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[Letter from Senator Kyrillos Recommending Chris Christie]

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SENATOR JOE KYRILLOS, JR.

July 12, 2001

Chris Bartolomucci, Esq.
Associate Counsel to the President
Office of the Counsel to the President
O.E.O.B., Room 132
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Chris:

It was good to speak to you yesterday.

As we discussed, I write to recommend to you and to the President, in the strongest possible terms, my recommendation of Chris Christie to be the next United States Attorney for the State of New Jersey.

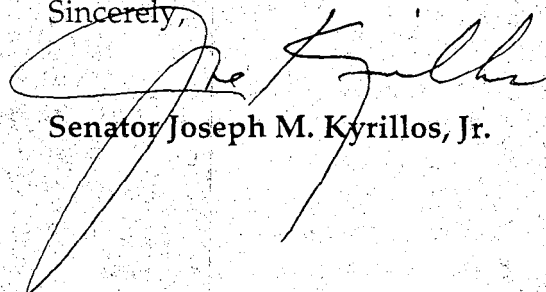
I write this as a State Senator but more importantly in my capacity as Chairman of the New Jersey Republican State Committee. There is nearly unanimous support for Chris among other Republican leaders in our state, a list of which I can provide if you do not already have it in your files.

Attached is the information that we discussed yesterday which I believe is very important and must be considered seriously in this process.

Please call me with any questions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Senator Joseph M. Kyrillos, Jr.

JMK:jch
Enclosure
cc Honorable Andy Card

*Blake -
As we discussed. Please
alert Andy. Many thanks,
Joe*

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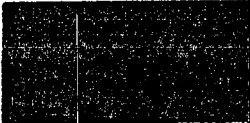
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May 12, 2001

A SPECIAL REPORT / Friendship of Convenience

Pursuit of Cash and Influence Linked Torricelli and a Donor

By TIM GOLDEN and DAVID KOCIENIEWSKI

- OPINION
- Editorials / Op-Ed
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ENGLEWOOD, N.J., May 11 — Even by the freewheeling standards of Washington fund-raising, Bob Torricelli and David Chang made the oddest of couples.

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Mr. Torricelli, the articulate, ambitious Democratic senator from New Jersey, prides himself on the sophisticated company he keeps. His supporters have included Calvin Klein and Donald Trump; Bianca Jagger was once his girlfriend. There is no way he would rather spend a Sunday morning, some of his aides say, than talking foreign policy on a television news program.



Mr. Chang, a Korean-American businessman, is known for dropping the names of famous people he has never met. He has enough difficulty with English that Mr. Torricelli complained he was unintelligible. His behavior is eccentric enough that his own lobbyists sometimes tried to shield him from government officials, lest he say something off-the-wall.

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The Associated Press
David Chang, left, with his lawyer Michael Critchley in 1999. Mr. Critchley had been a Torricelli supporter and fundraiser.

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Despite Denial, Torricelli Helped in Donor's Deal (May 9, 2001)

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Yet for several years in the late 1990's, Mr. Torricelli and Mr. Chang shared a close relationship, forged of Mr. Chang's need for political influence and Mr. Torricelli's need for political cash. They got together on weekends. They talked frequently on the telephone. They did each other favors.

Now, the nature of that relationship and the terms of those favors have emerged as central issues in a wide-ranging federal investigation into the activities of Senator Torricelli, some of his political supporters and a few current and former members of his staff.

A close examination of the ties between Mr. Torricelli and Mr. Chang, based on campaign documents, court filings and interviews, suggests that while they did share a kind of friendship, it was complex and contradictory — and opportunistic even for a political world that has long anguished over the power of wealthy contributors.

Initially, people who know both men said, Mr. Torricelli treated Mr. Chang as a prize catch. During his 1996 campaign, he courted the businessman attentively, inviting him to high-profile fund-raising events and trying to help Mr. Chang with his most urgent business problem, a \$71 million debt owed to him by the North Korean government. Hoping to win further help, Mr. Chang has told the authorities, he lavished the politician with gifts and cash.

Mr. Torricelli has denied doing anything illegal or improper in his contacts with Mr. Chang. But as the relationship wore on, Mr. Torricelli sometimes hid those contacts almost as a married man might hide a mistress, people involved in the case said.

While the senator's aides sometimes whispered about Mr. Chang, few ever met him or spoke to him. He and Mr. Torricelli generally met alone, according to Mr. Chang and some of his former employees, on weekends at the senator's Englewood home.

Mr. Torricelli continued to do political favors for Mr. Chang, acting as a reference with important business contacts and helping him to meet with Clinton administration officials. At times, though, Mr. Chang was told to contact Mr. Torricelli through a discreet back channel by sending unaddressed

A Fiery Torricelli Rebuffs Critics in a Meeting of Senate Democrats (April 25, 2001)

Toricelli Pressed Hard to Help Big Donor Pursue Korean Deal (April 22, 2001)



The Associated Press
Robert Torricelli, left, after winning the Democratic primary for the United States Senate in 1996. During the campaign, David Chang was prominent on lists of fund-raisers, but apparently never met his goals.



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memorandums to the senator's former wife, Susan Holloway Torricelli, a political consultant who often works for him, one of Mr. Chang's former employees said.

As federal prosecutors pressed their case against Mr. Chang in 1999, Mr. Torricelli grew more careful still. According to Mr. Chang's account, Mr. Torricelli remained outwardly solicitous and even invited Mr. Chang to an intimate Thanksgiving dinner only weeks after Mr. Chang's offices were raided by federal agents.

At the same time, Mr. Torricelli kept a close watch on Mr. Chang's legal troubles, speaking frequently with a defense lawyer whom Mr. Chang said he hired at the senator's urging. According to Mr. Chang and two former associates, both Mr. Torricelli and the lawyer strongly discouraged him from cooperating with the government — something both men now deny.

According to people involved in the federal investigation, prosecutors are focusing in large part on allegations that Mr. Torricelli took tens of thousands of dollars in unreported gifts and cash from Mr. Chang between 1996 and 1999. The prosecutors are also looking at Mr. Torricelli's efforts to help Mr. Chang with business deals, and at indications that the senator's supporters may have tried to thwart the inquiry.

Mr. Torricelli has not denied taking gifts or cash. Rather, he has said he never took "illegal" gifts, refusing to discuss specific allegations and attacking the credibility of Mr. Chang, who has been cooperating with prosecutors in return for leniency. Mr. Torricelli has also said pointedly that he once considered Mr. Chang a friend; federal laws that bar public officials from accepting expensive gifts make a partial exception for gifts received from personal friends.

But only a few months ago, Mr. Torricelli was still sometimes describing Mr. Chang as a supporter like so many others, a man he did not much help and never really knew. Mr. Torricelli said he was shocked when Mr. Chang pleaded guilty last June to making illegal campaign donations and obstructing justice and turned out to have wildly exaggerated his image as a dynamic global entrepreneur. But he was quick to suggest that people like David Chang were an occupational hazard of big- money politics.

"You end up meeting a group of people that, otherwise in your life, you'd never know, never want to know, never meet, and David Chang would go in that category," he told CNBC's Chris Matthews.

A lawyer for Mr. Torricelli, Ted Wells, would not discuss details of Mr. Torricelli's relationship with Mr. Chang yesterday, but said, "The assistance given David Chang was of the type commonly provided by members of Congress to their constituents."

A lawyer for Mr. Chang, Bradley D. Simon, declined to discuss his client's dealings with the senator, but he asserted in earlier comments that the senator's

attacks on Mr. Chang were at odds with the relationship the men shared in the past.

"Bob Torricelli didn't seem to think David Chang was such a liar when he was taking his money," Mr. Simon said. "It is obviously in Torricelli's interest now to discredit David at any cost, but the truth of what happened is going to come out in due time."

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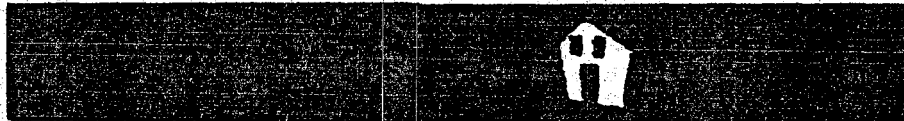
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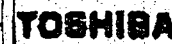
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May 12, 2001

A SPECIAL REPORT / Friendship of Convenience

Pursuit of Cash and Influence Linked Torricelli and a Donor

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An Unclear Beginning

Tracing the History

Of a Relationship

In interviews and public statements, Mr. Torricelli and his aides have been vague about how he and Mr. Chang met, saying they probably contacted him after finding his name on a Democratic fund-raising list. But the detailed account that Mr. Chang has given to investigators, as well as other evidence, indicates that each man's agenda was clear from the start.

Throughout the early 1990's, Mr. Chang was a strong supporter of Republicans, and in 1991, he prevailed on the Bush administration to waive American trade sanctions so that he could sell grain to North Korea.

The arrangement was at first profitable, but by 1994, Mr. Chang claimed to be owed some \$71 million, records show. Eventually, he obtained a letter from North Korea assigning him about \$15 million in assets frozen by the United States, one of his former associates said. But the Clinton administration was unmoved, saying the funds were not North Korea's to assign.

Mr. Chang said he sought help from one of his New Jersey lawyers, Berek P. Don, a former Bergen County Republican chairman. He said Mr. Don pointed him to Mr. Torricelli, then his local congressman and a ranking member of the House International Relations Committee.

Despite Denial, Torricelli Helped in Donor's Deal (May 9, 2001)

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By Mr. Chang's account, which one of Mr. Torricelli's lawyers disputed, Mr. Don introduced the two men in the summer of 1995 at the Hilton hotel in Fort Lee, N.J., which Mr. Chang bought two years earlier. Mr. Chang said he laid out his problem to Mr. Torricelli, who promised to try to help. But he said Mr. Torricelli asked for some help in return.

"Bob said, 'Can you help my campaign?' " one person familiar with Mr. Chang's account quoted him as telling investigators.

For Mr. Torricelli, the North Korean matter was a tricky one. He had made a name for himself, and attracted big political contributions, as the most visible Democratic advocate of economic sanctions against Cuba.

At the same time, he was preparing for what was expected to be an unusually tough Senate race. Mr. Chang, who claimed to be the son-in-law of powerful industrialists in Japan, seemed to have deep pockets and a willingness to help, aides to Mr. Torricelli said.

On Sept. 22, 1995, the congressman wrote to North Korea's ambassador to the United Nations urging his government to pay up and offering to meet at any time. Mr. Torricelli did not wait to call in the chit: on Sept. 26, he sent a senior aide, Georgianna Evans, to meet with the businessman about being the host of a fund-raising event. Mr. Chang had asked to meet with Mr. Torricelli himself, but the congressman, who found Mr. Chang's English difficult to understand, demurred.

"Bob said: 'Why don't you have lunch with him? Maybe you can figure out what he's saying,' " recalled Ms. Evans, who left the campaign in a dispute soon thereafter.

Mr. Chang had no experience soliciting contributions, but agreed to try. On Dec. 14, he gathered a small group of employees and friends on the top floor of the Fort Lee Hilton. They had drinks, listened to remarks by Mr. Torricelli and wrote \$21,000 in checks — which Mr. Chang illegally reimbursed.

Mr. Torricelli's chief of staff, Eric B. Shuffler, said in an interview last year that while Mr. Chang was named to the campaign's finance committee, he was never in the "inner circle" of Mr. Torricelli's team. "Not in any way, shape or form anything close to that," he said.

But other campaign staff members said Mr. Chang quickly emerged as a donor who got special attention.

"Torricelli was always meeting with him or talking with him on the phone," said one former aide. "Torricelli was in with him deep."

Internal campaign documents leave a similar impression. In a memorandum listing fund-raising events planned for the first four months of 1996, Mr.



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Chang is at the top, with a goal of \$100,000. On a separate list of "non-event fund-raising" expected by March 31, Mr. Chang is listed second, at \$50,000. On a third list that June, Mr. Chang is again at the top with a new goal of \$60,000.

While Mr. Chang apparently never met those goals, he did spend lavishly on Mr. Torricelli's behalf.

In March, at what he said was Mr. Torricelli's request, Mr. Chang donated \$20,000 to the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee and gave the campaign another \$5,000 in checks written by some of his employees and associates. On July 18, Mr. Chang wrote an \$11,000 check to the law firm of Berek Don, to reimburse checks written by employees of the firm and others.

In early September, Mr. Torricelli also began flying around New Jersey on private planes that one of Mr. Chang's companies chartered for his campaign.

The Usual Bond

A Friend, Yes,

But Not a Close One

As lawyers for Mr. Torricelli described his relationship with Mr. Chang in interviews earlier this year, it was the usual sort of bond between a politician and a supporter.

"They have had some social contact with each other," said one of those lawyers, Robert F. Bauer. "He has been to Bob Torricelli's house. He has had lunch with Bob Torricelli. He has had dinner with Bob Torricelli. It was not a profound social relationship. He was a friend. Was he one of Bob's closest friends? No."

But there is little question that Mr. Chang was a generous friend.

On July 15, 1996, Mr. Chang bought Mr. Torricelli an \$8,100 Rolex watch, presenting it shortly after his election victory on Nov. 5, he has told investigators. A few weeks later, Mr. Chang has stated, he began making \$9,000 in payments on a new Mercedes-Benz sedan that Mr. Torricelli had pointed out to him. Lawyers for Mr. Torricelli said he had not known about Mr. Chang's payments and ordered them refunded when he learned of them. Then he bought the car himself.

Former associates of Mr. Chang said the candidate led him to believe that his debt problem could be resolved after the election. Two longtime Torricelli supporters said that if he left that impression, he was probably stringing Mr. Chang along.

Mr. Torricelli was sworn in on Jan. 7, 1997, and soon after he became vice

chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee — a rare leadership position for a freshman.

Mr. Torricelli threw himself into the job, and according to several of Mr. Chang's associates, the businessman was occasionally along for the ride, attending big Democratic fund-raising events, sometimes sitting beside the senator.

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May 12, 2001

A SPECIAL REPORT / Friendship of Convenience

Pursuit of Cash and Influence Linked Torricelli and a Donor

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Soon after Mr. Torricelli joined the campaign committee (he later became chairman), Mr. Chang donated \$10,000 to the committee. Over the next two years, he donated nearly \$200,000 more to Democratic party causes, either directly, through employees or through his companies.

In spring 1997, Mr. Chang has said, he had his favorite local tailor begin fitting Mr. Torricelli for the first of at least 10 off-the-rack Italian suits. He also said he bought jewelry for Judy D. Balaban, who was then Mr. Torricelli's girlfriend, and an Oriental rug and a large-screen television for Mr. Torricelli's home.

Not long thereafter, Mr. Chang told investigators, Mr. Torricelli called him on a cellular telephone from Lambertville, N.J., a small town on the Pennsylvania border that is a favorite of antique shoppers. The senator had found a 100-year-old grandfather clock that he loved, but it cost more than \$4,000. Could his friend help?

Mr. Chang said he gave Mr. Torricelli cash to cover the cost of the clock.

Later that year, Mr. Chang has told investigators, he drove Mr. Torricelli into Manhattan to buy Ms. Balaban some earrings. According to two people familiar with Mr. Chang's account, he said Mr. Torricelli insisted on waiting in the car while Mr. Chang went into Tiffany & Company on Fifth Avenue.

[Despite Denial, Torricelli Helped in Donor's Deal \(May 9, 2001\)](#)

[Torricelli Investigators Study Mailing by Gun-Rights Groups \(May 4, 2001\)](#)

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When Mr. Chang could not find the right earrings, the senator asked him to go back in and pick up a set of cuff links for him, these people said.

To what extent Mr. Torricelli reciprocated Mr. Chang's generosity is unclear. But Mr. Torricelli did vouch for Mr. Chang with other politicians.

In late spring 1998, when Mr. Chang approached President Clinton's friend Terry McAuliffe about working for him as a consultant, Mr. McAuliffe called Mr. Torricelli for a reference. "Bob said, 'He's a legitimate person, a legitimate businessman,'" Mr. McAuliffe recalled.

When it came to making contacts with the Clinton administration, former associates of Mr. Chang said, Mr. Torricelli was more circumspect.

In late 1997, at Mr. Torricelli's direction, one of Mr. Chang's former lawyers sent an unaddressed memorandum to the senator through his former wife, Susan Holloway Torricelli, seeking help in setting up a meeting with a senior State Department official, Stanley O. Roth.

In an interview, Mr. Roth said he had granted the meeting to associates of Mr. Chang who were seeking permission to organize zinc mining in North Korea as a way to recoup some of his debt. Mr. Roth also confirmed that he had done so after being contacted by Senator Torricelli or one of his aides, but that he would have granted the meeting anyway because "it sounded like an interesting idea."

Messages left for Ms. Torricelli yesterday asking for comment were not returned.

Growing Problems

Staying in Contact

After a Subpoena

As Mr. Chang's legal problems grew more serious in early 1999, Mr. Torricelli remained in close touch. But he also became more discreet, Mr. Chang and some of his former associates said.

Mr. Chang received his first government subpoena on Jan. 23, 1997. At the time, court records show, federal prosecutors were looking into allegations of a fraudulent business deal involving Mr. Chang's former lawyer, Mr. Don.

According to Mr. Chang's account, he quickly told Mr. Torricelli about the January subpoena. But Mr. Torricelli became more involved in Mr. Chang's legal matters after a new federal grand jury was impaneled in Newark on Feb. 5, 1999, to continue the investigation into illegal donations to his campaign.

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At a meeting at the Fort Lee Hilton that June, set up by Mr. Torricelli and one of his lawyers, Abbe D. Lowell, Mr. Chang sat down for the first time with the lawyer who would subsequently represent him, Michael Critchley.

On the advice of Mr. Critchley, who had been a Torricelli supporter and fundraiser, Mr. Chang entered into a joint-defense agreement that called for him to share information about his case with the Torricelli campaign, people involved in the deal said. Another of Mr. Torricelli's lawyers, Mr. Bauer, also acknowledged that Mr. Torricelli spoke repeatedly to Mr. Critchley about Mr. Chang's case, but he described those conversations as entirely appropriate.

Over the next six months, the government's pressure on Mr. Chang rose steadily. People familiar with Mr. Chang's account said he told the authorities that both Mr. Critchley and Mr. Torricelli urged him not to cooperate with the government. Mr. Critchley dismissed that assertion.

"If I ever thought there was a conflict that would have prevented me from zealously representing my client as he instructed me," he said in an interview, referring to his prior relationship with Mr. Torricelli, "I would never have accepted the case."

But according to two of Mr. Chang's former employees, he had told several of his associates that he wanted to fire Mr. Critchley because he felt that the lawyer was acting on Mr. Torricelli's behalf. One of the former employees said that on Friday, Dec. 10, 1999, after F.B.I. agents arrested the businessman, Mr. Torricelli repeatedly telephoned another of Mr. Chang's lawyers, urging that Mr. Critchley be kept on the case.

The following Monday, with Mr. Chang still in custody, Mr. Critchley announced to the court that his client had no incriminating information about Mr. Torricelli, Mr. Clinton, Mr. McAuliffe or any other politicians. But Mr. Chang dismissed Mr. Critchley the next day. When Mr. Torricelli learned of the firing, an aide said, he exploded in anger, slamming something against his office wall.

Mr. Torricelli's lawyer, Mr. Wells, would not comment on this account.

At the suggestion of his next lawyer, Mr. Chang rehired Mr. Critchley early in 2000 to help prepare for trial. Not long thereafter, prosecutors tried to disqualify Mr. Critchley and his co-counsel on procedural grounds. In a sealed hearing that spring, a federal judge also emphasized to Mr. Chang that he needed to be fully aware of Mr. Critchley's prior relationship with Mr. Torricelli.

According to two people familiar with the case, Mr. Critchley remained on the case even though Mr. Chang stopped paying his monthly retainer in the fall 1999. Their association finally ended when Mr. Chang agreed to cooperate with the government.

Since last fall, Mr. Critchley has stood alone among nearly a dozen former lawyers for Mr. Chang in fighting a government subpoena for some of his records about the Chang case, even though Mr. Chang has waived the attorney-client privilege.

Mr. Critchley would not comment on the issue. But according to two people familiar with his motions, he has argued that he cannot disclose some information about the Chang case because of the joint-defense pact with Mr. Torricelli's campaign.

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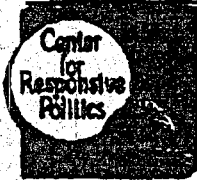
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