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"BINGO": THE BATTLE CRY OF THE FLORIDA SEMINOLE

By TERESA MCKENZIE GOOCH

The Florida Seminole Indians have declared that they were the only tribe that the United States army failed to conquer. This claim is made by the descendants of a remnant of Seminoles who resisted the government's attempt in the nineteenth century to have them forcibly removed to Oklahoma. In the twentieth century, the Florida Seminoles have once again refused to yield to those in government who would deny them the tribal sovereignty which was granted in 1957.¹ However, the issue renewing this debate is not removal but rather high-stakes bingo and gambling.

The idea of Seminole bingo emerged from the tribe's success with "smoke shops." These shops resulted from a loophole in the law which permits cigarette sales on Indian reservations free of state tax.² In 1979 after approval by the tribal council and the local Bureau of Indian Affairs,³ the Seminoles became the first tribe to establish a bingo parlor by locating a hall on the Hollywood Reservation, which is situated about ten miles south of Fort Lauderdale.⁴ Although the bingo hall was an economic opportunity, it created controversy among the Indians. Much of the resistance was directed towards the chief of the tribe, James Billie, who aggressively pursued the idea of bingo. Seminole businessmen who had always been afforded certain privileges were unhappy with the chief's "macho, impatient" style and older traditionalists, including several staunch Baptists, opposed the bingo operation as well.⁵ One of the first problems in establishing the hall concerned financing the venture. The Bureau of Indian Affairs,

while approving of the tribe's bingo ordinance, refused to loan them money since the bingo idea had not been court tested.⁶ Since tribes are immune from foreclosures, banks were also reluctant to help finance the hall. This policy made the use of outside managers imperative.⁷ The Seminoles, therefore, signed a contract with a professional management company, Pan Am International, which entitled the Indians to a fifty percent share of the bingo profits.⁸ With financial problems resolved, the tribe faced a greater challenge to the survival of Seminole bingo, a court test.

The Seminoles were opposed by Robert Butterworth, the Broward County sheriff who wanted to force the tribe to submit to Florida state bingo regulations. Florida law restricted bingo games to one night a week and limited jackpots to no more than one hundred dollars.⁹ The Seminoles operated daily and offered jackpots of \$250 to \$10,000 in cash as well as prizes of cars and trips.¹⁰ While Butterworth argued that his claim was based on the desire to keep organized crime out of Broward County, the Seminoles believed that the suit was motivated by the state's desire to limit their sovereignty on the reservation, which would effect not only bingo but cigarette sales as well.¹¹ The case of *The Seminole Tribe of Florida vs. Robert Butterworth* was heard in a U.S. district court and later by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Seminoles were victorious in both decisions. In the case, Butterworth argued that the tribe had violated state law by operating a high-stakes bingo hall on their reservation. The court's

decision in the case was dependent upon whether the Florida law was criminal/prohibitory or civil/regulatory. If the law was criminal, then the sheriff's claim was valid; however, if the status was civil, the Indian's sovereignty took precedent over state regulations on bingo. Since Florida law permitted and regulated the operation of bingo under certain circumstances, the court concurred that the state's intention was not to prohibit the game. Therefore, the law fell within the civil category making the tribe immune from state regulations.¹² The Supreme Court let stand the appeals court's decision by denying the case a review in 1982.¹³

The Butterworth case was not the only suit that the Seminoles encountered during the early 1980s. Another debate over their sovereignty occurred when the tribe set up smoke shops and later a bingo hall on Tampa land they had purchased. The opportunity to buy the heavily traveled strip of land arose when Indian artifacts were discovered on the site of a proposed city parking garage. Apparently, the area had been a point of departure for Florida Indians being sent to Oklahoma in the early 1840s.¹⁴ Fearing delays due to the "find", the city readily agreed to a Seminole offer to remove the remains in exchange for the establishment of a reservation on nearby land. The Indians told state and federal officials that the land would be used for a museum to house the artifacts. Once the federal government had agreed to take the lands in trust, the Indians built not only a museum but also a cigarette shop and a fourteen hundred seat bingo hall. Claiming deceit had occurred, state and city authorities sued to have the reservation dissolved. A second federal court decision supported the Indians. While the City of Tampa may have been disillusioned by the whole situation, the tribal attorney said that Seminole Chief

James Billie "regarded the bones as a gift that his ancestors tossed in his lap."¹⁵

The opening of the largest bingo hall in the world on the Big Cypress Reservation confirmed the success of Seminole bingo. The Seminoles signed a contract with RKG Management Company in which they received fifty-one percent of the profits. This figure would increase each year until the final year of the agreement when the amount would be seventy percent¹⁶ Located in the middle of the everglades, this hall attracted fifty-six hundred players who traveled from forty-two states and more than a dozen foreign countries on opening day in March 1987.¹⁷ The hall guaranteed players a \$250,000 jackpot and numerous other prizes topping \$1,000,000.¹⁸ Despite this initial success, the hall was plagued with bad debts and feuding partners to the point of cancelling some of its games. In April 1988, Richard Knowlton, an RKG partner, agreed to pay off the debts and was committed to ensuring that the hall remained open.¹⁹ However, in the summer of that same year, a group known as Investment Resources purchased the management contract from Knowlton and is presently operating the hall.²⁰ While non-Indians profited from the bingo halls, Indians also experienced benefits from the operations.

Economic prosperity for the tribe has improved dramatically due to the bingo halls. According to James Billie, the budget on the Hollywood reservation "went from about zero income to a million and a half dollars" during the first year of the bingo operation.²¹ Since that time the Seminoles' bingo income has increased at a rapid pace. By 1984, the tribe's annual budget was estimated to reach eight million dollars per year, and in 1986 the Seminoles took in 13.4 million dollars with two-thirds of this amount coming from bingo. The tribal

members received dividends which in 1986 totaled around eight hundred dollars per person.²² Although the Seminoles increased their budget through bingo, federal aid cuts made them more dependent than ever on this lucrative enterprise. In the first budget after the institution of bingo, Indian aid was cut by \$113 million²³ and in 1983 federal money made up only twenty percent of the Seminoles' income.²⁴ The reductions are a result of former President Ronald Reagan's Indian policy and his attempts to curtail domestic spending. In a statement, Reagan encouraged tribes to lessen their dependence upon federal funds and increase their percentage of the cost of their own self government. As a result of this policy, the former administration expressed support for the bingo operations with proper federal regulations.²⁵ While the halls have provided more income, it has been difficult to offset the continuing federal cuts.²⁶

Besides increasing the tribe's annual income, the halls helped to reduce unemployment among tribal members. Of the five hundred fifty employees at the Big Cypress Hall, sixty-five percent are Seminole²⁷ and, according to James Billie, the unemployment rate has been reduced by approximately fifty percent since bingo was introduced on the reservations.²⁸ However, some claim that the jobs were not evenly shared between the tribal members, and this was a source of friction among the Seminoles.²⁹ While some of the reduction in unemployment was the result of direct hiring of Indians by the bingo halls, much of the employment was brought about by the tribe's use of bingo proceeds.

The proceeds from bingo provided the Seminoles with a variety of services and capital for investment in other economic ventures. They subsidized programs on the reservation including educational agendas

and scholarships, improved medical care and facilities, rent of mortgage free homes for senior citizens, recreational facilities, a hot meals program for senior citizens, and a business development loan plan for individuals.³⁰ Other projects which were established included a police force, catfish farming, and cattle ranching. The tribe also built an \$11 million Sheraton in Tampa East.³¹ Much of the investment resulted from Chairman Billie's conviction that the tribe might not be able to rely upon bingo as a source of revenue in the future.³²

As a result of their new economic power, the tribe became a political force as well. The Seminoles are now the largest political contributors in the state and have made major political contributions on the national political scene as well.³³ In 1984, the tribe gave \$55,350 to state political candidates. Tribal lobbyists³⁴, whose other clients include Miller Brewing and Honeywell, command a retainer of \$192,000! The Indians viewed their new political position as a necessity for protecting their interests.³⁵

According to James Billie, the greatest tribal benefit of the Indian gaming industry has been the Seminole's newfound pride as a "nation within a nation."³⁶ The Chief describes the tribes previous state as "Hun Tashuk Teek," the Seminole word for apathy or lack of interest. Due to the success of bingo, the Seminoles were able to reach for and obtain new goals as a tribe.³⁷

The success of Seminole bingo motivated at least fifty-nine other tribes to open bingo halls and many of these were run by the Florida Seminoles.³⁸ The Muckleshoot tribe of Washington State signed a contract with the Seminoles to have them build and manage a 1,450 seat bingo hall. According to the agreement the Muckleshoots were required to pay back a \$2.3 million loan at



The Seminoles' 41-acre reservation at Hillsborough Avenue and Orient Road in Tampa includes a hotel, foreground, and bingo hall, rear.

Photo courtesy of Tampa Tribune

prime interest rates and provide the Seminoles with forty-four percent of the hall's profits until 1995.³⁹ While this deal may seem lucrative, other Seminole bingo ventures did not pay off. The Otoe-Missouri tribe contracted the Seminoles to run their bingo hall in Oklahoma but the Seminoles departed suddenly leaving the Otoes to deal with unpaid debts. In 1986, James Billie admitted that the tribe lost about \$1 million in the year that they ran the hall and that animosity between the two groups is great. Ironically, the sovereign immunity that allows the tribes to conduct bingo games also prevented them from successfully suing one another in court. Therefore, the financial dispute between the Otoes and the Seminoles may never be resolved.⁴⁰

As the bingo operations grew, the federal government came under pressure to resolve the issue of whether or not Indians should be allowed to operate the bingo halls on their reservations free of regulations. Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the justice Department favored federal regulations on gaming. Ross Swimmer, the former Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Bureau of

Indian Affairs, claimed that the BIA was forced to compromise when the justice Department pushed to eliminate Indian bingo altogether.⁴¹ As a result, Swimmer began to reverse the BIA's hands-off policy towards Indian gaming. He immediately demanded the BIA review of all Indian contracts and stopped approving federal trust lands if gaming was involved. Swimmer rapidly became known as the "Indian most Indians love to hate."⁴² The possibility of organized crime infiltrating Indian bingo appeared to be the motivating factor behind the justice Department's position. However, according to the deputy assistant attorney general of the U.S. Justice Department, there was no evidence to indicate that organized crime was involved in any Indian bingo operation as of 1985.⁴³ Despite this, the justice Department has continued to push for regulation and several proposals were introduced into Congress that would control gambling on the reservations. The best known of these was the Udall Bill introduced in 1983. The bill would have made the Interior Secretary responsible for approving bingo contracts and running background checks on investors and management, but it died in committee for several reasons. The Interior Department initially disliked the bill because it did not want to be a regulatory agency. Indians were against the bill because they believed that it was their responsibility to oversee gambling and because the bill held management to a salary rather than a cut of the proceeds. The justice Department opposed the bill because it did not provide an effective deterrent to organized crime.⁴⁴ In 1986 the House of Representatives passed a similar bill but it failed in the Senate because Indian Rights' supporters and states rights' advocates could not reach a compromise.⁴⁵ Interestingly, Chief James Billie advocated regulations before a select Senate subcommittee stating that Seminoles had nothing to fear from

laws designed to prevent incursions of organized crime into Indian gaming operations and that the law would put a "stamp of approval once and for all on Indian gaming." However, the Chief revealed his thoughts about the true source of federal government interference when he said, "We feel like people challenging us are the ones more likely to come from the mafla."⁴⁶

When Congress failed to resolve the dispute in 1986 between the states and the Indians, the Supreme Court took a stand on the issue in 1987 when it heard *Cabazon Band of Mission Indians vs. California*. In this case, California argued that the Cabazon's bingo hall should be regulated by the state in an effort to prevent the infiltration of organized crime into the operation.⁴⁷ The suspicion of organized crime activity within the Cabazon bingo operation had appeared from time to time. In 1981 a Cabazon tribe member was murdered execution style after he publicly claimed that the non-Indian management company was skimming money off the top of the operation. The manager of the bingo hall was convicted of hiring two people to conduct contract murders over a disputed drug deal. While this may have occurred within the Cabazon tribe, it was certainly not typical of the majority of Indian bingo operations, and the Seminoles filed a brief with the court supporting the Cabazon's position.⁴⁸ The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cabazon tribe citing the reasoning in *Butterworth vs. the Seminoles* as well as other cases. Therefore, since California allowed some organizations to operate bingo games, the law was regulatory; consequently the state had no authority over games played on the Cabazon Reservation.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the court also stated that the legitimate concern of organized crime infiltration of bingo did not warrant the preemption of "federal and tribal

interests."⁵⁰ With this decision, the bills in Congress addressing Indian gaming regulations were put on hold and, in a new position of strength, Indians held meetings with congressional leaders to draft "more fair legislation of the Indians."⁵¹ However, James Billie warned that this decision might be a "double-edged sword." If Indians used bad judgment and began opening dog and horse tracks, jai alai, or casinos, he feared the established groups who ran these operations might find a way to limit or end Indian gaming on reservations.⁵²

Shortly after the chief's prediction, the federal government decided upon a bill that opened the door for Indian tribes to operate these types of games under the Federal Indian Gaming Act of 1988. This act clarified all types of gaming by separating them into classes. The law placed the Indians' bingo halls under Class II gaming while other types of gambling such as casinos, pari-mutuel wagering, and lotteries were categorized as Class III. Under the act, Class II gaming could be conducted on a reservation free of state interference; however, for the operation of Class III games, reservations had to exist in a state where the gaming was legalized and a "compact" between the state and the tribe had to be signed. This agreement between the two parties would set up regulations under which the games were to be conducted.⁵³

While the federal government intended for the law to only allow Class III gaming on Indian reservations in states like Nevada where gambling is widely legalized, the Indians viewed the act differently. They interpreted the law as giving them the right to negotiate "compacts" with the state government if the state permitted Class III gaming anywhere including charity "Las Vegas" nights. Under the Indians' position,

many states found themselves being forced to choose between two options: banning charity nights, or negotiating Indian gambling "compacts" approving casinos on reservations.⁵⁴

Finding both options undesirable, states attempted to stall the negotiating process when tribes asked for ""compacts." This stalling was largely the result of the states' resentment of the tribes' right to tax free gambling proceeds.⁵⁵ This resentment was understandable considering the combined 32 reservation states estimated revenue losses ranging from \$192 million to \$850 million due to Indian gaming.⁵⁶ It is the single issue of taxation that leads many in the gaming industry to predict that most states will rapidly begin to legalize all forms of gambling, especially if the Indian casinos make large profits and remain free of scandals.⁵⁷

In Florida, voters on two occasions refused to expand gambling by rejecting referendums on casino gaming. Therefore, when the Seminoles approached the state about a Class III gaming "compact" in January 1991, they received an unenthusiastic response.⁵⁸ In the meetings with the state, the Indians argued that since Florida "allowed" cruise ship gambling and charity "Las Vegas" nights, it was legally bound to permit full-scale casinos on their reservations. Using the same arguments when it attempted to end the Indian's bingo venture, the state claimed that reservation casinos would bring in undesirable elements such as organized crime and prostitution.⁵⁹ While this position was once supported by the federal government, the Justice Department now claimed that numerous reports of organized crime infiltration within Indian bingo operations were greatly exaggerated.⁶⁰ Frustrated by the state's stance, the tribe lowered their expectations

and asked Florida governor, Lawton Chiles, to approve a "compact" permitting their reservations to operate only poker and slot machines. When the governor refused, James Billie informed him that the tribe intended to operate the very games that the chief had once considered bad judgment, which included "casino gaming, raffles, horse and dog racing, jai alai, pelota, simulcasting, and off-track betting."⁶¹

Having become aware of the existence of a slot machine room at the Seminoles' Tampa Bingo Hall, the Florida government took the chief's statement seriously and confronted the tribe about the legality of the machines. The Seminoles responded that the electronic gambling machines were "technological variations of bingo" and, under this theory, they would be classified as Class 11 gaming over which the state had no authority. Sensing that their negotiations with the state had come to a halt, the tribe withdrew from the talks and filed a federal lawsuit against Florida in September 1991. The purpose of this suit was to force the state into signing a "compact" with the tribe. Bruce Rogow, an attorney representing the Seminoles, expressed the Indians' feelings on the issue of slot machines when he said, "the tribe is fighting a 'state rife with hypocrisy' on the issue of gambling." Using the lottery as an example, Rogow continued by saying, "a hard line seems to be drawn at machines. But the lottery uses machines to pick numbers. The state is willing to sacrifice whatever morals it claims on the altar of its benefits -- namely, the lottery."⁶²

Despite the tribe's allegations of hypocrisy, the state repeatedly asked federal authorities to investigate the legality of the "slot machines" at the Tampa Hall but each time the U.S. Attorney's office refused to get involved.⁶³ This perceived lack of action on the part of federal authorities caused many

to criticize the department's efforts to enforce the federal law on Indian gaming. In its defense, the Justice Department cited four cases brought against illegal tribal operations in the past 18 months, some of which involved ties to organized crime.⁶⁴

Although the U.S. Attorney's office had been monitoring Indian gambling operations, different interpretations of the Federal Indian Gaming Act of 1988 made this a difficult job. Many law enforcement officials assumed that the ambiguities would be cleared up quickly after the law's passage by the National Indian Gaming Commission. Under the 1988 law, this commission was created to set up guidelines on Indian gaming. Unfortunately, the Bush Administration spent three years appointing three members to the commission⁶⁵ and the chairman of the panel, attorney Tony Hope, just recently issued the first set of guidelines regulating the explosive issue of casino gambling.⁶⁶

In May 1992, Hope angered Indian tribes across the nation by banning electronic machines on reservations until state agreements were reached.⁶⁷ Hope had rejected the Indians' position that slot machines were simply technological extensions of bingo and, therefore, he claimed that any type of slot machine was categorized under Class III gaming which required a state "compact."⁶⁸ The Indians' response to the announcement was to accuse Hope, son of comedian Bob Hope, of protecting the interests of the established gambling industry. Hope strongly denied this accusation.⁶⁹ With the Commission's support, law enforcement officials in several states immediately seized slot machines on Indian reservations. One of the most tense situations involving a tribe occurred at the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation in Arizona. There tribal members surrounded

their casino and blocked in FBI agents who were attempting to remove their machines. This eight-hour standoff ended when Arizona promised to hold negotiations with the tribe about the use of the machines under the guidelines of the law.⁷⁰

In Florida, the Seminoles threatened to "retaliate" if federal authorities attempted to seize their machines.⁷¹ These threats became unnecessary one week after the commission's ruling when a judge in Miami found in favor of the Seminoles in their lawsuit against the state of Florida. In the case, the state argued a loophole in the law which has become a favorite position of most states in lawsuits involving Indian gaming. The Florida lawyers claimed that the 11th Amendment to the Constitution forbids the Indians, as a sovereign state, from suing Florida. The judge rejected this argument and, by doing so, opened the door for the Seminoles to attempt to force the state into negotiations on a "compact" for casino gambling on their reservations. Although the tribe had won this particular ruling, the state indicated that it was not ready to surrender the court fight over Indian gambling.⁷² The legal battle continues.

For the moment, the Seminoles have been able to maintain their sovereignty rights over their bingo halls and are attempting to do so in the battle over Class III gaming. Their success with bingo did not come without challenges including the court tests in the Butterworth case and the Tampa reservation dispute but in both instances their sovereignty as a nation was reaffirmed. Income from their halls allowed them to subsidize needed services which were affected by federal budget cuts, and diversification into enterprises off the reservation helped to ensure the tribe's future economic survival. Along with their

newfound profits, the Indians became a new political power within the state of Florida which, now more than ever, they certainly need to use to their advantage. With the passage of the Federal Indian Gaming Act of 1988, the Seminoles had a new income opportunity and so far the courts have upheld the tribe's right to pursue the option of casino gambling on their reservations; however, as long as Seminole "smoke shops" and bingo halls deprive the state of taxes, the tribe will continue to encounter resentment from the state and from those with whom they compete. James Billie summed up the situation best when he said, "The Indians are just playing the white man's game"⁷³ and it appears that the battle over Indian gaming has just begun.

ENDNOTES

¹ James Billie, "Fighting Hun Tashun Teek," *Southern Exposure* (1985):17.

² John Dorschner, "Burn My Heart On Custer Street," *Miami (Florida) Herald*, 8 April 1979, 20:F5 (Located in NewsBank [Microform], Social Relations, 1980, 20:F4-F10, fiche.) This article provides an interesting look at the Hollywood reservation and its residents in the late 1970's just as the tribe was discovering the profitability and problems connected with their new "smoke shops."

³ *Ibid.*, 20:F9.

⁴ "Bingo Fans Head for Big Fla. Gamble," *USA Today*, 20 March 1987, p. 3, sec. A.

⁵ Allison Finn, "Chief Looks for Pot of Gold." *Miami Herald*, 2 Dec. 1979, sec. B. This brief article announcing the coming opening of the bingo hall gives no hint of any opposition to the new operation except within the tribe itself. Interestingly, no article could be found on the opening day of the bingo hall.

⁶ Sheryl Fragin, "Indian Bingo Hall Showdown." *The Washington Monthly* 17 (1985): 36. Ironically, when money was available to loan, the federal government refused because Indian bingo had not been court

tested; however, now that it has passed inspection and the government would be willing to help finance the investment, the funds are unavailable due to budget cuts.

⁷ "Profits Game Attracting Tribes to Bingo Business" *Miami Herald* 29 May 1983.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 29 May 1983. Pan Am International also manages bingo for the Mdewakanton Shakopee Sioux tribe in Minnesota and for the Pascua Pueblo Yaqui Indians in Arizona.

⁹ Bert Samqua, "High Court Agrees with Seminoles: Bingo Lives!" *The Alligator Times*, October 1981, p. 1. In this article, Indian resentment towards the sheriff is expressed for his allowing of the open operation of illegal bingo games in Broward County.

¹⁰ "Profits Game Attracting Tribes to Bingo Business," *Miami Herald*, 29 May 1983.

¹¹ Bert Samqua, "High Court Agrees with Seminoles: Bingo Lives," *The Alligator Times*, October 1981. The Broward County sheriff, Ed Stack, in 1977 challenged the cigarette shops in court claiming that the tribe cost the state of Florida \$275,000 a month in taxes. He lost the first court decision and his appeal. (See John Dorschner, "Bury My Heart on Custer Street," *Miami Herald*, B, April 1979 in Newsbank, Social Relations, 20:F4-10, 1980.)

¹² Dale L. McDonnell, "Federal and State Regulations of Gambling and Liquor Sales Within Indian Country," *Hamline Law Review*, 8 (1985):606. This article provides a good overview of Indian gaming cases up to 1985.

¹³ Fragin, p. 35.

¹⁴ Julie Cass, "Bingo Holds High Stakes for Indians," *Philadelphia (Penn.) Inquirer*, 19 Dec. 1983 (Located in Newsbank [Microform], Welfare and Social Problems, 1984, 62:B6-B7, fiche).

¹⁵ John MacCormack, "Tribe Builds Shrine, then Bingo Hall, Leaving Taxman Holding Empty Bag," *Miami Herald*, 31 May 1983. Apparently, Billie had intended to build a bingo hall on the Tampa land for some time. The chief had signed a development contract with Pan American associates two months before the tribe bought the land and some eight months before the land was put in trust. A contract clause stated that Pan Am had the right to pursue

business activities that included the sale of cigarettes and bingo on the property.

¹⁶ Eva Parzaiale, "Seminole Bingo Opens," *The Tampa Tribune*, 22 March 1987, p. 8, sec. B.

¹⁷ Colleen Gallagher, "Seminoles' New Hall Hits the jackpot," *Miami Herald* 22 March 1987, p. 1, sec. A.

¹⁸ Parzaiale, p. 8, sec. B.

¹⁹ "World's Largest Bingo Hall on Financial Losing Streak," *The Tampa Tribune*, 2 April 1988, p. 3, sec. B.

²⁰ The Seminole Tribal Office, Tampa, Florida.

²¹ Julia Cass, "Bingo Holds High Stakes for Indians", *Philadelphia* (Penn.) *Inquirer*, 19 Dec. 1983, 62:117, (Located in NewsBank [Microform], Welfare and Social Problems, 1984, 73:111, fiche). The Omaha Indians have not had much success with bingo. In their first year, they were forced to close the bingo hall after an outside management group terminated their contract. Apparently the Omahas were not ready to make a large investment.

²² A. J. Dickerson, "New Bingo Means Big Bucks for Tribe, Players," *The Tampa Tribune*, 16 March 1987, p.5, sec. B. Exact profit figures for their bingo halls are unavailable because the tribes are not required to disclose income.

²³ Sheryl Fragin, "Indian Bingo Hall Showdown," *Washington Monthly*, 17 (1985): 35.

²⁴ Fred Strasser, and John MacCormack, "Indian's Profits Go Politicking," *Miami Herald*, 30 May 1983.

²⁵ Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, "Report Together with Supplemental and Dissenting Views," To accompany H.R. 1920, 99th Congress, 2 session (1986): 10.

²⁶ Bert Samqua, "High Court Agrees with Seminoles: Bingo Lives," *The Alligator Times*, October 1981. Apparently the first Indian Aid cuts were being felt by the Seminoles around the same time that they received the news of their victory over Butterworth. According to the Seminole newspaper, the plans to use the bingo profits for capital investments had been stopped due to the heavy federal cuts.

²⁷ Eva Parzaiale, "Seminole Bingo Opens," *The Tampa Tribune*, 22 March 1987, p. 8, sec. B.

²⁸ Select Committee on Indian Affairs, "Gambling on Indian Reservations and Land," S. 902, 99th Congress, 1st sess. (1985): 598.

²⁹ Barry Bearak, "Super Bingo joins the Empire of the Seminoles," *Los Angeles* (California) *Times*, 20 March 1987 (Located in NewsBank [Microform], Law, 1987,36:B6-B8).

³⁰ Select Committee on Indian Affairs, "Gaming Activities on Indian Reservations and Land," S. 555 and S.1303, 100th Congress, 1st sess. (1987): 298. The Seminoles have also donated one day's bingo proceeds to the Muscular Dystrophy Telethon and money has been given to a state museum for research and development and a cultural development program.

³¹ A. J. Dickerson, "New Bingo Means Big Bucks for Tribes, Players," *The Tampa Tribune*, 16 March 1987, p. 5, sec. B.

³² Barry Klein, "Seminoles to Keep Tax-Exempt Status," *St. Petersburg Times*, 25 February 1986.

³³ Fragin, p. 37.

³⁴ Klein, *St. Petersburg Times*, 25 February 1986.

³⁵ Fred Strasser and John MacCormack, "Indians Profits go Politicking," *Miami Herald*, 30 May 1983.

³⁶ Select Committee on Indian Affairs, "Gaming Activities on Indian Reservations and Lands," S. 902, 99th Congress, 1st sess. (1987): 598.

³⁷ James Billie, "Fighting Hun Tashuk Teek," *Southern Exposure* 13 (1985):18. This article is the written version of James Billie's speech to the Florida State Senate Finance, Taxation, and Claims Committee. The hearing was in consideration of Governor Bob Graham's demand that tribes charge the state's sales tax to non-Indians buying cigarettes on the reservation. The committee voted down the proposal.

³⁸ "Profits Game Attracting Tribes to Bingo Business," *Miami Herald*, 29 May 1983.

³⁹ Warren Richey, "Unregulated High-Stakes Gambling Grows on American Indian Reservations," *Christian Science Monitor*, 25 March 1985, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Colleen Gallagher, "Tribe's Bingo Draws Fire as Hall Opens," *Miami Herald*, 21 March 1987, p. 1.

⁴¹ "An Interview with Ross Swimmer, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs," *The Seminole Tribune*, 28 July, 1986, p. 1. The Ross Swimmer interview gives a clear picture of the BIA's stance on Indian gaming. In the article, Swimmer uses an analogy of the Indians building a nuclear power plant in comparison to Indian bingo insinuating that they are both dangerous to the public.

⁴² Peter Gallagher, "Why Indians Score 'Bingo' in High Court," *The Seminole Tribune*, Spring/Summer, special edition, 1987, p. 4.

⁴³ "No Evidence of Organized Crime in Bingo," *The Seminole Tribune* 7 October 1985, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Fragin, p. 37.

⁴⁵ David Koenig, "Supreme Court Hears Indian Gaming Debate," *Nevada Appeal*, 10 Dec. 1986 (Located in NewsBank [Microform], Welfare and Social Problems, 1987, 85:1) D1-D2, fiche).

⁴⁶ "Congress Considers New Bingo Regulations," *The Seminole Tribune* 1 July 1985.

⁴⁷ Frank Wagner, Reporter of Decisions, *Official Reports of the Supreme Court*, 480 (1987): 202. This report gives a thorough overview of the case given before the Supreme Court. It also includes the dissenting opinion of the court.

⁴⁸ Koenig, "Supreme Court Hears Indian Gaming Debates," *Nevada Appeal*, 10 Dec. 1986 (Located in NewsBank, Welfare and Social Problems, 1987, 85:1) D1-D2, fiche).

⁴⁹ Wagner, p. 210.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵¹ Peter Gallagher, "Why Indians Score Bingo in High Court," *The Seminole Tribune*, Spring/Summer, special edition, 1987, p.9.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵³ John F. Sugg and Nell King, Jr., "Indian Wagering Pits State, Federal Officials," *The Tampa Tribune*, 3 November 1991, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Maura Casey, "Indians Bet on Gambling," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 August 1991, p. 19.

⁵⁵ Paul Lieberman, "Indians See Battle Ahead Over Future of Gambling," *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 October 1991, p. 1. This is one in a series of five articles that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* about Indian gaming in California.

⁵⁶ Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs House of Representatives, "Indian Gaming Regulatory Act," S.100-70, 100th Congress, 1st sess. (1987):119.

⁵⁷ Pauline Yoshihashi, "Indian Tribes Put Their Bets on Casinos," *The Wall Street Journal*, 5 August 1991, p. 1, sec. B.

⁵⁸ "Seminoles Claim Right to Offer Casino Gambling on Tribal Lands," *The Tampa Tribune*, 21 September 1991, p. 3, sec. Metro.

⁵⁹ Michael Sznajderman, "Seminoles Expect OK on Casinos," *The Tampa Tribune*, 17 December 1991, p. 1.

⁶⁰ "Lujan's Statement on Gaming Causes Furor in Nevada," *The Seminole Tribune*, 22 April 1992, p. 7. In this article, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan hinted that he might overrule state governors who object to tribes' attempts to annex land near major cities for the purpose of establishing gambling facilities.

⁶¹ Sugg, p. 14

⁶² "Seminoles Claim Right to Offer Casino Gambling," *The Tampa Tribune*, 21 September 1991, p. 3, sec. Metro.

⁶³ Sugg, p. 14.

⁶⁴ Glenn F. Bunting, "Absences Mar Hearing on Indian Casinos," *The Los Angeles Times*, 10 January 1992, p. 3, sec. A.

⁶⁵ Paul Lieberman, "Casinos Coming to Tribal Land Amid Tax Regulation," 9 October 1991, p. 1, sec. A.

⁶⁶ Neil King, Jr., "Gaming Machines Outlawed by Panel," *The Tampa Tribune*, 12 May 1992.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ "Peter Gallagher, "Q and A with Tony Hope," *The Seminole Tribune*, 26 February 1992, p. 9. In this article, Tony Hope believes that the federal law will

be changed to allow the Secretary of the Interior the power to give Indian tribes the right to open Class III gaming halls.

⁶⁹ James N. Baker, "Gambling on the Reservation," *Newsweek*, 17 February 1992, p. 29.

⁷⁰ Darci McConnell, "Tribe Wins Casino Standoff," *USA Today*, 13 May 1992, sec. A.

⁷¹ King, *The Tampa Tribune*, 12 May 1992.

⁷² Louis LaVelle, "Judge Says Seminoles Can Sue for Right to Casino Gambling," *The Tampa Tribune*, 21 May 1992.

⁷³ Fred Strasser and John MacCormack, "Indians' Profits Go Politicking," *Miami Herald*, 30 May 1983.

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