

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN EAU CLAIRE

ORGANIZED CRIME IN THE 20TH CENTURY: PROHIBITION'S AFFECT ON THE
WESTERN UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

BLAKE CLAY-COLTIN FISCHER

SUPERVISING PROFESSOR: JOSEPH ORSER

COOPERATING PROFESSOR: SELIKA DUCKSWORTH-LAWTON

EAU CLAIRE, WISCONSIN

DECEMBER 2013

Copyright of this work is owned by the author. This digital version is published by McIntyre
Library, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, with the consent of the author.

CONTENTS

Abstract	3
Introduction	4
<i>Jewish, Italian-American Criminal Corporation</i>	7
Chapter 1: Gambling	12
<i>Pre-World War II Gambling</i>	13
<i>“Bugsy” Siegel, and the Flamingo Hotel</i>	15
Chapter 2: Managing Their Public Perception/Image	19
<i>Hollywood and the “Godfather” image</i>	19
<i>Media Mangament</i>	22
<i>Robin Hood, the “Gangster”</i>	23
<i>Publicity...Flamingo Style!</i>	25
Chapter 3: Manipulation of Authority	28
<i>“Faces of Face”</i>	29
Conclusion	34
Bibliography	36

Abstract

The story of organized crime in America has always been a popular choice, as with the blockbuster classics, *Casino* (1995), *Goodfellas* (1990), and the *Godfather* trilogy (1972-1990); Americans have always been mesmerized by the romanticization of the “mafia life”.

With the current trends in media entertainment, such as video games like Rockstar Games *L.A. Noire* (2011), the *Mafia* series (2010) from 2K Czech, and the new 2013 mini-series from TNT *Mob City*. Americans have proved that this fascination with organized crime is not just a trend, but an important part of history.

This paper will analyze Prohibition’s influence on organized crime, in Los Angeles and Las Vegas, during the post-World War II era (1945-1960). My thesis will be backed up by primary and secondary evidence, such as, FBI databases, interviews, newspapers, historical manuscripts, and scholarly articles.

Introduction

Since the early part of the 20th century, historians have been writing and analyzing the topic of prohibition in some form or another. Prohibition was divided, debated, and most of all, became a challenging point for this nation. Historians have written about how the passing of the 18th Amendment, which was better known as “Prohibition” (even though there has always been the “prohibition” of some form of substance or issue), has changed the way things were looked at in the United States, from the way organized crime operated, to how law enforcement and government reacted/acted, and even how Prohibition-related crime affected “law abiding citizens”. The majority of Americans associate prohibition with New York and Chicago, but few people think of the west coast, such as Los Angeles and Las Vegas.

The American west coast is historically known lucrative entrepreneurial opportunities, such as mining and the railroads, which attracted people from the east, helping to establish civilizations. Las Angeles and Las Vegas are a part of the product, which was a result of this economic opportunity. In the early twentieth century, the west coast would attract prominent organized crime leaders, such as Meyer Lansky, Mickey Cohen, and Bugsy Siegel. These criminal figures would help to establish organized crime like gambling, and launch Las Vegas in to story book levels that is widely known today.

In this paper I will be analyzing how Prohibition of the 1920’s had a direct influence on organized crime during the post-World War II era (1945-1960). I will be basing my argument on

how organized crime members were using direct prohibition style tactics as a template for their criminal activities, and the inter-cooperation between Italian and Jewish ethnic groups during this post-World War II era. These “prohibition tactics” that I will analyze are business strategies such as image management, cost management, racketeering, and control of authority. Another way I will be presenting the direct link of post-World War II organized crime to prohibition is to show how the veteran crime figures of prohibition (such as Bugsy Siegel) replaced bootlegging with gambling after prohibition was repealed, taking advantage of the market that would give the mob the most profit.

Some of the evidence that will be presented for this argument is how Prohibition attracted a new and substantially larger number of people to crime (as the implication of the eighteenth amendment made illegal operations more profitable), and how the way the actual style of crime changed (such as muggings and robbery to gambling and racketeering) as a direct response to Prohibition. The transition of criminal operations during the post-Prohibition crime era can be broken down into three categories: gambling, image management, and the manipulation of authority. By organizing these crime tactics into three chapters, it will help to make the direct connection with organized crime during the mid-nineteenth century, back to the era of Prohibition crime, using examples and supporting evidence.

During the time period of implication of the eighteenth amendment, the high demand for something illegal gave way to very large profits for someone willing to deliver on the illegal actions or products, and this produced high profit margins that organized crime had never seen before. Neil Humbert writes in his article *Italians and Crime in Chicago* about the role that Italian-Americans played during Prohibition, and the criminal opportunities that came with Prohibition. “Prohibition opened up a new criminal occupation with less risk of punishment,

with more certainty of gain, and with less social stigma than the usual forms of crime, like robbery, burglary, and larceny.”¹

With this decade of illegal entrepreneurship during the 1920’s, the influence of Prohibition tied to the subcategory of “white collar” type of organized crime immerses. The gap is established from a direct “criminal to prey” relationship, such as muggings, and prostitution (as seen during pre-Prohibition decades as a primary criminal avenue,) to a more “chain of command” relationship, where the criminal and “prey”, or in this white collar environment of bootlegging, extortion, and gambling establishment what are called “customers”, where the customer may never have seen their original proprietor, as the transition of goods/services transferred possession through multiple criminal organizations.

A great example of these “new” type of crimes comes from the infamous Al Capone. Capone was quite efficient in fraud, and the use of clever tactics, to continue growing his business opportunities. Virgil W. Peterson addresses some examples of Capone’s innovative ideas in his article “*Chicago Shades of Capone*”. Peterson explains how Capone ran his own brewery, gambling investments, and a loan sharking business all through Prohibition, when these types of “businesses” were highly illegal. An example of Capone’s use of this chain of command metaphor of conducting business was seen behind the closed doors of his legitimate businesses, where “an attorney who had previously represented Capone’s associates was making an annual income of \$9,000, however, while working in the Labor-Relations Council for the Chicago restaurant, his salary skyrocketed to \$125,000 a year”.² Another tactic that was used by

¹ Neill S. Humbert, “Italians and Crime in Chicago: The Formative Years, 1800-1920,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 74, no. 4 (January 1969): 373-391.

² Virgil W. Peterson. “Chicago: Shades of Capone”. *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*. Vol. 347, (May, 1963): 30-39.

criminals to get around the alcohol laws, and to collection on the high demand, was to manipulate the law itself, as “breweries were permitted to sell near beer, with most of the alcohol removed, which then would be sold to speakeasy owner’s, who would then spike it with different alcohol, and re-sell it to their customers.”³

Jewish, Italian-American Criminal Corporation

While prohibition created new economic investments for organized crime, it also created new ethnic relationships; in this paper I will sometimes refer to the inter-partnership between Jewish and Italian-Americans. A very important and useful example that helps to explain the importance of this cross-relationship is Al Capone. While Capone was at the top of the food chain in Chicago, he had no initial relationships with the east coast. The man that would fill this link was Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel. Bugsy Siegel was a Russian born Jew who held a connection to Meyer Lansky, who was also a Russian born Jew, and held a very high rank in the Mafia; Siegel was only thirteen years old when he meet Lansky. Capone met Lucky Luciano, who was in charge of the New York organized crime world; Lansky became partners with Luciano later in life.⁴

These young Jewish figures in organized crime during prohibition like Meyer Lansky, Bugsy Siegel, and Mickey Cohen, operated and ruled organized crime after prohibition. To elaborate on the kind of environment and mid-set these young Jewish criminals experienced and adopted into their own arsenal of techniques is the example of the ridiculous profits that were

³ Claire Bond Potter. “War on Crime: Bandits, G-men, and the Politics of Mass Culture”. , (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998.), 14

⁴ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A’s Notorious Mobster, (New York: MJF Books, 2012), 24-25.

made “by the time that Capone was twenty-five, authorities estimated that his outfit was squeezing \$100 million a year out of prohibition-era Chicago” (and don’t forget that’s a \$100,000,000 in the 1920’s).⁵

This working partnership came out of prohibition as a result of the economic benefits, as well as the need for survival in like=immigrant groups, as the majority of these immigrant groups were settling in the same neighborhoods and cities. By the twentieth century, major cities like Cleveland and Los Angeles, and the New York metro area, had the highest population of Jewish-Americans, along with Italian-Americans and a few other smaller minority groups, where criminal corporations of Jewish and Italian-Americans was first seen. In these highly populated ethnic cities, along with the implication of prohibition, were “young and forward-thinking Jews and Italians who chose cooperation over competition.”⁶

Another way to look at this cooperation is from the learned and inherited need of survival resulting from immigration. Many of the Jewish immigrants coming to the United States (especially from Eastern Europe) had very similar lives; but we can use the examples of Mikey Cohen and Meyer Lansky and compare them to help explain the Jewish role in organized crime.

Meyer Lansky was a native born Russian Jew, where he lived with his mother for the beginning of his childhood. During his time in Russia, Lansky witnessed heavy persecution of the Jewish people by the Czar, where he was immersed into the ideologies that Jewish men should stand up to their oppressors, and not let themselves be overcome without a fight; this self-defense mentality would become a common theme throughout Lansky’s criminal career in America. As a result of the violence and unsuitable living conditions, he and his mother

⁵ Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 24

⁶ Tere Tereba, Mikey Cohen, 8-15

immigrated to Brooklyn, where Lansky roamed the streets perfecting his gambling skills in his youth.⁷

Mickey Cohen's parents also came from Jewish Russia, where they escaped the mass persecution of Jews, and strived for a better life in the United States. Cohen was born in a highly Jewish Orthodox community in Brooklyn, where he learned how to survive by making fast money on the streets.⁸

In the book *Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A.'s Notorious Mobster*, by Tere Tereba, Tereba uses interviews from Cohen and the people associated with him, and other secondary and primary evidence to look at Cohen's role in organized crime. Tereba obtained an interview with Ralph F. Salerno, who was a member of the NYPD, specializing in organized crime. Salerno regarded this cooperation between Jewish and Italian-Americans during and post-prohibition in all major U.S cities by stating that, "there is a happy marriage of convenience between Jewish and Italian gangsters. It represents the three M's: Money, Muscle, and Moxie. The Jews supply the moxie. The Italians take care of the muscle, and they split the money between them."⁹

To conclude this diverse introduction of the Jews/Italian criminal organizations, the major contributors were immigration, racism, and prohibition. The result of racial persecution in homelands, and the anxieties/stereotypes of ethnic immigrants in America provided the catalyst for these new and impressionable immigrants to survive and make money on the streets.

Prohibition take the "survival of the fittest" street mentality, and exponentially increase it by

⁷ Mobsters- "Meyer Lansky". Bio.com, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgXnC6M63Bc>. (accessed on September 24, 2013)

⁸ Tere Tereba, Mikey Cohen, 7-9

⁹ Interview with Ralph F. Salerno, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 16

implementing the great profitability and demand of these “new crimes” that I have previously mentioned, and make criminal kingpins, where their influence would be prominent during the decades following prohibition. An example of a survival tactic for Jewish and Italian Americans was violence. Jewish people, were affected by this, and faced stereotypes, especially after World War Two, and embodied a personality of ruthless aggression to prove that they did not contain this weakness.

Even though there were some criminal figures that did not use physical violence as a persuasion tactic, like Meyer Lansky, the majority of Jewish mobsters did, and Mickey Cohen can be put into this category. Cohen grew up as a competitive boxer, displaying a “fight or die” mentality, fighting the Jewish-American serotype of his era. Cohen demonstrated this mentality by portraying his perceived image as not “just a Jew”, but a king-like figure to be feared, and explained how effective the tactic of physical violence was when talking about one of his recent criminal engagements, “I felt like king of the world.....when I whipped out that big .38, it made me as big as a guy six-foot-ten.”¹⁰

To conclude this historically in-depth partnership, Michael Green analyzes this same concept specifically in Nevada, and he develops a similar conclusion. He states in his article, “Las Vegas Mob”, that “these mobsters who were involved with bootlegging during prohibition were mostly Italian and Jewish. For example, Frank Costello, Lucky Luciano, Meyer Lansky, and Benjamin Siegel worked together, although much remains unknown about their working relationship, in New York City and later on the Las Vegas Strip. Did Italians work for Jews? Were Jews front men for Italians who kept their real ownership hidden because they could not be

¹⁰ Tere Tereba, Mikey Cohen, 18

licensed? This much is clear: usually, Italians provided the muscle in organized crime while Jews were administrators and accountants”.¹¹

¹¹ Michael Green. *Online Nevada Encyclopedia*. “Las Vegas Mob”. May 19, 2011.
<http://www.onlinenevada.org/articles/las-vegas-mob> (Accessed December 11, 2013)

Chapter 1: Gambling

One of the most profound legacies that the implication and repeal of Prohibition gave to the American west-coast is gambling. Gambling is seen today in sports betting, national lotteries, scratch off tickets, Native American Casinos, and with the evolution of technology, even online gambling, where you can lose your money in the comfort of your own home. There was always some form of gambling, from the “wild west” saloon poker games to the gambling between immigrant groups during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; but the modern forms of gambling that modern generations are familiar with, such as casinos, comes out of the Prohibition time period.

After prohibition, during the Great Depression, gambling slowly became decriminalized, but it still remains as a social stigma that would be “tip-toed” around in American culture until the mid to later part of the twentieth century. The general result in this progression towards the leniency of gambling had an affect during The Great Depression, as government officials thought that ‘limited’ allowance on gambling could possibly resurge the broken economy; we can see this with the decriminalization of bingo, however, it still was seen as a social stigma, and it was only limited to churches and other “non-profit” organizations.¹² This small, but important, opening could, and did, have great manipulating potential to propel illegal gambling institutions to operate behind the actual law, as I stated before in the example with Capone and his brewery.

Americans can give credit to the post-World War II era criminal organizations for the current trend in casinos and gambling. Many of these Prohibition era criminals made their living through gambling institutions, but after prohibition was repealed the demand for illegal alcohol

¹² Dunnstan, Roger. “Gambling in California: History of Gambling in the United States”. California Research Bureau, California State Library, (January, 1997).

drastically decreased. As alcohol production and consumption was legalized again, the demand dramatically decreased, and as the demand decreased, the profit margin dramatically dropped as well. As a result of this dramatic change in the criminal economy, these prohibition gangsters needed new jobs, so these gangsters will transitioned into different forms of gambling and some narcotics; but gambling was the most profitable of these throughout the 1940's and 1950's.

Pre-World War II Gambling

The formation of casinos after World War II was a very logical step in the evolution of organized crime in America after Prohibition. As the profit margin for alcohol practically disappeared during the Great Depression the mob relied on their only two other “skills” to receive a profitable income, which were gambling and prostitution. Before the mob's business ventures in the Nevada desert, the mob's main gambling practice was wire-betting. As a mentioned before, the laws of gambling (particularly in the West-coast states) began to loosen during the Great Depression, to stimulate the broken economy; this allowed some types of gambling, such as wire-betting, to have some legal loopholes.

Wire-betting was a basic form of betting on horseraces, where gamblers could send in their bets into a bookie by wire, at an off-sight location from the actual racetrack. The mob ran these bookie-locations and handled the horse race bets, and both Mickey Cohen and Bugsy Siegel ran these outfits in California; Cohen ran his very profitable bookie sight out of a fronted paint shop.¹³

Mickey Cohen later recounted in a memoir in his own words that, “at the peak of my operations I dealt with from six to eight offices throughout the country, and my transactions with

¹³ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 65-66.

each office amounted to anywhere from \$30 to \$150,000 a day (**approximately \$360,000 to \$1.6 million today**) with each office. Some offices paid me from 2.5 percent to 5 percent for the money. Our main source of revenue was the percentage of the commission we got for moving the bet”.¹⁴

With this successful experience of gambling established outside of the Prohibition decade and economy, that has already been in operation for over a decade, the mob decided to make further investments into what they considered “legal” operations, which would continue to pay out a ridiculous profit. Gamblers and organized crime members came together in the Nevada desert to make Las Vegas into what they thought was going to be a “gamblers paradise”; combining luxury, overwhelming amounts of wealth, and vice.

To elaborate on the influence of prohibition on the post-World War II economy is the example of Tony Cornero. Tony was a young bootlegger during prohibition, and was around the age of twenty years old. Cornero smuggled whiskey from Canada and sold it all the way down the Pacific coast to Mexico. Cornero’s net worth would reach one million dollars before he reached the age of twenty five. Cornero would later become the owner of the Las Vegas Casino, the Stardust Hotel.¹⁵ The example of Tony Cornero is proof of the immense profitability that was a byproduct of Prohibition, and the people who were involved in organize crime would still be relevant to the criminal economy decades later.

¹⁴A memoir by Mickey Cohen, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 67.

¹⁵ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas: Stories of money, mayhem and murder (Omaha: Berkline Press, 2005), 81.

“Bugsy” Siegel, and the Flamingo Hotel

One nostalgic criminal figure to come out of the Prohibition era and help to establish the Las Vegas market as what we know it to be today was “Bugsy” Siegel. Benjamin Siegel, or his more prominent known nick name “Bugsy”, was born on February 28th, 1909 in Brooklyn, New York. Siegel started out his short life in organized crime by extorting members within the local Jewish community, and then moved into the “popular pastime sport” for gangsters, which was bootlegging during prohibition. After prohibition, during the late 1930’s, Siegel was relocated to the Los Angeles area to put his acquired skills to use by setting up gambling institutions. After setting up several gambling and racketeering operations, Siegel then saw the profitable potential that Las Vegas held.¹⁶

As I mentioned before, the cultural stigma of gambling loosened around the end of World War II, but Vegas was one of those unique places that separated itself at a much earlier date than the rest of the country regarding gambling laws; as Nevada entered the Great Depression, like many other states in the nation, government officials needed to figure out how to keep Nevada’s economy from reaching complete destruction, and stated that “the state legislature in 1931 will make gambling, instant weddings/divorces, and prostitution legal.”¹⁷ With this new and unorthodox economic strategy, Las Vegas, and the west coast in general, would attract prohibition era crime veterans to capitalize on these new profitable business ventures.

Siegel’s first exposure to the west coast was working in the El Cortez hotel, where he ran the books for the lucrative horse races, which he proved to be very proficient at; this helped to

¹⁶ Encyclopedia Britannica Online, S.V. “Bugsy Siegel”,
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/543218/Bugsy-Siegel> (accessed September, 13, 2013)

¹⁷ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas, 13.

influence the mob's decision to move Siegel to Vegas.¹⁸ Siegel arrived in Vegas in the 1940's, after his role at the El Cortez, with the notion that Vegas was an unutilized business venture, which had not been officially capitalized on yet. Siegel's only and most famous investment to the Las Vegas world was the notorious Flamingo Hotel.

The Flamingo hotel proved to be too overwhelming for Bugsy Siegel, and he made this his last criminal business attempt. The initial construction of the Flamingo was where Siegel's convenient mob ties became beneficial, and the construction materials became cheaper with one of Siegel's more intelligent strategies, which was to recruit his materials from his connections in the production sets in Hollywood, making his original building costs low, avoiding the inflation affected post-war market.¹⁹ However, this is where Siegel's intelligent decision making skills ended due to the enclosing fears of his own mortality, the influence of his mistress, and his horrible monetary management skills.

As the Flamingo hotel opened its doors in the beginning of the post-war economy, Siegel cost the Flamingo and the mob money daily. "The Flamingo Hotel lost in the neighborhood of \$700,000 during the 65 days it remained open, under Siegel's ownership."²⁰ Siegel's loss of money was influential to his own murder. The overall budget of the Flamingo started as \$1.5 million, soaring to over \$5.5 million; but with the documented money transactions from his mistress Virginia Hill to a Switzerland bank account, he became completely uncreditable within the organized crime world.²¹ Siegel's longtime friend and business partner Mickey Cohen, addressed Siegel's financial problems by stating, "I knew that Benny's Vegas propositions and

¹⁸ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas, 46.

¹⁹ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas, 14.

²⁰ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas, 19.

²¹ Steve Fischer. When the Mob Ran Vegas, 32.

the Flamingo he was building took off badly. Anytime any proposition in the racket world goes bad, you wonder if the person knows what he's doing or if what's going on is the right thing. That's especially if you've been bank rolled, like Benny was, by the organization."²²

Unfortunately, in Siegel's case, he was set up for failure more so than success from the beginning of the Flamingo's birth.

Along with Bugsy Siegel's ridiculous money situation, it is important to look at how his self-image led to his failure and his subsequent death and the transference of ownership in the Flamingo, making Las Vegas a lucrative business venture. When the Flamingo first opened, Siegel showed complete disregard of his own guests at his hotel by continuing construction on different areas of the hotel, creating a loud and dirty environment. Along with this, guests also would become fearful as Siegel would walk around the Flamingo with his intimidating body guards, resulting in no repeat guests.

With Siegel's introduction into the Flamingo Hotel as a partner, the issues of his over-inflated ego, and his compulsive need to be in charge would come with him. Siegel's inner-battle with his own self ego would not only effect the hotel's prosperity, but also his own. Siegel's personality flaws showed up at the Flamingo when the original and primary designer, W.R. "Billy" Wilkerson was not around the construction site, and Siegel would make unreasonable design and construction changes to the hotel, without telling anyone.²³

Even though these are examples of elementary business mistakes, the one that ultimately ended his life happened on March 1, 1947. Siegel was notoriously known for his ridiculous and violent anger outbursts; in W.R Wilkerson III's interview of Greg Bautzer, in August 1972,

²² Tere Tereba, Mikey Cohen, 79.

²³ W.R. Wilkerson III. *The Man Who Invented Las Vegas* (Ciro's Books, 2000), 77.

Bauzter recalls that, Siegel's temper was so bad that "his face would darken when he got angry, and his blue eyes were known to turn a slate gray color."²⁴ On March 1, Siegel unleashed his personal demons when he pistol-wiped Abe Schiller out of sheer rage while Abe's family and about 200 guest watched as Siegel kicked Abe in the head, and fired his pistol near Abe's head into the pool of the Flamingo.²⁵

²⁴ W.R. Wilkerson III. *The Man Who Invented Las Vegas*, 70.

²⁵ Steve Fischer. *When the Mob Ran Vegas*, 21-22.

Chapter 2: Managing their Public Perception/Image

Along with the tactics used in criminal actions that I mentioned before, organized crime groups were very proficient in manipulating media images of themselves to portray their images as harmless to the public. Today we see numerous movies, television programs, comic strips, and pretty much anything else made in Hollywood during this “post-prohibition” era romanticizing these characters in an almost freedom fighter-like status against the corrupt government. We can also see negative images, which were based on the ethnic notions of these criminal groups, penetrating the ideologies of the American people to reinforce stereotypes that were not true through the media outlets.

Hollywood and the “Godfather” image

We see the beginnings of media, ethnicity, and organized crime, taken form during prohibition. Prohibition resulted in different groups of ethnicities working together, as the profitability of crime during prohibition made this type of integration naturally happen.⁹ “This concept of transnational crime has helped explain the growth of a parallel of the illegal world economy, where criminal organizations follow the routes of international trade and migration and manifest themselves in expatriate communities.”²⁶ In the article *Organized Crime and Ethnic Reputation Manipulation*, it is analyzed that this grouping of ethnic peoples into social groups resulted in the grouping of peoples, ethnicity, and crime together (such as Italian Mafia, Jewish Mafia, and so on) to make them an easier target for police and media institutions to locate, interrogate, and capitalize on these groups.²⁷

²⁶ Frank Bovenkerk, Dina Siegel, and Damian Zaitch. “Organized Crime and Ethnic Reputation Manipulation”. *Crime, Law and Social Change*. Vol. 39, (2003): 24

²⁷ Frank Bovenkerk, Dina Siegel, and Damian Zaitch. “Organized Crime and Ethnic Reputation Manipulation”. *Crime, Law and Social Change*. Vol. 39, (2003): 24

We see the stereotypes in Hollywood, such as in movies and television, base their premise on immigrant stereotypes, which prevented many immigrant groups from reaching social and economic potential. We can see this limitation in Italian immigrants, where numerous migration waves spread into large cities, with the majority of them holding a working class social status; they were prevented from getting better jobs and political positions that would upgrade their social class, based on stereotypes that were placed on them from the northern immigrant groups from Europe.²⁸ These original based stereotypes could be partly attributed to the fear and competition of employment, as there were large groups of immigrants locating in large cities, making the already scarce jobs harder to obtain. Another effect of these stereotypes was the life of crime itself, resulting from immigrant groups not finding jobs due to the stereotypes, and needing some source of income to survive.

Immigrant stereotypes (specifically Italian-American) can be seen as being almost glorified in American television and movies; “yet another factor limiting the portrayal of Italian-American leadership has been the persistence of cinematic stereotypes which, whether positive or negative, fail to show Italian-Americans in positions of authority and respect. The earliest Italian-Americans in films reflected a condescending though generally not vicious mainstream view of new Italian immigrants as ‘innocent buffoons, peddling arias and apples’; this image, however, rapidly turned into one of Italians as ‘ruthless and driven criminals’”²⁹

These media-related stereotypes would remain unchallenged by members of organized crime groups, as the stereotypes were used to their benefit. The Hollywood and other media

²⁸ Nicholas O. Warne and Ronald E. Riggio, “Italian-American leadership in Hollywood Films: Images and Realities,” *Leadership*, 8, no.3 (August, 2012): 212.

²⁹ Nicholas O. Warne and Ronald E. Riggio, “Italian-American leadership in Hollywood Films: Images and Realities,” *Leadership*, 8, no.3 (August, 2012): 214.

portrayals of the “gangster” distract the American public by separating the well dressed and suave “gangster” from their violent and selfish crimes, reducing the social pressure on organized crime during this post-World War II era. When the organized crime world realized that they could use their image to manipulate their image in the public eye, media management skills were put into place.

Another way to look at the aspect of criminals/criminal organizations in the media, is how certain ethnic groups are dehumanized in the media, having an effect on political and cultural issues. In the article *Mafia, Media, and Myth: Representations of Russian Organized Crime*, by Patricia Rawlinson, she covers how Russian crime figures are portrayed, both in Western and Russian media. Rawlinson also describes the issues of the start of the Cold War, in the early 1950's, where governments portrayed the enemy (or in this case, Russians) in a different light than what it really was.³⁰ Unlike Dillinger being romanticized as a hero in American media during the Great Depression, but in the limelight of the Cold War, popular media institutions were capitalizing on stereotypes, and as a result, in “the less accessible areas of society, media representations became a crucial and often the only entrée into a reality of which few of the general public have firsthand knowledge; as a result of this, organized crime has become victim to political manipulation, and unsubstantiated generalizations, through the news, current affair issues, or the entertainment industry, most notably Hollywood.”³¹ However, we do see the return to the romanticization of organized crime after the “red scare” era starting in

³⁰Patricia, Rawlinson. “Mafia, Media, and Myth: Representations of Russian Organized crime”. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, Vol. 37, Issue 4, (November, 1998)

³¹ Patricia, Rawlinson. “Mafia, Media, and Myth: Representations of Russian Organized crime”. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, Vol. 37, Issue 4, (November, 1998) :346

the 1970's, where Hollywood started making movies again, that glorified the gangster life style, such as, *The Goodfellas*, *Casino*, and the *Godfather* trilogy.

Media Management

However, along with stereotypes portrayed in Hollywood and other media outlets, many organized crime figures during and after prohibition, would control their perceived public image for their own gain. The man who perfected this tactic, and influenced other proceeding crime figures, was Al Capone.

Capone was one of those people who shined and always knew how to use the different media outlets to his advantage. When the Great Depression first hit the United States, Capone seized this unfortunate circumstance for the majority of the American population as an opportunity to polish his image by setting up a soup kitchen.³² The establishment of his soup kitchen would portray himself as provider to the American people, and the government as the real “crook”, and more importantly, it drew the attention away from his criminal activities.

Mickey Cohen would look at this example, and many other things that Capone did and was as inspiration, and Cohen looked up to Capone. In Tere Tereba's book, “Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A.'s Notorious Mobster, Tereba uses an interview that Cohen participated in; Cohen states, “Capone was the only man in any of the syndicates who could make a decision without a round table. He decided by himself on all money matters and all

³² Tere Tereba, “Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A.'s Notorious Mobster”. *MJF Books* (New York, 2012), 24

penalties”.³³ This ideological connection with Cohen and Capone shows how image management is connected to prohibition and the post-World War II era.

One more example of Mickey Cohen and his adopted media management skills from prohibition is when he attended one of Billy Graham’s revival services. When Graham had a massive revival service at Madison Square Garden in 1957, Mickey Cohen was in attendance, and he was invited on stage, smiled, waved to the crowd, and then left. One newspaper headline that was released read, “Mickey Cohen and Billy Graham Pray and Read the Bible Together”,³⁴ and although Cohen appreciated Graham’s kindness and guidance, Cohen said “ I was born a Jew and raised as a Jew.....I have no intention of changing my religion.”³⁵

Robin Hood, the Gangster

The romanticization of gangsters comes directly out of the economic anxieties of the American people following the Great Depression. As the stock market crashed, and banks lost their trust and credibility, Americans began to see banks, and other government institutions as the enemy, and rather than embarrassing themselves by asking the government for help, the majority of Americans saw it as an incompetent organization, and when gangsters robbed banks, they saw them as robbing the government, who robbed the citizens in the first place, creating the modern “Robin Hood” ideology.

One of history’s most infamous criminal “Robin Hoods” was John Dillinger. John Dillinger was a career criminal in the 1930’s, during the height of the Great Depression, where he was specifically involved in armed bank robberies. Even though Dillinger received the title

³³ Tere Tereba, “Mikey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A’s Notorious Mobster”. *MJF Books* (New York, 2012), 25

³⁴ Tere Tereba, *Mikey Cohen*, 200-201.

³⁵ Tere Tereba, *Mikey Cohen*, 201.

“Public Enemy No. 1” by J. Edgar Hoover, Dillinger became idolized by the American public through newspapers and media, which prolonged his criminal spree. One example of this comes from a 1934 newspaper article from the Mason City Globe-Gazette, and it talks about an Indiana organization that created a petition for the government to grant amnesty to Dillinger because of this “Robin Hood” portrayal. The brief summary of the article follows: “John Dillinger may be poison to society in general, but in his home town of Mooresville, Ind., he’s just a modern Robin Hood on a spree. Many of Dillinger’s home town acquaintances are reported to have signed the petition, which alleges that America’s Public Enemy No. 1 didn’t get a square deal when he was convicted and sentenced to prison back in 1924 for robbing a grocer.”³⁶ What is puzzling to me about this plea for their home town hero, is not that they wanted a criminal to go free, but the fact the crime that they wanted to be forgiven by the government actually happened ten years before. Would this argument be “popularized” if there were not some crucial historical factors involved?

The fact that the article was ten years after the crime shows that the effects of the Great Depression far outweighed the economic impact, and highlighted the emotional impact. Would this have happened during the prohibition era, when the crime had actually taken place? I believe that this kind of American support was not only a tactic in itself, but was also to extend this “Robin Hood” mentality to other organized crime figures in the future, and worked in their favor to hinder the efforts of the authorities.

As John Dillinger pioneered this “Robin Hood” image during the Great Depression, when the gap between poverty and wealth was more than substantial, Mickey Cohen also strived for this “Robin Hood” image during the post-World War II era. As Cohen’s public image became

³⁶ Mason City Globe-Gazette. “John Dillinger as Robin Hood: Indiana Home Folks Petition Governor Amnesty for Outlaw.” Friday, April 20, 1934.

challenged, due to court cases related to gun charges and prostitution scandals, Cohen entered the field of charity. Cohen's charity efforts resulted in hand delivered food and gifts during the Christmas and Thanksgiving seasons.³⁷

In Cohen's own words, he explains his charitable actions, "For weeks before each Thanksgiving and Christmas, I would receive calls from captains in the different precincts of persons that they considered in dire straits, and in much need of help so that these families, and their children could at least enjoy their holidays. For families who had small children, I also made arrangements for some toys and clothing that would add to a cheerful holiday. For the two or three weeks previous to each holiday, most of my time and that of the men with my organizations, was taken up by making deliveries and visiting individuals with most of their families."³⁸

Like Capone did with his soup kitchens, Cohen continued this "Prohibition" strategy to create his own perceived "saint-like" image, which was drastically different than what the reality actually was. This "blurring" of the public's perception of criminal organizations during the post-World War II era would become very popular and affective, especially in the case of Las Vegas, as celebrities and their images would be manipulated.

Publicity...Flamingo style!

Other mob-connected individuals in the gambling industry in this post-prohibition time period would also use the media for their own publicity, focusing on idea that "there's no such

³⁷ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 118.

³⁸ A memoir by Mickey Cohen, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 118.

thing as bad publicity”. This self-publicity strategy can be connected back to the Flamingo Hotel, which I discussed in the previous chapter. The original planner and developer of the Flamingo, “Billy” Wilkerson, saw how over-budget the Flamingo was from Siegel’s incompetent management skills, and Wilkerson knew he had to bring in a substantial revenue to the Flamingo.³⁹ Wilkerson thought that the best idea for bringing the Flamingo out of the “red area” was to hire a press agent from back home in Los Angeles. The product that came out of this relationship was an advertisement for the Flamingo’s grand opening, which no one could ignore. The press releases that they created featured, “glossy prints of half-naked, well-endowed young women. Their seductive smiles suggested that there would be plenty of action for high-rollers after they left the tables”.⁴⁰

This strategy of manipulating people’s perception of what Vegas would be like, was not just limited to media publications, but we can see this with the use of celebrity images. Before his death, Siegel would invite celebrities from Hollywood to stay a weekend at the Flamingo. The famous occupants at the Flamingo would promote the luxurious accommodations that were found on the property; especially as the construction cost was over \$5 million. Some of the celebrities that stayed at the Flamingo were “June Haver, Vivian Blaine, George Raft, Sonny Tufts, Brian Donlevy, and Charles Coburn”.⁴¹

Even the FBI thought that the Flamingo was going to be a popular attraction for people from all over the country. In a deleted FBI information sheet, a special agent monitoring Siegel

³⁹ W.R. Wilkerson III. “The Man Who Invented Las Vegas. *Ciro’s Books*. (January, 2000), 92.

⁴⁰ W.R. Wilkerson III. *The Man Who Invented Las Vegas*, 92.

⁴¹ W.R. Wilkerson III. *The Man Who Invented Las Vegas*, 99-101.

notated that, “no doubt the Flamingo will attract many people to this area. It is reported that the Flamingo will cater to men who bet \$1000 chips with the same case as you and I would play the nickel slot machines. In the casinos of the Flamingo, fortunes will be won and lost. Won by Bugsy Siegel and his associates, and lost by the wealthy gamblers from Hollywood and elsewhere”.⁴²

Organized crime figures from the Prohibition era of the 1920’s, to the criminal kingpins of the golden age of Hollywood, would all use and capitalize on this tactic of manipulating their own public image. By manipulating their own image, these “gangsters” where able to turn their reputations from pimps, gamblers, and murderers to Hollywood status celebrities, heroes, and “Robin Hoods”. While being photographed with celebrities, helping the poor, or serving as a “legitimate” business host, the organized crime world in Los Angeles, and Las Vegas were able to secure larger profits, and some sort of legal immunity in court.

⁴² Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Information Sheet”, “Bugsy Siegel”, 1946. Electronic Reading Room, “The Vault”. <http://vault.fbi.gov/Bugsy%20Siegel%20/Bugsy%20Siegel%20Part%203%20of%2032/view> (Date Accessed, December 10, 2013).

Chapter 3: Manipulation of Authority

In addition to criminal organizations, such as American Mafia groups, individuals within key positions were counteracting the effects of organized crime and falling to the temptation of substantial profits as well. Members of organized crime groups recognized the effective tactic of including as members of their community those who attained “official status”, such as law enforcement officers, judges, attorneys, and members of local and federal government. These community members were recruited into working with organized crime through bribery, regular payments, extortion, and violent threats in order to make criminal activity run more effectively through local police harassment, and media management.

Prohibition served as a staple point for the influx of inter-criminal and governmental cross-cooperation, resulting in advanced incoming profits from bootlegging. This bridging of crime came from the economical desperation of the workers in the government sector, as of the result of congress focusing more on budget cuts and spending, rather than on the people working for them; for example, “the starting salary for a Volstead agent⁴³ was \$1,200 in 1920, and only \$2,300 in 1930.”⁴⁴

These Prohibition Volstead agents were the beginning of government officials (whether they were law enforcement officers or judges) being included in the toolbox of organized crime leaders. The result was agents being highly under-trained or not trained at all, low pay, and lack

⁴³ **Volstead Agents, were enacted to enforce the Prohibition laws under the Bureau of Investigation**

⁴⁴ Claire Bond, Potter. “War on Crime: Bandits, G-men, and the Politics of Mass Culture”. (Rutgers University Press, 1998.) 16.

of benefits, and the culture and environment of prohibition made them very impressionable, making the risks worth the rewards.⁴⁵

As Volstead agents were part of the government personnel to fall to the power of the mob, many more would follow this trend in the years to come. One of the most famous, and arguably the most controversial, is the relationship between the Kennedy family and the mob. We see not only the mob attempting to use the Kennedys for political pull, but the Kennedys used the mob's power to help launch their political careers as well.⁴⁶

"Faces of Fame"

This "manipulation of authority" tactic, was just not limited to local governments, but during this post-World War II time period, it would reach the federal level, as seen with the Kennedys'. The Kennedys' connection to the Chicago criminal organizations actually started with one of the members of the infamous Rat Pack, Peter Lawford. Jack Kennedy was Peter Lawford's brother in-law. The legendary Rat Pack included: Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jr., Dean Martin, Joey Bishop, and Peter Lawford. Even though Lawford was the initial connection, the main character in this group of nostalgic crooners, Frank Sinatra, became one of the most important key connections for the Kennedy family. As previously stated in my paper, Vegas was a new and risky investment for the mob (as the majority of financial consultants did not recommend putting a tourist attraction in the middle of a desert), and as Sinatra had experienced before in his life, he became the "face" of organized crime.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Claire Bond, Potter. "War on Crime: Bandits, G-men, and the Politics of Mass Culture". (Rutgers University Press, 1998.) 16.

⁴⁶ Frank Sinatra: Dark Star. Directed by Christopher Oligiati. United Kingdom: BBC, 2005.

⁴⁷ Frank Sinatra: Dark Star. Directed by Christopher Oligiati. United Kingdom: BBC, 2005.

Just as the mob used Sinatra's fame and celebrity status to promote their Vegas casinos as "a friendly fun place", and not an institution run by murder, the Kennedys, did the same with Sinatra, and the other members of the Rat Pack. According to the documentary *Sinatra Dark Star*; which is about Sinatra's association with the mob, John F. Kennedy's father, Joe Kennedy visited the brutal Chicago mob boss, Sam Giancana, expressing his desire for his son to become President, and he felt that he needed the help from the mob. Kennedy expressed that if the mob did help with this campaign, the mob would be rewarded with preferential treatment in the White House. As history shows us, Kennedy won the election with one tenth of one percent of the vote, and one of the important states he won was Illinois.⁴⁸

Stories would surface about unknown "gang like" figures, taking control of voting poles, and intimidating voters to vote for Kennedy by breaking arms and legs, and there were also stories of "scores of Giancana's 'vote sluggers' or 'vote floaters' hitting the streets to 'coerce' the voters."⁴⁹

As Kennedy entered office, the realization that being associated with members of an organized crime group contradicted his main focus as President, even though he rode on Sinatra's fame, and Sammy Davis Jr.'s image to get the minority vote. Kennedy cut every relationship that would trace him back to any person associated with organized crime, including Sinatra and mob boss Sam Giancana.⁵⁰ With the promise of preferential White House treatment violated, JFK's brother Robert Kennedy, launched a new offensive against organized crime, and Sam Giancana was placed on twenty four hour surveillance.

⁴⁸ Frank Sinatra: Dark Star. Directed by Christopher Oligiati. United Kingdom: BBC, 2005.

⁴⁹ John J. Binder and Arthur J. Lurigio. "The Chicago outfit: Challenging the Myths About Organized Crime". *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*. Vol. 29, No. 2 (May, 2013) 212.

⁵⁰ Frank Sinatra: Dark Star. Directed by Christopher Oligiati. United Kingdom: BBC, 2005.

This case of the Kennedys' and their association with organized crime shows that the mobs use of members within community, state, or federal government was not always a "paid off" situation where individuals operating under corruption were in favor of the mob, like we saw with the Volstead agents during prohibition. In the case of the Kennedys', one party wasn't necessarily working for the other, but the intention of the corporation was to get a win-win situation, without a literal monetary exchange.

In addition to the Kennedys', Richard Nixon sought assistance from the lucrative leaders of the organized crime world. As the campaigns for the 1968 Presidential elections started up, "Drew Pearson, a Washington columnist released statements from Mickey Cohen, which were made during his stay at Alcatraz prison for tax evasion crimes in October 1962. The Cohen statement contained information about his contribution in financing Nixon's early congressional campaigns".⁵¹

In Cohen's statement, he talks about how he was sought out by the Nixon administration to help raise funds for his congressional campaign in 1948. Mickey Cohen was put in charge of setting a banquet up for Nixon; Cohen's responsibilities included, booking the Banquet room in the Hollywood Knickerbocker Hotel, and inviting the guests to the event.⁵²

A passage from Cohen's statement reads "At this meeting my group pledged between \$17,000 and \$19,000, but this did not meet the quota set by Nixon and Chotiner and the group was informed they would have to stay until the quota was met. In addition to helping Mr. Nixon

⁵¹ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 269.

⁵² Mickey Cohen's Statement, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 270.

financially, I made arrangements to rent a headquarters for Nixon in the Pacific Finance Building at Eight and Olive Streets in Los Angeles.”⁵³

Drew Pearson, who took down Cohen’s statement while he was at Alcatraz, wrote a final summery explain this mobster and politician relationship. Pearson wrote, “What the Gamblers got in return is spelled out in the records of the Los Angeles County court between 1949 and 1952, which show that Nixon’s campaign manager, Murray Chotiner, and his brother acted as attorney in 221 bookmaking and underworld cases. In almost all instances their clients got off with light fines or suspended sentences”⁵⁴. This relationship between the organized crime world, and the political world proved that politicians needed the criminals as much as the criminals needed the politicians. Neither side could function without the other during this post-World War II era in American history. Near the end of his life, Cohen made one last statement about his relationship with Nixon, saying “he was a big help to me in my operation in Orange County...but if you ever told me he would have been president, I would have died laughing.”⁵⁵

Members of organized crime would not limit themselves to tactics of bribery and blackmail to get control of local authorities; these organizations would also play on local economies to manipulate their criminal actions. Local authorities realized that some illegal enterprises were actually benefiting the local economy, so usually local law enforcement would be given orders to sometimes keep a blind eye to certain groups to ensure that local economic stability stayed, because if these organizations were shut down or locked up, the money would go with them. An example of this unorthodox method of local economic growth are casinos; for much of the first part of the twentieth century, gambling remained illegal; however, mob-run

⁵³ Mickey Cohen’s Statement, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 270.

⁵⁴ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 271.

⁵⁵ Tere Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 277.

casinos, such as the ones run by Meyer Lansky, would never be shut down due to incoming tourist revenue.

Lansky ended up creating his role as the “gambling godfather”, as did other Jewish mobsters, such as Bugsy Siegel, and Sicilian mob boss Lucky Luciano, and Lansky established his lucrative empire. As Lansky’s gambling empire grew in the New York Mob controlled areas, Meyer decided to take his casinos to Southern Florida, where he made millions. According to the Miami Herald, “Lansky’s wealth is reliably estimated at \$300 million, most of it stashed out of the country.”⁵⁶

Lansky used his great earnings of money as a tool for persuasion, instead of using violence or other “classic” mob tactics such as bribery, but when Lansky would use bribery as a tool to get what he wanted, people knew that he was good for the money. A great example of this is taken from another Miami Herald clipping: “In the period from 1918 to 1932, Lansky was arrested seven times on charges ranging from disorderly conduct to suspicion of homicide, but he didn’t go to jail.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Lansky Rules Crime Cartel From Florida”, “Meyer Lansky”. The Miami Herald, December 12, 1965. *Electronic Reading Room, “The Vault”*, <http://vault.fbi.gov/meyster-lansky/meyster-lansky-part-24-of-26/view> (Accessed September 24, 2013).

⁵⁷ Federal Bureau of Investigation. “7 Arrests, No Jail For Meyer Lansky”, “Meyer Lansky”. The Miami Herald, December 12, 1965. *Electronic Reading Room, “The Vault”*, <http://vault.fbi.gov/meyster-lansky/meyster-lansky-part-24-of-26/view> (Accessed September 24, 2013).

Conclusion

Prohibition was a time where Capone was a king, and organized crime was almost unstoppable; as the majority of officials in the justice system were on the payrolls of organized crime groups. The influence and the ideologies of prohibition did not dissolve with the repeal of prohibition it carried out through the Great Depression and after World War II. The effects of prohibition that was seen during post-World War II including Jewish and Italian inter-cooperation, self-image management, and the manipulation of authority.

The cross-cooperation of Jewish and Italian immigrants, is a direct product of prohibition in two ways, which was survival and economical profit. This ethnic cooperation was used as a primary survival technique, because it carried out the instinctive act of survival in numbers; this tactic of surviving in a large group not only protected the Jews and Italians from each other, but it also protected them from other criminal organizations. Also, this cooperation strategy also set both groups up for success, rather than failure. The economic benefit that was produced by the two groups was proved to be extremely successful, as the two groups did not have to compete with each other for business, but they could split the profits, and share the work load, making their business strategies more lucrative. We see this prohibition era tactic continue into the post-World War II era, with people like Meyer Lansky, Bugsy Siegel, and Mickey Cohen.

The next example of the influence of prohibition on the American west coast was the strategy of managing the image of the mob in the media. Members of the mob would learn valuable lessons from crime figures during prohibition, like Al Capone, as an example of how to manipulate images of themselves, to work in their economic and legal benefits. Vegas saw the most of this kind of tactic, such as using celebrities to promote their venues, and distracting their guests from the mob influence.

The last influence that prohibition had on organized crime on the American west coast during the post-World War II era, was the mob's use of authority figures for their own benefit. During prohibition, this tactic was used in extreme measures, when Capone had the majority of the police and other figures on the justice system on his payroll. During the post-World War II era, the mob would use this tactic mainly in associating with political figures; the Kennedys' are a good example of this.

Prohibition's legacy is not limited to gangster films, speakeasies, and Capone, but it has shaped much of the "golden age" of some of the major cities of the American west, like Los Angeles, and Las Vegas.

Bibliography

Primary Evidence:

A memoir by Mickey Cohen, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 67.

A memoir by Mickey Cohen, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 118.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. “7 Arrests, No Jail For Meyer Lansky”, “Meyer Lansky”. The Miami Herald, December 12, 1965. *Electronic Reading Room*, “The Vault”, <http://vault.fbi.gov/meyer-lansky/meyer-lansky-part-24-of-26/view> (Accessed September 24, 2013).

Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Lansky Rules Crime Cartel From Florida”, “Meyer Lansky”. The Miami Herald, December 12, 1965. *Electronic Reading Room*, “The Vault”, <http://vault.fbi.gov/meyer-lansky/meyer-lansky-part-24-of-26/view> (Accessed September 24, 2013).

Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Information Sheet”, “Bugsy Siegel”, 1946. *Electronic Reading Room*, “The Vault”. <http://vault.fbi.gov/Bugsy%20Siegel%20/Bugsy%20Siegel%20Part%203%20of%2032/view> (Date Accessed, December 10, 2013).

Frank Sinatra: Dark Star. Directed by Christopher Oligati. United Kingdom: BBC, 2005.

Note: This documentary contains personal interviews, from people who worked closely with Sinatra, such as drivers, and former girlfriends.

Interview with Ralph F. Salerno, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 16.

Mason City Globe-Gazette. “John Dillinger as Robin Hood: Indiana Home Folks Petition Governor Amnesty for Outlaw.” Friday, April 20, 1934.

Mickey Cohen’s Statement, in Tereba, Mickey Cohen, 270.

Secondary Sources:

Binder J. John and Lurigio J. Arthur, "The Chicago outfit: Challenging the Myths About Organized Crime", *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*. 29, No. 2 (May, 2013): 198-218. <http://ccj.sagepub.com.proxy.uwec.edu/content/29/2/198.full.pdf+html> (accessed October 14, 2013).

Bovenkerk, Frank, Siegel, Dina, and Zaitch, Damian Zaitch, "Organized Crime and Ethnic Reputation Manipulation", *Crime, Law and Social Change*. Vol. 39, (2003): 23-38. <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.uwec.edu/docview/216163930?accountid=14790> (accessed October 13, 2013).

Fischer, Steve. *When the Mob Ran Vegas: Stories of money, mayhem and murder*. Omaha: Berkline Press, 2005.

Humbert, S. Neill, "Italians and Crime in Chicago: The Formative Years, 1800-1920," *American Journal of Sociology*, 74, no. 4 (January 1969): 373-391.

Mobsters- "Meyer Lansky". Bio.com, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgXnC6M63Bc>. (accessed on September 24, 2013).

Peterson, W. Virgil, "Chicago: Shades of Capone". *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 347, (May, 1963): 30-39. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.uwec.edu/stable/1036550> (accessed March 13, 2013).

Potter, Bond Claire. *War on Crime: Bandits, G-men, and the Politics of Mass Culture*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost (accessed February 15, 2013)

Rawlinson, Patricia, "Mafia, Media, and Myth: Representations of Russian Organized crime", *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37, No. 4 (November, 1998): 346-358. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.proxy.uwec.edu/doi/10.1111/1468-2311.00105/pdf> (accessed October 6, 2013).

Roger, Dunnstan, "Gambling in California: History of Gambling in the United States", California Research Bureau, California State Library, (January, 1997) <http://www.library.ca.gov/crb/97/03/chapt2.html> (accessed September 30, 2013).

Tereba, Tere. Mickey Cohen: The Life and Crimes of L.A.'s Notorious Mobster. New York: MJF Books, 2012.

Warne O. Nicholas and Riggio E. Ronald, "Italian-American leadership in Hollywood Films: Images and Realities", *Leadership*, 8, No.3 (August, 2012): 212-227.

<http://lea.sagepub.com.proxy.uwec.edu/content/8/3/211.full.pdf+html> (accessed November 18, 2013).

Wilkerson III. W.R. The Man Who Invented Las Vegas. Ciro's Books, 2000.