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Thank you for inviting me to this Conference of the National Coalition Against Legalized gambling. It is my pleasure to bring some information to you. I am here seeking your help as well. I am going to tell you a story about Indian gaming - how it has affected Indian people and how we have very much seen the issues that affect us. The terrible things that happen with casino gambling happen to us as well. So I am not going to reiterate all of those negative impact things that we all know. I will tell you a story. In

1992, there was a man named Mickey Brown who met our former President, who I was instrumental in ousting from the Seneca Nation. His name is Barry Snider; a man who will do and stop at nothing to get what he wants. These two gentlemen met then. We heard they were going to introduce casino gaming into Seneca territory, so we stopped them. We stopped them until this past year. What made the change and what made the difference? The bottom line was money. We are a grassroots organization, without the science of casino gambling. We held bake sales and raffles and we spent every moment we could lobbying our fellow Seneca constituents when it came to the polls and voting in referendums.

The first referendum that was held, we had a resounding victory of three to one, and we defeated casinos in Seneca territory. That was in 1994. There was another referendum that came up in 1996. Again we defeated that referendum. There was a subsequent referendum that happened and this time our voting constituents had short memories. They forgot about the man who raped the nation of its resources to gain his own personal wealth. He managed to bring back to the table a multi-billionaire this time; named Mr. Lim Gongtong, we call him. He's from Malaysia. He's one of the richest men in the world. (. . .) He actually backed the Foxwoods Casino in Connecticut, your neighbor. He came to Seneca territories through a method by employing a slick attorney; somebody who knew the ins and outs of the National Indian Gaming Law. He knew the outs well enough that this last year a casino was built that still today does not have an approved gaming compact. It was built without Department of Interior approval. It was built in the eyes of the Department of the Interior, who was supposed to oversee these "incompetent" Indians and make sure they were protected. The great white father didn't do his job again. And this time we had a casino in our backyard in Niagara Falls. We had three reservations in Seneca territory: the Cattaraugus Reservation, the Allegheny Reservation (which has a city - the only city on a reservation) in the United States. We also have rights with that city that were forgone in this process that we worked very diligently and very hard to gain. Our land mass is getting crowded. Our population has grown because we have managed to turn the tide on some very negative socio-

economic impacts that have been reducing our society and our culture and people. Turning it around from 5,000, we now number 7,000 in a short thirty-year period.

We hope...well I think what I need to explain to you, is the shift of the dynamics beyond the where the money was, as Seneca casinos we still represent the majority of Indians that live on the reservations, and that is a sad fact. What's the difference? The majority of eligible voters live off the reservation now. They do not have a vested interest in what happens on the reservation. They do not care about the negative social impacts of the casino and what they bring. We will have to live with it because we choose to be where we are - on our homeland. When it came to the last referendum vote, the money came out. These guys poured money into paying a thousand dollars a vote and up, per person. It is illegal to buy votes on a reservation, but the Attorney General does not care and looks the other way. In the face of complaints and the face of first hand knowledge of people we've brought forward and have been willing to testify they were paid for their vote, it did not matter. It did not matter that we went to the Department of Interior and we made several complaints over the compliance issues against the IGRA law (Indian Gaming Regulatory Act). They still looked the other way because of the politics on the local level, on a state level, and on a national level.

The President, at the time the casino was approved last year, was Cyrus Schindler a man with a sixth grade education now overseeing a multi-billion dollar operation, which has a lifetime appointment as chairman of the commission. They do not give any reports. There is no accountability whatsoever. They say that they do not want anyone to know the money that is being transacted in that facility. They have managed to circumvent the law under the FOIA Act. Even under the FOIA Act there is no accountability for non-Indians, even from the state side or the nation side. So it is operating in a vacuum. So what happens? And why did we fight against casinos? "Senecas against Casinos" fought because it is against our religion, it is against the traditional beliefs of the Senecas, the code of Hansom Lake and Gyreo. This is close to my heart because it is destroying our culture, as a people, in what we believed in and what we were taught - not to gamble. It is very specific and it says not to gamble. Yet we have traditional leaders who are now heavy and embroiled in promoting casinos inside the territory. We are so small that it is destroying us, and these people do not care anymore. It is destroying us for the children, and that is why I fight - for the children. I think there is a better way of life out there. I think we need to teach our children there are values and morals and principles to live by. That quality of life is more important than making a buck off of somebody who has an illness; a gambling addiction. It is pervasive and it knows no boundaries on the addictions, and who they are or what color their skin is. But it is destroying us, and that is a sad thing to see.

When Congress developed the law and approved gaming for Indians across the country, it created a tool that destroys us. We have treaty rights. Treaty rights. We are only one of three tribes in the entire United States that have treaty rights that guarantee taxes will not be collected in Indian territory in

any way, shape or form. In those treaty rights we have the right to self-government. That is why we have a separate government. That is why we do not pay taxes (to the state of New York). That is why we dictate the laws of who we are and how we live. Now those rights have been given up with a sweep of a pen. Our great nation has now been knocked down to their knees and has succumbed to State law. We have agreed to pay state taxes. We are now taxpayers. And I know all of those arguments that they say, "Oh, this economic development is going to be great. It is going to provide jobs." Well we have a casino up in Niagara Falls with 2200 jobs. Out of those jobs, 250 Senecas were employed initially. After they had to go through the screening process, out of the 250 we now have less than 75 who are working. They are now planning on building another casino in Salamanca this time. In Salamanca is the least amount of population that is residing on the reservation. The point is - less employment will be made available to us.

Actually what they promoted was that we were going to have jobs. That we were going to have health benefits, and we were going to have all of those glorious things that economic development opportunities were supposed to afford to a society which has been riddled with poverty. With these opportunities, we were going to be able to live like every other white class Middle American, or that we were going to be richer. We have not seen one dime from this casino. Those riches do not filter down to the Seneca public or to those Native Americans. We are not the only Indian country casino that this happened to. Nationwide, you can see statistics. You can find the data, and it shows that those who benefit off of casinos are those non-Indian financial conglomerates that come in and finance those casinos. They are the ones getting richer. Mr. Lim is a multi-billionaire. We gave up 29% of the operation - up to 31% of the gross profits to Lim. We gave up 25% to New York State of the gross revenues. After you give out 40% to your slot machine providers that leaves 95% out the window and 5% for us to pay the bills, and to see a profit if there is any. Anyone who knows numbers, you add them up and figure out where that money is going. Well, we can only guess where that money is going because we get no reports. So in a nutshell, there is another corruption that is happening in Indian country; to self-governments in sovereignty issue. Do not believe those Indians who say, well we're sovereign, and we can run casinos if we want to because we're going to get money. There is only a handful of Indians who get money, and there is only a handful of Indians who get rich. The rest of us live in poverty yet. We still have people living with no running water... today 2003. We still have people who live 13 people in a trailer that is run down and below poverty standard, even below that, if you can get any lower. We still have a 60% unemployment rate among Indians. So, Congress intended an IGRA Law to improve the standard of living for Senecas and for Indians nationwide.

IGRA has done a pitiful job and has become a major failure. Even in the richest casino and the most successful success story of nationwide Foxwood Casino. I spoke with the tribal chairman two years ago, because I was a tribal leader and traveled in those circles. He told me Mickey Braun was our CEO, and we banned him from our territory. He made two billion dollars, and he ran us into

the hole two billion dollars. We are trying to climb out of that hole yet. Even with the largest sums of money coming in (some of the largest casinos) those people, I have been there. I went to see it myself because I think first hand knowledge is probably one of the best things you can do. People live in gated communities. They lack freedom; they lack the ability to live normally without wondering if someone's going to take them for a buck - on a personal level. When I was there, I found it very interesting that this newly created tribe, recognized by the Federal Government, when I looked around I did not see any brown faces. I thought that was kind of weird.

What we can do on a positive note, and what I am looking for, is your support to contact your Congressman. Let them know in some way, shape or form, that the National Indian Gaming Law is a failure. In the law there is not enough money that is provided to the National Indian Gaming Commission to address any complaints of illegal activity within casinos - none. There has not been one, not one single court case, or one single complaint that has been investigated and brought to trial for criminal activity. Why? There are more Indian casinos out there than there are practically in Las Vegas.

Yet, on a national level, casinos in Atlantic City have a larger budget for regulatory authority to ensure that they are in compliance with the law than a whole conglomerate of Indian casinos do nationwide. Why is that? Congress should mandate that money be brought out of those casinos and put in a position, and hire a staff; and be willing to prosecute for malfeasance, for theft, for corruption, for the mob infiltration, for all of those things that happen with casinos. It is not happening. I am asking you for help, because you are organized. You are a group. I know it is a difficult position because you talk about race, you talk about ethnic groups. Casinos and addictions know no race. If somebody speaks up that is Native American and says we need casinos because they are good for economic development (look at all the wonderful things it does) they are not telling you the whole story.

For those of you who live in areas where there are casinos, you know those stories. You see those stories. The crime rate in Niagara Falls has already doubled, but that is not in any major report. Joel Rose, you are from Buffalo, they play down in the news and in the press when people get murdered, and it is not even reported; right at the casino, outside the doors, and I know that because Senecas are employed there and they tell me. So, what we need is an Amendment of the laws on a National level. What I am going to try to do, because I'll tell you fighting this issue since 1992, and doing the Grassroots effort, we know how difficult that is (because we're up against great conglomerates with huge amounts of money for lobbying). They are paying off Congressmen to vote their way. They are putting money in the right pockets, so I do not think, although I'd like a national repeal of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. I know that is an unpopular position being a Native American, but I also know there is a greater power at hand. That greater power I rely on. Even though this is a David and Goliath fight, it is a battle we can win. We have to persevere. We have to continue to make the sacrifices that it takes, and make the connections that it takes. Take the time to contact your Congressman and

ask him for repeal. If they don't vote for the repeal - go for Amendments. Clean it up, you know, why not? It is destroying people and families, and that is what America is all about - we the people and the families. What Congress is doing is destroying a culture of the first people of this land. So I would like your support. What I plan to do is...there are a lot of people who know other people, make connections. I would like to begin seeking funds so that we can move and bring a National Coalition of Native Americans to Congress to lobby Congress in a legal or organized forum, because it is stronger than just one person standing up. Even though there are people out there who are opposed to it, even in our own territory one of the questions was asked, "Why did you lose the referendums when it was so tipped?" "What's the money?" What was so interesting and why I represent the reservation people is because the traditional people of our nation do not vote. They do not vote in general elections. They are not even represented, and they are over a third of our population. So with that, it's a very complicated issue that can be resolved with some joint effort on a national level to make change. That's why I came here today, because I need your help, help to make that change and to help bring together a forum where I know that the issue of race will not be on the table. Where Senator Daniel Inouye and Amohouten people, who are very influential in Congress can help make a difference on repealing this law without the question of race to us, because lobbying is stronger when I can go to the table and I can speak to them putting that issue aside and saying the issue is a destructive issue. Casinos are destroying our culture, and destroying our nation, and repeal the law. With that I will close and take questions.