

REMARKS OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
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Tonight I would like to discuss a subject that is probably not part of the curriculum even here, but which does affect all of us every day, even though it stays generally hidden from public view. It causes our taxes to go up. It adds to the cost of what we buy. And, worst of all, it threatens our personal safety and that of our families - indeed our very freedom. Its trafficking causes untold damage to human lives and human health, yet its profits may well exceed those of all the Fortune 500 corporations combined. I am speaking of organized crime.

Although combating organized crime is a difficult undertaking, it is not impossible. Indeed, as I will later explain, many successes are now being achieved in that battle. Unfortunately, the public is little aware of the problem or of what the government is doing to combat it. With greater public awareness of the nature and the threat of organized crime, and with greater citizen participation, we could make substantially more headway.

First, in order to provide the context for our efforts today, some history is in order. During the first years of this century, organized crime was a local enterprise. A gang worked a city, often just a neighborhood. The local police were alone in trying to stop it, and the task proved beyond their powers. There was no federal government involvement. And with the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, organized crime began a significant expansion in power and influence.

During Prohibition, organized crime groups vied for shares of a market attracting more and more bootleggers, and frequently fought each other as they tried to expand beyond their once limited turfs. Nonetheless, ethnic animosities and gang rivalries gradually abated during Prohibition as cooperation became necessary in the effort to control larger and larger markets. At a 1929 meeting, leading organized crime figures from major cities recognized the need for a

national body to mediate differences among groups and formulate a national policy.

The year 1929 is also notable for the federal government's first substantial appearance in the history of organized crime. It was an inauspicious entry. Disturbed by the lawlessness of Prohibition, President Hoover established that year the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Named after its chairman, George Wickersham, the Commission urged an "immediate, comprehensive, and scientific nationwide inquiry into organized crime" in order to "make possible the development of an intelligent plan for its control."

No such inquiry took place, however, and no intelligent plan for the control of organized crime was developed. The FBI did what it could against the gangsters, arresting a few such as Al Capone, who served time for income tax evasion. But the FBI lacked statutory authority to investigate most of the activities of the crime syndicates. During the Thirties and Forties, despite laudable law enforcement efforts by some local and state authorities, organized crime prospered as the federal government generally failed to make a response.

Alcohol provided the major source of income for criminal groups from 1920 until the end of Prohibition in 1933. But organized crime had by then already learned how to diversify. The syndicates easily renewed and increased previous involvements in gambling, prostitution, and narcotics. They began investing in legitimate businesses, and also infiltrated labor unions. Organized crime extended its reach nationwide -- establishing operations on the West Coast, including Los Angeles.

Not until 1950 did the federal government finally begin to make a systematic inquiry into the syndicates. A special Senate committee directed by Estes Kefauver investigated gambling and racketeering activities in interstate commerce. The committee uncovered a national pattern of bribery and protection payments to law enforcement officials and payoffs to local and state political figures to ensure protection from prosecution. The committee determined that a national criminal organization which it referred to as "The Mafia" did exist, and recommended the creation of a rackets squad within the Justice Department.

The Kefauver hearings stimulated local investigations in cities where the committee had exposed organized crime operations and public corruption. But

even with the knowledge obtained from the hearings, the federal government itself still did not take sustained action. The Department of Justice initiated a drive against the leading racket figures identified in the Senate hearings, but while some convictions and deportations resulted, no permanent investigative or prosecutorial units were established until 1954. Even then, only three lawyers in the department were assigned to the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section, which consequently enjoyed only limited success. Again, the federal government failed to see the immediate and growing threat presented by organized crime -- a national threat requiring a national response.

The lack of an effective government response was costly. During the Fifties the syndicates continued to grow and consolidate. Organized crime became more deeply involved in white collar crime and in politics. Mobsters more frequently appeared in public -- in respectable places and with respectable people.

Not until the early Sixties did the federal government begin to make a substantial enforcement effort. Under Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the FBI began monitoring the activities of 400 of the nation's leading organized crime figures. The number of attorneys in the Organized Crime Section jumped to 17 in 1961, and 68 in 1962. Gradually, too, the number of convictions per year began to increase -- from 45 in 1960, to 546 in 1964.

Several years later a commission created by President Johnson made numerous recommendations for changes in the criminal law -- each of them designed to challenge organized crime. The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 and the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 incorporated all eight of the commission's recommendations regarding proof of criminal violations. The 1968 Act was the first federal law to define the term "organized crime" and included a provision for electronic surveillance under a carefully detailed warrant procedure and strict court supervision. The 1970 Act strengthened the government's legal tools in the evidence-gathering process. One provision -- the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, or RICO -- is arguably the most powerful statute available to federal law enforcement authorities, because among other things it allows government to seize the illicit profits of organized crime.

Another important initiative at this time was the creation of the first Organized Crime Strike Force. In 1966, the Department of Justice placed a five-man team of attorneys and supervisory personnel from federal investigative agencies in Buffalo, N.Y. Within a short time, the group, dubbed the "Strike Force," convicted the mob underboss and several syndicate figures. In 1969, the Department of Justice began an expansion of the Strike Force program.

In retrospect, the federal law enforcement and legislative initiatives of the Sixties mark a turning point in the history of the government's response to organized crime. To be sure, during the past 20 years there have been periods when the government has not been as effective as it could have been. At times the effort has been confused and misdirected. Even so, it is in the past two decades that the federal government finally has organized a serious law enforcement response and devised mechanisms such as the Strike Forces that have proved so valuable.

In the past three years, the Strike Force program has been augmented in order to better lead the fight against traditional organized crime. Specialized cadres of experienced trial attorneys coordinate the activities of criminal investigators from all the major federal law enforcement agencies, as well as the state and local police.

The strike forces have indicted and convicted many of the principal leaders of the traditional crime families in many of our major cities. They have successfully brought major cases in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Denver, Kansas City, Miami, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Milwaukee, New Orleans -- and Los Angeles. During the past three years, in large part because of the efforts of the Strike Forces, the Department of Justice has indicted, tried, and convicted more than 2,600 members and associates of organized crime.

The use of important enforcement mechanisms developed in the Sixties and Seventies have proved immensely helpful. Electronic surveillance has enabled us to gather information on the very secretive crime families. So has the Witness Security Program, which provides protection for informants willing to testify against former underworld associates. In addition, federal officials have successfully gone undercover, posing as members of organized crime, and also set up

undercover operations designed to ferret out its members.

One of our most successful undercover operations occurred here in Los Angeles. The FBI knew that members of the Mafia regularly extorted pornographers and bookmakers, but no extortion victim was willing to testify. So, the FBI set up its own pornography enterprise, named Forex. Forex was located in Van Nuys and ostensibly sold pornography to South America and Mexico.

Forex waited to be extorted, but organized crime kept its distance, apparently suspicious of the legitimacy of the new business. So after three months, the FBI used an informant to spread the word on the street that the government was looking into Forex. That helped establish the company's bona fides with organized crime. Still, however, there was no extortion attempt. Next an undercover agent with the new name of Vince Lombard put the word out that the company was being extorted.

That tactic worked. The mobsters moved in. They told Lombard never to extort a pornography business again and to leave the country. They gave Forex the choice of making payments to them or never again doing business anywhere in the United States. At this point we moved in. As a result of our effort which was called "Pornex," the entire ruling hierarchy of the Los Angeles organized crime family was convicted of RICO charges.

With the help of operations such as Pornex, the Organized Crime Strike Forces have destroyed the myth that the leadership of organized crime is "untouchable". One reason the syndicates gained such a foothold in American society is just this myth, which made it easier for them to recruit new members and enforce loyalty. Now that we have more knowledge of how organized crime works, we have been able to decimate the top ranks in many areas.

Although the Strike Force program is an important part of the effort against organized crime, other new approaches have been undertaken in the past three years. Today, organized crime is heavily involved in drug trafficking. Indeed, the drug trade is now our nation's number one crime problem -- especially when one considers the criminal activities spawned by drug trafficking. For example, a recent study done of the Baltimore area found that 243 addicts committed a total

of almost a half million crimes over an 11-year period -- or an average of 2,000 each -- one every other day.

The Posse Comitatus law, passed after the civil war, prevents the armed forces from engaging in law enforcement activities. We have sought and obtained an amendment to this law which now permits us to utilize the resources and intelligence gathering capability of the military -- for the first time. This has already been enormously valuable in the fight against drug trafficking.

And for the first time, too, we have brought the FBI into the drug enforcement effort by consolidating the Drug Enforcement Administration with the FBI. The FBI has a sophisticated understanding of the organizational and financial aspects of the organized crime cartels. It has unique knowledge of, and ability to follow, the flow of money. This expertise is essential to combatting the highly sophisticated activities of modern organized crime, and it is now being put to work in the fight against drug trafficking. Our departmental reorganization has been highly successful, resulting currently in 765 FBI cases and almost 600 joint DEA/FBI cases.

South Florida has long been the hot spot for drug trafficking. In response, the South Florida Task Force was established in 1982. For the first time, all of the agencies of the federal government dealing with this problem were brought together within a single entity -- including the FBI, DEA, IRS, Customs, ATF, Coast Guard and the Department of Defense.

The success of this Task Force guided us in formulating the major eight-point initiative against organized crime and drug trafficking announced by President Reagan last year. The centerpiece of the program was the creation of 12 new task forces patterned on the South Florida model and deployed throughout the country. These Task Forces are now fully operational. Already more than 100 indictments against more than 1,000 defendants have been brought. And more than 200 individuals have been convicted.

Of the 425 cases now under investigation by the Drug Task Forces, only a small number involve traditional organized crime. Most involve new or emerging groups attracted to the lucrative profits of drug trafficking. Some names you will recognize but most you will not. They include the Hell's Angels, the Outlaws, the Pagans, the Bandidos, La Nuestra Familia, the Mexican Mafia, the

Aryan Brotherhood, the Black Guerrilla Family, the Japanese Yakuza, the Chinese Triad Societies, the Israeli Mafia, and the Cocaine Cowboys.

These modern cartels are involved in the importation and distribution of drugs, the financing of drug trafficking, and money laundering schemes. As is also true of traditional organized crime, they are also engaged: in continuing criminal enterprise, abuse of the bank secrecy laws, narcotics conspiracy, and public corruption. Employing the law enforcement weapons developed to fight traditional organized crime, we are making an assault on these organizations even as they are developing.

Today, as organized crime is evolving into new and different forms, it is also experiencing another evolution -- from national in focus to international, a change mostly related to drug trafficking. Of the three drugs that most trouble us from a law enforcement perspective, two -- heroin and cocaine -- come exclusively from abroad, and one, marijuana, comes predominantly from abroad. Principally because of the drug trade, the relationships between organized crime families in New York and Chicago are little different from those existing, for example, between New York and Palermo.

It is essential that we develop close working relationships at the highest levels with the governments of countries that are the source of illegal drugs or through which drugs travel. It is equally important that we understand the problems faced by those countries and that they understand our concerns. Cooperation on procedural matters is an essential step. To this end, we have negotiated, and are continuing to negotiate, mutual assistance law enforcement and extradition treaties with the various countries involved.

Already we have been successful in crop control and eradication programs -- notably in Turkey and Mexico. And we are working -- however slow the results -- with other countries to control the supply and processing of opium and coca plants and their derivatives.

As we proceed with enforcement programs at home and cooperative efforts abroad, we must also keep our knowledge of organized crime up to date. In the past we did not recognize organized crime for the problem that it was. High government officials and some academics often treated the threat of organized crime, and even its

existence, with skepticism. For decades organized crime grew because it was not stopped from growing. We -- all of us -- have paid for the fact that for many years there was no organized response to organized crime. History counsels the wisdom of learning as much as we can about the new and emerging crime cartels so that we can attack them before they become as entrenched as the Mafia did.

At the end of November the President's Commission on Organized Crime held its first meeting in Washington. As part of the President's eight-point program against organized crime and drug trafficking, the Commission will study organized crime as it exists today, giving special attention to the emerging drug cartels. The Commission will focus public attention on and further define the nature of the evil that affects us all.

Another part of the President's program calls for strengthening the federal criminal laws that touch organized crime. These include sentencing, bail, forfeiture, and numerous other reforms that would measurably improve our law enforcement ability.

I cannot underestimate the importance of congressional action on the crime bill. Instances abound of cases where current law simply fails to serve the interests of justice. For example, federal sentencing law permits so much judicial discretion that a convicted organized crime figure -- facing up to 40 years in prison -- was instead sentenced -- if you can call it that -- to a year in a local community treatment center followed by five years of probation. This criminal must spend only his nights at the treatment center -- by day he will be free to do as he pleases. This is the astonishing result, after thousands of hours of effort by investigators, prosecutors, and other law enforcement officials.

In the last Congress, the Senate passed a crime bill containing sentencing and other reforms by a vote of 95 to 1. We hope that both the Senate and the House of Representatives will similarly act before the end of the current session in 1984.

Organized crime is a force Americans will have to contend against. The Department of Justice -- the federal government -- cannot do the job alone. Public knowledge about organized crime and support of the government's law enforcement efforts are key to future success.

With greater public awareness, and greater public support of the federal law enforcement effort, we can achieve a future different from our past -- a future in which the cancer of organized crime is finally brought under our control.