

**NLWJC - Kagan**

**Counsel - Box 020- Folder 008**

**Indian Gaming-McCain Inquiry**

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Handwritten Note (1 page)	n.d.	P5

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 Counsel's Office  
 Elena Kagan  
 OA/Box Number: 8287

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

Indian Gaming - McCain Inquiry

2009-1006-F

kh569

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### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/9/96

Jack + Kathy -

TO: Tom Shea

FROM: Elena Kagan  
White House Counsel  
Room 125, OEOB, x6-7901

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Let's Discuss
- Per Our Conversation
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Other

Attached is DOT's  
response to the McCain  
letter on Indian gaming.  
The response strongly rebuts  
Sen. McCain's allegations  
of impropriety.

Elena



# United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

August 29, 1996

## Memorandum

To: Secretary

From: Heather Sibbison, Special Assistant *Heather Sibbison*

Subject: Information responding to questions raised by Senator McCain in his July 19 letter.

### Background

In November 1994, the Minneapolis Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) sent to the BIA Central Office (through the Indian Gaming Management Staff) a routine transmittal of an application from three tribes in Wisconsin to take 55 acres of land in Hudson, Wisconsin, into trust for development of a casino. The three tribes are the Sokaogon Chippewa Community of Wisconsin, the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin, and the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin. The primary focus of the application was an existing, failing, dog track (the St. Croix Meadows Greyhound Park).

The parcel is located a considerable distance from the three tribes' reservations: 85 miles from the boundary of the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation, 165 miles from the boundary of the Red Cliff reservation, and 188 miles from the boundary of the Sokaogon reservation.

The record before the Department showed strong opposition by local communities surrounding the dog track parcel to the concept of developing a casino on the property. For example, the Common Council of the City of Hudson adopted a resolution expressing opposition to casino gambling at the dog track, and the nearby Town of Troy adopted a similar resolution objecting to the trust acquisition for gaming purposes. The Department also received a letter signed by a number of elected officials, including the State Representative for Wisconsin's 30th Assembly District (in whose district the dog track is located) expressing strong opposition to casino gaming at the dog track.

An Indian tribe closely situated to the dog track, the St. Croix Tribe of Wisconsin, also was adamantly opposed to the three tribes' application. The St. Croix tribe is within 50 miles of the track, and thus under BIA policy must be consulted on proposals by other tribes to take land into trust for off-reservation gaming. Furthermore, the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission and all the Minnesota Indian tribes opposed the plan. Senator Wellstone and Representative Steve Gunderson also expressed concern about the proposed casino.

Given all the circumstances, including the strong opposition by

the neighboring tribe and the local communities and the distance of the parcel from the three tribal applicants' reservations, the Department declined to take the 55 acre parcel into trust for the three tribes. The people in the Secretariat who were involved in this were Michael Anderson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs (who made the decision), myself, Tom Collier, Chief of Staff (before he left the Department at then end of June 1995) and John Duffy, Counselor to the Secretary. Mr. Anderson, Mr. Collier and Mr. Duffy (who left the Department in July 1996) agree with the recollections I set forth here. The four of us are referred to below as "we."

#### The "Events" Described in the Senator's Letter

The first three bulleted "events" concern involvement by Patrick O'Connor in representing tribal opponents in this matter. Mr. O'Connor and other members of his firm, representing the tribes opposed to taking this land in trust, met with Mr. Collier and me sometime in the early spring of 1995 seeking to ensure that a report from financial consultants would be included in the decisionmaking record. This was, to the best of our recollection, the only meeting any of us had with Mr. O'Connor. The fact that Mr. O'Connor represented the opposing tribes in this matter was not a factor in our decisionmaking.

The fourth "event" concerned a letter dated April 25, 1996, from the Director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission to other tribal leaders. We had not seen nor even heard of this letter until a copy of it was given to the Department by the U.S. Attorney handling the three tribes' suit against the United States. This was well after the decision was made to deny the three tribes' application. It therefore had no impact on the Department's decisionmaking.

Regarding "events" five through nine, we had no knowledge of meetings, memoranda, telephone calls or any other communications between the staff of the Executive Office of the President and persons representing tribes opposed to the acquisition. If any such contacts took place, they had no effect on the Department's decisionmaking.

Regarding the tenth "event," it is accurate that Jennifer O'Connor, an aide to Harold Ickes, contacted me on or about June 26, 1995, regarding the three tribes' application. The purpose of her call was to ask for our assistance in providing information on this matter so that she could prepare a response to a June 12, 1996 letter written to Mr. Ickes by Senator Paul Wellstone and four Minnesota congressional representatives opposing the three tribes' application. She made clear in that call that the Executive Office of the President was not seeking in any way to influence the Department's decision on the matter. I responded to her request by sending her draft replies to the incoming correspondence.

Regarding the eleventh "event," John Duffy did, at the Secretary's request, have a meeting with Paul Eckstein, representing the three tribes who were applying to have the land taken into trust, shortly before the Department's decision denying the application was announced. Mr. Eckstein provided no new information, and shortly afterward the decision denying the application was announced.

#### Overall Response to the Senator's Inquiry

We have no recollection of being contacted by Harold Ickes or anyone on his staff on or about July 14, 1996, on this issue. The only relevant contact that any of us had was Ms. O'Connor's call to me a couple of weeks earlier, described above. At no time did anyone in the Executive Office of the President convey any message to us regarding what the decision should be on this matter or when it should be made. In short, the insinuation in the Journal article of political and Executive Office of the President interference in the Department's decision in this matter is false.



# United States Department of the Interior

## OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR

Washington, D.C. 20240  
August 29, 1996

To: Secretary  
From: Solicitor *John Leahy*  
Re: Senator McCain's July 25, 1996 letter

The Senator's letter takes issue with the assertion, by a Departmental spokesperson as reported in the July 20 Washington Post, that the Department believes a recent federal district court decision vindicates the Department's decisionmaking process regarding the Wisconsin trust land application. The letter acknowledges that the court dismissed certain claims against the Department, but attempts to diminish the significance of the decision by claiming it did not deal with disputed matters of fact. I do not believe this characterization of the decision is correct.

The court ruling was made in a lawsuit brought by the tribes who had applied to have the U.S. take a parcel of land in Wisconsin located some distance from their reservations into trust so they could operate a casino on the land. Upon the Department's rejection of their application, the tribes sought to overturn that decision in federal court. Sokaogon Chippewa Community, et al., v. Babbitt, No. 95-C-659-C (W.D. Wis.). On June 11, 1996, the district court issued a forty-three page opinion and order on various motions filed by the plaintiffs and the defendants. Most pertinently, the court granted the United States' motion to limit judicial review in this case to the administrative record before the Department.

I believe it can fairly be said that this court decision vindicates our position that there was no improper political intrusion or influence in our decision on this matter. Although the decision was on the seemingly technical question of whether the court should make any inquiry beyond the administrative record, the material the plaintiff wanted to introduce outside that record was exactly the material referred to in the Wall Street Journal article and relied upon in Senator McCain's July 19 letter to you. The court's opinion reviewed that record in some detail (June 11 opinion, pp. 9-12).

Moreover, the court assumed, for purposes of deciding the motion, that the allegations that such contacts were made was true. While Senator McCain's July 25 letter points out that the allegations "remain in substantial factual dispute and are not resolved by the Court's order of June 11, 1996," he fails to point out that the reason the allegations are in dispute is because we dispute some of them. Put another way, the court was viewing the material from the point of view most favorable to the plaintiffs' allegation of improper political interference.

Looking at the material in question from the perspective most

favorable to the plaintiffs, the court's conclusion could not have been more clearly stated: "although plaintiffs have shown that congressional and presidential contacts were made with the Department of the Interior, they have not shown that the contacts could be deemed improper." (Opinion, p. 3, emphasis added) Turning to the details, the court found:

"[T]here is surprisingly little evidence of interaction between congressional or presidential officials and Department of the Interior staff, as a recap of the three specific events constituting the actual contact among members of Congress, presidential staff and the department will show."

(Opinion, p. 29.)

Regarding the alleged meetings and letters involving opposition tribes, the Democratic National Committee Chairman, and White House staff, the court said: "The problem with this evidence is that plaintiffs do not link it any way to the Department of the Interior and to the official reviewing plaintiffs' application." (Opinion, p. 31, emphasis added.)

In sum, the court had before it, and treated as true for purposes of ruling on the motion, all of the materials discussed in the Wall Street Journal article. After careful, thorough examination and discussion (the court's opinion on this issue covers more than 30 pages) the court found no basis for the plaintiffs' allegations of bad faith or improper behavior and accordingly denied the plaintiffs' motion for extra-record review.

For that reason, I believe the Departmental spokesperson was fully justified in stating that the court decision vindicated the Department's decisionmaking here.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

AUG -3-0 1996

Honorable John McCain  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510-0303

Dear Senator McCain:

I apologize for the delay in responding to your letters of July 19 and 25, 1996, concerning allegations made in a July 12, 1996 Wall Street Journal article. This article falsely insinuated that this Department has allowed campaign contributions to dictate Indian policy.

I am enclosing two memoranda that answer most of the questions you ask. The first describes the background of the matter in question, and the contacts made by officials in the Executive Office of the President on that matter. It was prepared by Heather Sibbison, assistant to Counselor John Duffy (who, as you know, recently returned to private law practice). The second is a memorandum from the Solicitor discussing the court decision addressed in your July 25 letter.

Your letter also inquired about communications directly involving me. I have no recollection of being contacted by attorney Patrick O'Connor on this matter, nor do I recall ever being informed by anyone in the Executive Office of the President of Mr. O'Connor's involvement. Further, like members of my staff, I did not learn of the April 25, 1996 letter from the Director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission until well after the decision on the trust land application was made, and I had no knowledge of any meetings, memoranda, telephone calls or any other communications between Executive Office persons and tribal representatives opposed to the acquisition discussed in your July 19 letter.

I met with Mr. Paul Eckstein, an attorney for the three tribes applying for the trust land acquisition, shortly before a decision was made on the application. Following this conversation, I instructed my staff to give Mr. Eckstein the opportunity to discuss the matter with John Duffy. I must regretfully dispute Mr. Eckstein's assertion that I told him that Mr. Ickes instructed me to issue a decision in this matter without delay. I never discussed the matter with Mr. Ickes; he never gave me any instructions as to what this Department's decision should be, nor when it should be made.

To the best of my recollection I have never been contacted by "top-level White House staff" on any Interior Department decision directly affecting Indian tribes nor, to the best of my recollection, have I ever been contacted by any official from the Democratic National Committee trying to influence the Department's decisionmaking process on such decisions.

Like you, I believe that this Department should make decisions like this one wholly on the merits, without any regard to campaign contributions or other partisan political considerations. We did just that in this matter.

Over the years, you and I have worked together on a wide variety of issues affecting Native Americans, with what I believe has been a shared determination to do our best to discharge our trust obligations in a nonpartisan manner. I regret that, relying solely on a newspaper article, you have chosen to so publicly call into question the integrity of our decisionmaking on this matter. I am pleased to have the opportunity to set the record straight.

Sincerely,



Enclosures

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# United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR  
Washington, D.C. 20240

## TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Date: 8/23/96

# of pages: 7

TO: Elena Kagan

Agency / Bureau: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Fax Number: 456-1647

Subject: Sen. McCain Letter

FROM: Bob Anderson

Department of the Interior  
Office of the Solicitor  
Division of Indian Affairs  
6456 MS/MIB  
Washington, D.C. 20240

Transmission #: 202/219-1791  
Confirmation #: 202/208-3401

REMARKS: Elena

We intend to send this out today.  
Please call after you read this.

Bob

Leshy 8/22 draft

Honorable John McCain  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510-0303

Dear Senator McCain:

I apologize for the delay in responding to your letters of July 19 and 25, 1996, concerning allegations made in a July 12, 1996 Wall Street Journal article. This article falsely insinuated that this Department has allowed campaign contributions to dictate Indian policy.

I am enclosing two memoranda that answer most of the questions you ask. The first describes the background of the matter in question, and the contacts made by officials in the Executive Office of the President on that matter. It was prepared by Heather Sibbison, assistant to Counselor John Duffy (who, as you know, recently returned to private law practice). The second is a memorandum from the Solicitor discussing the court decision addressed in your July 25 letter.

Your letter also inquired about communications directly involving me. Like the members of my staff, I have no recollection of being contacted by attorney Patrick O'Connor on this matter, nor do I recall ever being informed by anyone in the Executive Office of the President of Mr. O'Connor's involvement. Further, like members of my staff, I did not learn of the April 25, 1996 letter from the Director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission until well after the decision on the trust land application was made. Further, I had no knowledge of any meetings, memoranda, telephone calls or any other communications between Executive Office persons and tribal representatives opposed to the acquisition discussed in your July 19 letter.

I met with Mr. Paul Eckstein, an attorney for the three tribes applying for the trust land acquisition, shortly before a decision was made on the application. Following this conversation, I instructed my staff to give Mr. Eckstein the opportunity to discuss the matter with John Duffy. I must regretfully dispute Mr. Eckstein's assertion that I told him that Mr. Ickes instructed me to issue a decision in this matter without delay. I never discussed the matter with Mr. Ickes; he never gave me any instructions as to what this Department's decision should be, nor when it should be made.

Finally, to the best of my recollection I have never been contacted by any official from the Democratic National Committee trying to influence the Department's decisionmaking process on any issue involving Indian gaming.

Like you, I believe that this Department should make decisions like this one wholly on the merits, without any regard to

campaign contributions or other partisan political considerations. We did just that in this matter.

Over the years, you and I have worked together on a wide variety of issues affecting Native Americans, with what I believe has been a shared determination to do our best to discharge our trust obligations in a nonpartisan manner. I regret that, relying solely on a newspaper article, you have chosen to so publicly call into question the integrity of our decisionmaking on this matter. I am pleased to have the opportunity to set the record straight.

Sincerely,

Secretary

leshy draft 8/22

Memorandum

To: Secretary

From: Heather Sibbison, Special Assistant

Subject: Information responding to questions raised by Senator McCain in his July 19 letter.

**Background**

In November 1994, the Minneapolis Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) sent to the BIA Central Office (through the Indian Gaming Management Staff) a routine transmittal of an application from three tribes in Wisconsin to take 55 acres of land in Hudson, Wisconsin, into trust for development of a casino. The three tribes are the Sokaogon Chippewa Community of Wisconsin, the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin, and the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin. The primary focus of the application was an existing, failing, dog track (the St. Croix Meadows Greyhound Park).

The parcel is located a considerable distance from the three tribes' reservations: 85 miles from the boundary of the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation, 165 miles from the boundary of the Red Cliff reservation, and 188 miles from the boundary of the Sokaogon reservation.

The record before the Department showed strong opposition by local communities surrounding the dog track parcel to the concept of developing a casino on the property. For example, the Common Council of the City of Hudson adopted a resolution expressing opposition to casino gambling at the dog track, and the nearby Town of Troy adopted a similar resolution objecting to the trust acquisition for gaming purposes. The Department also received a letter signed by a number of elected officials, including the State Representative for Wisconsin's 30th Assembly District (in whose district the dog track is located) expressing strong opposition to casino gaming at the dog track.

An Indian tribe closely situated to the dog track, the St. Croix Tribe of Wisconsin, also was adamantly opposed to the three tribes' application. The St. Croix tribe is within 50 miles of the track, and thus under BIA policy must be consulted on proposals by other tribes to take land into trust for off-reservation gaming. Furthermore, the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission and all the Minnesota Indian tribes opposed the plan. Senator Wellstone and Representative Steve Gunderson also expressed concern about the proposed casino.

Given all the circumstances, including the strong opposition by the neighboring tribe and the local communities and the distance of the parcel from the three tribal applicants' reservations, the Department declined to take the 55 acre parcel into trust for the three tribes. The people in the Secretariat who were involved in this were Michael Anderson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, who made the decision, myself, and John Duffy, Counselor to the Secretary. Mr. Anderson and Mr. Duffy (who recently left the employ of the Department) agree with the recollections set forth here. The three of us are referred to below as "we."

#### The "Events" Described in the Senator's Letter

The first three bulleted "events" concern alleged involvement by Patrick O'Connor in representing tribal opponents in this matter. We have no recollection of ever being contacted by Mr. O'Connor on this matter, nor do we recall being informed by anyone in the Executive Office of the President of Mr. O'Connor's involvement with this issue. If indeed Mr. O'Connor represented any tribe in this matter, his representation played no role in our decisionmaking on the application.

The fourth "event" concerned a letter dated April 25, 1996, from the Director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Commission to other tribal leaders. We had not seen nor even heard of this letter until a copy of it was given to the Department by the U.S. Attorney handling the three tribes' suit against the United States. This was well after the decision was made to deny the three tribes' application. It therefore had no impact on the Department's decisionmaking.

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into trust, shortly before the Department's decision denying the application was announced. Mr. Eckstein provided no new information, and shortly afterward the decision denying the application was announced.

#### Basic Response to the Senator's Inquiry

We have no recollection of being contacted by Harold Ickes or anyone on his staff on or about July 14, 1996, on this issue. The only relevant contact that any of us had was Ms. O'Connor's call to me a couple of weeks earlier, described above. At no time did anyone in the Executive Office of the President convey any message to us regarding what the decision should be on this matter or when it should be made. In short, the insinuation in the Journal article of political and Executive Office of the President interference in the Department's decision in this matter is false.

Leshy draft 8/22

To: Secretary

From: Solicitor

Re: Senator McCain's July 25, 1996 letter

The Senator's letter takes issue with the assertion, by a Departmental spokesperson as reported in the July 20 Washington Post, that the Department believes a recent federal district court decision vindicates the Department's decisionmaking process regarding the Wisconsin trust land application. The letter acknowledges that the court dismissed certain claims against the Department, but attempts to diminish the significance of the decision by claiming it did not deal with disputed matters of fact. I do not believe this characterization of the decision is correct.

The court ruling was made in a lawsuit brought by the tribes who had applied to have the U.S. take a parcel of land in Wisconsin located some distance from their reservations into trust so they could operate a casino on the land. Upon the Department's rejection of their application, the tribes sought to overturn that decision in federal court. Sokaogon Chippewa Community, et al., v. Babbitt, No. 95-C-659-C (W.D. Wis.). On June 11, 1996, the district court issued a 43 page opinion and order on various motions filed by the plaintiffs and the defendants. Most pertinently, the court granted the United States' motion to limit judicial review in this case to the administrative record before the Department.

I believe it can fairly be said that this court decision vindicates our position that there was no improper political intrusion or influence in our decision on this matter. Although the decision was on the seemingly technical question of whether the court should make any inquiry beyond the administrative record, the material the plaintiff wanted to introduce outside that record was exactly the material referred to in the Wall Street Journal article and relied upon in Senator McCain's July 19 letter to you. The court's opinion reviewed that record in some detail (June 11 opinion, pp. 9-12).

Moreover, the court assumed, for purposes of deciding the motion, that the allegations that such contacts were made was true. While Senator McCain's July 25 letter points out that the allegations "remain in substantial factual dispute and are not resolved by the Court's order of June 11, 1996," he fails to point out that the reason the allegations are in dispute is because we dispute some of them. Put another way, the court was viewing the material from the point of view most favorable to the plaintiffs' allegation of improper political interference.

Looking at the material in question from the perspective most

favorable to the plaintiffs, the court's conclusion could not have been more clearly stated: "although plaintiffs have shown that congressional and presidential contacts were made with the Department of the Interior, they have not shown that the contacts could be deemed improper." (Opinion, p. 3, emphasis added) Turning to the details, the court found:

"[T]here is surprisingly little evidence of interaction between congressional or presidential officials and Department of the Interior staff, as a recap of the three specific events constituting the actual contact among members of Congress, presidential staff and the department will show."

(Opinion, p. 29.)

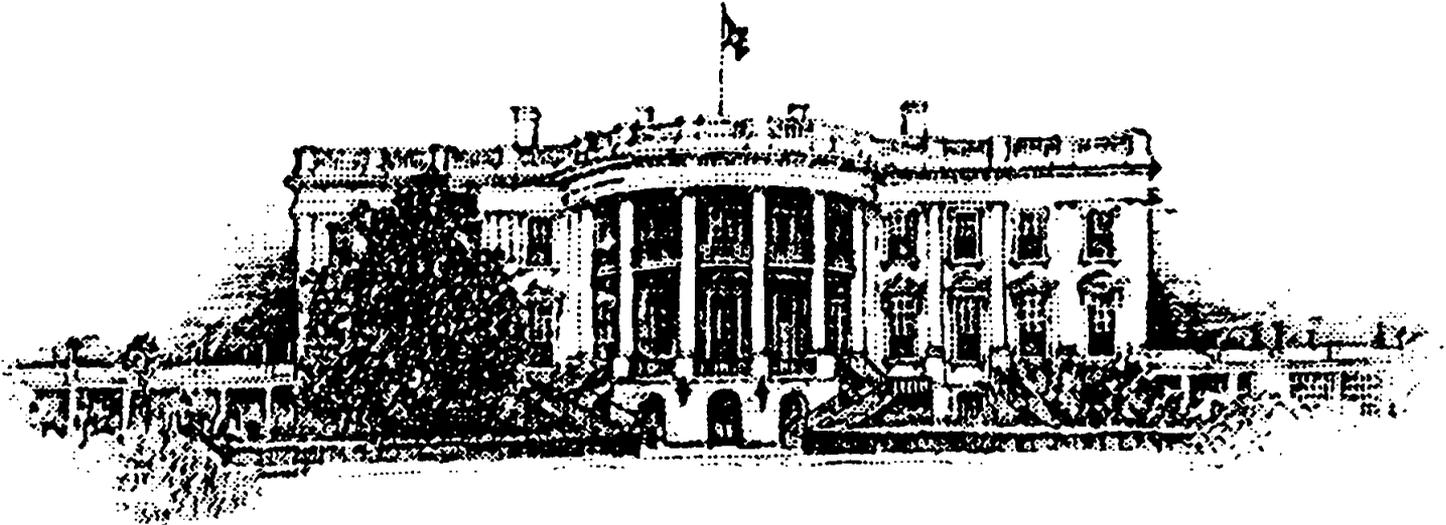
Regarding the alleged meetings and letters involving opposition tribes, the Democratic National Committee Chairman, and White House staff, the court said: "The problem with this evidence is that plaintiffs do not link it any way to the Department of the Interior and to the official reviewing plaintiffs' application." (Opinion, p. 31, emphasis added.)

In sum, the court had before it, and treated as true for purposes of ruling on the motion, all of the materials discussed in the Wall Street Journal article. After careful, thorough examination and discussion (the court's opinion on this issue covers more than 30 pages) the court found no basis for the plaintiffs' allegations of bad faith or improper behavior and accordingly denied the plaintiffs' motion for extra-record review.

For that reason, I believe the Departmental spokesperson was fully justified in stating that the court decision vindicated the Department's decisionmaking here.

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



COUNSEL'S OFFICE

## FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

DATE: 8/5/96

TO: Bob Anderson

FACSIMILE NUMBER: 219-1791

TELEPHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: Elena Kagan

TELEPHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

PAGES (WITH COVER): \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS: Bob - Per your request. Please  
remember to fax me your response  
to Greenbaum letter when done.

PLEASE DELIVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

The document(s) accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this information in error, please immediately notify the sender at their telephone number stated above.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Tuele + Kathy -

Attached is a letter from Harold responding to Sen McCain's letter (also attached) which I thought you should see before it went out. Also attached is a draft letter from you on behalf of the President responding to a very similar letter. We should get them out today if we can. Elena

August 1, 1996

The Honorable John McCain  
Chairman, United States Senate  
Committee on Indian Affairs  
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

Dear Senator McCain:

I am responding on behalf of the President to your letter of July 19, 1996 regarding alleged White House intervention in a dispute between Indian tribes over whether the Department of Interior should take certain lands into trust for gaming purposes.

In response to a similar letter addressed to him, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes has provided your committee with a description of the White House's involvement in this matter. In addition, Mr. Ickes has addressed your questions about the role of White House and Democratic National Committee staff in similar disputes. I hope and trust that Mr. Ickes' letter is responsive to all of your concerns.

The President of course agrees with you that the Department of Interior should make decisions regarding Indian affairs free from political influence and solely on the merits. This Administration has followed just such a practice with respect to these, as well as other, administrative actions.

Sincerely,

John M. Quinn  
Counsel to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1996

The Honorable John McCain  
Chairman, United States Senate  
Committee on Indian Affairs  
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Senator McCain:

I am writing in response to your letter of July 19, 1996, requesting information regarding the White House's alleged intervention in a dispute between Indian tribes over off-reservation Indian gaming in Hudson, Wisconsin. I appreciate the opportunity to clarify any misperceptions which may have resulted from the recent *Wall Street Journal* article on this subject.

Contrary to the representations made in the *Journal* article, the decision not to take the Hudson land into trust for the purpose of Indian gaming was, as far as I know, made independently by the Interior Department, based solely upon the potential negative impact on the surrounding community. There was no effort by the White House to influence this decision in any way.

The White House's involvement in this matter, as alluded to in the *Journal* article, was limited to routine status inquiries to the Department by a member of my staff. While it is possible that I spoke to Democratic National Committee Chairman Donald Fowler about this issue, I have no specific recollection of such a conversation. Further, I do not recall receiving a memorandum from Mr. Fowler on this matter, nor can I find any such memorandum in my files.

I did place two phone calls to Mr. Patrick O'Connor on this subject, which, to the best of my recollection, were made in response to calls he initially placed to me. I have no recollection of discussing this matter with either the President or Bruce Lindsey, and I doubt that I did. I later received a memorandum from Mr. O'Connor explaining why he thought the Administration should support his clients' position. To my knowledge, this information was not conveyed to the Interior Department.

As a public official, I am certain you can understand how impossible it is to control the content of materials sent to you. Further, while Mr. O'Connor's representations to his clients about the decision-making process were indeed regrettable, I was completely unaware of them and unable to control them in any event.

Hon. John McCain  
Page Two  
August 1, 1996

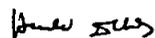
As you mentioned in your letter, the *Journal* article also alluded to a discussion between me and Secretary Babbitt about the timing of the announcement of the Department's decision. I do not believe any such conversation ever took place.

The "active involvement by high-level White House staff" you refer to in your letter simply did not, and does not, occur. We are occasionally contacted by the Democratic National Committee, members of Congress, interested parties and others inquiring as to the status of particular decisions. In these instances, we merely seek to obtain the information necessary to respond to their requests. Where these requests include an effort to secure our assistance in achieving a particular outcome, we decline to become involved, regardless of the source of the request. As a result, I cannot think of any instance during my tenure at the White House where I have personally intervened in Interior Department decisions directly affecting Indian tribes.

Likewise, because contacts between the Democratic National Committee and the White House regarding Interior Department decisions are generally limited to the type described above, I have no personal knowledge of any intervention by Don Fowler or other high-level Democratic National Committee officials in these types of decisions.

As a matter of practice, I can assure you that the departments and agencies of the federal government make these types of decisions independently based upon the respective merits of each case. I can also assure you that I share your belief that the Interior Department's policy decisions on Indian affairs should be made without regard to campaign contributions by the tribes. I hope you find this information helpful and responsive to your concerns.

Sincerely,



Harold Ickes  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1996

The Honorable John McCain  
Chairman, United States Senate  
Committee on Indian Affairs  
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

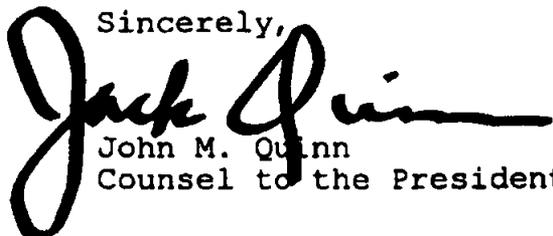
Dear Senator McCain:

I am responding on behalf of the President to your letter of July 19, 1996 regarding alleged White House intervention in a dispute between Indian tribes over whether the Department of Interior should take certain lands into trust for gaming purposes.

In response to a similar letter addressed to him, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes has provided your committee with a description of the White House's involvement in this matter. In addition, Mr. Ickes has addressed your questions about the role of White House and Democratic National Committee staff in similar disputes. I hope and trust that Mr. Ickes' letter is responsive to all of your concerns.

The President of course agrees with you that the Department of Interior should make decisions regarding Indian affairs free from political influence and solely on the merits. This Administration has followed just such a practice with respect to these, as well as other, administrative actions.

Sincerely,



John M. Quinn  
Counsel to the President

JOHN MCCAIN, ARIZONA, CHAIRMAN  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, VICE CHAIRMAN

FRANK MURKOWSKI, ALASKA  
SLADE GORTON, WASHINGTON  
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO  
NANCY LONDON KASSEBAUM, KANSAS  
DON NICKLES, OKLAHOMA  
BEN NIGHORSE CAMPBELL, COLORADO  
CRAIG THOMAS, WYOMING  
DERRICK HATCH, UTAH

KERT CONRAD, NORTH DAKOTA  
HARRY REID, NEVADA  
PAUL SIMON, ILLINOIS  
DANIEL K. AKAKA, HAWAII  
PAUL WELLSTONE, MINNESOTA  
BYRON L. DORGAN, NORTH DAKOTA

STEVEN J.W. HEESLY,  
MAJORITY STAFF DIRECTOR/CHIEF COUNSEL  
PATRICIA M. ZELL,  
MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR/CHIEF COUNSEL

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6450

July 19, 1996

Harold Ickes  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
Office of the President  
United States of America  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Ickes:

I was profoundly disturbed to read in last Friday's *Wall Street Journal* that you and other top White House officials actively intervened last year to resolve a dispute between Indian tribes. Ordinarily, I would be heartened by White House interest in Indian affairs. But the evidence cited by the *Journal* indicates that one group of tribes obtained your attention and support primarily because they gave more campaign contributions to the Democratic National Committee (DNC) than did a competing group of tribes. The following events reported in the *Journal* are troubling to me and, at a minimum, contribute to an appearance of impropriety.

- In early 1995, several Indian tribes hired Patrick O'Connor, a major fundraiser for the Democratic Party and former Treasurer of the DNC, in an effort to reverse a preliminary decision of the Interior Department -- the agency charged by law to resolve such matters -- that favored one group of tribes over another group of tribes seeking to acquire a racetrack.
- On April 24, 1995, O'Connor talked to the President and his senior adviser, Bruce Lindsey, in person at a Democratic Party fundraising event about the problem his tribal clients had with the preliminary Interior Department decision.
- Between April 24 and 26, 1995, you placed at least two calls to O'Connor about this same issue.
- On April 25, 1995, the director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association wrote other tribal leaders to inform them about an upcoming meeting on this issue with the DNC Co-Chairman, Donald Fowler, saying that "the people we will be meeting with are very close to President Clinton and can get the job done."

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- The April 25, 1995 memorandum said the meeting would be with Fowler, accompanied by "top level staff" representing Senator Bob Kerrey, who serves as Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Senator Tom Daschle, who is of course the Democratic Leader in the Senate.
- On April 28, 1995, O'Connor took his tribal clients to see Fowler at the DNC headquarters to talk about this issue.
- Sometime between April 28 and May 8, 1995, Fowler sent you a memo supporting the position taken by O'Connor.
- On May 8, 1995, O'Connor wrote you about reversing the preliminary Interior Department decision, stating "I can testify to their previous financial support to the DNC and the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee."
- Fowler has admitted that he "had a conversation with" you on this same issue sometime after the April 28, 1995 meeting, a conversation your spokesman has said you cannot recall.
- Your aide, Jennifer O'Connor, placed what your spokesman called routine status calls to Interior officials on the issue after the April 28, 1995 meeting.
- Paul Eckstein, the lobbyist for Indian tribes on the other side of the dispute, has sworn that on July 14, 1995 he met with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to seek a delay of the decision in favor of O'Connor's client tribes.
- Eckstein has sworn that on July 14, 1995 Secretary Babbitt told him that you called Babbitt and told Babbitt the decision had to be issued that day without delay. It was.

The appearance of impropriety raised in this article is quite obvious -- high-level White House attention goes to where the money is, reversing an Interior resolution of a dispute between Indian tribes in favor of the tribes who have given the most money to the Democratic National Committee.

I firmly believe Indian affairs policy decisions of the Interior Department should be made in strict isolation of how much money any of the tribes have contributed for partisan campaign purposes.

As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, I would appreciate it very much if you would provide me with your response to several questions related to the story set out in the *Journal* article.

On or after the April 24, 1995 Democratic Party fundraiser attended by O'Connor, the President, and Bruce Lindsey, did either the President or Lindsey, or someone on their behalf, ask you to contact Secretary Babbitt to reverse the preliminary decision of the Interior Department against O'Connor's client tribes?

Was the purpose of the two calls you placed to O'Connor between April 24 and 26, 1995, as described by O'Connor in his May 8, 1995 letter, "prompted by [your] discussions with the President and Bruce Lindsey" on O'Connor's request that the Interior Department's preliminary decision against O'Connor's client tribes be reversed?

On how many occasions on or after Fowler's April 28, 1995 meeting with O'Connor and his tribal clients did you speak with Fowler about O'Connor's request that the Interior Department's preliminary decision against O'Connor's client tribes be reversed?

On or about July 14, 1995 was a telephone call made by you, or on your behalf, to Secretary Babbitt to tell him to not delay release of the decision in favor of O'Connor's client tribes on this issue?

Why in your view did O'Connor write you about his clients' "previous financial support to the DNC and the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee" in a letter in which he was trying to get you to reverse the preliminary Interior Department decision?

Do you consider it appropriate for DNC leadership to meet with one group of tribes to discuss ways to influence the Administration's decision in this case? Why or why not?

Do you consider it appropriate for DNC leadership to call White House officials such as yourself to influence the Administration's decision in this case? Why or why not?

I have never before been aware of such active involvement by high-level White House staff on resolving disputes between competing Indian tribes. Would you please describe any other occasions during your tenure on the White House staff when you have personally intervened in Interior Department policy or administrative decisions directly affecting Indian tribes?

Likewise, I have never before been aware of such active involvement by high-level officials of the Democratic National Committee to intercede with the White House to broker a dispute between Indian tribes. Would you please describe any other occasions when Mr. Fowler or other high-level DNC officials have personally intervened with the White House on Interior Department policy or administrative decisions directly affecting Indian tribes?

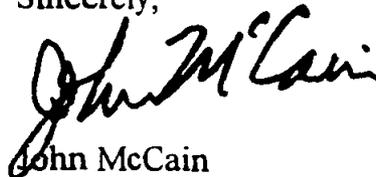
Both Senator Inouye and I, as we have exchanged the positions of Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs over the years, have always tried our

utmost to ensure that our deliberations on Indian affairs policy be conducted in a fully non-partisan manner. It has been my view that matters directly affecting Indian tribes should be resolved not necessarily according to the Republican or Democratic philosophies prevailing at any given moment but instead according to fundamental principles of tribal self-determination and fairness that honor the government-to-government and trust relationships the United States has with Indian tribes.

After reviewing the activities recited in the *Journal* article, one could reasonably conclude that, in this instance, what influenced the Administration's determinations regarding Federal-Indian matters were campaign contributions rather than the long-standing fundamental principles that have guided Federal-Indian policy in recent decades. I know these are strong words, but can you tell me why it would not be reasonable for Indian tribes to conclude from the events described in the *Journal* article that they must give more money to Democrats than do their competitors if they are to gain White House attention and reversal of preliminary Interior decisions that would adversely affect them? Surely you would agree with me that White House attention should not be the subject of a bidding war among campaign donors. To the extent it is, American Indian people, and indeed, all Americans, lose.

I ask that you respond to the questions I have raised and provide me with some assurance that, from this point forward, you will personally ensure that campaign contributions made by Indian tribes, or the failure of an Indian tribe to make contributions, will have absolutely no impact on White House policy decisions. Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John McCain". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

John McCain  
Chairman

~~John Keshy~~



Bob Anderson

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JOHN MCCAIN, ARIZONA, CHAIRMAN  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, VICE CHAIRMAN

FRANK MURKOWSKI, ALASKA  
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KENT CONRAD, NORTH DAKOTA  
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MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR/CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate 36 JUL 22 P5:14

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6450

July 19, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President  
United States of America  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006

*Counsel*

Dear Mr. President:

I was profoundly disturbed to read in last Friday's *Wall Street Journal* that the White House actively intervened last year to resolve a dispute between Indian tribes. Ordinarily, I would be heartened by White House interest in Indian affairs. But the evidence cited by the *Journal* indicates that one group of tribes obtained the attention and support of the highest levels of your White House primarily because they gave more campaign contributions to the Democratic National Committee (DNC) than did a competing group of tribes. The following events reported in the *Journal* are troubling to me and, at a minimum, contribute to an appearance of impropriety.

- In early 1995, several Indian tribes hired Patrick O'Connor, a major fundraiser for the Democratic Party and former Treasurer of the DNC, in an effort to reverse a preliminary decision of the Interior Department -- the agency charged by law to resolve such matters -- that favored one group of tribes over another group of tribes seeking to acquire a racetrack.
- On April 24, 1995, O'Connor talked to you, Mr. President and your senior adviser, Bruce Lindsey, in person at a Democratic Party fundraising event about the problem his tribal clients had with the preliminary Interior Department decision.
- Between April 24 and 26, 1995, your deputy chief of staff, Harold Ickes, placed at least two calls to O'Connor about this same issue.
- On April 25, 1995, the director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association wrote other tribal leaders to inform them about an upcoming meeting on this issue with the DNC Co-Chairman, Donald Fowler, saying that "the people we will be meeting with are very close to President Clinton and can get the job done."

- The April 25, 1995 memorandum said the meeting would be with Fowler, accompanied by "top level staff" representing Senator Bob Kerrey, who serves as Chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Senator Tom Daschle, who is of course the Democratic Leader in the Senate.
- On April 28, 1995, O'Connor took his tribal clients to see Fowler at the DNC headquarters to talk about this issue.
- Sometime between April 28 and May 8, 1995, Fowler sent Ickes a memo supporting the position taken by O'Connor.
- On May 8, 1995, O'Connor wrote Ickes about reversing the preliminary Interior Department decision, stating "I can testify to their previous financial support to the DNC and the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee."
- Fowler has admitted that he "had a conversation with" Ickes on this same issue sometime after the April 28, 1995 meeting, a conversation an Ickes spokesman has said Ickes cannot recall.
- An Ickes aide, Jennifer O'Connor, placed what the Ickes spokesman called routine status calls to Interior officials on the issue after the April 28, 1995 meeting.
- Paul Eckstein, the lobbyist for Indian tribes on the other side of the dispute, has sworn that on July 14, 1995 he met with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to seek a delay of the decision in favor of O'Connor's client tribes.
- Eckstein has sworn that on July 14, 1995 Secretary Babbitt told him that you called Babbitt and told Babbitt the decision had to be issued that day without delay. It was. Handled!  
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The appearance of impropriety raised in this article is quite obvious -- high-level White House attention goes to where the money is, reversing an Interior resolution of a dispute between Indian tribes in favor of the tribes who have given the most money to the Democratic National Committee.

I cannot help but assume that you will agree with me that Indian affairs policy decisions of the Interior Department should be made in strict isolation of how much money any of the tribes have contributed for partisan campaign purposes.

As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, I would appreciate it very much if you would provide me with your response to several questions related to the story set out in the *Journal* article.

I have never before been aware of such active involvement by high-level White House staff on resolving disputes between competing Indian tribes. Would you please describe any other occasions when Mr. Ickes has personally intervened on your behalf on Interior Department policy or administrative decisions directly affecting Indian tribes?

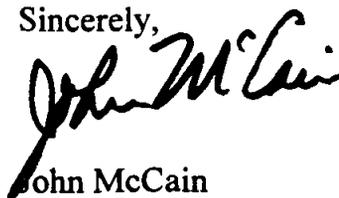
Likewise, I have never before been aware of such active involvement by high-level officials of the Democratic National Committee to intercede with the White House to broker a dispute between Indian tribes. Would you please describe any other occasions when Mr. Fowler or other high-level DNC officials personally intervened on Interior Department policy or administrative decisions directly affecting Indian tribes?

Both Senator Inouye and I, as we have exchanged the positions of Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs over the years, have always tried our utmost to ensure that our deliberations on Indian affairs policy be conducted in a fully non-partisan manner. It has been my view that matters directly affecting Indian tribes should be resolved not necessarily according to the Republican or Democratic philosophies prevailing at any given moment but instead according to fundamental principles of tribal self-determination and fairness that honor the government-to-government and trust relationships the United States has with Indian tribes.

After reviewing the White House activities recited in the *Journal* article, one could reasonably conclude that, in this instance, what influenced your Administration's determinations regarding Federal-Indian matters were campaign contributions rather than the long-standing fundamental principles that have guided Federal-Indian policy in recent decades. I know these are strong words, but can you tell me why it would not be reasonable for Indian tribes to conclude from the events described in the *Journal* article that they must give more money to Democrats than do their competitors if they are to gain White House attention and reversal of preliminary Interior decisions that would adversely affect them? Surely you would agree with me that White House attention should not be the subject of a bidding war among campaign donors. To the extent it is, American Indian people, and indeed, all Americans, lose.

I ask that you respond to the questions I have raised and provide me with some assurance that, from this point forward, you will personally ensure that campaign contributions made by Indian tribes, or the failure of an Indian tribe to make contributions, will have absolutely no impact on policy decisions. Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John McCain". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

John McCain  
Chairman

July 3, 1996

**MEMORANDUM FOR HAROLD ICKES**

**FROM: THOMAS SHEA**

**RE: St. Croix Meadows Greyhound Racing Park**

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Following is the information you requested regarding the Department of the Interior's decision not to take land into trust for the purpose of allowing Indian gaming at the St. Croix Meadows Greyhound Track in Hudson, Wisconsin.

On November 15, 1994, the Minneapolis area office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs forwarded to the Department an application from the following tribes to place a 55-acre parcel of land at the St. Croix Meadows Greyhound Track in Hudson, Wisconsin, in trust for gaming purposes:

- \* the Soskaogon Chippewa Community of Wisconsin;
- \* the Lac Court Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin;
- \* and the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin.

This application was opposed by the following tribes:

- \* the Mille Lacs Band of the Minnesota Chippewa Indians;
- \* the Boise Forte Band of the Minnesota Chippewa Indians;
- \* the Leech Lake Band of the Minnesota Chippewa Indians;
- \* the Red Lake Band of the Minnesota Chippewa Indians;
- \* the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of Minnesota;
- \* and the St. Croix Band of Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin, whose casino in Turtle Lake, Wisconsin, is located 50 miles from the Hudson site.

Following is a list of contacts which some have claimed politicized the decision-making process:

- \* April 24, 1995 - it is on this date that Patrick O'Connor, a representative of the five tribes opposed to the application, claims to have discussed the subject with the President and Bruce Lindsey at an event in Minneapolis;
- \* April 28, 1995 - O'Connor and the Chairmen of the tribes met with Democratic National Committee Chair Don Fowler;
- \* May 8, 1995 - O'Connor sent you a letter outlining what he believed to be the political rationale for the Administration to support his clients' position;
- \* November 9, 1995 - the St. Croix Band of Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin contributed \$15,000 to the Democratic National Committee (note: they subsequently contributed an additional \$15,000 on June 21, 1996).

On July 14, 1995, the Department of the Interior announced its decision, pursuant to the Secretary's discretionary authority, not to take the land in trust for gaming purposes. This decision was based on the determination that to do so would be detrimental to the surrounding community (by statute, the Secretary may not take the land into trust if he finds this to be the case). This determination, in turn, was based upon a written resolution opposing the move from the Common Council of the City of Hudson and the Town of Troy; and upon opposition from numerous elected officials, including the state representative from that district, and from the St. Croix tribe, whose reservation is located closer to the parcel of land in question than the reservations of any of the three applicant tribes.

The unsuccessful applicants filed a suit in the Federal District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin, and on June 11, 1996, a federal judge found that the plaintiffs "have not adduced the evidence necessary to justify opening review of the Department of the Interior's decision to allow consideration of extra-record materials."

js

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

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SOKAOGON CHIPPEWA COMMUNITY  
(MOLE LAKE BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR  
CHIPPEWA), LAC COURTE OREILLES  
BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR CHIPPEWA  
INDIANS OF WISCONSIN, and RED CLIFF  
BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR CHIPPEWA  
INDIANS OF WISCONSIN,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Case No. 95C 0659

BRUCE C. BABBITT, Secretary, UNITED  
STATES DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR,  
MICHAEL J. ANDERSON, Deputy Assistant  
Secretary, UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR, JOHN J.  
DUFFY, Counselor to the Secretary,  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERIOR, and GEORGE SKIBINE,  
Director, Indian Gaming Management Staff,  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERIOR,

Defendants.

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**AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL F. ECKSTEIN**

---

STATE OF ARIZONA     )  
                                  ) SS.  
MARICOPA COUNTY     )

Paul F. Eckstein, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and states as follows:

1. I am a member of the Phoenix, Arizona law firm of Brown & Bain, P.A.,  
and I am making this affidavit to evidence statements made to me or that were made in

my presence by officers of the United States Department of Interior relating to the plaintiff Tribes' (the "Tribes") application to have property located in Hudson, Wisconsin approved for off-reservation gaming pursuant to § 2719(b)(1)(A) of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") and acquired in trust by the Secretary of the United States Department of Interior under § 465 of the Indian Reorganization Act ("IRA").

2. On or about May 1, 1995, I was retained by Galaxy Gaming and Racing Limited Partnership ("Galaxy") to assist Galaxy and the Tribes in their efforts to obtain Department of Interior approval for off-reservation gaming at Galaxy's greyhound racing facility in Hudson and for the trust acquisition described above. On May 8, 1995, Mark Goff, a consultant to Galaxy, faxed me a copy of a letter dated May 8, 1995 from Patrick O'Connor to Harold Ickes. Harold Ickes is the Deputy Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. The letter states, in part:

I appreciate your calling me concerning the above subject [The Tribes' Hudson proposal] on Tuesday, April 25, and again on Wednesday, April 26. I assume these calls were prompted by my discussions with the President and Bruce Lindsey on April 24 when they were in Minneapolis. I returned your calls and talked to your assistant, Mr. Sultan, who advised that you were not in the office when I called. Since I had an appointment with Don Fowler on Friday, April 28, to discuss this matter, I decided not to try to contact you until after the Fowler meeting with the chairman of five of the many Minnesota and Wisconsin tribes that would oppose the creation of the trust lands for gambling purposes and the bail out of the current dog track owners.

I have been advised that Chairman Fowler has talked to you about this matter and sent you a memo outlining the basis for the opposition to creating another gaming casino in this area. Since the Fowler memo was sent to you, the City Council of Hudson, Wisconsin, passed a resolution opposing the construction and operation of a casino at the dog track.

The letter goes on to state:

I am concerned that those at Interior who are involved are leaning toward creating trust lands. We requested a copy of the Arthur Andersen report which the petitioners commissioned which found no adverse financial impact. The copy submitted to us "blocked out" all the vital information relating to the size of the operation, how many machines, tables, etc., which we need to know, as well as the statistics and reasoning used in determining that the surrounding casinos would not suffer a serious economic impact. We need this data in order to put our best case forward to Interior. We have no objection to Interior's submitting the Coopers & Lybrand report or the Peat Marwick report to the petitioners.

I would also like to relate the politics involved in this situation:

1. Governor Thompson of Wisconsin supports this project.
2. Senator Al D'Amato supports this project because it bails out Delaware North, the company that owns this defunct dog track and also operates another dog track in Wisconsin. Delaware North is located in Buffalo, New York.
3. The Chairman of the Indian tribe in the forefront of this project is active in Republican Party politics; this year he was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for the Wisconsin State Senate.
4. All the representatives of the tribes that have met with Chairman Fowler are Democrats and have been for years. I can testify to their previous financial support to the DNC in the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee.
5. The entire Minnesota (Democrats and Republicans) Congressional delegation oppose this project. The Wisconsin Democratic Congressional delegation (including Congressman Gunderson in whose district the dog track is located) oppose the project.

I certainly will appreciate it if you will meet with me and two representatives of the tribes as soon as we can work it into your schedule, since the decision by Interior is imminent. We are available on 24-hour notice.

A copy of this letter is attached to this affidavit. Donald Fowler is Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. I understand that a copy of Mr. O'Connor's letter has been placed in the administrative record at pages 02880-81.

3. On May 16, 1995, I travelled to Washington to attend a meeting with defendant John Duffy. I attended the meeting with Mr. Duffy on May 17, 1995. Also in attendance were the chairpersons of the Tribes and Mr. Havenick. During the meeting, George Newago of the Red Cliff Tribe made an impassioned plea to Mr. Duffy relating his personal experience growing up in a poor family as a member of a poor tribe. Mr. Duffy listened to Mr. Newago but said very little during the meeting. In response to a comment by Mr. Havenick, however, Mr. Duffy did say that approval of the Tribes' application was not a "slam dunk" but did not elaborate further.

4. Following the May 17, 1995 meeting with Mr. Duffy, I was advised that Department of Interior officials would meet with me but that they would not meet again with the Tribes. I believe that the person who told me this was Barbara Atkinson, an administrative assistant in the Office of the Secretary.

5. On June 16, 1995, I telephoned Tom Hartman, a member of the Indian Gaming Management staff who was working on the staff report on the subject.

application. I asked Mr. Hartman if there were any problems with the application and he said "nothing that isn't curable."

6. On June 26, 1995, I telephoned defendant George Skibine, Director of the Indian Gaming Management Staff, to ask about the status of the staff's report on the Tribes' application. Mr. Skibine said that he wanted to keep his job and therefore could not discuss what was in the staff's report.

7. As a result of Mr. Skibine's comments to me on June 26, 1995 and Galaxy's and the Tribes' growing alarm at the political pressure being asserted against the application and the failure of the Department to communicate with either the Tribes or their representatives about what was happening with the application, I telephoned Secretary Babbitt on July 11, 1995 and requested a meeting with the Secretary. At that time, the Secretary told me that he would have John Duffy call me. Mr. Duffy called me later that day from an airplane and said that the Department was ready to make a decision. I requested a meeting with Mr. Duffy for later that week. Mr. Duffy wanted to meet the next day in Washington but I could not make arrangements to travel that quickly. After some discussion, we agreed to meet the morning of July 14, 1995.

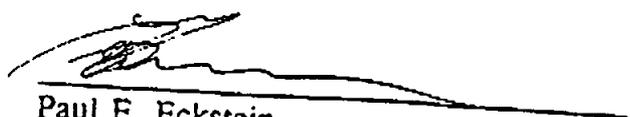
8. Former Congressman Jim Moody and I met with Mr. Duffy the morning of July 14, 1995. The meeting lasted slightly less than an hour. During the first 40 minutes of the meeting, Mr. Duffy listened to our arguments in support of the application and appeared to be receptive. Near the end of the meeting, however, Mr. Duffy said that the application was being denied and that a decision would be issued later that day.

Mr. Duffy said that there were two reasons for the denial: (1) the proposed gaming establishment would be harmful to the St. Croix Chippewas, and (2) the City Council of Hudson, the United States Congressman for the district, and other political officials were now on record against the project.

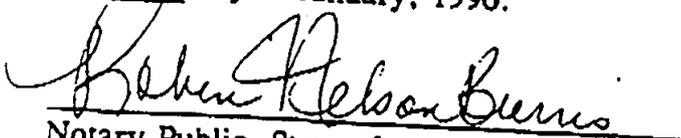
9. Later that day, on July 14, 1995, I met with Secretary Babbitt. I asked the Secretary if he would delay the release of the decision on the Tribes' application until the following Monday to allow time for the Tribes to attempt to respond to the political pressure being exerted against the application. Secretary Babbitt said that the decision could not be delayed because Presidential Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes had called the Secretary and told him that the decision had to be issued that day.

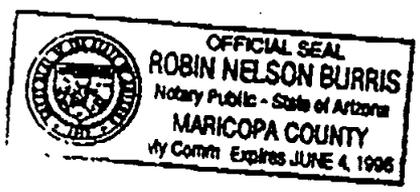
10. I had never heard of Michael Anderson, the person who signed the July 14, 1995 letter denying the Tribes' application. Neither Secretary Babbitt, nor Messrs. Duffy, Skibine or Hartman nor anyone else I spoke to ever mentioned his name. My understanding was that Ms. Ada Deer, the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, was the person who would make the decision on the Tribes' application for approval under IGRA. No one ever explained to me why Mr. Anderson rather than Ms. Deer signed the July 14, 1995 letter.

11. I was deeply disappointed by the decision denying the plaintiffs' application. In my over 30 years of practice of law, I had not been involved in a matter in which the merits were so strongly on the side of the parties I was representing.

  
Paul F. Eckstein

Subscribed and Sworn to before me  
this 24 day of January, 1996.

  
Notary Public, State of Arizona  
My Commission: \_\_\_\_\_



# Midwest Indian Tribes Flex Washington Muscle In Successful Drive to Sink Rival Gaming Project

*File  
Indian News*

By JILL ABRAMSON  
And GLENN R. SIMPSON

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
When five Minnesota and Wisconsin Indian tribes who operate successful gaming operations set out to kill a rival Indian casino project, they played the Washington game like expert gamblers.

For openers, they hired one of the Democratic Party's most connected lobbyists, Patrick O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor, who heads an influential law firm with offices in both Minneapolis and Washington, is a former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and is known for his fund-raising prowess as well as his ability to get things done for his clients.

On April 24, 1995, while President Clinton was making a visit to community colleges in Minnesota, Mr. O'Connor arranged to meet with him. Although Mr. O'Connor says he doesn't recall discussing with the president his clients' desire to kill a proposal then pending at the Department of Interior to turn a failing dog track in Hudson, Wis., into an Indian casino, a letter he wrote later to a White House official suggests otherwise.

## Major Business in Region

The tribes represented by Mr. O'Connor were worried, among other things, that another casino in the area would cut into their own share of the lucrative gaming pie. Indian gambling has become a major business in the region and the Hudson dog-track conversion, championed by three Wisconsin tribes, had been approved by Interior's regional office as well as by local voters. Mr. O'Connor's mission was to try to pull the plug in Washington by getting top Interior officials to overrule their own bureaucrats, according to court documents filed in a lawsuit against the Interior Department.

Next, Mr. O'Connor wrote a letter, dated May 8, 1995, to Harold Ickes, the president's deputy chief of staff, captioned "proposal pending at Interior to create trust lands at the Hudson Dog Track for an Indian gaming casino." In the letter, Mr. O'Connor thanks Mr. Ickes for attempting to call him in the two days following his encounter with President Clinton. "I assume these calls were prompted by my discussions with the president and [senior adviser] Bruce Lindsey on April 24 when they were in Minneapolis," Mr. O'Connor wrote. When asked about the letter, Mr. O'Connor acknowledged that it is at odds with his recollection that he didn't discuss the casino matter with the president. "I did write that letter," he said, "I can't say that I didn't write the letter."

## Other Markers Placed

While there's nothing illegal about Mr. O'Connor's actions, they show how he was able to involve White House officials and other top Democrats in an issue of minor

consequence to the country but of major importance to lobbyists, fund-raisers and campaign donors.

Mr. O'Connor placed markers at other influential spots in Washington. On April 28th, just four days after he saw the president, Mr. O'Connor arranged a meeting with his tribal clients and DNC co-chairman Donald Fowler. Why would the DNC be brokering a spat between Indian tribes that, under the law, was to be refereed by the Interior Department? That isn't clear, but the DNC for the last few years has been aggressively courting large campaign contributions from Indian tribes who run casinos.

"There was no talk of money" Mr. Fowler insists: "Pat O'Connor is a personal friend and a political friend. He showed up with eight or 10 people. They explained to me what their situation was, and I listened as I do with almost anyone who comes in." But Mr. O'Connor himself told Mr. Ickes of the Indian tribes' financial fealty to the Democrats. "I can testify to their previous financial support to the DNC and the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee," he wrote in his letter.

## Contributions Flow

Moreover, records show that some \$70,000 from three of the tribes has poured into Democratic coffers since May 1995, as well as additional donations to the Clinton-Gore campaign from Mr. O'Connor, his law partners, family members and contributions from individual tribe members. Mr. Fowler says he is not aware of any contributions the tribes have made to the party. However, a \$30,000 contribution from one of the tribes, the Oneida, was made in conjunction with a fund-raiser for the DNC last March in Milwaukee that the tribe helped host. The event was attended by Vice President Al Gore and Mr. Fowler.

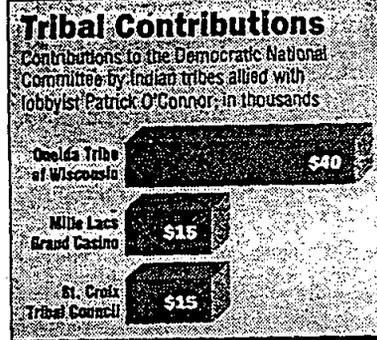
The tribes backing the casino, which include several Chippewa bands, also gave money to the Democratic Party, though it was far less than what the opposing tribes gave.

In a letter to Indian leaders informing them about the DNC meeting, the director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association promised, "The people we will be meeting with are very close to President Clinton and can get the job done." The tribes also lobbied hard in Congress and won over key Democratic Senate allies such as Minnesota's Paul Wellstone and Wisconsin's Russ Feingold.

## Project in Trouble

Mr. Fowler also weighed in at high levels. "I had a conversation with Harold," Mr. Fowler says, "I'm not sure I had a conversation with someone at Interior. I simply asked them to review it."

And review the Department of Interior did. Mark Goff, a consultant to the backers of the proposed Hudson project, says the



Wisconsin tribes allied with him were confident of winning Washington's approval until Mr. O'Connor began contacting key Democrats in Washington. Then word filtered back to them that the casino project was far from a done deal. Alarmed, the backers of the Hudson project hired Paul Eckstein, a Harvard Law School classmate and former law partner of Secretary Bruce Babbitt.

In July, after becoming concerned that there were serious problems in Washington, Mr. Eckstein called Secretary Babbitt and requested a meeting. Mr. Babbitt referred him to another top Interior official, John Duffy, according to a sworn affidavit Mr. Eckstein submitted as part of a lawsuit filed against the Interior Department after it rejected the Hudson gaming proposal. When Mr. Eckstein met with Mr. Duffy on July 14, Mr. Duffy told Mr. Eckstein that the proposal was being denied. According to Mr. Eckstein's affidavit, Mr. Duffy told him that the department's decision was based on a finding that the new casino project would harm the St. Croix Chippewa tribe and that the City Council of Hudson, as well as lawmakers from the area, were opposed to the project.

## Routine Status Inquiries

Mr. Eckstein appealed to Mr. Babbitt. But when he met with the secretary later that day to ask that the decision be delayed, Mr. Eckstein says Mr. Babbitt told him the decision could not be delayed "because Presidential Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes had called the secretary and told him that the decision had to be issued that day."

Mr. Ickes's spokesman says he has no recollection of such a call, and that Mr. Ickes did not attempt to pressure the department to kill the project. Another aide to Mr. Ickes, Jennifer O'Connor (no relation to Patrick O'Connor) did make what the spokesman calls routine status inquiries to Interior about the project.

Secretary Babbitt referred calls on the matter to Mr. Duffy, who says, "there is no reason to believe" there was a call between the Secretary and Mr. Ickes. Mr. Duffy says the decision was made on the merits,

not politics, and that "whatever contacts might have occurred, there was no showing of inappropriate contacts. There has been no showing that the decision was not appropriate."

## No Luck in Court

So far, the Hudson project's backers have been unsuccessful in their lawsuit, filed in U.S. District Court in Wisconsin, to have the Interior Department's denial overruled in court. A federal judge has ruled that even if improper political influence was exerted, that's not enough to nullify the decision.

Mr. Goff complains that his Indian clients are losing out because they've been outgunned when it comes to political contributions.

While it's true that there was substantial local opposition to the casino — one of the chief reasons cited by Interior for its decision — this was also the case with regard to the recent expansion of a Connecticut tribe's reservation. Interior approved that expansion last year, brushing aside vehement objections from state politicians, who are now calling for an investigation. The tribe involved in that decision, the Mashantucket Pequot, own the most profitable casino in the country and gave the Democrats \$465,000 in the last election.

Ascertain - any facts we don't have that we should  
No way suggesting what your response ought  
to be.

Accurate / complete story.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Handwritten Note (1 page)	n.d.	P5

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Counsel's Office  
Elena Kagan  
OA/Box Number: 8287

### FOLDER TITLE:

Indian Gaming - McCain Inquiry

2009-1006-F  
kh569

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK QUINN

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter that was sent to the President from Senator John McCain (R-AZ).

I would appreciate it if you could review the attached letter and provide information to assist my office in preparing a response to the Member of Congress.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Chris Walker (East Wing - Room 102) at 456-7500.

Enclosure.

*Element  
to we should be  
begin response to  
August 1  
John  
Walker*

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF WISCONSIN

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SOKAOGON CHIPPEWA COMMUNITY  
(MOLE LAKE BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR  
CHIPPEWA), LAC COURTE OREILLES  
BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR CHIPPEWA  
INDIANS OF WISCONSIN, and RED CLIFF  
BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR CHIPPEWA  
INDIANS OF WISCONSIN,

Plaintiffs,

v.

Case No. 95C 0659

BRUCE C. BABBITT, Secretary, UNITED  
STATES DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR,  
MICHAEL J. ANDERSON, Deputy Assistant  
Secretary, UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR, JOHN J.  
DUFFY, Counselor to the Secretary,  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERIOR, and GEORGE SKIBINE,  
Director, Indian Gaming Management Staff,  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERIOR,

Defendants.

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**AFFIDAVIT OF PAUL F. ECKSTEIN**

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STATE OF ARIZONA     )  
                                  ) SS.  
MARICOPA COUNTY     )

Paul F. Eckstein, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and states as follows:

1. I am a member of the Phoenix, Arizona law firm of Brown & Bain, P.A.,  
and I am making this affidavit to evidence statements made to me or that were made in

my presence by officers of the United States Department of Interior relating to the plaintiff Tribes' (the "Tribes") application to have property located in Hudson, Wisconsin approved for off-reservation gaming pursuant to § 2719(b)(1)(A) of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") and acquired in trust by the Secretary of the United States Department of Interior under § 465 of the Indian Reorganization Act ("IRA").

2. On or about May 1, 1995, I was retained by Galaxy Gaming and Racing Limited Partnership ("Galaxy") to assist Galaxy and the Tribes in their efforts to obtain Department of Interior approval for off-reservation gaming at Galaxy's greyhound racing facility in Hudson and for the trust acquisition described above. On May 8, 1995, Mark Goff, a consultant to Galaxy, faxed me a copy of a letter dated May 8, 1995 from Patrick O'Connor to Harold Ickes. Harold Ickes is the Deputy Chief of Staff to the President of the United States. The letter states, in part:

I appreciate your calling me concerning the above subject [The Tribes' Hudson proposal] on Tuesday, April 25, and again on Wednesday, April 26. I assume these calls were prompted by my discussions with the President and Bruce Lindsey on April 24 when they were in Minneapolis. I returned your calls and talked to your assistant, Mr. Sultan, who advised that you were not in the office when I called. Since I had an appointment with Don Fowler on Friday, April 28, to discuss this matter, I decided not to try to contact you until after the Fowler meeting with the chairman of five of the many Minnesota and Wisconsin tribes that would oppose the creation of the trust lands for gambling purposes and the bail out of the current dog track owners.

I have been advised that Chairman Fowler has talked to you about this matter and sent you a memo outlining the basis for the opposition to creating another gaming casino in this area. Since the Fowler memo was sent to you, the City Council of Hudson, Wisconsin, passed a resolution opposing the construction and operation of a casino at the dog track.

The letter goes on to state:

I am concerned that those at Interior who are involved are leaning toward creating trust lands. We requested a copy of the Arthur Andersen report which the petitioners commissioned which found no adverse financial impact. The copy submitted to us "blocked out" all the vital information relating to the size of the operation, how many machines, tables, etc., which we need to know, as well as the statistics and reasoning used in determining that the surrounding casinos would not suffer a serious economic impact. We need this data in order to put our best case forward to Interior. We have no objection to Interior's submitting the Coopers & Lybrand report or the Peat Marwick report to the petitioners.

I would also like to relate the politics involved in this situation:

1. Governor Thompson of Wisconsin supports this project.
2. Senator Al D'Amato supports this project because it bails out Delaware North, the company that owns this defunct dog track and also operates another dog track in Wisconsin. Delaware North is located in Buffalo, New York.
3. The Chairman of the Indian tribe in the forefront of this project is active in Republican Party politics; this year he was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for the Wisconsin State Senate.
4. All the representatives of the tribes that have met with Chairman Fowler are Democrats and have been for years. I can testify to their previous financial support to the DNC in the 1992 Clinton/Gore Campaign Committee.
5. The entire Minnesota (Democrats and Republicans) Congressional delegation oppose this project. The Wisconsin Democratic Congressional delegation (including Congressman Gunderson in whose district the dog track is located) oppose the project.

I certainly will appreciate it if you will meet with me and two representatives of the tribes as soon as we can work it into your schedule, since the decision by Interior is imminent. We are available on 24-hour notice.

A copy of this letter is attached to this affidavit. Donald Fowler is Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. I understand that a copy of Mr. O'Connor's letter has been placed in the administrative record at pages 02880-81.

3. On May 16, 1995, I travelled to Washington to attend a meeting with defendant John Duffy. I attended the meeting with Mr. Duffy on May 17, 1995. Also in attendance were the chairpersons of the Tribes and Mr. Havenick. During the meeting, George Newago of the Red Cliff Tribe made an impassioned plea to Mr. Duffy relating his personal experience growing up in a poor family as a member of a poor tribe. Mr. Duffy listened to Mr. Newago but said very little during the meeting. In response to a comment by Mr. Havenick, however, Mr. Duffy did say that approval of the Tribes' application was not a "slam dunk" but did not elaborate further.

4. Following the May 17, 1995 meeting with Mr. Duffy, I was advised that Department of Interior officials would meet with me but that they would not meet again with the Tribes. I believe that the person who told me this was Barbara Atkinson, an administrative assistant in the Office of the Secretary.

5. On June 16, 1995, I telephoned Tom Hartman, a member of the Indian Gaming Management staff who was working on the staff report on the subject.

application. I asked Mr. Hartman if there were any problems with the application and he said "nothing that isn't curable."

6. On June 26, 1995, I telephoned defendant George Skibine, Director of the Indian Gaming Management Staff, to ask about the status of the staff's report on the Tribes' application. Mr. Skibine said that he wanted to keep his job and therefore could not discuss what was in the staff's report.

7. At a result of Mr. Skibine's comments to me on June 26, 1995 and Galaxy's and the Tribes' growing alarm at the political pressure being asserted against the application and the failure of the Department to communicate with either the Tribes or their representatives about what was happening with the application, I telephoned Secretary Babbitt on July 11, 1995 and requested a meeting with the Secretary. At that time, the Secretary told me that he would have John Duffy call me. Mr. Duffy called me later that day from an airplane and said that the Department was ready to make a decision. I requested a meeting with Mr. Duffy for later that week. Mr. Duffy wanted to meet the next day in Washington but I could not make arrangements to travel that quickly. After some discussion, we agreed to meet the morning of July 14, 1995.

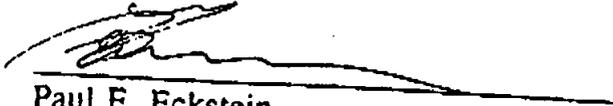
8. Former Congressman Jim Moody and I met with Mr. Duffy the morning of July 14, 1995. The meeting lasted slightly less than an hour. During the first 40 minutes of the meeting, Mr. Duffy listened to our arguments in support of the application and appeared to be receptive. Near the end of the meeting, however, Mr. Duffy said that the application was being denied and that a decision would be issued later that day.

Mr. Duffy said that there were two reasons for the denial: (1) the proposed gaming establishment would be harmful to the St. Croix Chippewas, and (2) the City Council of Hudson, the United States Congressman for the district, and other political officials were now on record against the project.

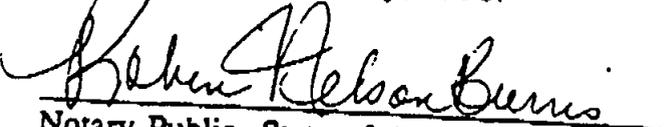
9. Later that day, on July 14, 1995, I met with Secretary Babbitt. I asked the Secretary if he would delay the release of the decision on the Tribes' application until the following Monday to allow time for the Tribes to attempt to respond to the political pressure being exerted against the application. Secretary Babbitt said that the decision could not be delayed because Presidential Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes had called the Secretary and told him that the decision had to be issued that day.

10. I had never heard of Michael Anderson, the person who signed the July 14, 1995 letter denying the Tribes' application. Neither Secretary Babbitt, nor Messrs. Duffy, Skibine or Hartman nor anyone else I spoke to ever mentioned his name. My understanding was that Ms. Ada Deer, the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, was the person who would make the decision on the Tribes' application for approval under IGRA. No one ever explained to me why Mr. Anderson rather than Ms. Deer signed the July 14, 1995 letter.

11. I was deeply disappointed by the decision denying the plaintiffs' application. In my over 30 years of practice of law, I had not been involved in a matter in which the merits were so strongly on the side of the parties I was representing.

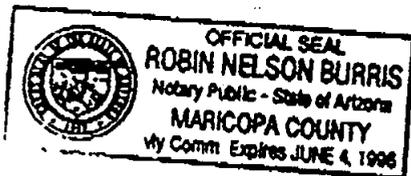
  
Paul F. Eckstein

Subscribed and Sworn to before me  
this 8<sup>th</sup> day of January, 1996.



Notary Public, State of Arizona

My Commission: \_\_\_\_\_



Name	Date	
Dimitry Nionakis	8/15/97	Council
Michael Nionakis	8/15/97	Council
Dimitry Nionakis	6/21/98	Council
Christie Nionakis	5/27/99	Council

DA 8287 UAFIA 3999