UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

MAY 7, 1979

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

ALAN H. KLEIN

ENTITLED THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZED CRIME: ORGANIZED CRIME'S

ROLE IN POLITICAL CORRUPTION

IS APPROVED BY ME AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

__________________________

I, (Signature)

Instructor in Charge

APPROVED: (Signature)

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZED CRIME:
ORGANIZED CRIME'S ROLE IN POLITICAL CORRUPTION

BY

ALAN H. KLEIN

THESIS

FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS
IN LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA, ILLINOIS
1979
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Definition of Organized Crime and Political Corruption</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE BUSINESS OF ORGANIZED CRIME</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZED CRIME</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. CORRUPTION AND ORGANIZED CRIME</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Where Organized Crime is Found</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Why Organized Crime Corrupts</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. How Organized Crime Corrupts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Police Corruption</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organized Crime in the Courts</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Organized Crime and Politics</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIAGRAM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZED CRIME:
ORGANISED CRIME'S ROLE IN POLITICAL CORRUPTION

I. INTRODUCTION

There's one thing worse than a crook and that's a crooked man in a political job. A man who pretends he's enforcing the law and is really making dough out of somebody breaking it. A self-respecting hoodlum doesn't have any use for that kind of fellow—he buys them—like he'd buy any other article necessary to his trade, but he hates them in his heart.

Al Capone

Organised crime plays an important part in our country's political process because in order to carry out its illegal activities successfully it must corrupt our public officials. In doing this, organised crime regards no public official as exempt from possible corruption. This ranges from city halls to state capitals to the Halls of Congress and even to the White House. The syndicate survives and prospers only because politicians and law-enforcement officials find it profitable and expedient to make "deals" with gangsters. The average citizen is only dimly aware, if he is aware at all, of the syndicate's behind the scenes political activity. Yet, it is the most important operation in all of organised crime's repertoire. Corruption provides the very life-blood of organised crime; it cannot exist without it. To illustrate, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration reported that payments for the purposes of corruption probably consists of at least one third of organised crime's business and operating expenses.
The purpose of this lucubration is to elaborate and elucidate on organized crime's role in political corruption. In order to do this completely, background material and information about organized crime must be presented. This information will pertain to what organized crime is, what it does, and how it is structured internally. This background material will give us what we need to know in order to understand organized crime's role in political corruption.

A. Definitions of Organized Crime and Corruption

The very first thing we have to do is to clarify the meaning of organized crime. However, there is a problem with this: no one has ever come up with a definition that is acceptable to everyone. Everyone explains it in their own way:

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement And Administration of Justice in 1967 said that organized crime is a society that seeks to operate outside the controls of the American people and their government. It involves thousands of criminals working within its structure and subject only to its own law. Its actions are the result of intricate conspiracies aimed at gaining control over whole business areas where they can amass huge profits.

In 1970, the U.S. Attorney General defined it as all illegal activities engaged in by members of criminal syndicates operative throughout the U.S. and all illegal activities engaged in by known associates and confederates of such members.

The North Carolina Organised Crime Prevention Council called it a nationwide group divided into 26 operating units or families,
where membership is exclusively men of one ethnic group. This group is the largest organization of the criminal underworld in this country, very closely organized and disciplined. And often works with criminals representing other ethnic backgrounds.

In a report to the Congress by the Comptroller General, he explained it as an ongoing and relatively well organized and disciplined conspiracy to commit crimes particularly those supporting the prime objective of supplying illegal goods and services in order to obtain money and power.

Saul Alinsky once called it a quasi-public utility because he saw it as a non-chartered monopoly that offered the public a number of services and is supported and protected not only by the public but also by the public servants: office holders, policemen, and judges.

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on crime defined it as a continuous conspiracy to gain money and power without regard for law by utilizing economic and physical force, and public and private corruption, in an extension of the free enterprise system.

I will define it by using a combination of the definitions of a crime syndicate and criminal confederation. A crime syndicate is a criminal group that regulates relations between various enterprises that provides illicit goods or services on a regular basis. A syndicate may be metropolitan, regional, national or international in scope. It may be concerned with only one field of endeavor or it may be concerned with a broad range of activities. A syndicate therefore is a criminal cartel or business organization. It fixes prices for illicit goods and services, allocates black market and territories, acts as a criminal legislature and court, sets criminal
policy, settles disputes, levies taxes, and offers protection from both rival groups and legal prosecution. Furthermore, it is a voluntary alliance in which the leaders of various groups meet together for consultation, but without any boss or bosses on top. It is dominated and controlled by the Italian La Cosa Nostra or Mafia, but includes other ethnic organized crime groups.

The Mafia, or Cosa Nostra, as just mentioned, controls organized crime. It is the inner core. The Mafia is an Italian-Sicilian criminal organization with its roots in Italy and Sicily; while La Cosa Nostra is the same basic criminal organization but its American cousin, only under a different name. The different Italian criminal syndicates however, don’t refer to themselves as the Mafia or Cosa Nostra. They prefer individual names like the "mob," the "group," the "office" and the "outfit."

I want to emphasize that not all criminal activity is organized crime, and not all organized crime deals with the Mafia or Cosa Nostra. In this thesis, I will consider only the crimes and corruption committed by the Mafia, I will also interchange the terms, Mafia, Cosa Nostra, and syndicate throughout the thesis since they all basically mean the same thing.

I also want to define and discuss corruption. Corruption is the intentional misperformance or neglect of a recognized duty or the unwarranted exercise of power with the motive of gaining some personal advantage. There are three varieties of official corruption in regards to organized crime: nonfeasance, malfeasance, and misfeasance. Nonfeasance is the failing to perform a required
duty at all. An example of this is the overlooking of a crime by
a law enforcement agent. Malfeasance is the performance of a
positively unlawful act. An example of this is a public official
taking a bribe in exchange for preferential treatment. Misfeasance
is the improper performance of some act which a public official
may properly do. This can be taking a bribe in exchange for handing
out a contract or appointment, or a legislator voting or blocking
a certain bill.

All of these definitions are very similar and at times
very hard to distinguish among them. However, failure to perform
an official or recognized duty doesn't mean that the official is
corrupt. It may be due to simple inefficiency. Many times in-
efficiency and corruption are hard to distinguish. The reason for
this is that at certain times corruption can cause inefficiency,
but inefficiency can cause corruption or develop into it.\(^5\)

In order for an act to be corrupt, the official must have
a legitimate political duty and must know what is legally right,
but picks the act that is illegal or legally wrong. A difference
between the corrupt official and the inefficient one is that the
inefficient one doesn't know any better and/or may not do it on
purpose.

Many people think that corruption can occur only by bribery.
This is not true: It is not synonymous with it. Bribery is only
one of the many different types of corruption. In order for bribery
to exist there must be a briber and a bribe-taker. This is not the
case in all forms of corruption.
II. THE BUSINESS OF ORGANIZED CRIME

"We're bigger than General Motors."

Myer Larsky

Unfortunately, the above quote by Larsky, the ex-financial genius of organized crime is true; but how much bigger is not really known. We can only estimate. These estimates range from grossing $20 billion with $9 billion in profits to grossing over $100 billion with $40 billion in profits. The point is no matter what the actual dollar amount is, it's phenomenal. Moreover, these estimates are only for the illegal criminal activity, not the legitimate one that organized crime controls. If we could add these legitimate profits onto the illegitimate ones, the dollar amount would be astronomical.

The purpose of the Syndicate is to make money, and to make as much of it as possible by offering the public a whole array of illegal services that are in popular demand. It does this by eliminating all competition by any criminal means and then setting up monopolies to insure high profit. It also corrupts public officials to secure safety for their monopolistic activities.

Organized crime is a business which depends, like all businesses, on consumer acceptance, patronage and demand of their goods and services; however, these goods and services are illegal. But this does not stop the public. Al Capone once said:
Public service is my motto, but I'm not appreciated. (Look) What I have to put up with just because I give the public what the public wants. I never had to send out a high pressure salesman, why, I could never meet the demand.

The Syndicate also strives to stimulate and create demand for the goods and services and looks ahead to the idea of expanding such demand and investing the profits into other illicit business activities, to make even greater profits. But what are these illegal services and activities? They are gambling, loan-sharking or usury, narcotics, organized theft and hijacking, fencing of stolen goods, prostitution and pornography.

Out of all of these activities, gambling is the greatest source of revenue for organized crime. Unfortunately, there are no accurate reports available concerning the exact profits, but it is estimated that it grosses between $20 to $50 billion, with $6-$15 billion in profits. One of the reasons for it being the highest source of illegal revenue is because there are many different forms ranging from lotteries, such as the numbers or "bolita," to bookmaking which includes off-track horseracing and betting on other sporting events, to illegal casinos. Another reason is because it's viewed as harmless by the public. But they are wrong. It is not. It is the very roots of organized crime. It not only gives them money to invest in the other more dangerous and socially unacceptable activities, but tends to the undermining of the structure and function of local government and possibly of government at higher levels due to the corruption it needs to maintain its existence.
It is obvious that gambling cannot be run with becoming well known to the community. However, in attracting customers, he also attracts the attention of the law-enforcement official. Thus, wherever there is organized gambling, there is corruption which is an inevitable byproduct of gambling because in order to operate free of interference, the gambler must buy official protection from someone whether he is a judge, prosecutor, sheriff, public official, or policeman.

Gambling, though, is not the only illegal activity that needs protection; they all do, and all have some to various extents. Therefore, in most places where these illegal activities exist and thrive, there is organized crime and corruption.

With the profits from their illegal activities, organized crime invests heavily into legitimate business enterprises. These businesses can be almost anything. There is no certain kind as long as they are profitable. Of course, they do look for some businesses that can help them with their illegal enterprises; it would be foolish not to.

I would like to bring up some of the reasons why organized crime invests into legitimate businesses. One reason is that the profits made can then be reinvested into illegal business activities in order to make even more profit. Then with this additional sum of profits, they're invested back into legitimate business. Thus, they create a vicious circle.
Another reason is to launder "dirty" money and turn it into "clean" money. For example, it is not easy for a gambler to take his number or policy profits in thousands of dollars in change to the bank every week. So to avoid this problem, they invest in businesses where it would solve their problems. In the case with the gangster and coins, organized crime has invested highly in businesses that use loose change such as juke boxes, vending machines, washing machines, and so forth.

One of the most important reasons is that it provides the gangster with an honest source of revenue to show to the Internal Revenue Service so they will not prosecute on tax evasion from illegal revenue. This honest source of income also gives the gangster a measurable position of respectability in the community. It provides him with a cover so he can achieve the social standing that he desires, and this protects him and his operations. Furthermore, he is now in a socially acceptable position that permits him to mingle with legitimate businessmen and politicians without their ever expecting anything. And so, when this is a reason given by many politicians when it is found that gangsters have given heavily to their political campaigns, they may not be lying, but be telling the truth that they actually thought it was from a legitimate businessman.

Once organized crime enters into legitimate business, it doesn't mean that they automatically go straight. They still continue to use their criminal ways and methods to increase profits and to establish monopolies. If it was not more clear before, they even
use their criminal methods to infiltrate legitimate business. I will now review a few methods on both of these techniques.

They can force employers or employees to join fraudulent or nonexistent labor associations and organizations to which they must pay dues to stay in business or operate surely without fear of employee, equipment, or property accidents. They try to force or do force businesses into selling their own interior goods, and can make them do this at intended costs. They can carry on some of their illegal activities in the business by using it as a front, or having organized gambling or even organized theft and hijacking within an industrial establishment. They can offer or provide a labor "consulting service" to use as a way to get on the payroll, or to insure against union strikes in which they control that union. They can also take over control of businesses in exchange for existing gambling debts or loanshark fees. Furthermore, some businessmen even solicit their aid to ensure either future profits or to help them out of a bad financial time.

There are some extremely important social costs that result from organized crime's business activities, both legal and illegal. First of all in regards to their illegal ventures, the repercussions of these activities end up causing more dangerous crimes, and the use of violence, force, and corruption to drive out competitors and establish criminal monopolies. This raises the costs of illegal goods and services and reduces the quality.
However, the social costs into legitimate business is far more critical and damaging to society. This consists of spiraling insurance costs that stem from theft or property destruction. It consists on increasing the tax burden, even if it is only a few dollars or cents to the honest taxpayer and citizen. It increases consumer anger and frustration when businesses supply interior goods and services, or when they must raise prices to compensate for gangster harassment and competition. There is also a growing reluctance by some commercial finance companies to extend credit or grant loans to businesses which operate in a syndicate intested industry. Moreover, such infiltration has the additional effects of increasing government regulation of industries and business.

There can be no doubt that organized crime has led to criminal dominated monopolies in legitimate business fields, and this had led to an undermining of the competitive system by resulting in higher prices, poorer quality of goods and services, and the distribution and takeover of legitimate and free enterprise. 7

There is one more grave social cost: the cost of political corruption. In order for the Syndicate to develop, infiltrate, and monopolize both illegal and legal businesses and markets, the neutralisation of public officials and law-enforcement agents must be present. This is the major point of organized crime's business activities— it cannot exist to the extent it has without it. And it is at a point right now where public officials with their help and support has allowed organized crime to become too cyclopean to stop.
III. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZED CRIME

"The Cosa Nostra Organization is so extensive, so powerful, and so central that precise description and control of it would be description of all but a tiny part of all organized crime."

Donald Cressey

In this section I will discuss the structure of organized crime or how it functions. This will lead into the role of the corrupter, an important position to organized crime.

Organized crime in the U.S. consists of 26 families operating in 21 cities across the nation. They exist in New York City, Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Newark, San Francisco, San Jose, New Orleans, Miami, Cleveland, Denver, Erie, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Saint Louis, Madison, and in Springfield and Rockford, Illinois. (There are five families in New York).

There are many other cities controlled by the Syndicate, such as Boston, Las Vegas and Oakland, that don't have actual families residing in them, but are controlled by outside families, or leased to other organized criminals inside the city.

Even though there is no family or evidence of any in a city, it doesn't mean it is not present in some form. For example, The President's 1967 Crime Commission reported that in 71 large cities across the country, the police departments in 80% of the cities with over one million residents, in 20% of the cities with a population between one half million and a million, in 20%
of the cities with between 250,000 and 500,000 population, and in over 50% of the cities between 100,000 and 250,000 indicated that organized crime existed in their cities. 9

Organized crime is controlled by the Mafia families. But does anyone control them? The answer is yes. It is done by a group called the Commission, which is the highest ruling body of all the families. This body serves as a combination legislature, supreme court, board of directors, and arbitration board. Its primary functions are judicial, but it still includes executive and legislative ones as well. All family members look to the Commission as the ultimate authority on organisational and jurisdictional disputes. For example, if two bosses cannot agree and the matter is very serious, it is referred to the Commission and they settle the matter. No matter what, all their decisions are final. A decision by the Commission may be to compromise, pay damages, or withdrawal. Failure to obey the decision gives the Commission the right to order "punishment." The Commission may punish a boss directly, but it cannot order punishments of individuals in the families—-that is the boss's job.

The Commission is composed of the bosses of the most powerful families, but has authority over all of them. The size of the Commission varies from 9-12 members, but all reliable sources indicate that there are 9 present positions, represented by all 5 New York families, and one each from Philadelphia, Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago. The members' on the Commission do not regard each other as equals. Those with long tenures on the Commission and
those who head large families with great wealth and power receive the most respect.

It has been argued if there is a "capo de tutti capi" or boss of all bosses on the Commission. I think there is, provided that member has the longest tenure on the Commission and his family is the most powerful and wealthy. However, if no one has all these prerequisites, there is no "capo de tutti capi."

The Commission is not a representative body in terms of interests. The balance of power lies with the bosses of the New York City families. However, the families who serve on the Commission try to look out for the interests of their regional neighbor.

In some sections of the country there may be a second level of authority beneath the Commission. This is called the Council. It is made up of the more experienced members of each family in a particular geographic region. This serves the same functions as the Commission, but on a smaller, regional basis. While the Commission can be seen as the Supreme Court, President and Congress, the Council can be seen as the Governor, State Legislature, and State Supreme Court.

The next internal structure of authority is the family itself. Each family varies in its membership ranging from as many as 700 men to as few as 20. In general, family organization is rationally designed with certain sets of fixed positions which are geared to maximize profits and to preserve and maintain the organization. This is done by having a hierarchical structure. The advantages of being organized in this way like a corporation or army is that the organization can function regardless of personnel
charges through retirement, death, or imprisonment. And it can function in an orderly and efficient way.

On the top of the hierarchy in each family is the boss or "Don." The boss is in charge of everything: he maintains order, tries to maximize profits, sets all policies, and acts as a judge, a governor, and president of a corporation or chairman of the board of directors. The boss in most cases today is appointed by the Commission. Furthermore, the boss has access to a variety of other staff men which includes: lawyers, accountants, business experts, and specialized Syndicate experts.

Beneath each boss is an underboss or "sottocapo" who is appointed by the boss. He acts either as an executive vice-president or deputy director of the family. He collects information for the boss; he relays messages to him and from him to other members; and he acts as the boss in his absence. He also protects the boss by serving as his buffer. This position is like an executive aid and secretary. He decides who will see the boss and when, and he covers for the boss in the case of any disaster brought on by public officials or law-enforcement agents.

On the same level as the underboss is the "consigliere" who is the counselor or advisor to the boss and entire family. The person who occupies this position can be a retired member who's advice and experience is respected and admired. He is appointed by the boss and always tends to be a trustful, truthful and honest friend. Because he enjoys such a close relationship with the boss and advises all family members, he is a very powerful and influential person.
The next position is that of "caporegime" or lieutenant. The lieutenant has two jobs. One is to act as a buffer. In this job he serves as a buffer or go-between with the boss and the lower family members as workers. This serves to insulate the boss and avoid direct communication with workers so as not to involve himself with any crimes or conspiracy to commit crimes. The buffer takes and gives information, commands, complaints and money back and forth.

The other position can be considered a business or sales manager. Here, he supervises a certain number of men in a specialized business activity. He makes sure that the men are doing their jobs, and doing them right.

Each lieutenant usually has one or two section chiefs, group leaders, or deputy lieutenants. He acts as the lieutenant's buffer and is in charge of a portion of the lieutenant's operations. This position is usually found only in the larger families where there is a need for more organization and discipline.

The lowest level members of the family are called "soldatos," soldiers or button men. The soldiers are the actual day to day workers in the operations. A soldier might even operate his own illicit enterprise and have nonmembers work for him. But, he has to pay a percentage of the profits to the boss. The soldier is also guaranteed protection over their operations by other soldiers or outsiders; and protection also consists of protection or immunity from arrest. If immunity cannot be maintained, everything is provided for by the boss such as bail, legal fees, and even unemployment compensation if he winds up in jail.
In recent years, organized crime has become increasingly diversified, specialized, and sophisticated. One consequence of this is that its need for expertise based on technical knowledge and skill has increased.\(^{10}\) In order to achieve this expertise, three positions in the structural and organizational chart have been modernized to keep up with the changing conditions.

The first of these positions is called the money mover. The money mover’s job is to find new channels for his family’s money. In other words, he is the family’s investment manager. And not only does he invest the money, he must also hide its true source and owner’s identity. He is the one responsible for laundering dirty money into clean cash.

The second role is that of the enforcer. The enforcer maintains internal security, discipline, and integrity and supervises normal business transactions. He accomplishes this by the use of violence or threat of force. This job requires more than brawn, it also requires brains. For example, the enforcer locates security leaks, dissension, and traitors, and possible coup d’etats, and then he must handle the situation in such a way as not to cause any suspicion on the part of the individual or group involved, and to protect the enforcer team from possible police intervention and apprehension.

The last and most important of all the position is, and the one that we are interested in, is that of the corrupter. The person who occupies this role or position bribes, buys, intimidates, threatens, blackmails, negotiates, and sweettalks himself into a mutual exchange or power-dependency relationship with police,
public officials and anyone else who might help family members achieve their goals and profits, and maintains their immunity from arrest, prosecution and punishment. This position can be occupied by anyone in the family: a soldier, lieutenant, underboss or even the boss. One example of a boss who occupied this role is that of Frank Costello. Frequently, the "consigliere" is found in this position.

The tenure in this position is usually lengthy because once a corrupter has established his relationships and connections, it is vital not to upset them by putting in anyone new.

There is a distinct advantage in centralizing all corruption into one position. A corrupter knows who's on the take, or who may be a likely target. He also knows how to get the job done right. If there was no centralization there would be chaos. A soldier or anyone in the family on his own without experience and direction in this area may try to corrupt the wrong people or approach someone who is already on the payroll. The only thing this would result in would be trouble.

However, the corrupting functions of a family are usually not centralized in a single position. There are different corrupters for different geographical regions and for different levels in government. To illustrate, a corrupter's job may be to corrupt every one in a particular city, state, or region. Another corrupter may handle only elected politicians, while others may handle only law-enforcement officials. In most families everything is supervised by a chief corrupter. He decides who to corrupt, how to do it, and how much or what to give and then he passes this on to
the corrupter at that particular level; or he might just act as a central information center and council. He might also do all the corrupting himself, but relies on information from corrupters in different areas or levels.

As we have seen in this chapter, because of organized crime's permanency in the form of its families, the strength of its organizations, its ability to control legal and illegal activities, and its expert positions such as the corrupter, it has the power that it needs to control and dominate any and all political and economic activities.
IV. CORRUPTION AND ORGANIZED CRIME

"An attack on organized crime is an attack on political corruption."

Congressman Joseph McDade

The American Bar Association Report on Organized Crime concluded that the largest single factor in the breakdown of law-enforcement dealing with organized crime is the corruption and connivance of many public officials.

Today, the scope of government activity and regulation is greater than ever before, thus the power of the corrupter over public officials and government processes affects everyone's life in some way or another. This would not happen and organized crime would not exist if it weren't for one thing: corrupt officials. In order for a corrupter to be successful, there must be at least one corruptee: someone who sells themselves to organized crime for any reason. The public official who does this even once for any reason or favor never gets rid of the parasitic corrupter. Once he has penetrated, he never stops, and the official is helpless to do anything. In effect, it is like selling one's soul to the devil; once you do it, you can never back out, or at least not very easily.

In this main chapter, I will concentrate on explaining why organized crime corrupts, who it corrupts, how it corrupts, and where it corrupts.

Organized crime as an innitiator of corruption to public officials did not begin until the middle and end of prohibition.
Before this time, the gangster was the servant of the public official, who was in complete control and knew it. The gangster had to pay homage to them in order to exist. But with prohibition the tide turned. Once the gangster became rich, he became powerful and influential and was no longer in a position to be dominated and extorted by greedy politicians and other public officials. Even though the gangster was still dependent on the public officials for protection, he became the master and the public servant the slave.

Another significant social change that affected this relationship was the Depression. Before this, the politicians had turned to the businessmen for the necessary campaign contributions. But with the Depression there was no money for the businessman to donate. The only ones who had money during this time was the gangsters, so the candidates had to solicit them for their funds. In return, the gangsters were allowed to dictate policy to the politicians and nominate other candidates or appointed officials such as the police chief.

One example of how politicians had to seek gangster's support, because they grew so powerful during this time, was during the 1932 National Democratic Convention. In the convention there was a battle between F.D.R. and Al Smith for the presidential nomination. One of the keys to winning this was the control of the New York delegation, which was evenly split at the time. Therefore,
there is no need to describe all the negotiating and dealing that went on between the candidates or their representatives and the delegates. It just so happened that there were two behind the scenes delegates that controlled each side that the candidates had to plead their cases to: Frank Costello for F.D.R.; and Lucky Luciano for Smith. One of the reasons why they were on opposite sides was that regardless who won, they would have important political friends at the very top.

A. Where Organized Crime Is Found

Under what social conditions and where can organized crime be found? But first, the main prerequisite is that it be a place where a profit can be made. This is one of the reasons why organized crime operates mainly in large urban areas because there are more people who demand their goods and services, and more profitable opportunities in general.

The first precondition for corruption by organized crime is a community where there is a substantial conflict over the goals and values of the legal system, and this depends on the extent to which government and society or the community are homogenous. If the political leaders, public officials or elites have different values than the citizens, there will be conflicts and probable law violation. For example, if the community favors gambling or other vice, and the government doesn’t, conflicts will arise.

The second precondition is the willingness on the part of the relevant governmental agency or individual to tolerate this activity in return for appropriate payoffs of other "favors."
The next precondition consists of three factors that appear to affect the likelihood that a certain agency will be so disposed to tolerate corruption: the internal characteristics of the agency, the characteristics of the political system in which the agency operates; and the laws and law-enforcement agencies available for the detection and harassment of corrupt officials and their corrupters.¹⁴

The internal characteristics of governmental agencies which are most likely to affect their susceptibility to corruption are the strength of organizational leadership, the rewards given for legitimate behavior such as: pay raises, job security, opportunity for advancement, fringe benefits, etc. and the degree of identification with professional standards and codes of ethics. Where leadership is weak, senior members of the organization will be unable to control members of the organization tempted by bribes or other forms of corruption. Where rewards given for non-corrupt behavior are low, the relative value of corrupt inducements increases. And where professional identification is low or non-existent, codes of conduct promulgated by professional organizations will present few psychological barriers to the acceptance of bribes.¹⁵

The second broad set of factors which will influence the likelihood that a governmental agency will be corrupt beyond the internal characteristics of the agency itself is the nature of the political system in which it operates. This includes the interests and values of the citizenry; the structure of governmental agencies;
the activities of political parties and interest groups and so forth. If most citizens are unaware of governmental policies or positively desire illegal goods and services, then the agency will be forced to adopt tolerant or corrupt policies. If neither government nor private organizations have the ability or desire to demand official morality, then the agencies will be free to act as they please. If, on the other hand, officials, political parties, or private elites are capable of establishing control over the political process, governmental agencies will more likely be forced to accede to their demands. 16

Furthermore, corruption depends on if the political system is centralized or decentralized and to what extent. If it is centralized enough to have only a few men, a machine, or one political party in power, organized crime can corrupt those on the top and have virtual immunity. However, if this is not the case, it is best for them to operate in a completely decentralized system in which there is no dominant political force powerful enough to challenge or find any individual; and in which the political duties are so diffused that there is a large number of officials carrying them out, the more widespread the possibilities of corruption.

The final factor which affects the likelihood that corruption will develop and flourish within a political system concerns the laws and the law-enforcement agencies which are available for the investigation and harassment of corrupt officials. 17 If the local law-enforcement officials are corrupt, organized crime can guarantee itself no or minimal interference. However, state and federal
agencies still can take on this function without the help or cooperation of the local law enforcement agency.

Organized crime can and does operate beyond these conditions and characteristics. It flourishes best where these conditions exist, but it is not necessary. All that is truly necessary is the ability to corrupt one official or a group of them who have some official or delegated power or responsibility that can help the Syndicate.

B. Why Organized Crime Corrupts

The main reason why organized crime corrupts is because it is in their own interest to do so. It corrupts for many purposes, but there are two main ones. The first is to nullify the law enforcement and legal administration process. And the second is for beneficial political action. Both of these are done at the local, state and federal levels. Since the scope of organized crime's activities has expanded, the Syndicate needs to involve officials at every level of government. It cannot just operate with connections or corrupters at only one level. As one mob corrupter explained it "we can't depend on just buying the local guys or just the state guys or just the feds, we've got to try to buy someone with power at each level or else anyone along the line can put us out of business."

One case in point to remember is that of Al Capone's. He had the protection of whole cities, and most of the state. Yet, he couldn't secure anyone at the right Federal level and as a result it was the IRS who finally put him away.
The reason it tries to nullify the law-enforcement process by corruption is to insure that wherever their activities are, they are carried out with protection that assures them of smooth, profitable, uninterrupted continuation, and permance. In other words, it increases security against the law and forestalls intervention by the police thus reducing a major occupational hazard.

The reasoning behind this is that corruption can reduce uncertainty and increases investments and profits. A major threat to organized crime's profits is the sporatic activity and behavior of the government. To alleviate this problem behavior, they must have some type of assurance that there will not be any harmful intervention. Thus, corruption gives them the assurance and increases the total rate of investments and profits.

The reason why they corrupt legislators, executives and administrators is to obtain political power, influence, and action in regards to their interests. Here, the general theory behind it is that they want a hedge to protect themselves from bad policy or action, or they want to be able to initiate or propose a favorable action or policy just like any other lobbyist. For example, they may want to insure that government doesn't initiate legislation on wiretapping or criminal laws, so they corrupt a legislator to damage or fix the bills. Moreover, they may even corrupt an official to divert attention from their activities or interests and provide it with other more important priorities.
C. How Organized Crime Corrupts

Now that we know who corrupts for organized crime, where they might corrupt, and why they corrupt, our next step that we must undertake is described how they corrupt or the techniques and strategies that they use. Besides this we will look at how they corrupt different officials and apply everything else that we know about organized crime and corruption.

The techniques of corruption are much more important than the actual committing or executing of the crime. The basic techniques are practically the same everywhere, but only their methods, functions, and ways vary with the particular situation and circumstances in which they are employed.

In 1934, V. O. Key Jr. outlined six basic techniques or political graft. The first and most important is bribery. This is done to influence any official action. Bribery is generally the same whether employed in relation to legislators, administrators, judges, public officials, or private individuals. In the bribery process there usually is a considerable preliminary negotiations in order to achieve an intimate relationship with the person to be bribed and corruptor. During these encounters, the future corruptor is given good and plausible reasons for doing what he is being bought to do. Sometimes the corruptor takes advantage of the corruptee's financial needs and then coerces him into accepting. Bribery can include cash, gifts, campaign contributions, vacations, or any other material rewards or personal favors.
According to Albini, bribery is considered one of the major operating costs of the enterprise of organized crime. He also says that in bribery a person is paid in proportion to the service he can perform. Bribery costs also will vary from time to time depending upon how much public tolerance versus public pressure exists in a given area. Bribes are generally paid on a continuous basis but when pressure of public opinion becomes vehement, bogus raids are conducted to demonstrate to the public that something is being done. Another form of bribery takes place when a special service is needed. Usually the amount paid depends upon how important the thing is to the Syndicate, the degree of willingness or unwillingness for the public official to cooperate, and the degree of public exposure or clamor which this fixing might create. A common technique is to place, whenever possible, the public official into an obligatory position.

The second technique is extortion which is the opposite of bribery. This is the abuse or threat of abuse of a power in such a way as to secure response in monetary payments or other valuable things. In extorting the initiative is clearly with the public official or the person exercising the power. In regards to organized crime, an official may be forced into extorting someone by them, or is a partner with them thus sharing the rewards.

Another technique is called state-bribery which involves using one's political or administrative position to do something for others such as handing out public works contracts.

The fourth technique is political discrimination. This technique discriminates in one way or another the formation and
administration of law and law enforcement. An example of this is the beat cop overlooking the gambling establishment controlled by organized crime.

The fifth technique is discrimination in the administration of service function for political purposes. This is a service relationship that exists between a citizen and official based on political purposes. This can be induced by political campaign contributions.

The final technique is called auto-corruption. This is when the official secures for himself political favors or benefits, usually he is the only person involved but can be supported by outside help.

In the remaining part of the chapter, I will be showing how these techniques are used by organized crime in order to achieve their ends. This will be done by explaining and showing actual cases and examples from three government levels: judicial, law-enforcement and political.

I should emphasize that organized crime's strategy is not to corrupt the entire system of an entire governmental level. This is not necessary, and way too costly. What is necessary is the corruption of a key official or key officials in certain strategic points in the process. For example, it is easier and more efficient to control the street policeman by corrupting his superiors than by corrupting each officer. And it only takes a few legislators to stop any bad legislation, not the whole chamber or majority.
Another piece of strategy is to implicate as many public officials as possible by corrupting some people at every level in both the political and criminal justice process. This makes effective prosecution very difficult, not only because it causes the honest officials problems by working with and/or challenging corrupted colleagues and superiors, but also because the corrupt public officials have the probability of being exposed during the trial.

Even though organized crime has to corrupt on all levels, it is at the local level where they have to establish their foothold. And unless they can dominate it to their satisfaction, or in their case protection, the money that they spend on the state and federal level may be wasted. Nonetheless, if they can't get certain key local officials, they may be able to compensate for this at the state level provided it is the right position. For example, a state supreme court judge, governor or important administrator may help the gangster during or after prosecution, but they may also be able to put pressures on the local governments even before this happens.

Organized crime will also look for anyone to corrupt or a weak link in the whole chain. And with that weak link, they will be able to break the chain, thus ensuring themselves of freedom. This link could be a patrolman, detective, police chief, prosecutor, judge, jury, probation officer, parole board, mayor, governor, legislator, or administrator.
Once they find the link they try to persuade that person. As one west coast police official said "These people really work on you, they make it seem so logical—like you are the one that is out of step. (The corrupter said to me). 'Everyone knows Joe Citizen wants me here, so get smart, be one of the boys, be part of the system. It's a way of life in this town, and you're not gonna change it. Tell you what I'll do. I won't give you a nickel; just call in a free bet in the first race every day and you can win or lose. How about it?" 21

Another Syndicate strategy is hunting for frailties or weak spots that make public officials susceptible to corruption. As a corrupter once said "money isn't the only motive in the guys we do business with. Sure, we look for people who need dough. Maybe he likes to gamble or play the market. But we get lots of other guys over the barrel through old-fashioned blackmail. We catch a pigeon with a broad or doing something stupid while he's drunk, and we threaten to expose him unless he plays bail. After he agrees, we keep him on the hook with money, but the blackmail is what gets him on the hook in the first place." 22

One strategy that organized crime uses is to look for a district, ward, county or regular political lender, who helps many politicians at an early stage in their careers. The reason for this is that many of these politicians will owe a leader a favor. So if the leader is corruptable, he can call on his friends for "special favors" for someone who gave them their start.
As soon as they have their man the basic strategy is to pay him as much as necessary to keep him happy, quiet, and functioning. And once they are paid this implicates themselves and keeps quite and performing even more.

There is also another strategy and this is to pay lesser amounts to as many others as possible in order to implicate them too and prevent them from talking.

The most effective and long-lasting political relationships that organized crime has developed are the ones that are the most inconspicuous. To illustrate this, Al Capone invented the technique where organized crime would move out of an area, in this case Chicago, to another adjacent area or unincorporated town, in this case, Cicero. The reason this is done is so that the politicians can claim that their city or state is clean and they could disclaim any responsibility for what goes on in the new area or in the old. This also prevents any political embarrassment.\(^{23}\)

1. **Police Corruption**

The Knapp Commission on police corruption concluded in its report that "organized crime is the single biggest source of police corruption through its control of the cities gambling, narcotics, loansharking, and illegal sex-related enterprises. These endeavors are so highly lucrative that large payments to the police are considered a good investment if they protect the business from undue police interference."\(^{24}\)
The Commission also found, and verified, that the effect of police corruption is very widespread in regards to gambling. (Gambling is at the heart of police corruption everywhere). The gamblers paid out varied amounts according to the nature of their operation. In return for the payments, they were protected from all police action at the precinct, division, and borough levels with the exception of a token arrest or phoney raid to meet either arrest quotas or to give the appearance of activity.

The actual operation of payments is called the "pad." The pad is the police approved list of all sorts of locations where unofficial protection is guaranteed. The pad is shared by everyone in the police hierarchy. The system begins when the bent cop collects the pad in his area daily or weekly. He then gives it to the men in the patrol car, who give it to the vice-squad detectives, who give it to their superiors, who give it to their superiors. Overall, the bent cop, sergeants, lieutenant, captain, bagmen, squad-car men, and detectives are all a part of the corruption process.

The New York Post conducted their own investigation into this area. One of the policemen who they interviewed said "If you knew the actual amount of money involved, you wouldn't believe it. The thing is just that big." How big was it? In 1960, it was estimated that the take per month was at least $3,500 per each spot in their jurisdiction, and the number of spots in any one jurisdiction could range from one to a hundred.
Because the police are the agency most likely to come into
direct contact with the Syndicate's activities, they become the
most important object of the corrupter. Organized crime is not
cconcerned with bribing every cop on the beat. They rather go
straight to the top. The reason for this is that there are just
too many to corrupt efficiently. It's too expensive, too time
consuming, and most of all, too unreliable. Thus, the payments
to individual patrolmen are very small. The strategy is to
corrupt law enforcement at the Chief or at least at the middle
level supervisory level.\textsuperscript{26} The reason for this is that by controlling
these key positions, a superior officer can divert the attention
and actions of the lower officers in regards to organized crime.
This can be done by transferring or assigning him to something
else. As one cop stated "why should I stick my neck out furnishing
information to my superiors who just carry it back to the racketeers
themselves? I'm not here to hurt myself. And, since that is the
way the department wants it, I'll play the same game.\textsuperscript{27} On the
other hand, a "good" cop can get promoted.

Sometimes, organized crime may make a deal with the Chief
of Police. The deal might include that the Chief gives them all
the information and protection they want in exchange for the
corrupter's willingness to share his knowledge of crime in the
area and help in getting stolen goods back. This way the Chief
gets a tough reputation as a competent and knowledgeable police
officer.
In fact, something like this above example did happen in 1953 in Kansas City, Missouri. A deal was made by the Syndicate with the Chief of Police. The deal was that the police would allow them to operate their activities in exchange for their promise that they would not commit any major robberies or burglaries within the city limits.28

In another example which happened in Oak Park, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, two Chicago police detectives in the intelligence division trailed a Syndicate car into an alley. Out of the car jumped out Sam Battaglia, at the time an underboss, and his bodyguard. When the detectives flashed their badges and their commissions as Cook County Deputy Sheriffs, the gangsters began to attack them. When the Oak Park police arrived, instead of taking Battaglia and his bodyguard into custody for assault and general questioning, they arrested the two detectives.29

There is one final example. To illustrate the Syndicate's police corrupting powers is to read the following telephone conversation between Chicago boss Sam Giancana and Steve Magaddino, the boss of Buffalo. The conversation was in regards to the November, 1957 raid in Appalachin, New York where the Commission was holding a convention with 63 mob bosses and leaders present.

Magaddino: I gotta admit you were right Sam. It never would've happened in your place.

Giancana: You're censored right it wouldn't. This is the safest territory in the world for a big meet.
We could've scattered you guys in my motels, we could've given you guys different cars from my car agencies; and then we could've had the meet in one of my big restaurants. The cops don't bother us there. We got three towns outside of Chicago with the police chiefs in our pockets, we got none of what you guys got. We got this territory locked up tight. 30

2. Organized Crime in the Courts

The courts and the legal process are not immune to corruption. Organized crime can corrupt the bailiffs, the court clerk, the jury, the prosecutor, and the judge. No one is immune. The reason why this is done is that no matter how useful and helpful corrupt police may be, no dollar of corruption buys as much local protection as the dollar which directly or indirectly influences the prosecutor, one of his assistants or a judge. 31

The reason why the prosecutor is so important is because of all the discretion that he has. This includes who to prosecute and for what crime. One example of this corruption was noted by the Kefauver Committee in regards to prosecutor William O'Dwyer. "O'Dwyer failed to take effective action against the top echelons on the gambling, narcotics, waterfront, murder and bookmaking rackets. His defense of public officials who were derelect in their duties, and his actions in investigations of corruption, and his failure to follow up concrete evidence of organized crime have contributed to the growth of organized crime in New York City."
It is not necessary to explain how important judges and prosecutors are to organized crime. Instead I will show you by using figures arrived at by the State Joint Legislative Committee on Crime in New York. The Committee found during the period from 1960-1969 that the rate of dismissals and acquittals for mobsters was five times that of the other defendants. That 44.7% of all indictments against the members of organized crime were dismissed, while only 11.5% of the indictments against all defendants were dismissed. It also showed that judges left the defendant off with suspended sentences or fines in 46% of the cases. Furthermore, of 536 mobsters arrested for felonies only 37 were sent to prison! Of course these figures may hide the fact that organized crime uses only the most skilled attorneys and the best money can afford.

In spite of this, a Syndicate controlled judge or prosecutor can still earn a good and tough reputation by being hard on regular criminal cases. This gives the public the image that they are doing their job by reducing all crime, and especially crime on streets. One reason why they can get away with this so easily is that organized crime cases constitute only a small fraction of the entire caseload.

In general, if organized crime can corrupt a judge, they will always have a friend in the courtroom. A judge can do whatever he wants. He can fail to convict, dismiss evidence or prevent witnesses from testifying. He can even hand out a stiff sentence in the courtroom to please the public, and then reduce it in his chamber at another time.
Why does this happen and how? One reason is found in the nature of the court system. About 90% of the organized crime cases are heard before the same few judges and same prosecutors. This way the judge and defense attorney get to know each other well. When this is the case, it is easier for a judge to be bribed or arranged to have him give "gifts." Another reason is that a judge is a political creature. He usually has to come up through the political organization and pays his dues. He also builds up obligations, friends, and contacts along the way. The gangster also has many of these same political friends. So when a contact visits a judge in behalf of a gangster, the results are obvious.

Finally, the Syndicate has enough clout in politics that they can nominate or appoint one of their own, or someone who would be forever grateful. A case in point is that of Frank Costello. Costello succeeded in getting Thomas Aurelio nominated as a judge for the New York Supreme Court in 1947. Later that same night, Aurelio called Costello to thank him. Unfortunately for both men, Costello's phone was tapped. In the conversation, Aurelio said "Right now I want to assure you of my loyalty for all you have done. It's undying."

There are two other examples of how judges can help gangsters. The first one concerns Joe Calafato, a notorious gangster who was arrested for solicitation and bribery. However, the judge that heard the case was the one who owed Calafato every political job he had ever held: mayor of a city, state representative and senator, and county judge. In the judges chambers they worked out a deal in which Calafato would get a fine and six to twelve months in
a workhouse but the judge would suspend the sentence completely. In the courtroom before the judge handed out the sentence, he said that the crime of bribery of a public officer was one of the most heinous of all crimes and that it was on par with rape of a child, perjury, and sodomy. The judge then handed down the sentence and started leaving. When this happened Calafato screamed out "Parole your Honor. What about the parole?" The judge came back and handed down a suspended sentence and left.\textsuperscript{32}

The second example happened back in Chicago during the gangster era, concerning one gangster, two-gun Louis Alterie. After the slaying of his friend, Dion O'Barion, Alterie had been looking for the killers; and once he found them, challenged them to have a shootout. Eventually, the Police came and arrested him—just as his was about to fire. When he was brought to trial, the judge castigated the police officer for wasting his and their time. Disregarding the reputation of the gangster and the circumstances, he let Alterie go free stating that citizens had the right to carry guns to protect themselves and homes from robbers.\textsuperscript{33}

3. Organized Crime and Politics

When it comes to politics, organized crime does not care who wins at the polls; they are non-partisan. All that matters to them is that they will be on the winning side so they can make sure that their voice is heard, and heard loud. It does this by backing every major candidate. (A previous example mentioned earlier is the one concerning the 1932 Democratic Convention). In every election, there must be losers, but organized crime doesn't lose because these candidates may be a winner in some future election.
It has been shown that political corruption of the law-enforcement and judicial process can affect the entire system, by corrupting the police chief, judges, prosecutors, probation officers, prison administrators, and bureaucrats. If for some reason organized crime cannot corrupt these officials directly, they really don't have to worry. The reason for this is that all the above positions are either run by an elected official or by someone appointed by an elected and responsible to him.

How does the Syndicate get to these public officials? There are two main ways this is done. The first is direct bribery. The second is by political action in the forms of campaign contributions and direct campaign action.

Direct bribery is not used much anymore in regards to elected officials. It is used mainly for officials and administrators who are appointed by the elected ones. The reason for this is that political help or a campaign contribution doesn't help these people since they are not running for office. For example, by bribing a warden it is used to get easy jobs in prisons or a recommendation for an early release or parole.

It is also a good idea to bribe trusted political aids because they are just that: trusted. Since many officials, especially executives, are busy doing other things, they rely on their aids to give them advice and unbiased information. And they sign almost everything put before them by the aids without knowing anything about it. Thus, a governor can grant a pardon to a gangster based on biased or wrong information.
To illustrate how governors can sign anything, or let their aids use their names, an aid to the Governor of New Jersey was paid by organized crime $228,000 over a period of 19 months for the protection of organized crime at the state level.  

Another example of how organized crime uses and corrupts administrators is shown in the case of James Marcus. In 1966, Marcus was the Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity in New York City and served as a trusted advisor to Mayor Lindsay. Marcus, though, was a bad businessman and lost a lot of money in bad business investments. In order to recover his loses, he had to go to a Mafia loanshark. With this newly acquired money, he invested it into more shady deals which all turned out to be financial disasters. Now, unable to pay back the loanshark, he was forced to give out city contracts to Mafia owned or operated firms, and had to ask for promotion of city employees who were Mafia connected.

As indicated, bribery is the simplest medium for achieving the domination of a certain type of public official. However, a more subtle and more effective approach is through political action. This constitutes campaign contributions and actual election help.

The days are gone when a politician receives a wad of bills and stuffs them into his coat pocket. Bribery is much more subtle. It comes in the place of campaign contributions in the form of cash,
posters, handouts, literature, or whatever the gangster can donate that has campaign value. In order to survive and advance politically, a politician needs money. And he welcomes it from every way and every source, including organized crime. (As I mentioned earlier, this is what gave the gangster his power over the politician, especially during the Depression). Frequently, these campaign contributions make up a major source of election funds. In fact, it has been estimated that organized crime contributes 15% of the costs of local and state campaigns.\textsuperscript{35} Al Capone contributed $250,000 in 1927 to the Chicago Mayoral campaign for William "Big Bill" Thomson.\textsuperscript{36} Frank Costello was reported to have given $25,000 for each candidate seeking high state office in New York in 1941; and Joey Adonis contributed $25,000 to LaGuardia's Municipal campaign in 1933.\textsuperscript{37} And to top the cake, Thomas Lucchese "contributed" to New York Mayor William O'Dwyer's campaign two months after the election.\textsuperscript{38}

Organized crime also raises campaign contributions not because they want to corrupt a certain candidate, but because they want to defeat his opponent who may threaten their activities. They also make contributions because they think a candidate may be corruptable at a later date so they want him in office. In retrospect, the whole idea of this type of corruption is to promote and protect syndicate interests.
Money is not the only thing that is important in politics. The most important thing is in getting elected, and in order to do this, votes are needed. And the way to get votes is through political action. This is another way in which organized crime corrupts. It gives candidates political action in return for whatever they want. This political action consists of delivering or preventing the votes. Thus, if a gangster controls a large block of votes, he can use it to his advantage. This is how the greatest, or at least known greatest Mafia corrupter, Frank Costello, get his start. He controlled the large Italian vote in New York, in addition to financing as many other candidates as he could. This is why he was able to achieve complete domination over Tammany Hall and control 10 out of 16 districts.

The techniques used today to do this differ from the ones back in Capone's day in only one way: there is no open violence. Al Capone made a deal with the politicians who were running for office in the town of Cicero in 1923. The deal was that he would produce all the votes necessary for the candidates for mayor, town clerk, town collector, and town attorney in return for full protection of the law. To do this he conducted an armed invasion of the town. His men armed with machine guns minded the polls. Cars filled with gunmen patrolled the streets keeping away opposition voters and workers, and if they found any they would terrorize them into not voting. Polling places were raided and ballot boxes were stuffed or stolen. Voters were kidnapped and held captive.
until after the polls closed, some voters were even shot. And there was intimidation, both verbal and physical, of election officials during the counting of the ballots. Needless to say, the Capone candidates all won.

In comparison, the techniques today are more sophisticated and less noticeable. For example, they may buy an election judge or put their own men in the position. While in this position he could do almost anything with the election ballots and results. He can pad the register books, fail to initial the ballots, stuff the box, invalidate ballots, transpose or alter vote totals on tally sheets; not let certain people vote; and allowing people to vote for those who are not registered, or for those who are ill or dead.

In addition to this, they may buy potential voters offering them a free play at the numbers if they register and vote, or just by giving them money. They may even provide mob-employed chauffeurs and babysitters to help get the people to the polls.

After the election, organized crime makes it known to those officials either elected or selected that they owe their positions to them. They do this by asking for certain appointments contracts, information, money or just plain protection either in the form of police or political interests. And they usually get it. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions. An alderman in Chicago refused to go along with Mafia boss Sam Giancana. Eventually the politician was found murdered in gangland fashion at his political headquarters, with his wrists handcuffed above his head, and three bullets fired into the back of his skull. And then there was
State Senator Larry Kuriyama of Honolulu who had strong Mafia ties in gambling. He was found shot to death in an ambush outside his home.40

Sometimes the Syndicate will be lucky, or should we say skillful enough, to control almost every important political level after an election. This was the case in Chicago one year. They controlled officials in City Hall, in the State Legislature, Congress, the State's and U.S. Attorneys office and Federal and State Judges. This was found out by the Justice Department after they started an investigation of Syndicate ties to the Chicago Political Machine. However, their investigation was impeded at every level. Finally, a leader of the machine telephoned the White House and got the investigation called off.41

Another illustration is the case of Abner (Longie) Zwillman, boss of the Syndicate in Newark, New Jersey. With his campaign contributions and other help to the Governor and others, he was able to dictate government policy, appoint a "friendly" state attorney general, and secured other appointments such as the Newark Police Director, which was given to a close associate. In general, the Mayor of Newark, City Councilmen, judges, sheriffs, police chiefs, and other state officials all owed their allegiance to Zwillman. Together, they made New Jersey into a wide open state for organized crime.
V. CONCLUSION

"A tacit agreement between organized crime and some local politicians has a far more devastating effect on society than merely permitting organized crime to practice its vice."

A study group of 23 U.S. Representatives

In this concluding section I think we must try to discuss some of the effects of organized crime in political corruption. But before we do this, I want to summarize what we have learned. "Organized crime in the U.S. is highly sophisticated, diversified and widespread activity that annually drains billions of dollars from America's economy by unlawful conduct and the illegal use of force, fraud, and corruption. It derives its power through money obtained from social exploitation. This money and power are increasingly used to infiltrate and corrupt legitimate legitimate business and labor unions, and to subvert and corrupt our democratic processes. Organized crime activities in the U.S. weaken the stability of the nation's economic system, harm innocent investors and competing organizations, interfere with free competition, seriously burden interstate and foreign commerce, threaten the domestic security, and undermine the general welfare of the nation and its citizens." (Organized Crime Control Act of 1970).

One of the effects of the corruption on local government is that it has severe effects on the community. The residents feel that any politician can be bought by organized crime. Thus, it engenders a cynical attitude among community members. This reduces
the support of the government and public officials and undermines the legitimacy of the political system. People will also begin to think if he's corrupt and gets monetary rewards, why can't we do the same thing? This attitude can also dissuade young, competent, and honest leaders from entering politics because they feel that they wouldn't be able to accomplish their objectives. As a result, politics may be left to the less competent and more corruptible aspirants, thus creating a self-fulfilling prophecy of continued corruption in government.  

Another effect is that widespread corruption over the year can install a fear of willingness to even discuss political matters openly. Thus, it poses a serious threat to freedom of speech and the right to hold democratically elected officials accountable for their actions. This causes an efficacious attitude that political corruption is inevitable and no one can do, or dares to do, anything about it.

Since corruption is not always in the public's view, it lacks saliency for many people. This causes the problem that people are desensitized to it.

Corruption also leads to making the people pay several times over for the same services. This only increases the tax burden on citizens, and this makes them angry and leads them away from supporting the system.

It is also important that public officials and bureaucrats must actually do their job in order for governmental programs and policies to be effective and not to be influenced through corruption
to deviate or ignore their appointed tasks. This tends to produce waste, inefficiency, and failure to achieve the best results.

Furthermore, corruption strips the citizen and honest politician of his voice and vote in the system. The corrupted politician voices that of only one interest: organized crime.

Corruption also exerts a corrupting influence on other members in the same organization, especially in the case of the police. They may feel that it is no use to try to do their job, because their superiors as working peers are on the take. This also leads to an eroding of the courage to speak out because of either job or personal retaliation or reprisals.

Finally, corruption tends to make decisions be weighed in terms of money or other personal advantages, and not in terms of human needs or wants.

It is ironic to note one interesting consequence of corruption. This is that public condemnation is reserved for the corrupted officials instead of the corrupter. It seems that the major reason for this is that the public feels that their trust has been violated by the honest politician. Whereas, they think that the gangster is acting as expected. They may also feel that since there is a public demand for the goods and services supplied by organized crime, gangsters are less moral than corrupted public officials. As Robert Kennedy once said "The racketeer's power for evil in our society is even greater. Lacking the direct confrontation with the racketeer, the American citizen fails to see the reason for alarm. The reason, decidedly, exists. The financing cost of
organized crime is not limited to the vast illicit profits of gambling or narcotics. When the racketeers bore their way into legitimate business, the cost is borne by the public. When the intervention is into labor relations, the racketeer's cut is paid by higher wages and higher prices—in other words by the public. When the racketeer bribes local officials and secures immunity from police action, the price expected by corrupt law-enforcement—incurable in dollars—is paid again by the public. In short, organized crime effects everyone, it cannot be the concern only of law-enforcement officers. It must be the concern of every citizen.

Who is to blame for this situation? Is it the corrupt politician, the citizen or the system? It is a combination of all three. The citizen has to kick these corrupt officials out of office at every chance they get; but they don't, and this is due many times to lack of information or interest.

It is the systems fault for having judges and law-enforcement officials controlled by partisan politics, but until a new method can be found to allivate this, we are going to have to bare with it. It is also the general fault of the capitalist system, but we sure aren't going to give this up.

What about the corrupt public official? With the system the way it is, it's hard to refuse political help from anyone. And even if an honest politician tries to stop or expose corruption, he runs the risk of suffering severe political consequences.
In summing this up, former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover once said "Those who engage in widespread vice activities and rackets could not survive without their ally—the political renegade. No community in the land is contaminated by rackets and corruption without the assistance of local interests which hold law-enforcement in restraint. Law-enforcement officials are the people's representative. They are not persons with unlimited power; they must obey those under whom they hold office. If they are dominated by the criminals—aligned politicians, ruthless rackets, and vice are incurable. The law enforcement officials in our nation for the most part are honest and want to do a good job. Regardless of their personal honesty however, they are frequently powerless to act. Only aroused and enlightened citizens take the handcuffs off their wrists and place them where they belong, upon the racketeers, criminals and corrupt politicians.

In this lucubration, I have dwelled on organized crime's role in politics, especially in regards to corruption. One of the problems that I and anyone else who studies organized crime and/or its role in politics, is that we don't know how accurate or reliable our information is. What we know either comes from informers such as Joe Valachi or Vinnie Terese or from bugged telephone conversations. No organized crime boss, if there is really any, has ever told us the whole story. Another problem that exists is that there are discrepancies and mass confusion about the whole area of organized crime. Authors, scholars, journalists, legislators, and law enforcement officials all say different things.
But we do know the basics: we know that it is out there and that it is damaging our institutions and society itself.

It has been confirmed by many that Chicago is a city so entrenched by organized crime and it's so monolithic in its structure that it is almost impossible to root it out. In fact, it has worked its way into nearly every facet of the city. Is this the future of all our other big cities? and nation? If it has happened in Chicago, what's going to stop it from happening everywhere? We already know that this infiltration has begun, but we are virtually helpless in trying to stop it.

Ralph Salerno, a public expert on organized crime has stated "that organized crime will put a man in the White House some day, and he won't even know it until they hand him the bill." We know that organized crime has infiltrated all these levels of government on the local, state, and federal level. But where will it stop? Will it stop in the White House as Salerno suggests? Whatever happens, society will be faced with a problem.

Benito Mussolini confronted this same problem in the late 1920's when he was the Italian Fascist dictator. How did he stop it? Easy, he abolished all civil, constitutional and human rights.

If this is the only solution to the problem, I'm sure that nobody would agree to it. But if we don't act now, quickly and effectively, Mussolini's method might be the only way to eliminate it.

In the science-fiction movie Buck Rodgers, starring Buster Crabbe, we find society in a civil war. One side is represented as the law abiding, good people and the other side plays the
organized criminals of organized crime. Is this what our society is heading for if we don't take any action now? Could this science fiction movie turn into a reality? Most people will probably never ever think about this or will say we shouldn't worry about such a silly thing. But the question is, should we?
An Organized Crime Family

Council

Boss

Conigliere (Counselor)

Staff Men

Underboss

Caporegime (Lieutenant)

Caporegime (Lieutenant)

Caporegime (Lieutenant)

Section Chief

Buffer

Soldiers

Members grouped under Lieutenants

Corruption: Police and Public Officials

Through threats, assault, and murder, enforce discipline over members, non-members and friends on orders from leader.

With and through non-member associates and fronts—participate in, control or influence

Illegal Activities
Gambling (Numbers, Policy, Dice, Bookmaking)
Narcotics
Loansharking
Labor racketeering
Extortion
Alcohol
Others

Legitimate Industry
Food Products
Realty
Restaurants
Garbage Disposal
Produce
Garment Manufacturing
Bars and Taverns
Watersports
Securities
Labor Unions
Hotel Management
Others
FOOTNOTES


5 Heidenheimer, p. 59.

6 Moquin and Van Doren, p. 69.


10 The President's Commission Report, p. 8.

11 Cressey, p. 248.

12 Gardiner, p. 94.

13 Gardiner, p. 94.

14 Gardiner, p. 96.

15 Gardiner, p. 96.

16 Gardiner, p. 97.

17 Gardiner, p. 99.


Albini, p. 67.

Cressey, p. 254.

Dorman, p. 90.

Cressey, p. 255.


Tyler, p. 297.

Tyler, p. 262.

Tyler, p. 261.

Cressey, p. 267.

Allen, p. 112.

Tyler, p. 186.

Cressey, p. 253.

Cressey, p. 253.

Albini, p. 71.


Albini, p. 71.
39 Dorman, p. 45.
40 Dorman, p. 27.
41 Dorman, p. 46.
42 Cresssey, p. 275.
43 Conklin, p. 17.
44 Conklin, p. 17.
45 Conklin, p. 18.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


