don't want to get anyone inside in trouble so I would rather not say where I heard this info. But Susan should be able to find out about it and let the Political Affairs folks know that the President's supporters in DC should not be locked out of the White House or cut out of the loop when the WH deals with OUR clients.

Finally, it is scary that the White House ethics advisor -- a Nanette Everson -- told the IGA folks that tribes shouldn't even need to have lobbyists, anyway -- and that it was wrong for them to pay so much money for lobbyists when people in the government should be meeting with them as needed. Those are fighting words!!!!

As I said, I will raise it with Susan. If anyone else has a good idea, let me know. But please do not forward this email or say that we heard from within IGA about the briefing, etc. Thanks.





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**From:** David C. Mielke [DMielke@abqsonosky.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 22, 2004 6:12 PM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** RE: omnibus

gotcha. well, maybe we can use the prospect of an invite to convince stewart to keep his powder dry on the D side. Dean's blow-up should hopefully make him aware of the risks of doing so without consultation

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

**From:** ringk@gtlaw.com [mailto:ringk@gtlaw.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 22, 2004 4:54 PM  
**To:** David C. Mielke  
**Subject:** Re: omnibus

Jennifer Farley told me she wanted to invite SP to a political event. I said great, but you should know that I think he has signed on to do fundraising for Dean (based on what you told me before). That must be the reliable source. Keep that private as Jennifer can't be doing political work.

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

**From:** David C. Mielke <DMielke@abqsonosky.com>  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>  
**Sent:** Thu Jan 22 19:01:35 2004  
**Subject:** RE: omnibus

he's Acoma's lobbyist; works for Bennett Johnston's firm

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

**From:** ringk@gtlaw.com [mailto:ringk@gtlaw.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 22, 2004 4:41 PM  
**To:** David C. Mielke  
**Subject:** Re: omnibus

Who is Greg Smith?

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

**From:** David C. Mielke <DMielke@abqsonosky.com>  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@gtlaw.com>  
**Sent:** Thu Jan 22 18:43:47 2004  
**Subject:** RE: omnibus

had a call from Greg Smith you said he heard from a reliable source that the white house was very miffed at Paisano, who they thought was supporting the Pres,, for agreeing to raise \$ for Dean. I told him that he was not working for Dean, but had been approached by Dean's folks.

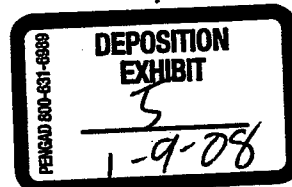
-----Original Message-----

**From:** ringk@gtlaw.com [mailto:ringk@gtlaw.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, January 22, 2004 4:20 PM  
**To:** David C. Mielke  
**Subject:** FW: omnibus

FYI

**REDACTED**

1



**GTG-R008288**

6805762

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: ringk@gtlaw.com ( ringk@gtlaw.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 3-DEC-2002 11:47:48.00

SUBJECT:: RE: diabetes

TO: Jennifer M. Farley ( CN=Jennifer M. Farley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

The fruit is going to happen. Just trying to make sure it is picked on the right day.

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

From: [REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov

[mailto:[REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov]

Sent: Tuesday, December 03, 2002 10:08 AM

To: ringk@gtlaw.com

Subject: Re: diabetes

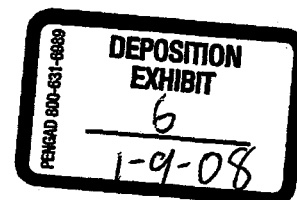
<< File: pic23433.pcx >> I am looking into it now. I will let you know shortly. It was great to see you yesterday. Let me know about the fruit in the middle of the basket.

(Embedded

image moved ringk@gtlaw.com

to file: 12/03/2002 10:05:00 AM

pic23433.pcx)



HOGR003-02508

Record Type: Record

To: Jennifer M. Farley/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: diabetes

Choctaw has second highest rate of diabetes and really benefits from the program, so if you are doing signing ceremony, Chief will definitely come. Any word on your end?

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HOGR003-02509

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR:ringk@gtlaw.com ( ringk@gtlaw.com [ UNKNOWN ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:12-DEC-2002 19:53:18.00

SUBJECT:: Re: Need your help

TO:Jennifer M. Farley ( CN=Jennifer M. Farley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:  
Any other night?

Kevin Ring

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

From: [REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov <[REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov>

To: ringk@gtlaw.com <ringk@gtlaw.com>

Sent: Thu Dec 12 17:48:43 2002

Subject: RE: Need your help

Thanks

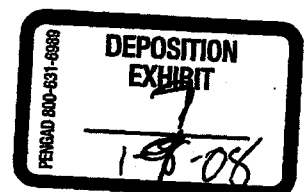
(Embedded

image moved ringk@gtlaw.com

to file: 12/12/2002 05:47:38 PM

pic16219.pcx)

Record Type: Record



HOGRO03-02540

To: Jennifer M. Farley/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: RE: Need your help

No games tonight.

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

From: [REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov

[mailto:[REDACTED] Farley@who.eop.gov]

Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 4:11 PM

To: ringk@gtlaw.com

Subject: RE: Need your help

<< File: pic20135.pcx >> Do you have any kind of fruit tonight?

(Embedded

image moved ringk@gtlaw.com

to file: 12/12/2002 11:51:22 AM

pic20135.pcx)

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Susan B. Ralston ( CN=Susan B. Ralston/OU=WHO/O=EOP@Exchange [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 6-FEB-2003 18:01:26.00

SUBJECT: FW: Louisiana

TO: Jennifer M. Farley ( CN=Jennifer M. Farley/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

TO: Ruben S. Barrales ( CN=Ruben S. Barrales/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

CC: Paul B. Dyck ( CN=Paul B. Dyck/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [ WHO ] )  
READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:  
FYI

;

;

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

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

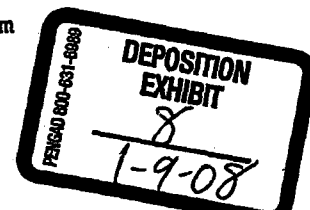
Sent: Thursday, February 06, 2003 4:24 PM

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 politicos (!) at Interior (low - mid level) are agreeing to this. ; It will cause a major backlash from our



HOGRO03-03335

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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**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 mc pager and was not supposed to go into the WH system.

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

**From:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, February 07, 2003 10:28 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.

