

# Burns Delivers . . . But Not For Montana

SENATOR BURNS HAS A RECORD OF SELLING OUT MONTANA FAMILIES, CHILDREN, AND OUR VETERANS WHILE DELIVERING MILLIONS IN TAXPAYER DOLLARS TO FORMER STAFF AND THE SPECIAL INTERESTS. MONTANANS DESERVE BETTER.

## SUMMARY

**You Scratch My Back . . .** While convicted felon Jack Abramoff is certainly the most famous example of a lobbyist directing campaign contributions to Burns and then watching his clients benefit from Burns' actions, he is not alone. A throng of former Burns staff have created their own industry around the embattled senator and have perfected the art of turning public money into private money. In less than ten years, Burns has directed hundreds of millions of dollars to companies that paid his former staffers over 20 million dollars in lobbying fees during the same period.

**In A Class His Own.** For his part, Jack Abramoff has said publicly that, "Every appropriation we wanted [from Burns's committee] we got." Abramoff also sent two former Burns staffers on an all-expenses-paid trip to the Super Bowl in 2001. A trip that one former top aide to Burns has since confirmed is the subject of the same federal investigation that is currently engulfing Sen. Burns. Dozens of published reports name Burns as a subject of the Justice Department investigation into Abramoff's dealings with Congress. Abramoff plead guilty in January to fraud, tax evasion and conspiracy to bribe public officials. Burns has since retained the services of a criminal defense attorney specializing in white collar crime and congressional investigations.

**The Burns Sleight of Hand.** This report will explore Burns' strategy of touting his support for a program and then voting to slash its funding. Burns' senate office is a taxpayer-funded assembly line of press releases touting his support of the popular issue or program of the day. However, the report will prove that when it matters most, Burns votes against Montana. For example, he has touted his support for veterans but then voted against fully funding veteran's health care. He also claims to be committed to the fight against meth, but voted to cut anti-meth programs in half.

## YOU SCRATCH MY BACK . . .

Throughout his career, there is one thing Senator Burns has clearly mastered - the art of pay-to-play. While his dealings with Jack Abramoff are the most famous, Burns has also helped funnel millions into the pockets of former staffers turned lobbyists. It's no secret that Burns enjoys returning the generosity of campaign contributions by throwing his weight behind a wide range of industry-friendly legislation.

### **First Burns Took Hundreds Of Thousands Of Abramoff-Related Dollars . . .**

**Burns Took The Most Abramoff-Related Contributions Of Any Member Of Congress.** Between the years 2001 and 2004, Conrad Burns received more campaign contributions than any other member of Congress from controversial lobbyist Jack Abramoff, his partner, and his Indian gaming tribal clients. During the four year span, Burns received \$146,590 from Abramoff and his associates. The contributions from Abramoff connections amounted to an incredible 42 percent of the amount raised by Burns' so-called "leadership PAC" from 2000 to 2002. [Washington Post, 12/12/05; Billings Gazette, 5/24/05; Bloomberg News, 5/19/05; Billings Gazette, 3/2/05]

### **Then He Helped Deliver The Legislation That Abramoff And His Clients Wanted . . .**

**Provisions Benefiting Abramoff Client Put Into Appropriations Bill Under Burns's Watch; Even Burns Admitted It Was Improper.** On April 2005, Conrad Burns admitted that provisions "benefiting an Indian tribe were placed in a fiscal 2004 Interior spending bill..." The provision in question was a \$3 million school appropriation for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe in Michigan that had previously been rejected by the U.S. Department of Interior for not meeting requirements for federal funding. While Burns denied knowing the provision was included in the bill, he did admit that "he was not as vigilant as he should have been when his staff was drafting the bill." Burns offered no explanation as to why he didn't monitor the legislation more closely. [Roll Call, 4/11/05; Billings Gazette, 4/17/05]

**Burns Voted Against Tougher Immigration and Labor Standards On The Marianas Islands After Receiving Abramoff Contributions.** In May 2001, Burns was one of only four members of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee to oppose legislation that would increase federal control of the Northern Mariana Islands. Burns took the rare step of requesting a recorded vote on the issue. Three years earlier, Burns had voted to increase federal control over the Northern Mariana Islands. The month before Burns' 2001 vote against control over the Mariana Islands, Burns' leadership PAC received \$5,000 from Jack Abramoff, \$2,000 from Abramoff's firm's PAC and another \$5,000 from Eloy Inos of Tan Holdings, an Abramoff client on the Northern Mariana Islands. In 1992, Tan Holdings owner Willie Tan was fined \$9 million by the U.S. government for alleged labor violations and "since then, he has been trying to force Washington to stay out of the affairs of the territory." [Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Markup, 5/23/01; CQ, 5/23/01; Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Markup, 5/20/98; CQ, 5/20/98; Friends of the Big Sky FEC Report; Roll Call, 3/1/05; The Hill, 3/25/98]

### **And Burns Isn't The Only One Raking In The Money . . .**

At least 13 individuals have made the jump between a taxpayer-funded salary as a Burns aide and making big bucks as a corporate lobbyist – and sometimes back again. Not only are these people using their connections on Capitol Hill to gain influence and special treatment as lobbyists, but most of them end up lobbying for clients that cash in on Burns earmarks:

**Burns Telecommunications Center Used As Nexus For Burns' Former Staffers To Make Millions.** Former Burns staffers have made over \$20 million in lobbying fees while Burns used his influence to generate hundreds of millions for their corporate clients. For nearly a decade, a group of former top aides to Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.) have successfully used personal and professional connections to Burns, Montana State University's Burns Technology Center and other institutions associated with him to secure more than \$20 million in lobbying fees for themselves, as well as hundreds of millions of dollars in federal research contracts, tax breaks and subsidies for their clients. [Roll Call, 3/8/06]

**Intelsat Paid Two Former Burns Staffers Over One Million Dollars, Burns Returned The Favor With Massive Legislative Support.** The satellite giant Intelsat has paid former Burns staffers Brett Scott and Will Brooke more than \$1 million as part of its successful campaign to first become a private company in 2000 and then to stave off potentially crippling financial requirements that Congress had built into the original privatization bill that was championed in the Senate by Burns. Burns, who at the time chaired Commerce's now-defunct subcommittee on Telecommunications, successfully passed legislation allowing Intelsat to privatize and requiring a public sale of stock. However, when the stock market declined, Intelsat sought an extension of the public sale requirement. Over the next five years, using the lobbying skills of Scott and, beginning in 2003, Brooke, Intelsat was able to successfully secure a series of extensions to the IPO requirement. [[Roll Call](#), 3/8/06]

**Leo Giacometto: Former Burns Chief Of Staff Used Connections To Build Own Lobbying Firm And Make Lucrative Profits Off Burns' Earmarks.** Leo Giacometto is yet another former Burns chief of staff who has used his connections to build a lucrative lobbying business. Giacometto's firm, Gage LLC, is composed largely of former Burns staffers. Gage, a "single-member" lobbying shop, has raked in fees from clients seeking to lobby Burns, and those clients have profited handsomely from Burns earmarks. Giacometto is also a central figure in a complex web of organizations tied to Burns, including the Burns Telecommunications Center, the U.S.-Asia Network, and the Inland Northwest Space Alliance. Giacometto also accompanied Burns and Rehberg on a controversial trip to Kazakhstan. Giacometto visited the Marianas Islands in 1997 on a trip organized by Jack Abramoff and paid for by the government of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands (CNMI). The "fact-finding" missions included rounds of golf - arranged as part of a package the island government and Saipan garment manufacturers had paid lobbyist Jack Abramoff to set up. [[Helena Independent Record](#), 3/5/06; [Billings Gazette](#), 3/5/06; [Roll Call](#), 3/8/06; [Philadelphia Inquirer](#), 4/3/06; [U.S. Newswire](#), 1/31/06; [AP](#), 6/1/05; [Roll Call](#), 10/20/03; [AP](#), 6/27/02; [AP](#), 6/26/02; [AP](#), 3/9/02; [AP](#), 3/1/02; [AP](#), 2/4/02]

**Will Brooke: Former Burns Chief Of Staff Hired By Abramoff Shortly After The Bill Including The Michigan Tribe's Earmark Was Complete.** In December of 2003, less than a month after the Interior Appropriations bill that contained a \$3 million special provision for an Abramoff client, Burns Chief of Staff, Will Brooke, was hired by Greenberg Traurig. Abramoff praised Brooke as "a big hire for us" and said that "as chief of staff [for Burns], he's plugged in in a lot of places." [[Washington Post](#), 12/18/03; [Roll Call](#), 3/1/05]

- **Brooke Admits He And Burns Sought Abramoff To Raise Money For Burns Leadership PAC.** Brooke acknowledged that Abramoff, whose contacts among the conservatives allowed him to tap vast financial networks on behalf of GOP lawmakers, was an attractive target for him and Burns as they sought to raise money for Burns' leadership PAC. [[Roll Call](#), 3/1/05]
- **Abramoff Contacted Brooke Regarding Saginaw Chippewa Request – Claims He Received A Promise To Have Burns Call Secretary Norton Regarding Tribal School Construction.** In September of 2003, Abramoff sent an e-mail to his lobbying team that he had met with Deputy Secretary of the Interior J. Steven Griles and that he, "gave me some suggestions on how to get...the cost share done." A reference to the Saginaw Chippewa's attempt to become eligible for the tribal school construction cost sharing program. When asked what Griles recommended, Abramoff replied with a bombshell one sentence email: "[GRILES] TOLD ME TO HAVE BURNS CALL NORTON AND I ASKED WILL [BROOKE, BURNS' CHIEF OF STAFF] TO GET THAT DONE, AND HE WILL." [Abramoff email, 6/6/02; [Roll Call](#), 4/11/05; [Washington Post](#), 3/1/05]

**Randy Popelka: Former Burns Policy Advisor Served As Associate Vice President At Vin Scoyoc Associates, Inc.** Randy Popelka recently returned to Burns's office as Legislative Director. Prior to this, Popelka served as Associate Vice President at Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc, a D.C. lobbying firm that has contributed more than \$50,000 to Burns and which represents clients that have benefited from Burns earmarks. According to his bio at Van Scoyoc, "Popelka joined VSA after eleven years of service in the United States Senate. Popelka spent a year in the office of the late Senator Paul Coverdell (R-GA) and two years in the office of Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) before joining the staff of Senator Conrad Burns (R-MT) as deputy press secretary. He was promoted to legislative assistant in less than a year and eventually served as senior policy advisor. In that capacity he represented the senator on the Appropriations, Commerce, Finance and Budget Committees." It's not surprising that Popelka wanted to get back to the perks of Burns office – during a two-year period from 2001 to 2003, he received free trips to Hawaii (TWICE), London, Montreal, New York, Virginia and Detroit. [[Hotline](#), 3/6/06; [Helena Independent](#)]

Record, 3/5/06; Van Scoyoc Staff Biographies, <http://www.vsadc.com/pages/page03.htm>; Senate Travel Disclosure Records; Center for Responsive Politics]

- **Popelka's Lobbying Firm Has Given More Than \$50,000 To Burns.** Van Scoyoc has contributed more than \$50,000 to Burns. [Senate Lobbyist Disclosures, Center For Responsive Politics]

**Shawn Vasell: Burns Aide Worked For Abramoff, Became Burns State Director, Then Returned To Abramoff.** Shawn Vasell, a lobbyist at Greenberg Traurig, left the firm in late 2001 to serve as the Burns state director in Montana. In January of 2003, Vasell returned to Greenberg Traurig, where he remained employed until May of 2005, when he moved to the D.C. office of Hewlett-Packard. [Roll Call, 3/1/05; Roll Call, 4/11/05]

- **Vasell Was A Registered Lobbyist For The Saginaw Tribe In 2003.** According to the Senate Lobbyist Disclosures, Shawn Vasell was a registered lobbyist for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe in 2003, immediately after leaving Burns as state director. It was during 2003 that Burns included a provision benefiting the Saginaw Tribe in the Interior Appropriations bill. [Senate Lobbyist Disclosure Reports, 7/25/03]

# IN A CLASS HIS OWN

## Despite Burns' Denials, Abramoff Claims Close Ties With Burns And Staff

**Jack Abramoff Said He Got Everything He Wanted From Burns' Committee.** "Every appropriation we wanted [from Burns' committee] we got. Our staffs were as close as they could be. They practically used Signatures as their cafeteria. I mean, it's a little difficult for him to run from that record." – Jack Abramoff [Vanity Fair, April 2006]

## And While He May Talk Technicalities About Being Under Investigation, He Has Hired A Criminal Defense Attorney For His Dealings With Abramoff

**Burns Denied Hiring A Lawyer Even Though Previous Reports Indicated He Had Retained An Attorney.** In November 2005, the Wall Street Journal reported that Burns was one of four Republican members of Congress under investigation for dealings with Abramoff. Despite this, the Burns campaign insisted Burns was not under investigation. "Conrad Burns is not under investigation," a Burns spokesman said. Furthermore, although Burns' office told the Wall Street Journal that Burns' hadn't hired a lawyer, Washington D.C. attorney Cleta Mitchell had been quoted as Burns' legal counsel in the investigation. Asked about the discrepancy, a Burns spokesman said that Mitchell reviewed paperwork, but Burns had "not hired a criminal attorney." [Wall Street Journal, 11/25/05; Great Falls Tribune, 11/26/05; Bloomberg News, 11/21/05]

- **Burns Later Hired Criminal Attorney, May Use Campaign Funds To Pay For Legal Defense.** In April 2006, the Billings Gazette reported that Burns had hired Ralph Caccia, a Washington, D.C., lawyer specializing in white-collar criminal defense and congressional investigations, to "review the facts" surrounding the Abramoff matter. A Burns spokesman also stated that the re-election campaign may pay Burns' legal bills, "due to the partisan nature of it." [Billings Gazette, 4/27/06]

## And Dozens Of Published Reports Have Named Burns As A Subject In The Department Of Justice Investigation Into The Abramoff Scandal

A favorite line of Sen. Burns and the many people that speak for him is "we're not under investigation," because "we haven't been contacted by Justice." It is well known that an individual can be under investigation despite not being contacted by justice.

Here is a review of the different publications that have confirmed Burns and/or his staff are part of the wide-ranging corruption probe:

- **TIME:** A source close to the investigation told TIME that scores of US prosecutors and FBI agents continue to examine the activities of other sitting members of Congress and prominent individuals who could face prosecution, though not necessarily before the November 7 election. The source confirmed previous public reports that particular scrutiny is being paid to Sen. Conrad Burns, a Montana Republican who faces a tough campaign for reelection. [Time, "[Who's the Next Target in the Abramoff Probe?](#)" 9/15/06]
- **Washington Post:** Sources familiar with the investigation have said since last November that Burns, a three-term incumbent, is one of the lawmakers under scrutiny. Brand, a lawyer in Washington with decades of experience in defending prominent officials charged with corruption, said that distinctions in a federal criminal manual between a "target," someone the Justice Department has decided to seek charges against, and a "subject," someone under investigation who could be upgraded to a target, are largely meaningless in a practical sense. "You can't take these distinctions to the bank, because the Justice Department can change your status whenever it wants to," Brand said. "To me, it is academic. Burns is under investigation." [Washington Post, "[An Investigative Target? A Subject? A Fine Line](#)," 9/24/06]
- **Newsweek:** A lawyer familiar with the investigation, who declined to be named discussing an ongoing case, confirms that Burns is under scrutiny for his connections to Abramoff—in particular, whether he

and his staff promoted legislation to help Abramoff's clients in exchange for campaign contributions or gifts. [Newsweek, "[Path of the Storm](#)" 4/17/06]

- **Washington Post:** Two articles, on July 24 and Sept. 18, said Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.) is apparently not under investigation in the Jack Abramoff influence-peddling scandal. The articles failed to note that sources familiar with the investigation have previously said Burns is one of the lawmakers under scrutiny. The Justice Department has made no statements about the status of any of those under investigation. [Washington Post, 9/19/06]
- **Salon:** When a reporter put the Abramoff question to Burns at Sunday's barbecue, the senator barked back: "Old news." Burns said that he's not a "target" in the Justice Department's ongoing Abramoff probe. But when I asked him whether he falls into the category of potential "targets" federal prosecutors call "subjects," Burns said, "I'm not a target." I asked him again if he's a "subject." "I'm not a target," he said again. When I asked Klindt whether Burns is a "subject" -- described in the [U.S. Attorney's Manual](#) as "a person whose conduct is within the scope" of a criminal investigation -- he said he wouldn't go beyond what he had just told me. [Salon, "[Tester Leads And Burns Gets Testy](#)," 9/26/06]
- **Roll Call:** The Justice Department is investigating the ties among Burns, his staff and Abramoff. [Roll Call, "[North Dakota Senator Hosts Tester Fundraiser](#)," 9/20/06]
- **Associated Press:** That list [of people connected with Abramoff] includes former House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, R-Texas, who is under scrutiny in the case, and Sen. Conrad Burns, R-Mont., who received about \$150,000 in donations from Abramoff and his associates and whose aides traveled on the lobbyist's jet to the 2001 Super Bowl. [AP, 9/15/06]
- **The Hill:** Ethics Committee Chairman George Voinovich (R-Ohio) confirmed that his panel would not take any action until after the Justice Department completes its Abramoff probe, adding that the decision is "consistent with precedent." Burns had asked the committee for a letter clearing him of wrongdoing in his dealings with Abramoff. "Their comeback to us was that as long as the Abramoff case is before Justice, they can't do anything," said Burns, who added, "That's a feeble excuse." [The Hill, "[Rejection From Panel Irks Burns](#)" 8/2/06]
- **Associated Press:** The Justice Department denied a news report Wednesday that it was investigating House Speaker Dennis Hastert. The statement by department spokeswoman Tasia Scolinos came in response to a report by ABC News that Hastert was under investigation by the FBI to determine his role in a public corruption probe centered around convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff. Pressed by reporters, Scolinos said: "Speaker Hastert is not under investigation by the Justice Department." [Associated Press, "[Feds Say House Speaker Not Under Probe](#)," 5/24/06]
- **TIME:** Federal investigators are looking into his ties to Jack Abramoff, the lobbyist who has admitted bribing lawmakers. In 2003 Burns got the Interior Department to make a \$3 million grant to a rich, Michigan-based tribal client of Abramoff's; Burns also received \$150,000 in contributions from Abramoff, his co-workers and his clients over the past five years. "[The Worst Senators](#)"
- **Roll Call:** In a stretch running from June to October, a pair of aides at Justice examined the financial disclosure forms of Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.), Reps. Tom DeLay (R-Texas), John Doolittle (R-Calif.) and Bob Ney (R-Ohio), as well as ex-staffers for three of those lawmakers, according to House and Senate records. [Roll Call "[DOJ Examines Member Filings](#)" (subscription), 3/13/06]
- **The Montana Standard:** U.S. Justice Department investigators last year examined the personal financial records of Sen. Conrad Burns and two of his former aides who had connections to confessed felon, ex-lobbyist Jack Abramoff, the political journal Roll Call reported Monday. [The Montana Standard, "[Burns' files searched](#)" 3/14/06]
- **Great Falls Tribune:** The U.S. Justice Department examined the financial records of Montana Sen. Conrad Burns and eight other members of Congress last year, as well as the records of some of their staffers, according to a Monday story in Roll Call. [Great Falls Tribune, "[Justice Department examined financial records of Burns, aides](#)" 3/14/06]
- **Billings Gazette:** U.S. Justice Department investigators last year examined the personal financial records of Sen. Conrad Burns and two former aides who had connections to lobbyist Jack Abramoff, the political journal Roll Call reported Monday. [Billings Gazette, "[Financial records of Sen. Burns examined](#)" 3/14/06]
- **The Associated Press:** The Department of Justice has reviewed financial disclosure forms for Montana Sen. Conrad Burns, Senate records show. [Associated Press, "[DOJ checked Burns' financial disclosure](#)" 3/13/06]

- **Helena Independent Record:** U.S. Justice Department investigators last year examined the personal financial records of Sen. Conrad Burns and two of his former aides who had connections to confessed felon, ex-lobbyist Jack Abramoff, political journal Roll Call reported Monday. [[Helena Independent Record](#), "[U.S. Justice Dept. looked at Burns' financial records](#)" 3/14/06]
- **KRTV, CBS Great Falls:** Senate records show the Department of Justice has reviewed financial disclosure forms for Montana Republican Senator Conrad Burns. [KRTV, CBS Great Falls, "[Justice checked Burns' financial disclosure](#)"
- **The Wall Street Journal:** Prosecutors in the department's public integrity and fraud divisions -- separate units that report to the assistant attorney general for the criminal division -- are looking into Mr. Abramoff's interactions with former House Majority Leader Tom DeLay of Texas, Rep. Bob Ney (R., Ohio), Rep. John Doolittle (R., Calif.) and Sen. Conrad Burns (R., Mont.), according to several people close to the investigation. [[The Wall Street Journal](#), "[Four Lawmakers' Dealings With Lobbyist Are Studied](#)" (subscription), 11/25/05]
- **The Washington Post:** The 35 to 40 investigators and prosecutors on the Abramoff case are focused on at least half a dozen members of Congress, lawyers and others close to the probe said...Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.), Rep. John T. Doolittle (R-Calif.) and other members of Congress involved with Indian affairs, one of Abramoff's key areas of interest, are also said to be among them. [[Washington Post](#), "[Lawmakers Under Scrutiny in Probe of Lobbyist](#)" 11/26/05]
- **Washington Post: Burns Could Be Hurt By Justice Department Investigation.** According to the Washington Post, "Republicans worry that more than six candidates for the House and Senate could be hurt by Justice Department investigations, the courts and revelations in the Abramoff affair. Topping the list are Rep. Robert W. Ney (R-Ohio) and Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.), both bruised by Abramoff connections and facing tough races." [[Washington Post](#), "[Corruption Issue Comes To Fore](#)," 7/20/06]
- **Washington Post: Burns Using Campaign Money To Pay Legal Fees Resulting From Investigation.** According to the Washington Post, "Members of Congress who face federal or state ethics investigations have found a way to help pay legal bills: their campaign funds... The fourth lawmaker prosecutors were asking Abramoff about is Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.). Burns's reelection campaign paid the law firm Powell Goldstein LLP \$64,000 this year, according to the senator's campaign spokesman, Jason Klindt." [[Washington Post](#), "[Of War Chests and Legal Fees](#)," 7/20/06]
- **AP: Burns' Lawyer Specializes In Congressional Investigations.** According to the AP, "The Burns campaign also said its campaign finance report would show that it is paying for a lawyer who has been reviewing complaints related to donations linked to lobbyist Jack Abramoff out of the campaign account. The campaign said that the Senate Ethics Committee had approved the use of campaign funds to pay for the law firm of Powell Goldstein, which specializes in congressional investigations. The law firm has been paid about \$64,000 so far, said Burns campaign spokesman Jason Klindt." [AP, "[Burns nears \\$7 million mark](#)," 7/14/06]

## **And While Burns May Continue To Deny Abramoff Connections, His Former Staffers Have Already Admitted To Receiving Free Gifts And Trips From The Convicted Felon**

**Abramoff Paid For Burns Staffers To Attend Super Bowl Including One Staffer Who Was Responsible For Working Out Michigan Indian Tribe Funding.** In 2001, Jack Abramoff paid for two Burns staffers to attend the 2001 Super Bowl in Florida. Will Brooke, Former Chief of Staff for Conrad Burns, admitted that "he and one of the senator's appropriations aides [Ryan Thomas] received a free trip to the 2001 Super Bowl in Florida." Brooke said they flew on a jet leased by Abramoff and his associates and received a free hotel room and meals. The trip was "underwritten by SunCruz, a Florida-based casino cruise ship company" which is partially owned by Abramoff. Brooks confirmed that the trip also included a gambling trip on a SunCruz ship. He also represented SunCruz as a lobbyist. According to former Interior Department officials, the other staffer to who attended The Super Bowl, Ryan Thomas, took the lead in tangling with Interior officials over the funding for the Michigan tribes school. [[Billings Gazette](#), 3/2/05; [Roll Call](#), 3/28/05; [Washington Post](#), 3/1/05]

**The Super Bowl Trip Was Listed In The Abramoff Criminal Information Report.** When Abramoff pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy, mail fraud and tax evasion, the Tampa trip was cited in a section titled "Corruption of Public Officials." It said he and colleague Michael Scanlon offered "things of value" such as the Super Bowl trip. The plea agreement, signed by Abramoff and federal prosecutors, says the Tampa trip was part of an elaborate quid pro quo. It says Abramoff, Scanlon and others "offered and provided a stream

of things of value to public officials in exchange for a series of official acts and influence and agreements to provide official action and influence." [St. Petersburg Times, 1/9/06]

## **And Burns' Loyalties To Abramoff Have Hurt Montanans And Weakened America . . .**

**Federal Source Says CNMI "An Easy Back-door Entry To A Terror Attack On America."** According to an April 2006 story in Guam's Pacific Daily News, "[Jack] Abramoff's Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands involvement has raised national security implications, a federal source said. At issue, said the source, speaking on condition of anonymity, is the CNMI's local control of its borders. Foreigners entering the CNMI don't go through the stringent application process non-U.S. citizens go through at U.S. embassies to get visas to enter the United States, including Guam." The story continued, "The CNMI can be an easy back-door entry to a terror attack on America, and Guam -- as host to major military installations -- is at the doorstep of such easy border access, said the federal source. Yet a post-9-11 federal report that raised red flags about the national security implications of the CNMI immigration practices was stifled when the CNMI government was paying Abramoff, according to the federal source. Abramoff is on record for lobbying against legislation to apply U.S. immigration border controls in the commonwealth... 'There is national security concern, and that is the very thing they were suppressing,' the federal source said of efforts to reform immigration rules in the Northern Marianas." [Pacific Daily News, 4/12/06]

**Unreleased Post 9/11 Report Says CNMI Immigration Policy Could "Seriously Jeopardize the National Security" Of The U.S.** According to a report by *Bloomberg News*, "The U.S. Justice Department never acted on a post-Sept. 11 proposal, contested by lobbyist Jack Abramoff, calling for increased federal control over immigration on the Mariana Islands. The agency reassigned the two officials who produced a 34-page report that contained the proposal, and House members of both parties who oversee the Homeland Security and Justice departments said they were never told about it. The 2002 report... warns that continued local control over the Marianas' borders will 'seriously jeopardize the national security' of the U.S." [Bloomberg News, 10/31/05, quoted in letter from Congressman George Miller to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, 1/11/06]

**Montana Tribal Leaders Resent Association With Abramoff.** The Great Falls Tribune highlighted reactions to the Abramoff scandal in Indian country. "It's unfortunate that the tribes in Montana aren't as fortunate as tribes in other parts of the country" said state Rep. Jonathan Windy Boy, D-Box Elder. "This whole thing really bugs me," said Cooper, as she brandished a cartoon of Abramoff as a beleaguered Daniel, surrounded by lions drooling poker chips. "The impact is shattering across all the tribes." Cooper isn't alone in her concern and indignation. Suzan Shown Harjo, gave Abramoff and his associates top billing last month in her 2005 Mantle of Shame awards in the column she writes for *Indian Country Today*. Harjo is president of the Morning Star Institute, an Indian rights organization." [Great Falls Tribune, 1/3/06]

- **Montana Tribal Leaders Council Rejected \$111,000 In "Tainted" Money From Burns, "Tired Of Being Used."** In January 2006, Burns was forced to redirect a \$111,000 donation he had given to the Montana-Wyoming Tribal Leaders Council after members said the money was tainted because it originally came from lobbyist Jack Abramoff and his clients. According to the Great Falls Tribune, "James Steele Jr., the council's vice chairman, said the organization voted not to accept the donation, which was made up of contributions from Abramoff, his associates and his tribal clients. Julia Doney, president of the Fort Belknap Indian Community Council and a member of the tribal leaders council, said Wednesday that some of the tribes are 'tired of being used' and do not want to appear as if they are helping Burns, R-Mont., with his political troubles." [Great Falls Tribune, 1/19/06]

# THE BURNS SLEIGHT OF HAND

While Senator Burns enjoys touting his accomplishments when it comes to delivering for Montana, he has developed a habit of issuing press releases that boast his role in securing critical funding for the state and then voting against the legislation that would actually provide the funds he claims to secure. Whether in a press release or not, Burns claims to be an advocate for the issues most important to Montanans, but the truth is he has consistently voted against Montanans' best interests.

## **Burns Not Only Claims To Honor Our Veterans, But Sent Out A Press Release Boasting His Vote For \$430 Million In Veteran's Health Care**

**Burns Supported The Funding And Sent Out A Release Bragging About His Vote For Veteran's Health Care.** In April, Burns voted for the initial proposal to add \$430 million in veterans' health care funding to the Supplemental Appropriations bill. In fact, he touted his vote, calling the funding "much needed" to "enhance and expand the mental health and readjustment services for veterans returning from duty in the War on Terror, out reach to returning veterans making them aware of the services available to them, and to cover general funding shortfalls throughout the VA system." At the time, Burns said, "The amendment will provide our returning veterans the services they deserve." [Conference Committee Hearing, C-SPAN 2, 6/6/06; Burns Press Release, [4/28/06](#);

## **Then, He Stripped The Veteran's Funding From The Final Appropriations Bill . . .**

**Burns Voted To Cut \$430 Million For Mental Health And Readjustment Services For Returning Veterans...Funding He Himself Called Much Needed.** During the conference committee debate on the Fiscal 2006 Supplemental Appropriations bill, Senator Burns voted (by proxy) against \$430 million in funding for veterans' health care programs. The language of the Burns-opposed amendment proposed in this week's committee hearing was identical to the language that Burns supported in April. [Conference Committee Hearing, C-SPAN 2, 6/6/06; CQ, 6/9/06; 6]

## **Burns Claims To Be An Advocate For Montana's Agricultural Programs Who Understands The Needs Of The Industry . . .**

**Burns Pledges To Provide Resources To Agriculture.** Burns states on his campaign website, "Agriculture in the global age faces new challenges and opportunities, and I pledge to help Montana meet them successfully. Having worked in agriculture for most of my life, I understand the amount of effort it takes to produce the consistently high quality products we produce in Montana, and I will continue working with the agriculture communities in our state to make sure they have the resources to continue producing, and improving, these products well into the future." [www.conradburns.com/issues]

## **Yet He Has Cut Billions In Ag Funding And Left Montana Lacking In Things Like Water Projects . . .**

**Burns Voted For \$3 Billion in Cuts to Agriculture Programs.** In November 2005, Burns voted for \$3 billion in cuts over five years to commodity, conservation and food programs. The budget reconciliation package reduces by 2.5 percent all payments that producers get for the 2006 through 2010 crop years for commodities including wheat, barley, silage and hay. The measure would also penalize farmers who forfeit sugar beet loans with a charge of 1.2 percent of the loan rate through 2010. [S. 1932, 11/3/05, #303; 3]

**Burns Claims He Delivers For Montana's Water Needs, But Our State Receives Dramatically Less Funding For Water Projects Than Our Neighbors.** According to Bureau of Reclamation, in the last four years, Montana has received only one third of the funding North Dakota has received and South Dakota has received six times as much funding as Montana. [Bureau of Reclamation, Bureau Highlights, [www.doi.gov/budget/](http://www.doi.gov/budget/); 2]

## **While Burns Claims To Be A Leader In Telecommunications And Has Secured Jobs For His Former Staffers In The Industry . . .**

**Burns Used Position To Benefit Telecommunications Industry, Former Staffers.** In March 2006, Roll Call reported, "For nearly a decade, a group of former top aides to Sen. Conrad Burns (R-Mont.) have successfully used personal and professional connections to Burns, Montana State University's Burns Technology Center and other institutions associated with him to secure more than \$20 million in lobbying fees for themselves, as well as hundreds of millions of dollars in federal research contracts, tax breaks and subsidies for their clients. Since 1998, more than a dozen companies in the telecommunications and high-tech sector - ranging from international powerhouses such as Microsoft, Intelsat and Lockheed Martin to homegrown outfits including Montana-based Bacterin and Hauppauge, N.Y.-based Advanced Acoustic Concepts - have paid lobbying retainers to former Burns aides, including Leo Giacometto, William Brooke, Brett Scott, Mark Baker, Randell Popelka, Stan Ullman, Shawn Vasell, Mike Rawson and Robert Arensberg. As chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation subcommittee on communications through the end of 2004 - and as an ongoing member of the Commerce and Appropriations committees - Burns holds significant sway over how the government regulates and aids the telecommunications industry. [Roll Call, 3/8/06]

## **Montana Falls At The Bottom Of High-Tech Jobs Nationwide**

**Montana Ranks 46<sup>th</sup> In The Nation When It Comes High-Tech Jobs.** Montana ranks 46<sup>th</sup> in percentage of payroll in high-tech jobs. [The Dynamics of Technology-based Economic Development: State Science & Technology Indicators (Fourth Edition), March 2004; 1]

- **Montana Lags Compared To Other States In The Region When It Comes To Benefiting From The Tech-Boom.** Surrounding states have benefited from the technology boom: Idaho ranks 5<sup>th</sup>, Colorado ranks 7<sup>th</sup>, even South Dakota ranks 34<sup>th</sup>. [The Dynamics of Technology-based Economic Development: State Science & Technology Indicators (Fourth Edition), March 2004; 1]

## **Burns Voted For The No Child Left Behind Act Promising An Increase In Educational Funding**

**Burns Voted For No Child Left Behind Act, Promising Higher Level Of Education Funding.** In December 2001, Burns supported a bill that would overhaul education proposals to increase school accountability and reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for six years. The agreement would require states to test students annually in reading and math in grades three through eight, provide new accountability measures for schools that fail to make adequate yearly progress, and give schools greater flexibility to spend federal funds. It would include about \$26.3 billion for federal elementary and secondary education programs and \$13.5 billion for Title I programs for disadvantaged children in fiscal 2002. [HR 1, 12/18/01, #371]

## **Then He Voted To Underfund NCLB By \$34 Million . . .**

**Burns Voted Against \$34 Million In Promised Education Funding For Montana.** In October 2005, Burns voted to underfund the No Child Left Behind Act in Montana by \$34 million, leaving Montana with federal mandates that Burns voted for, without the funds necessary to implement them. The result is an education system stretched beyond the limit and Montana property tax payers shouldering the burden. Moreover, the loss of these funds, designed to help at-risk students succeed, leaves the most vulnerable children behind. [H.R. 3010, 10/26/05, #269; [www.nea.org](http://www.nea.org); 8]

- **Burns Vote Would Cut Services To More Than 12,000 Montana Students.** Burns' October 2005 vote to underfund federal education mandates leaves behind more than 12,000 of Montana's most vulnerable at-risk students. [H.R. 3010, 10/26/05, #269; [www.nea.org](http://www.nea.org); 8]

## **Burns Claims To Be Tough On Meth . . .**

**Burns Previously Spoke Out Against Potential Cuts to Anti-Meth Program; The Very Same Cuts He Would Support a Few Months Later.** In June 2005, Burns attended a press conference to reaffirm his support for the High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area Program (HIDTA). Burns reaffirmed his support in response to comments made by the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy who has doubted HIDTA's effectiveness and recommended reducing the program budget by 56%. "I remain deeply concerned about the ramifications of Director Walters' budget recommendations on law enforcement's ability to counter the methamphetamine production, distribution, and usage in our nation," said Burns. "In Montana, we have seen the positive results of the Rocky Mountain HIDTA, and these proposed cuts are so extreme that this successful program would be almost completely eliminated. I just cannot stand for that when I know the good work that is taking place at ground level with these programs across the country." [Burns Press Release, 6/23/05]

## **Yet He Voted For Devastating Cuts To Montana's Anti-Meth Programs**

**Burns Voted For Massive Cuts In Resources To Fight Meth.** On November 16<sup>th</sup> 2005, Burns voted for a 34 percent cut in funding for Montana's drug task forces. The cuts, included in the Commerce-Justice-State Appropriations conference report, will have a devastating impact on Montana's drug taskforces, particularly in rural Montana. Over the past two years, Byrne grants used to fund the fight against meth have been cut by over 50 percent. Only increased funding at the state level staved off reduced agents last year, this year's cuts will almost certainly result in a significant loss of drug enforcement agents in the field. The conference committee also struck the Combat Meth Act, which will, among other things, require products like pseudoephedrine, used in making meth, to be held behind the counter at retail stores. A similar program has been successful in reducing meth labs in Montana. [H.R. 2862, 11/16/05, #329; Great Falls Tribune, 11/19/05; 11]

**"SEN. BURNS HAS BEEN BOUGHT AND PAID FOR BY LOBBYISTS LIKE CONVICTED FELON JACK ABRAMOFF AND THE GANG OF HIS FORMER EMPLOYEES THAT ARE GETTING RICH OFF HIS POSITION IN THE SENATE. MONTANA DESERVES BETTER THAN A WASHINGTON POLITICIAN THAT WILL SELL OUT MONTANA FAMILIES, KIDS AND VETERANS IF THE PRICE IS RIGHT."**

**-JON TESTER-**