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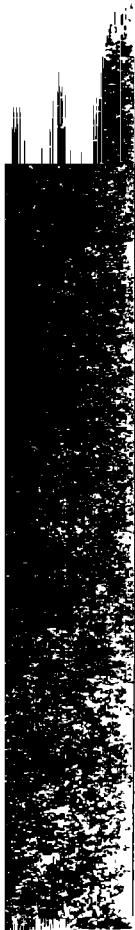
PLACE  
YOUR  
BETS

THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY  
AND THE 1995  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

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MEREDITH O'BRIEN

THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY





# PLACE YOUR BETS

THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY  
AND THE  
1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



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"Whoever plays deep must necessarily lose his money or his **character**."

— Lord Chesterfield, 1773

"There's a sucker born every minute."

— P.T. **Barnum**

The 1996 elections are still more than four months **away**, but the **high** rollers of the nation's gambling industry have been betting early and often. From the race for the White House on down, in fact, they've placed their biggest political wagers ever.

There's a lot at stake. Operators of various gambling enterprises, from the big casinos of Las Vegas and Atlantic City to the small **jai alai** frontons of Florida, fear that Washington will turn to their industry as a juicy source of new tax revenues. Two years ago, for example, President Clinton proposed a 4 percent tax on gambling revenues to help finance his welfare-reform plan. The fear of new taxes — as well as of tighter federal regulation — has been the driving force behind the industry's push to become a major political force in the nation's capital.

The gambling industry's clout in Washington is substantial and growing. For starters, gambling interests give millions of dollars to political candidates and to the Democratic and Republican parties. They also employ a platoon of high-powered **lobbyists**, including former Capitol Hill lawmakers and former officials of the Republican Party. And they're in the advantageous position of wanting Washington not to do something, but to do nothing: They're holding, in poker parlance, on a winning hand.

Democratic Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, the sponsor of legislation that would establish a Gambling Impact Study Commission, has called the industry "one of the big forces of political contributions in the nation today and getting bigger all the time."<sup>1</sup>

By the end of April 1996, with seven months to go before the November 5 elections, gambling interests — mainly operators of casinos and racetracks and manufacturers of gaming equipment — already had poured at least \$262,275 into the campaigns of President Clinton and former Republican Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the two presumptive **presidential nominees**.<sup>2</sup> That's at least eight times the total that gambling interests gave during the entire 1992 campaign to Clinton and President **Bush**, the Democratic and Republican nominees. Meanwhile, the industry has significantly stepped up its contributions of "soft" money — contributions that congressional or presidential candidates cannot legally accept — to political committees controlled by the Democratic and Republican parties.

In 1995 and the first four months of 1996, gambling interests gave Dole's presidential campaign at least \$200,125. During the same period, gambling interests gave Clinton's reelection campaign \$62,150.<sup>3</sup> Dole's total represents 77 percent of all his gambling-industry contributions dating to 1981; Clinton's 1995 total represents 83 percent of his gambling-industry contributions over the same **period**.<sup>4</sup>

Since the 1994 congressional **elections**, the gambling industry has tilted strongly toward the GOP. Within the past two **years**, for example, Steve **Wynn**, who's been called the most powerful figure in the gambling world, has hosted a series of major political fund-raising events at his posh Las Vegas casino and resort, the Mirage, featuring such GOP leaders as Dole, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and national party chairman Haley **Barbour**. Gingrich, on his recent trip to Las Vegas, dined privately with Wynn the night before he attended a fund-raiser at the Mirage for Republican Representative John Ensign of Nevada. The following day, even though the House had unanimously passed legislation to create a national gambling commission and give it broad subpoena powers, Gingrich vowed publicly that he would move to strip the commission of all subpoena **power**.<sup>5</sup>

More recently, however, Wynn and the gambling industry have been covering their partisan bets. Wynn has pledged to raise or contribute "a six-figure **amount**" to the Democratic Party to support Clinton's re-election campaign, according to a story in *The Wall Street Journal*. Soon after Democratic fund-raisers learned of **Wynn's** interest in Clinton, Wynn played golf with the President at the exclusive Congressional Country Club in Potomac, Maryland. Clinton and Wynn were originally supposed to play at Wynn's Shadow Creek golf course, which is part of the Mirage, but the White House didn't approve the **trip**.<sup>6</sup>

### Wheel of *Fortune*

The gambling industry has struggled for years to overcome the perception that it's controlled by an assortment of shady and unsavory characters right out of *The Godfather*. "Our industry is known by movies," Alan **Feldman**, a spokesman for Wynn's Mirage Resorts Inc., told the Center for Public Integrity. "People know our industry by **stereotypes**."<sup>7</sup>

These days, though some of the biggest players in the gambling industry are firmly ensconced on the **Fortune** 500. Shares in scores of gambling-related enterprises are traded on the major stock exchanges, and Wall Street closely follows the gambling industry. Nearly 600 institutional investors across the nation own shares in gambling operations, including the California state employee and U.S. Steel pension funds, as well as the Harvard University **endowment**.<sup>8</sup>

Some big corporations have moved into the gambling business. IIT Corporation, a New York City-based conglomerate with communications and entertainment interests (including a 50 percent stake in Madison Square Garden), bought the Desert Inn in Las Vegas in 1993 and two years later expanded its gambling holdings by buying three

Caesars World hotels/casinos for \$1.7 billion.<sup>9</sup>

Hilton Hotels Corporation, which got into the gambling industry in 1970 by acquiring two Las Vegas hotels, dramatically expanded its gambling interests in 1992 through its \$88 million purchase of Bally's Casino Resort in Reno.<sup>10</sup>

In 1974, Ted Arison, the founder of Carnival Cruise Lines, added casinos to its ships. In 1994, Arison broke off different portions of Carnival Corporation to form a new Carruval Hotels and Casinos division to handle the company's burgeoning gambling interests, not only in the ocean, but on land as well.<sup>11</sup>

All told, gambling may be more than a trillion-dollar industry. By one estimate, Americans spent \$482 billion on legal wagers in 1994 — an increase of 2,800 percent since 1974.<sup>12</sup> And in 1994, according to the same source, gross revenues in the gambling industry outstripped box-office receipts from motion pictures and revenues from spectator sports, theme parks, cruise ships, and recorded music combined.<sup>13</sup>

Thirty-six states and the District of Columbia have lotteries, and in many cases the lotteries have proved to be cash cows for education and other programs for which lottery revenues are earmarked.<sup>14</sup> In 1994, states raised \$36 billion from lottery revenues and gambling taxes.<sup>15</sup>

Even Indian tribes have turned to the blackjack tables. The Supreme Court held in 1987 that states couldn't selectively ban gambling on Indian reservations.<sup>16</sup> That ruling gave way to the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which allows tribes to operate gaming facilities if the profits are spent on social programs for their own members. Since 1988, some 200 tribes have set up gambling operations.<sup>17</sup> In 1994, Indian tribes generated \$4.2 billion in gambling revenues, accounting for nearly a tenth of the industry's total receipts.<sup>18</sup>

The meteoric rise both in gambling revenues and in the sheer number of casinos has drawn the attention of politicians and public officials from coast to coast. Over the past few years, they have considered imposing excise taxes on bets, clamping down on various types of wagering, and enacting other regulatory measures to slow the spread of legalized gambling.

But the industry's big wake-up call came in 1994, when Clinton proposed a 4 percent excise tax on gambling revenues to finance welfare reform. "That was probably the moment when people knew that something had to be done," Feldman told the Center for Public Integrity. "That was the moment when action became urgent."

So, in the spring of 1994, the American Gaming Association was born. With a multimillion-dollar budget and Frank Fahrenkopf, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee, at the helm, the AGA set out to represent the industry in Congress and at the White House. Meanwhile, many casino executives began making big contributions to political candidates and party organizations."



The AGA's first organizational meeting was held in Beverly Hills, **California**, at the behest of **Barron** Hilton, the chairman of Hilton Hotels Corporation. Executives of at least 20 companies in the gambling industry, including Mirage Resorts and Las Vegas-based Circus Circus Enterprises, Inc., were there. "They had billion-dollar investments in casinos . . . and they had no representation," **Fahrenkopf** told the Center for Public Integrity.<sup>20</sup>

Fahrenkopf said that Clinton's proposed 4 percent tax focused the industry's attention on the possibility of more attempts to tax and regulate gambling. "Whether or not it's next year, or two years down the road, or four years down the **road**, . . . sooner or later **there's** going to be a need for revenue," Fahrenkopf said. "It is important for the industry, whatever industry — the pasta industry, the coal industry, the steel industry — you've got to have people there to provide a balanced view."

Before Clinton floated his tax proposal, Mirage Resorts and companies like it were concerned mainly with "obscure IRS decisions . . . quiet issues," Feldman said, adding, "The industry's need of having a lobbying team in Washington has always been very minimal." But after the proposal, Feldman said, the industry decided that it was time to have a trade association and lobbying presence in Washington. "Fear of the federal government," he said, "is a great motivating factor."

Aside from the AGA, which has 38 members (Mirage Resorts among them), at least 17 law and lobbying firms — including some of the most high-powered in Washington — represented gambling interests in the nation's capital in 1995.<sup>21</sup>

Connecticut's Mashantucket Pequot Indian tribe, which runs the extremely successful **Foxwoods** Casinos, for example, retained the powerhouse firm of Patton Boggs. Circus Circus Enterprises was represented by four Washington firms, including Cassidy & Associates. The Paul Laxalt Group, headed by former Republican Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, represented at least two gambling interests, MGM Grand, Inc., of Las Vegas and the Nevada Resort Association, though the firm says that it no longer represents **them**.<sup>22</sup>

**Wynn**, who's been dubbed the most powerful person in the gambling industry by *International Wagering & Gaming Business*, a trade publication, may also be its most politically active. His Mirage casino and resort is represented by the Washington office of O'Connor & **Hannan**, and Wynn himself has hosted fund-raising events and donated tens of thousands to Dole and the GOP. Wynn also urges the **18,000-plus-employees** of his casinos and resorts to vote, on company time. The Mirage even has a mini-campaign headquarters, complete with telephone banks that are used for polling and **get-out-the-vote** operations. Feldman said that the company's government relations department conducts political polls and provides them to candidates at the state level as in-kind **contributions**.<sup>23</sup>

What's more, the gambling industry has backed up its lobbying muscle with some major political cash. Since 1991, gambling interests have poured more than \$4.5 million into congressional and presidential campaigns and into the soft-money accounts of both **parties**.<sup>24</sup> (See Chart 1.)

Here's a breakdown:

Soft money. Since 1991, gambling interests have given more than \$2.6 million in soft money to both parties — \$1.4 million to Republican Party committees and \$1.2 million to Democratic Party **committees**.<sup>25</sup> (See Chart 2 and Tables 1A and 1B.)

Congressional campaigns. Since 1991, gambling interests have given more than \$1.5 million to candidates for the Senate and House, not counting contributions from individuals from 1993 to 1995, detailed information on which is not yet available from databases of the Center for Responsive Politics, which the Center for Public Integrity used for this report. The total since 1987 is more than **\$2.1 million**. (See Chart 3.)

Presidential campaigns. Since 1991, gambling interests have given Clinton and Dole more than \$294,125, and they gave Dole at least another \$57,250 from 1987 to 1990. (See Chart 4.)

**Fahrenkopf** said that the gambling industry used to lean Democratic in its contributions but turned toward the GOP after the 1994 elections, in which Republicans captured control of Congress. Even the **Mashantucket** Pequot Indians, who have traditionally given to Democrats, he said, have given hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Republican Party since 1994. "Folks give to the guys who are running the **ship**," Fahrenkopf told the Center.

The gambling industry's stepped-up political activity has fueled the ire of some religious and conservative activists, who have banded together at the grass-roots level to try to stop the spread of gambling, which they believe is dangerous to families, communities, and local economies. The **two-year-old** National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling boasts that anti-gambling activists have stopped 23 out of 28 state and local initiatives to legalize **gambling**.<sup>26</sup>

Tom **Grey**, the coalition's chairman, said that he was alarmed by the rise in contributions from the gambling industry to federal candidates and political committees. "These people did not have to buy Washington," Grey said, adding that gambling is "a states' **issue**."<sup>27</sup>

Grey predicted that Republicans who have accepted gambling money will run into problems with Christian conservatives in the party. "We've got the bad guys out in the open," he said, ". . . [and] I think we've caught the Republicans at the feeding trough."

## A Wynn-Win Situation

To Steve Wynn, a 54-year-old casino magnate and registered Democrat, Dole may have seemed like a winner. Why else would Wynn, who's reportedly worth more than \$280 million, have gathered a group of Las Vegas's movers and shakers, including many casino executives and employees, at his \$48 million private golf course last spring and personally raise a half-million dollars for the soon-to-be GOP presidential nominee?<sup>28</sup>

Wynn, the chairman and chief executive officer of Mirage Resorts Inc., seems to have bet the house on Dole. Lately, however, he's been hedging his bets. In late May, Wynn and Clinton played golf together, and on June 9, Wynn appeared with Clinton at a fund-raising event in Las Vegas that raised some \$500,000, half of which reportedly came from gambling interests.<sup>29</sup> White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry said of the industry, "I think a lot of these guys cover their bets."<sup>30</sup>

Wynn's background and early role in the Dole campaign have bothered some anti-gambling activists, religious conservatives, and newspaper editorial writers, who say that Dole should stay away from gambling — and Wynn — altogether.

For years, Wynn has been dogged by press accounts of allegations linking him and associates to organized-crime figures.<sup>31</sup> In *Running Scared*, an unauthorized biography of Wynn published last year, author John L. Smith, a columnist for the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, "points to what he calls "a daunting mound of documents raising troubling questions about [Wynn's] relationship with organized crime."<sup>32</sup>

Wynn has sued Smith and the book's publisher for libel. "Unfortunately, as a society," Feldman told the Center, "once charged, always charged — once exonerated, always charged." Feldman declined to comment directly on the suit or on the contents of Smith's book.

"Bob Dole is a good, solid-thinking, middle-of-the-road Republican," Wynn told a reporter for *The Washington Post* in explaining why he'd decided to raise money for Dole.<sup>33</sup> Wynn's endorsement of Dole was cemented after Clinton proposed his 4 percent tax on gambling revenues, Feldman said.<sup>34</sup> In an interview with CBS News that was aired on May 6, 1996, Wynn called Clinton's plan "a reckless suggestion."<sup>35</sup>

Dole opposed Clinton's 4 percent tax. And his legislative record suggests that he's helped the industry by working to lower existing taxes, and opposing new taxes, on gambling.

Many in Dole's party deride the gambling industry. Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, has branded it "a cancer on the American body politic."<sup>36</sup> But Dole has refrained from making such moral judgments about the industry, saying only that he doesn't try to persuade people to gamble.

Dole's most intimate connection to the gambling industry came in June 1995 at

Shadow Creek golf course in Las Vegas, where Wynn and his family live in a gated and guarded home.<sup>37</sup> The posh golf course was Wynn's brainchild. After being denied membership in California's Vintage Country Club because he was "deemed an inappropriate candidate for membership," Wynn resolved to build a golf club that was so prestigious and so grandiose that everyone — not just golfers, but the social jet set — would want to play there.<sup>38</sup> He plowed millions into the 320-acre course, which is plush with foliage, exotic birds, and even a wallaby. *Forbes* magazine called it "the kind of golf course God would design."<sup>39</sup>

But there's a catch: Wynn is the only member. Only Wynn, or Bobby Baldwin, Mirage's manager, determine who plays there. Those who get the nod are likely to be very powerful or high rollers who carry a minimum \$100,000 credit line at Wynn's Mirage Casino.<sup>40</sup>

On June 1, 1995, Dole went to Shadow Creek for a fund-raising luncheon organized by Wynn, whose company also owns the Treasure Island casinos, the Golden Nugget-Las Vegas, the Golden Nugget-Laughlin — all in Nevada — and the Casino Iguazu in Argentina.

The luncheon raised nearly \$480,000 for the Dole campaign.<sup>41</sup> Wynn's family, and employees of his casinos and their spouses, chipped in at least \$94,450.<sup>42</sup> That's in addition to the \$45,000 Wynn gave in soft money to the Republican Party from 1993 to 1995. And in 1994, after Clinton withdrew his proposed 4 percent tax on gambling revenues, Wynn hosted a fund-raiser for the Republican Party that raised \$540,000.<sup>43</sup>

Bruce Aguilera, the general counsel of Mirage Resorts, told a Las Vegas reporter that those who attended the June 1995 luncheon came because Dole had said that he opposed new taxes.<sup>44</sup> "You tend to go philosophically," Wynn said in a television interview, "for whoever you believe has got the most healthy view of where the country should go."<sup>45</sup>

Feldman told the Center for Public Integrity that Wynn was originally approached by John Moran, the Dole campaign's national finance chairman, to host the fund-raising luncheon. For the past several years, Wynn has been a director and financial patron of the University of Utah's John A. Moran Eye Center, which is named after Moran. Wynn, who has a degenerative eye disease, gave the center \$1 million in 1993.<sup>46</sup>

Dole's trip to the Mirage came the day after his celebrated "Hollywood speech," in which he attacked Hollywood executives for producing valueless and immoral material. "You have sold your souls, but must you debase our nation and threaten our children for the sake of corporate profits?" Dole asked in a May 31, 1995, speech in Century City, California.<sup>47</sup> "Shame is a powerful tool. Let's put the heat on the entertainment industry where it belongs. . . . We must hold Hollywood accountable for putting profit ahead of common decency. There's got to be a limit."<sup>48</sup>

Dole's speech drew accolades from religious conservatives for its strong tone on moral issues. Reed, for example, called it "a defining moment" for Dole's **campaign**.<sup>49</sup>

Dole's trip to Las Vegas wasn't the first time that he has received a financial hand from the gambling industry. Since 1981, gambling interests have given more than **\$257,375** to Dole's presidential and Senate campaigns, as well as to Campaign America, the political action committee (PAC) he formerly **headed**, and the Better America Foundation, his now-defunct think **tank**.<sup>50</sup> Dole's 1995-96 total of \$200,125 constitutes more than 77 percent of all the gambling money he's received since 1981. (See Table 2.)

Gambling interests also have helped Dole's 1996 presidential campaign by providing a variety of other services. Mirage Resorts and **GTech** Corporation, which manufactures lottery systems and **equipment**, provided the Dole campaign with charter planes, traveling and event expenses, and photography costs from July 1995 to January 1996.<sup>51</sup> Dole's campaign later paid the two companies \$10,485 to reimburse them for the costs.

Dole's charitable organization, the Dole Foundation, hasn't been left out. IIT Corporation is a longtime contributor to the foundation, which assists the **disabled**.<sup>52</sup> The Dole Foundation says that, as a matter of policy, it does not disclose the amounts of contributions it receives.

All told, Dole's gambling-industry contributions and campaign reimbursements reach at least \$267,860.

Dole's campaign did not respond to numerous requests by the Center for Public Integrity for interviews or comments on this study.

### A Hot Springs Tradition

President Clinton has received substantially less money from the gambling industry than has Dole. Gambling interests have given at least \$62,150 to Clinton's 1996 reelection campaign. They gave at least \$12,050 to his 1992 presidential **campaign**.<sup>53</sup>

The Center for Public Integrity's examination of contributions to Clinton's gubernatorial campaigns in Arkansas from 1981 to 1990, to the President's Legal Expense Trust, and to the Clinton-Gore Transition Fund show that Clinton's total contributions from gambling interests since 1981 amount to at least **\$74,200**.<sup>54</sup> (See Table 3.)

Gambling interests — particularly Indian tribes that operate casinos — have also given the Democratic Party at least \$1.2 million in soft money since 1991.<sup>55</sup>

The **Mashantucket** Pequot tribe, which runs the extremely successful Foxwoods Casino in Connecticut, is a deep-pocketed donor. Of the \$465,000 in soft money that the tribe gave to both political parties from 1993 to 1995, the lion's share — **\$365,000** — went

to **Democrats**.<sup>56</sup>

When he's been asked for his opinions about gambling, Clinton has usually begun with the same story: "I grew up in a town with the largest illegal gambling operation in America when I was kid. Hot Springs, Arkansas, had the biggest gambling operation except for Las Vegas anywhere in the **country**."<sup>57</sup>

Clinton's mother, the late Virginia **Kelley**, loved to gamble. She had her own box at Oakland Park, an Arkansas racetrack, and frequently went to Las **Vegas**.<sup>58</sup> She reportedly hung a sampler in her home that read, "A racetrack is a place where windows clean people," and wore a ring, given to her by her son Bill, with a gold horseshoe circling a horse's **head**.<sup>59</sup>

Even though he's received campaign money from gambling interests and was reared in Arkansas, where slot machines were next to soda fountains, Clinton's proposals haven't always put him in good standing with the industry.

Although Clinton has **repeatedly** expressed his desire to keep the issue of gambling a local one, in 1994 he enraged **Wynn** and others in the industry by proposing a 4 percent tax on gambling revenues to finance part of his welfare reform program.

"Only days after the tax proposal was floated, a group of Democratic lawmakers whose districts include gambling operations trooped to the White House to raise objections," Jeff Leeds, a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote at the time. "Casino owners launched a fierce lobbying effort of their **own**."<sup>60</sup> In the process, Clinton, who quickly dropped the tax proposal, learned first-hand just how swift and powerful the gambling lobby can be.

"I think Mr. Clinton has come to a much stronger understanding of gambling's role, legalizing and regulated, in American business today," Feldman said after newspapers reported in June 1996 that Clinton and Wynn had played golf together and that Wynn had promised to raise money for the Democratic Party. Wynn "strongly backed" Clinton in 1992 but, after his falling out with the Administration after the gambling tax proposal was announced, **joked** that the Clinton Administration's motto was "ready, fire, **aim**."<sup>61</sup>

Democratic Governor Bob Miller of Nevada, who played golf with Clinton and Wynn and accompanied Clinton to the June 1996 fund-raiser in Las Vegas, "was described by Administration officials as furious that Clinton had decided to support subpoena power for a federal commission to investigate the gambling industry," according to the *Associated Press*.<sup>62</sup> The White House has since said that Clinton backs "limited subpoena power" for the commission, and Clinton has said that the commission's subpoena power should be limited because he did not want there to be "a witch hunt" for gambling **executives**.<sup>63</sup>

Nearly four years earlier, in December 1992, members of Clinton's presidential

transition team met with Native American leaders, whose tribes had contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to both Clinton and the Democratic Party.<sup>64</sup> The Indian leaders were concerned with maintaining federal support for gambling on Indian reservations, an effort that Democrats have traditionally supported.

In a 1993 interview with reporters from Connecticut, which was considering a measure to legalize gambling, Clinton said: "I strongly believe [gambling] should remain a question of state law. That is, I don't think I should decide for you one way or the other — or the Congress. I think it ought to be a local **question**."<sup>65</sup>

On **occasion**, however, Clinton has tempered his support for legalized gambling on Indian reservations and elsewhere. "What my belief **is**, is that it is a lousy basis for an **economy**, past a certain point," he said in a 1993 speech in San Diego. ". . . I do not blame tribes for wanting the maximum possible flexibility on gambling. But what I'd like to see is a whole range of different initiatives so we can have a real long-term economic prosperity, because there is a limit to how much **gambling** the country can **absorb**."<sup>66</sup>

Questioned recently by reporters about whether Clinton had any concerns over the Democratic National Committee accepting money from the gambling industry, White House Press Secretary **McCurry** replied: "No, that's an important part of the economy of the state of Nevada, to be sure. And it is also an important part of economies elsewhere around the country in which legalized gambling is **allowed**."<sup>67</sup>

The Clinton campaign did not respond to written questions from the Center for Public Integrity for this study.

### A Quiet Supporter

Over the years, Dole has had relatively little to say — publicly, at least, — on the topic of gambling. Dole, like Clinton, has said that gambling should remain a matter of states' rights, but he has opposed attempts to impose new taxes on gambling.

Dole supports Senator Simon's proposal to establish a commission to study the impact of gambling on the nation, but he has said that the **commission's** mandate should not include **taxes**.<sup>68</sup> In April, Simon's bill, a version of which has passed the House, was gutted by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. The Senate committee stripped the would-be panel of its power to subpoena witnesses to appear before the commission or to obtain certain documents from casinos. Simon said that the changes were made to "cater . . . to gambling **interests**."<sup>69</sup>

Following the committee's action, its chairman, Republican Ted Stevens of Alaska, pulled the bill to rewrite it. Supporters of the measure, including William Safire, a

columnist for *The New York Times*, urged Dole not only to make sure that the issue came to a vote, but also to restore the subpoena powers to the legislation. Dole didn't bring the measure to a vote before he left the Senate on June 11.

In early May, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee approved a bill that would give the proposed commission limited powers to subpoena documents from casino owners, but the **full** Senate had not voted on the measure as of **mid-June**.<sup>70</sup>

Dole has said little about the moral aspects of gambling. "I'm not encouraging people to gamble," he told a New Hampshire newspaper in 1995. "I certainly discourage it, but my view is, if it is regulated and controlled as it is in Nevada, the state has certainly done a good job and that ought to be left to the **state**."<sup>71</sup>

**Fahrenkopf** told the Center that the public positions of Dole and Clinton on gambling appear to be very similar. Speaking about recent statements both have made about the national gambling commission proposal — they both support it — Fahrenkopf said, "They were very close to each other."

Dole has occasionally gone to bat for gambling interests.

In 1980, then-Senator Howard Cannon, a Democrat from Nevada, pushed a measure that would have eliminated the 2 percent tax on bets placed on sporting events and the \$500 occupational tax on individual bookmakers, both of which, if implemented, would have saved the gambling industry an estimated \$54 million over five **years**.<sup>72</sup> Cannon got the Senate Finance Committee, on which Dole was the ranking Republican, to attach his measure as an amendment to an unrelated tax bill that would have given a Connecticut church a tax break from paying duty on an imported organ. The amendment was later **killed**.<sup>73</sup>

"At a time when Americans are concerned about the nation's moral climate," then-Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio told his colleagues, "I cannot imagine that the Senate would consider tax subsidies for an industry and an associated lifestyle that are anathema to millions of our **citizens**."<sup>74</sup>

Two years later, Cannon resurrected the idea and introduced a similar measure. In October 1982, he took to the Senate floor to urge his colleagues to vote for **it**.<sup>75</sup> "I want to particularly express my thanks to the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Dole, and the ranking member of the committee, Senator Russell **Long**," Cannon told his colleagues. "They have both been very helpful and cooperative in this matter. I am particularly pleased to note that an amendment . . . dealing with the excise and occupational taxes on legal wagering has been **included**."<sup>76</sup>

Cannon's amendment was designed to cut the taxes that bookmakers had to pay on bets, such as legal bets on sporting **events**.<sup>77</sup> Then-Senator Laxalt, now a lobbyist who has represented gambling interests, said of the bill: "Legal, honest bookmakers are forced into bankruptcy by the punitive nature of the taxes, while illegal booking operations



continue to ignore the tax and flourish. Rather than eliminating illegal operators, the taxes forced legal establishments out of business and encourage the growth of **crime**."<sup>78</sup>

In 1992, Dole and 87 other Senators voted for a bill, which President Bush signed, that protected Nevada and three other states with legalized sports betting (Delaware, Montana, and Oregon) from having other states compete with **them**.<sup>79</sup>

Dole has opposed attempts to impose new taxes on gambling. In October 1995, he opposed a proposal to tax Indian casinos that would have raised more than \$300 million to help balance the federal **budget**.<sup>80</sup> And Dole has said that he will not support the creation of a federal commission to study gambling hinges if its mandate includes looking into the possibility of levying taxes on **gambling**.<sup>81</sup>

In late 1995, Democratic Senator Richard Bryan of Nevada tried to slide an amendment into the telecommunications bill that would have allowed casinos to advertise on radio and television. Currently, for-profit, non-Indian casinos are the only gambling entities that are barred under federal law from advertising, although state **lotteries**, Indian casinos, horse racing, and the like can do as they **please**.<sup>82</sup>

Bryan's legislative director, Andy Vermilye, said that he sought to attach the amendment to the telecommunications bill because "it was a bill that was moving — we were jumping on a **train**."<sup>83</sup> Vermilye told the Center for Public Integrity that while some Senators were helpful to Bryan in getting his amendment passed unscathed, it "was sort of a hot potato." Many lawmakers, he said, "didn't want their fingerprints anywhere near it."

Majority Leader Dole's office was aware of Bryan's amendment and did not oppose it, Vermilye said. "His [**Dole's**] folks certainly knew about the provision," Vermilye said. "**They** were very quiet about **that**."<sup>84</sup>

The provision, which the Federal Communications Commission supported, was removed during a December 6, 1995, Senate-House conference meeting on the bill after a group of 40 Representatives presented a letter to the conference committee demanding that the amendment be **removed**.<sup>85</sup> Vermilye said that a strong effort by the Christian Coalition helped to kill the amendment.

Bill **Kincaid**, a lobbyist with Americans Deserve Better, an organization based in Richmond, Virginia, that opposes legalized gambling — an "inherently illegal enterprise," he says — said that his group worked hard to try to get rid of the **amendment**.<sup>86</sup>

### No '**Snake-Oil Salesman**'

Steve **Wynn**, by raising hundreds of thousands of dollars for both Dole and Clinton, has thrust himself — and the gambling industry — into the spotlight of this year's presidential

campaign.

Wynn says that he is tired of fighting various allegations about his background and is tired of being called names. In a recent article in *The Washington Post*, Wynn was quoted as saying that he was particularly hurt when a Vancouver newspaper called him a "snake-oil salesman" after he tried, unsuccessfully, to expand his gambling empire in Vancouver, British Columbia.<sup>87</sup>

But "snake-oil salesman" is one of the tamer monikers that Wynn has faced in recent years.

The document that has long hampered Wynn's public-relations efforts is a 14-year-old Scotland Yard report in which British investigators concluded that Wynn had "numerous strong connections" with the Genovese organized-crime family based in New York and New Jersey.<sup>88</sup> At the time, Wynn was seeking a gaming license in England to expand his Golden Nugget casino chain in the British isles.

The Scotland Yard report concluded: "The strong inference which can be drawn from the new intelligence is that Stephen Wynn, the president of [Golden Nugget Inc.], has been operating under the aegis of the Genovese family since he first went to Las Vegas in the 1960s to become a stockholder in the New Frontier Casino. . . . [S]ome of the data supporting this view, taken on its own, is not conclusive. However, the connections are so numerous and significant that it would be impossible to accept coincidence as a reasonable explanation."<sup>89</sup>

Several law enforcement officials have challenged the legitimacy of the report and have said that they do not believe its conclusions to be true.<sup>90</sup> And Bradford Smith, the chairman of the New Jersey Casino Control Commission, said last year, "In summary, considering the entire record before us, there is simply no basis to afford any credence to the allegations in the purported New Scotland Yard report concerning a relationship between Stephen Wynn and organized crime."<sup>91</sup> Wynn has rebutted the Scotland Yard report point by point, with affidavits from former police officers, former FBI agents, his attorneys, and former employees. "The New Scotland Yard report was erroneous, misleading, and false in every respect other than the spelling of my name," Wynn said in a deposition last year. "Each of those affidavits establishes that there was no connection and, furthermore, that the entire report is therefore unreliable and unprofessional."<sup>92</sup> And a former FBI agent said that the report "contained considerable innuendo from unidentified sources of unstated reliability and unverified information."<sup>93</sup> Wynn has since received another New Jersey gaming license to establish another casino in Atlantic City, which is currently under construction and expected to open in 1998.<sup>94</sup>

At a hearing of the Casino Control Commission last year, government investigators "said there was no foundation to reports that Wynn has ties to the Genovese crime family in New York," according to a story in *The Record*. "One of the investigators said

he believed the allegations arose from a mobster's boastful **talk**.<sup>95</sup> According to the **newspaper**, Frank Denaro, an investigator for the New Jersey Division of Gaming Enforcement, said, after hearing the surveillance tapes used by the Scotland Yard investigators to render their conclusions, that it sounded "like idle '**wise-guy**' talk to **him**."<sup>96</sup> Another investigator, Joseph Coffey, an intelligence officer for the New York State Organized Crime Task Force, said that the report did not establish a connection between **Wynn** and the mob. "I think there is no basis in fact for it," Coffey **said**.<sup>97</sup>

In the early 1980s, the New Jersey Casino Control Commission also gave Wynn the go-ahead to operate a casino in Atlantic City after rejecting claims by two women that Wynn used — and condoned the use of — cocaine at one of his Las Vegas casinos. A former blackjack dealer at the Las Vegas Golden Nugget and a former friend of a Golden Nugget casino supervisor made the allegations about Wynn in written, sworn statements to the commission in October 1981. But the commission found Wynn to be more credible than his accusers and consequently approved **Wynn's** license to operate the Golden Nugget casino in Atlantic City, which he has since **sold**.<sup>98</sup>

A few years after the Scotland Yard report was made public, federal and state officials conducted an investigation into the laundering of millions in drug-trafficking profits through several Atlantic City casinos, including the Golden **Nugget**.<sup>99</sup>

In *Running Scared*, Smith describes it this way: "The sequence of events that led to the infamous affair and one of Wynn's most embarrassing moments on the [Atlantic City] Boardwalk began innocently enough on November 26, 1982, when casino host Charles **Meyerson** received a phone call from his **Tropicana** counterpart Gus Lauro, who advised the Golden Nugget's top procurer of gamblers that a '**substantial cash player**' was headed his way.

"After midnight, Anthony C. Castelbuono appeared at the Golden Nugget with his bodyguard and personal valet, Ben **Valenza**. . . . Castelbuono carried with him a mountain of money. Valenza began opening suitcases jammed with \$1,187,450 and piling up the cash. It took five hours to count. The staggering cache of money, Castelbuono claimed, was proceeds from successful restaurants he **owned**."<sup>100</sup>

Wynn was questioned about the incident on June 26, 1985, by the President's Commission on Organized **Crime**, a **19-member** panel that was investigating the role and influence of organized crime in the gambling industry.

Wynn told investigators that Golden Nugget executives were at first suspicious of Castelbuono because of the enormous amount of money he'd brought into the casino in small bills. "All the warning bells went off," Wynn testified, saying that the casino conducted video surveillance of Castelbuono and did a background check on **him**.<sup>101</sup> But as soon as Castelbuono lost \$360,000 in an hour, casino officials decided he was a "legitimate if somewhat eccentric gambler," Wynn said, adding that Castelbuono later

lost all the money at the gaining **tables**.<sup>102</sup>

After **Wynn's** testimony, Tom **Sheehan**, an investigator for the Presidential Commission, played a videotape to the commission that showed Castelbuono leaving the Golden Nugget with \$983,000 in large **denominations**.<sup>103</sup> As the tape played, Sheehan said: "You see the cash being placed in bags by casino **employees**. . . There you see the casino doors opening, Mr. Castelbuono leaving with, as I said, \$983,000 on December 12, 1982. The indictment charges that on December 16, 1982, \$1 million in cash was placed in a Swiss bank **account**."<sup>104</sup> Sheehan added, "I submit to you that Mr. Wynn **doesn't** know what occurred in the **casino**."<sup>105</sup>

Castelbuono was indicted in 1985 on federal charges of importing heroin into the country and laundering \$3.6 million in drug profits through four Atlantic City casinos, including the Golden **Nugget**.<sup>106</sup> In December 1987, Castelbuono went to prison for "helping launder millions in illicit profits in a federal case linked to a Sicilian-based heroin-smuggling **operation**."<sup>107</sup> A spokesman for the U.S. **Attorney's** Office in Brooklyn said that Castelbuono cleaned "drug money through casinos and **stash[ed]** it in Swiss **banks**."<sup>108</sup> Neither Wynn nor his casino was ever charged with any wrongdoing.

Those revelations gave way to an incident which Wynn has called "the most embarrassing in my career." In 1984, a federal intelligence videotape captured Mel Harris, then the vice president of the Golden Nugget, entering the New York headquarters of the Genovese crime family. "In wiretapped conversations, the mob referred to Harris as '**our** guy at the Golden **Nugget**,' according to *Running Scared*.<sup>109</sup> Wynn said that as soon as he learned of Harris's visit to the Genovese family, he fired **him**.<sup>110</sup>

"Ail of a sudden, Mel Harris — we find out that Mel's talking to the wrong kind of people, and we throw him on the street, you know," Wynn told a CBS News interviewer. "Goodbye **Mel**."<sup>111</sup> Later in the same interview, when reporter Meredith Viera asked whether it would be difficult to trust people after the Harris incident, Wynn said: "The question **is**, how can you be sure, how can you be positive, how can anybody — well, you can't in this world. What you can be sure of **is** that in the end honest people will do the right thing. That's why we all survived Mel Harris and we kept our gambling licenses, and the state of New Jersey renewed our license after they investigated this. And if I don't see that sentence in this edited version of this tape, I will choke both of you after this question and **answer**."<sup>112</sup>

## The Doles and the Wynns

The June 1995 fund-raiser in Las Vegas wasn't the first time the Doles and the Wynns had met. In March 1992, Elizabeth Dole, the president of the American Red Cross, was

the keynote speaker at a dinner at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas to honor Steve Wynn's wife, Elaine. Mrs. Wynn, a director of Mirage Resorts Inc. and the chairwoman of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas Foundation, was honored for her support — monetary and otherwise — of the **university**.<sup>113</sup> The Wynns have given more than \$1 million to UNLV over the years and wield a great deal of influence at the **university**.<sup>114</sup>

According to Dole's financial disclosure form for that year, Elizabeth Dole was paid a \$20,000 speaking fee from UNLV, which she donated to the Red Cross, and was reimbursed by the university for her travel from Washington to Las Vegas and then to San Francisco and for her hotel accommodations. The disclosure forms do not include dollar figures for this **trip**.<sup>115</sup>

At the same time, Steve Wynn had invited a group of Connecticut state legislators to the UNLV dinner as part of a "fact-finding" mission. He wanted them to see his Mirage resort and the Las Vegas area before making a decision on whether they should legalize gambling in their state and allow Wynn to develop casinos **there**.<sup>116</sup>

"In the evening, [Steve] Wynn invited the [Connecticut legislators] to a fund-raising dinner for the University of Nevada at Las Vegas to demonstrate how the Mirage and several other casinos provide support for higher **education**," the *Hartford Courant* reported. "Although gambling was by the casino hosts, most of the lawmakers got to try their luck at a slot machine. While Elizabeth Dole, president of the American Red Cross was giving the keynote address at the fund-raising dinner, [State Representative Richard] Foley and Senator Louis DeLuca slipped across the street to the Sands casino for a few **low-stakes** rounds of blackjack and **craps**."<sup>117</sup>

"Wives Into Widows"?

Christian conservatives and anti-gambling activists are concerned that Dole has such close ties to Wynn and enjoys the support of the gambling industry.

"We don't want a person leading the country who thinks gambling is economic development," Grey, the chairman of the National Coalition Against Legalized **Gambling**, said.<sup>118</sup>

Tickling off the list of woes that Grey's group argues go **hand-and-hand** with legalized gambling — such as increasing crime, depression, and divorce rates — Grey said that a presidential candidate who aligns himself with gaming is risking alienating a sizable portion of voters who view gambling as a sin.

Ronald Reno of Focus on the Family echoed Grey's sentiments on the impact of legalized gambling. "Why would any community welcome an industry that undermines the work ethic, spawns crime, hurts other businesses and costs jobs, increases divorce

and child abuse, victimizes youth and the poor, while giving rise to several mental health problems and suicide?" he asked in an opinion column in *The Washington Times*.<sup>119</sup>

Noting that Dole went to **Wynn's** Las Vegas fund-raiser the day after he attacked Hollywood for promoting sex and violence, Horn, the political director of Grey's group, said: "[**Gambling**] is a moral issue, an emotional issue . . . but he [Dole] doesn't get it."<sup>120</sup>

Reed agreed that there is an emotional and moral aspect to gambling which he compared to "stealing food from the mouths of children . . . [and] turning wives into widows."<sup>121</sup>

**Feldman**, the Mirage's spokesman, said that most people — and most Republicans — do not agree with Reed's perception of gambling. "The Christian Coalition is a very small percentage of the American public," he told the Center. "Certainly the party line is espoused by Ralph Reed . . . [but] I think he'll end up finding that 96 to 97 percent of Americans disagree."

GOP presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan has criticized candidates who accept contributions from gambling interests and attacked the industry as a whole. When campaigning against Senator Phil **Gramm** of Texas in Louisiana in early 1996 after reading that Gramm had received \$10,000 from the gambling industry, Buchanan said: "Give the money back, Phil. It's tainted **money**."<sup>122</sup> The Buchanan campaign declined to be interviewed for this report.

**Fahrenkopf** says that the American public does not concur with anti-gambling activists. "I don't think the vast majority of the American people share that view if you're a candidate for the office and you take [gambling money] that you're doing something inherently wrong," he told the Center. "Let's face it, everyone has the right to have their own view of what's moral and what's not moral. Clearly some of those on the Christian Right have [said] that, '**My God, no one should take gambling money.**' . . . In many, many jurisdictions, there's nothing wrong [with **gambling**]."

Haley **Barbour**, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, has said that he sees nothing wrong with accepting money from the gambling **interests**.<sup>123</sup>

But that's exactly what anti-gambling activists say is wrong. "I think that Senator Dole is treating this like it's an average issue in Washington," **Bernie Horn** told the Center. "I think Dole misunderstands that gambling is and can be a voting issue for a large segment of people."

## **Conclusion**

The gambling industry has moved quickly to accumulate influence and clout in national politics. When it speaks, politicians listen. And when it makes political **contributions**,

politicians listen even more carefully.

Clinton's proposal for a 4 percent tax on gambling revenues as a means to help finance welfare reform was the industry's wake-up call in Washington. Gambling interests formed a new trade association in Washington, hired a former chairman of the Republican National Committee to run it, and began making big contributions to political candidates and party organizations.

The strategy, by virtually all accounts, has been a success. When Congress took up the idea of creating an independent commission to investigate the impact of gambling on society, then-Senator Dole said that the panel should not look at the issue of imposing new taxes on the industry. Steve **Wynn**, the chairman of Mirage Resorts Inc., who's widely considered to be the most powerful man in his industry, has helped to raised more than \$1 million for Dole's presidential campaign and for the Republican Party.

Months later, Wynn was playing golf with President Clinton. After Wynn said that he would raise money for the Democrats, Don Fowler, the chairman of the Democratic National **Committee**, reportedly predicted that a subpoena-powers provision in legislation to create a Gambling Impact Study Commission would be dropped from the bill "before it reaches the president's **desk**."<sup>124</sup>

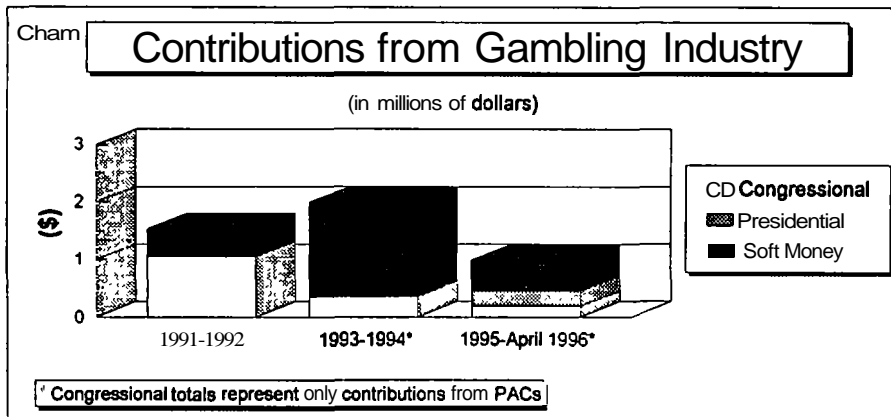
And House Speaker Gingrich vowed on April **29, 1996** — the night after he dined privately with Wynn at the Mirage — to kill the subpoena-powers provision in conference committee, despite the fact that the House has already unanimously passed the **bill**.<sup>125</sup>

"It's the closest thing to a quid pro quo you could come up with," **Kincaid**, the lobbyist with Americans deserve better, told the **Center**.<sup>126</sup>

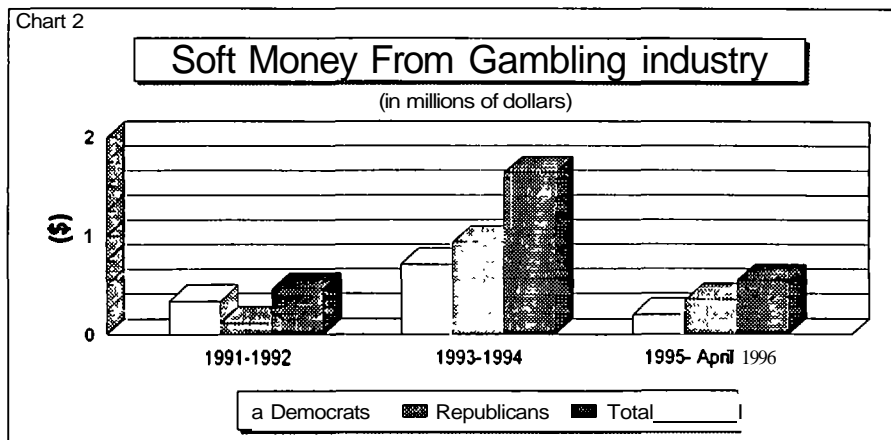
Donald Fierce recently left his job as the executive assistant to Haley **Barbour**, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, to go into business as a lobbyist. One of his four clients: the American Gaming **Association**.<sup>127</sup>

In a recent interview with CBS News, Wynn said that giving money and lending political support to candidates is all about getting access. "If you've supported them," he said, "they'll give you five minutes to present your **case**."<sup>128</sup>

In politics, money chases power. And the gambling industry provides a illuminating case study of how the pursuit can pay off.

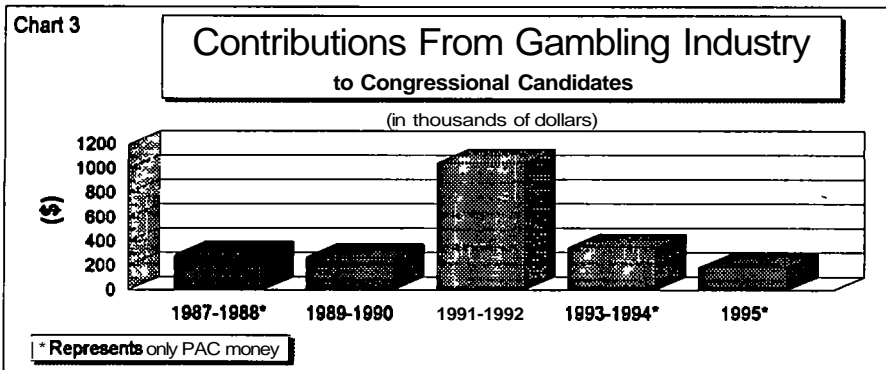


Source: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

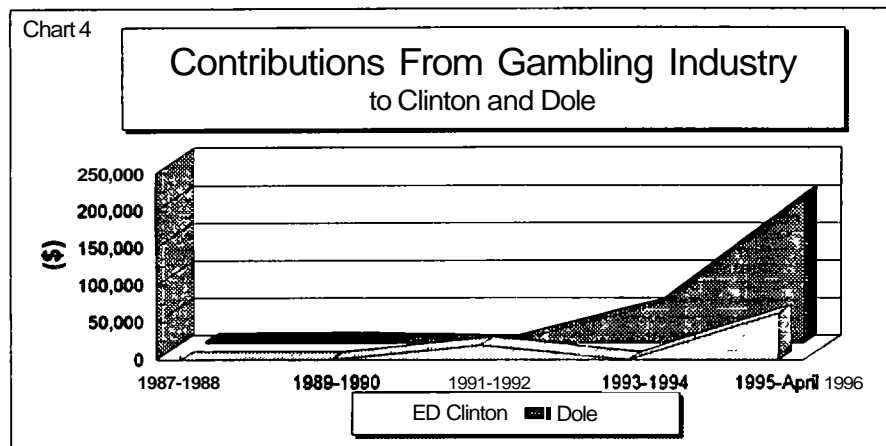


Source: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics





Source: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics



Source: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

**Table 1A:  
Soft-Money Contributions  
From the Gambling Industry  
to Democratic Party Committees,  
January 1995 - April 1996**

Cabazon Band of Mission Indians	\$55,000
Harrah's Entertainment	25,000
Oneida Tribe	23,000
American Gaming Association	20,000
Grand Casino Mille Lacs Indians	<b>15,000</b>
Grand Casinos, Inc.	15,000
Hilton Hotels Corporation	10,500
<b>Barino</b> Casino	10,000
Pueblo of Pojoaque	10,000
Nevada Resort Association	5,000
Spa Hotel & Casino	5,000
Station Casinos	5,000
Trump Organization	1,000
Yurok Tribe	1,000
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe	200
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$200,700</b>

SOURCE: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

**Table 1B:  
Soft-Money Contributions  
From the Gambling Industry  
to Republican Party Committees,  
January 1995 - April 1996**

GTech Holding Corporation	\$85,000
Boyd Gaming Corporation	48,100
Hilton Hotels Corporation	31,195
Mirage Resorts and Casino	25,000
Grand Casinos	23,000
Promus Companies	20,000
Tracindo Corporation	20,000
Jeremy M. Jacobs	15,000
Mississippi Band, Choctaw Indians	15,000
Miccosukee Indian Bingo & Gaming	11,500
Harrah's Entertainment, Inc.	10,000
Hollywood Park, Inc.	10,000
Circus Circus	5,000
Horseshoe Casino & Hotel	5,000
International Game Technology	5,000
ITT Corporation	5,000
Inland Casino Corporation	3,000
Gaming Solutions International	2,000
Boomtown, Inc.	1,500
Gaming Corporation of America	500
Whiskey Pete's Casino	500
MGM	500
Bally's	250
Total	<b>\$347,045</b>

SOURCE: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

**Table 2:  
Gambling Industry Contributions  
to Dole for President,  
January 1995 - April 1996**

Mirage Resorts and Casino	Casinos	\$42,950
Treasure Island Casino	Casinos	<b>31,600</b>
Golden Nugget Casino	Casinos	20,150
Gold Strike	Casinos	12,500
Station Casinos	Casinos	<b>12,300</b>
Harrah's Entertainment Inc.	Casinos	10,000
Showboat, Inc.	Casinos	8,050
Hilton Hotels Corporation	Hotels, casinos	7,750
Grand Casino/MGM	Casinos	7,500
International Game Technology	Gaming equipment	5,100
Alpha Hospitality Corporation	Casinos	5,000
Carnival Corporation	Cruise operators, casinos	5,000
Commerce Casino	Casinos	5,000
El Dorado Casino	Casinos	4,000
Circus Circus Entertainment	Casinos	3,525
Hollywood Park, Inc.	Casinos, horseracing	2,100
Barbary Coast	Casinos	2,000
Boomtown, Inc.	Casinos	<b>2,000</b>
Excalibur Hotel and Casino	Casinos	1,050
Atlantia Design	Casino, resort architect	1,025
Boyd Gaming Corporation	Casinos	1,000
John J. Brunetti	Racetrackowner	1,000
Colorado Belle Hotel	Casinos	1,000
Foxwoods Resort Casino	Casinos	1,000
Horseshoe Hotel and Casino	Casinos	1,000
Miami Valley Trotting Inc.	Horseracing	1,000
Promus Hotels Corporation	Casinos	1,000
Trump Organization	Casinos	1,000
Unistar Gaming	Gaming equipment	1,000
Caesars Palace Hotel	Casinos	525
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$200,125</b>

SOURCE: Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

**Table 3:  
Gambling Industry Contributions  
to Clinton/Gore '96,  
January 1995 - April 1996**

Cabazon Indians	Casinos	\$7,000
First American Gaming Corporation	Management company for casinos	5,000
<b>Sault St. Marie</b> Indians	Casinos	5,000
Fantasy Springs Casino	Casinos	4,000
Mission Indians of San Manuel	<b>Horseracing</b>	4,000
Bally Entertainment Corporation	Casinos	<b>3,350</b>
Hilton Hotel Corporation	Hotels, casinos	3,000
Morongo Band of Mission Indians	Assorted gaming activities	3,000
Casino Travel	Travel affiliated with casinos	2,000
GTech Holdings Corporation	Gaming equipment	2,000
<b>Hannahville</b> Indians	Casinos	2,000
<b>Haverick</b> Family	Racetrack owners	2,000
Hollywood Casino Corporation	Casinos	2,000
St. Croix Tribe	Casinos	2,000
Bay Mills Indians	Casinos	1,000
John <b>Brunetti</b>	Racetrack owner	1,000
Crow Tribe	Assorted gaming activities	1,000
Harrah's Entertainment Inc.	Casinos	1,000
International <b>Thunderbird</b> Gaming	Gaming activity	1,000
Laurel Racing Association	Racing	1,000
Lottery Technology Enterprises	Gaming activity	1,000
Mission Indians of Santa Ynez Band	Assorted gaming activities	1,000
New Gaming Systems	Gaming activity	1,000
Polo Towers	Hotel, gaming activities	1,000
Pueblo of Tesuque	Assorted gaming activities	1,000
<b>Seminole</b> Tribe of Florida	Assorted gaming activities	1,000
Upper Sioux Community	Casinos	1,000
Yavapai Apache Tribe	Assorted gaming activities	1,000
ITT Corporation	Casinos	800
<b>Mille Lacs</b> Brand	Casinos	500
Trop World Casino	Casinos	500
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$62,150</b>

SOURCE Data from Federal Election Commission and Center for Responsive Politics

## Notes

1. **Blaine Harden**, "**Gingrich Urges Weaker Gambling Review Bill**," *The Washington Post*, May 1, 1996, p. A6.
2. These figures included all contributions reported to the Federal Election Commission through June 10, 1996. Political committees file reports of receipts and expenditures with the FEC either monthly or quarterly. The most recent monthly reports filed with the FEC as of June 10 were through April 30, 1996; the most recent quarterly reports were through March 31, 1996.
3. Federal Election Commission data and Joshua Goldstein, "The First Primary: Early Fundraising in the 1996 Presidential Elections" (Washington, D.C.: Center for Responsive Politics, 1996), p. 12.
4. FEC and Center for Responsive Politics data.
5. Harden, "Gingrich Urges Weaker Gambling Review Bill," p. A6.
6. Glenn R. Simpson, "Gambler Wynn, After Betting on Dole Last Year, Is Now Putting Some Big Chips on Clinton As Well," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 7, 1996, p. A14.
7. Telephone interview, May 20, 1996.
8. Blaine Harden and Anne Swardson, "High-Stakes Ride on Casino Growth; Grass-Roots Opponents Stall Big Business' Bids to Expand," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1996, p. A1.
9. Hoover's Company Profile Database, The Reference Press, Inc., Austin, Texas, February 13, 1996.
10. Hoover's Company Profile Database, The Reference Press, Inc., Austin, Texas, March 20, 1996.
11. Hoover's Company Profile Database, The Reference Press, Inc., Austin, Texas, March 25, 1996.
12. Blaine Harden and Anne Swardson, "You Bet! It's the New, \$482 Billion Pastime; Legal Wagers Up 2,800 Percent Since 1974," *The Washington Post*, March 3, 1996, p. A1.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid. A recent investigation by *Money* magazine, however, reported that "the lotteries have neither lowered taxes for their residents nor boosted funding for education, as their champions have often promised." It further stated, "*Money* has learned that states that specifically target lottery dollars to pay for public schools often go on to decrease the share of general tax dollars budgeted to pay for education." Peter Keating, "Lotto Fever: We All Lose!" *Money*, May 1996, pp. 142-147.
15. Joseph P. Shapiro, "America's Gambling Fever," *U.S. News & World Report*, January 15, 1996, p. 53.
16. Dennis McAuliffe Jr., "Casinos Deal Indians a Winning Hand; Billions in Revenue Ease Tribes' Dependence on Federal Funds," *The Washington Post*, March 5, 1995, p. A1.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Shapiro, "America's Gambling Fever," p. 54.
20. Telephone interview, May 20, 1996.
21. Arthur C. Close, J. Valerie Steele, and Michael E. Buckner, eds., *Washington Representatives 1995*. (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Books Inc., 1995).

22. **Ibid.**
- 23 **Feldman** interview, May 20, 1996.
- 24 This figure does not include individual **contributions** made to congressional candidates between 1993 and 1995.
25. FEC and Center for Responsive Politics data, Benjamin **Sheffner**, "Congress Hits the Jackpot with Casino Money," *The Sacramento Bee*, November 19, 1995, p. F3.
- 26 National Coalition Against Legalized Gambling press release, "Looking Back at 1995. An Awful Year For the Gambling Profiteers," December 1995.
27. Telephone interview, March 22, 1996.
28. John L. Smith, *Running Scared: The Life and Treacherous Times of Las Vegas Casino King Steve Wynn*. (New York: Barricade Books, 1995), pp. 243, 299.
29. Associated Press, June 9, 1996.
- 30 Alison Mitchell, "Clinton Starts Western Trip, Raising Funds for Democrats," *The New York Times*, June 10, 1996, p. B10.
- 31 William R **Reilly**, "We Thought He Was Just a Crazy Lawyer and a Heavy Gambler," United Press International, June 26, 1985; "Mob Tried To Influence Wynn," United Press International September 4, 1987; **Priscilla Painton**, "The Great Casino Salesman," *Time*, May 3, 1993, p. 52; David **Baines**, "A Mogul and His Mirage Are a Reality Placing Their Bets," *The Vancouver Sun*, March 3, 1994, p. A1; Bruce **Locklin**, "Odds Favor Wynn's Return In Mid for New Casino License," *The Record*, June 26, 1995; David Cay Johnston, "Coming Back to Atlantic City: Welcome Set for Wynn's Las Vegas-Scale Project," *The New York Times*, June 27, 1995, p. D1; Bill Sanderson, "Wynn Gets Green Light for Atlantic City Return," *The Record*, June 28, 1995.
32. *Running Scared*, p. 23.
- 33 **Blaine Harden**, "Dole Hits the Jackpot in Nevada, Wary of Taxes, Gaming Industry Puts Money on GOP Front-Runner," *The Washington Post*, February 1, 1996, p. A1.
34. Jane **Fritsch**, "Decisions on Gifts Outlined by Dole," *The New York Times*, September 2, 1995, p 1A.
35. CBS Evening News, "Follow the Dollar" report, May 6, 1996.
36. "Groups Unite to Combat the Spread of Gambling, Gaming. Liberal Council of Churches and Conservative Christian Coalition Say They Will Work Together," *Los Angeles Times*, January 20, 1996, p. B4
37. *Running Scared*, pp. 243 and 299
38. *Ibid*, p. 245.
39. *Ibid*
40. *Ibid*, pp. 246-247
41. FEC and Center for Responsive Politics data and Jane Ann Morrison, "Fund-Raiser Nets Dole \$500,000," *The Las Vegas Review-Journal*, June 2, 1995, p. 1 A.
42. FEC and Center for Responsive Politics data
43. Jim **Drinkard**, "Gambling Industry Buying Approval," *Rocky Mountain News*, February 25, 1996, p. 2A.
44. Morrison, "Fund-Raiser Nets Dole \$500,000," p. 1 A.
45. CBS Evening News, May 6, 1996.
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