

thousands of dollars a year per person.¹⁴ With this new-found wealth, tribes – in most cases, for the first time – have participated in national political lobbying on business and policy issues and electoral campaigns on a large scale. It is the intersection of these phenomena – Indian gaming, lobbying, and campaign fund-raising – that forms the context for the Hudson casino controversy.

1. Indian Gaming in Minnesota and Wisconsin Is a Lucrative Industry in Which Established Participants Have the Ability to Protect Their Financial Interests

Minnesota Indian tribes led the opposition efforts against the Hudson casino proposal. A brief examination of the Indian gaming industry in Minnesota illuminates the economic motivations behind the Minnesota tribes' actions. Indian gaming in Minnesota is a highly lucrative industry, with gross annual revenue estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars. Gaming is conducted by all 11 Indian tribes in the state: seven Ojibwe (commonly known as Chippewa) tribes located in the northern half of the state, and four Dakota (also known as Sioux) tribes located in the southern half of the state. Every tribe owns and operates at least one casino on its reservation; many operate two or even three casinos. The most lucrative casinos are located near the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, a metropolitan area of almost three million people.¹⁵

¹⁴For example, the Wisconsin St. Croix Chippewa tribe distributes between \$1,000 and \$1,500 to each member each month, while the Minnesota Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community distributes at least \$70,000 monthly to its members. In contrast, the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin – a tribe that has enjoyed great financial success from gaming – makes no per capita payments.

¹⁵A map of Minnesota and Wisconsin, denoting the locations of the relevant Indian tribes and cities (hereinafter "the Map"), is appended to the inside rear cover of this Report.