Another 12 gangsters refused to comply with our subpenas, contesting their validity and the validity of the Commission itself. They were Fiore "Fifi" Buccieri, who is here today, who your committee has subpensed—his brother Frank Buccieri, Joseph Grieco, Joseph "Gags" Gagliano, two former Chicago Police officers Richard Cardi and Albert Sarno, Dominick Carzoli, Patsy Ricciardi, Pete Ori, Tony Spilotro, Lenny Patrick and Arthur "Boodie" Cowan.

We filed petitions with the Cook County Circuit Court in Chicago.

The mobsters were to appear before our Commission. The court orders were appealed unsuccessfully to the Illinois Supreme Court. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to grant certiorari. In effect this upheld the constitutionality of our position and of our subpenas. In the interim one of these respondents, Arthur "Boodie" Cowan was murdered in gangland fashion.

We finally got eight of the 11 respondents to appear before the next phase of our public hearings held February 24, 1968, which was almost 2 years after the initial hearings. These men also invoked the fifth

amendment a total of several hundred times.

Albert Sarno, Chris Cardi and Patsy Ricciardi were the subjects of of court petition to grant them immunity from self-incrimination. We have filed written arguments, and there will be oral arguments soon. We intend to pursue this action in granting them immunity, in order to obtain more information, and get on further with our investigation.

Three remaining of the original 11 respondents, Fiore "Fifi" Buccieri, Joseph "Gags" Gagliano and Joseph Grieco, appeared before us on March 23, 1968, at our next public hearings. They too

pleaded self-incrimination.

A very courageous widow, who is here and will testify, that Joseph Grieco gave her husband a \$300 loan. He was a full-time employee of a local Chicago newspaper. Doctor and hospital bills depleted all his earnings. He was compelled to go to juice gangster Grieco for a \$500 loan. She will testify later.

May I please request this lady not be photographed. She will be wearing a thin veil. But even so, I would appreciate it tremendously if she was not photographed. She has many children at home. She is

quite fearful for her safety.

The CHAIRMAN. We are thinking about putting her in a hood, like the witness yesterday, so that even if they do photograph her, she will be unidentified.

Mr. Siragusa. Thank you very much.

We had another recent investigation concerning a previously unknown aspect of the juice racket. On March 23, 1968, we had the last of a continuing series of juice racket public hearings in Illinois. This one particular case involved five uneducated practically illiterate Negro employees of a glue factory. They were borrowing money from a nearby clothing store owned by a gentleman named Marvin Browning. Marvin Browning, who possibly, coincidentally, happens to be an associate of some of our prime mobsters in Chicago—Charles and Sam English.

These unfortunate Negro employees were paying 20 percent interest a week. They would purchase a shirt, and the next week they would borrow \$20, the next week \$10—at the very moment they made a

¹ See p. 120, infra.