

1. FORMATION OF CRIMINAL GANGS IN BIG CITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Criminal gangs have been operating in India since ancient times. They usually preyed on travelers and wayfarers while traversing lonely routes that passed through thick jungles. Occasionally they invaded villages and towns and freely indulged in reckless plunder and murder of innocent inhabitants. In fact Gerald Aungier, the first Governor of the island of Bombay created a militia of local 'Bhandaris' in 1669 mostly to control the depredations of criminal gangs who robbed the citizens and visiting sailors alike.

However, it is not this kind of criminal gangs that are subject of the present Study. The criminal world has more than kept pace with the socio - economic progress that society has achieved in the ensuing centuries and decades. Today the criminal gang activities have proliferated in diverse directions and have become more complex and potent. They go by the name of organised crime and have become a challenge to national Institutions and a cause for concern to the whole international community because of the huge profits made by those involved, thus jeopardising the economies of several countries and the fact that they are prepared to use violence, intimidation and corruption to achieve their ends. No country advanced or developing is immune from this scourge which has taken international form due to the phenomenal advancements in the field of communication. Organised crime has become a nightmare for the law enforcement agencies more particularly the police who are the frontline forces when it comes to accountability to people, because there is no easy way of handling this menace that will yield quick results. Several studies in the United States have shown that it is not possible for the police to just go out and put the hoodlums in jail. The complexity of the organisations dictates a more comprehensive view.

But before an attempt is made to define organised crime and examine its important Features in order to study this complex and nefarious phenomenon, it would be worthwhile discussing simpler criminal activities in the underworld that often metamorphose into organised crime which even after its emergence continues to draw upon them for new members and in some cases expertise in certain criminal activities.

To begin with the definition of the underworld, it may be said that the underworld is a loose social organisation of those persons who are criminal and delinquent, and of the hangers on. Like the upper world it is made up of many small societies. The underworld is grouped about various forms of criminal behaviour and those closely knit groups are

loosely associated with each other. The underworld is against the upper world and the police. Two principal elements of its code are (i) not to squeal and (ii) divide the loot fairly. The professional criminals are the main factors of the underworld.

The underworld hierarchy

Ignoring for the purpose of this discussion the occasional offender who does not have a conception of himself as criminal, does not play a criminal role, and does not have much group support for his activities, one comes across the habitual petty offender who has a long criminal career, but is generally not very sophisticated in his activities and tends to be more easily caught. Higher than him in the underworld hierarchy is the conventional criminal offender who displays a steady progression from juvenile gang delinquency to adult criminal behaviour of a more serious type. Such career offenders continually acquire new techniques of committing crime along with new self-justifications for committing them. Studies have shown that these career offenders usually have intimate associations with others of a similar type from whom they learn the secrets of the trade ' and to whom they impart the skills and justifications for their acts .

The Gang

The professional offender on the other hand has the most highly developed career and level of sophistication. Professional criminals are generally looked up to by conventional criminals. They engage in a variety of highly specialised crimes, such as pick - pocketing, sneak thieving from stores, banks and offices, stealing from jewellery stores and hotel rooms and extorting money from others who are engaged in illegal activity. These criminals are not usually connected with any ' heavy rackets ' or organised crime although some , such as safe crackers , may be . In comparison to other criminals. An Extremely high degree of consensus exists among professional criminals, who develop common attitudes towards themselves, towards their crimes , and towards the police who are seen as common enemy . There is quite definitely a code of honour among them and highly specialised vocabulary peculiar to a group of the underworld , developed and transmitted from one generation to another . They also develop a common approach to problems such as the decision as to which crime shall be committed. (a) the geographical area of operation (iii) the initiation of new members (iv) how to dispose to The stolen Property (v) how to protect a member of the gang if caught and . (vi) Securing cooperation of powerful people. In other words this group has a common culture a common bond and a common code.

This group of professional criminals, in effect is a ' gang ' that usually operates together in urban areas and is known as ' street gang ' . The activities of this group or gang are predatory in nature .

Organised Crime

This also is the first stage in the development of organized crime and hence can be called the predatory stage . Its hallmark is the street gang that has become strong enough to prey upon local neighbourhood or community . This exacting street gang uses violence and the threat of violence to obtain regularised income . Also typical is the use - oriented consumption of proceeds from episode crimes which characterise street gangs . This is the first step in the development of the organised criminal group

Regularised income provides discretionary capital for the group ' s expansion into planned endeavours , such as running illegal card games . It also provides the opportunity for role specialisation within the gang as well as opportunities for interaction with the professional ' service crime underworld .

In the street crime leadership is based on a combination of street skills , physical prowess and toughness . In the predatory stage some additional interpersonal and business skills are also required of the leader . Now , not only must the group selectively use violence and threats , it must possess negotiating and diplomatic skills .

The predatory street gang is useful to the existing criminal infrastructure in the neighbourhood or community , especially the professional criminals , gamblers , brothel keepers , and others , because gang members can serve as toughs , collectors , lookouts , private security and eliminators of rivals and competitors . In is latter role they are also useful to legitimate businessmen . Also , having a predatory street gang so employed and co - opted avoids having them used against one . The trade unionists , management as well as politicians also use them as ' head breakers ' ,

The second stage in the development of organised crime is the parasitical stage . in order for this to occur there must be some ' window of opportunity ' through which the predatory street gang can travel to emerge as a parasitical organised criminal group . Changes in power , rule shifts , regulation alterations , economic crises , war , even national catastrophes can create such a window but other situational variables have to be present so that they could be exploited . In Bombay , as we shall see later the Government's prohibition policy provided such a window . This opportunity can provide the incentive for collaboration and organisation beyond the neighbourhood and city as well as the vast profit to transform the predatory street gangs into criminal organisations and syndicates .

It is during the parasitical stage that organised crime groups seek to expand further into the legitimate sectors of society . Changes in technology and society have also assisted in the past and continue to do so even now . the expansion of organized crime.

In the fully matured parasitical stage one begins to see an . increased blending of Previously illegal activities with legitimate enterprise . Here the politician ' s power lends a helping hand ,

The third stage is the symbiotic stage . Here organised crime increasingly moves from opposition to interaction with the state . In Japan . for example : Organised crime groups collectively known Yakusa . turned out eighteen thousand gangsters at the behest of the government to protect the travel route of President Eisenhower in 1960 . In Italy the Sicilian Mafia has strong ties to the dominant Christian Democratic Party . This creates an Interactive relationship and mutual profit making policies and programmes are developed that promote Mafia domination of certain aspects of the market place and permit them to enforce with extra - legal violence .

An operational definition of organised crime

Though this stage by stage up gradation of criminal activities by a group of people who are given to violating the existing law , would give a fairly vivid picture of people indulging in ordinary crime of petty nature or marginal crime ultimately forming up Syndicates that indulge in criminal activity in a pre - planned manner , it is necessary to define organised crime and enumerate its various characteristics or main features , However , as with any other complex phenomenon there is no commonly agreed definition of organised crime as perspectives differ . One more factor that makes definition more difficult is the changing definitions of illegality for , they determine how organised crime services or victimises the people .

Edwin Sutherland and Donald Cressey describe organised crime as the association of a small group of criminals for execution of a certain type of crime . This is a somewhat simplistic and all encompassing definition which fits a gang better than the organised crime .

In the police perspective it is an outright criminal activity that tends to nullify the government . In 1983 Judge William H . Webster , Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation provided a more detailed definition . He stated , " for the purpose of managing investigations , an organised crime group is defined as any group having some manner of formalised structure whose primary objective is to obtain money through illegal activities and maintains its position through the use of violence or the threat of violence , corrupt public officials . graft or extortion and has an adverse effect on the people in its locale or region or the country as a whole . In the chapter titled " The challenge of crime in a free society the (US) President ' s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice describes organised crime as a society that seeks to operate outside the control of the people and their government . IT involves thousands of criminals working within structures as complex as those of any large

corporation, subject to laws of their own making more rigidly enforced than those of the legitimate government. Its actions are not impulsive but rather the result of intricate conspiracies carried on over years and aimed at gaining control over whole fields of activity in order to amass huge profits. The President's commission further describes the criminal group involved in organised crime as a continuing structured collectivity of persons who utilise criminality, violence and a willingness to be incorrupt in order to gain and maintain power and profit.

The First International Symposium on Organised Crime which was held from the 16th to 19th May, 1988 at the Headquarters of the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol) in Saint Cloud, France, by a majority decision adopted a definition of organised crime which reads, "Any enterprise or group of persons engaged in a continuing illegal activity which has as its primary purpose the generation of profits irrespective of national boundaries

On the other hand a number of social scientists who have studied organised crime describe it as an integral part of a nation's social, political, and economic life- as one of the major social ills, such as poverty that grew with urban living. Some social scientists describe the practitioners of organised crime as the Society's economically poor young people. In their perception of society, these scientists argue, many of these young people have organised and created counter-cultural structures that they believe are capable of delivering the kinds of emotional support and material goods the large society promises but does not make available to youngsters like themselves.

Yet other social scientists, particularly economists, have argued that organised crime, at least in its market activities, operates like any other enterprise. The fundamental characteristic of organised crime is that it supplies goods and services declared illegal by government- illicit sex, illegal alcohol and drugs and usurious wares to voluntary customers in a supply-and-demand model. At the same time, however, organised criminals use the proceeds from these illegal activities to finance such related crimes as hijacking, extortion, the resale of stolen goods, and the use of criminal tactics to monopolise business and labour unions. The profits are also used to corrupt public officials who in turn promote and protect the criminal activities.

Main features of organised crime

It should be obvious that strategies for the control or eradication of organised crime the evolution of which is the main objective of the current study, will naturally and indispensably emerge from the perspective that is adopted. Though it is also evident that for the satisfactory eradication of this form of criminal activity a combined, wholesome approach provides the best chance for success, to attempt any such approach in the hope that it would be adopted by all concerned and implemented would be

chimerical. Therefore, a practical proposition would be to adopt the criminal conspiracy view, and since no social evil can be eradicated by the police working in isolation relying entirely on the effective implementation of law, combine it with practicable social involvement and community action. Awareness of the all pervasive sinister nature of organised crime by the people who ultimately become their unwary victims and their active involvement in tracking organised crime is indispensable for the success of any eradication programme.

In this context it may be noted that all the perspectives share certain basic assumption about the nature of organised crime. These are, (i) organised crime is indeed organised ie, it possesses some form of regularised interaction, roles and structure and, whatever the form, it has an existence and permanence that transcends individual membership. Because it is organised, it differs from street crime which is more incident centred and does not involve the degree of planning or the inter-connected network of legal and illegal activities which are a characteristic of organised crime. (ii) organised crime has goals and objectives, strategies and tactics to attain these ends and to minimise risks. (iii) organised crime is protected in as much as it uses violence or the threat of violence and to an extent depends for its existence on some degree of corruption and influence in the political and enforcement sectors and (iv) organised crime encompasses wide range of illegal and illicit activities whose major purpose is to provide goods and services to an accepting public.

Put more simply, the main characteristics of organised crime are, (i) organised crime is a group activity (ii) it has continuity over time. Organised criminal groups (a) ensure that they can survive the death or imprisonment of their leaders and (b) can vary the nature of their activities to take advantage of changing criminal opportunities. (iii) All organised groups are headed by a single charismatic leader or a syndicate and is structured into a series of subordinate ranks, although they may vary in the rigidity of their hierarchy. Large and widespread organisations may be composed of multiple separate groups or units, each unit generally headed by its own leader who is supported by the group's hierarchy of command. Intergroup disputes, joint ventures and new membership are generally reviewed by a syndicate or board composed of leaders of these groups. Key members are protected, insulated and buffered by forms of organisation structuring and by the use of 'fronts' and non-members associates

(iv) Members must be formally accepted by the group after a demonstration of loyalty and a willingness to commit criminal acts. Membership may be limited by language, region, religion, ethnicity or common background and generally involves a life time of commitment to the group which can be enforced through violent group activities

(v) Wealth, power and control are key goals of organised crime and may be achieved through criminal activity of one or several types, Criminal activity may be designed

directly to generate income or to support the group's power through bribery, violence, and intimidation. Violence is used to maintain group loyalty and to intimidate outsiders, and is a threat underlying all group activity. Specific violent acts include, murder, kidnapping, arson, robbery and bombings.

(vi) Organised crime possesses capital for complex, long term, planned enterprises and operations.

(vii) Long-term goals stress the maximisation of profit and power through the cartelisation or monopolisation of criminal enterprises and markets, as well as control over legitimate businesses and sectors of economy. In short, legitimate businesses are used to 'launder illegal funds or stolen goods. Legitimate business involvement also elevates the social status of organised crime figures.

Purpose of the present study

Though the above description of the evolution and nature of organised crime reflects international scenario more particularly the American situation, it is applicable mutatis mutandis to Indian situation as well. A look at the crime and criminal situation in a big city like Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi will readily convince anyone that urban criminality in India has also gone through similar paces. With the advent of Haji Mastan and later Daud Ibrahim, street gangsterism which confined its criminal activities to extracting protection money which is a euphemism for extortion by intimidation and occasional use of violence, group criminal activity catapulted itself into bootlegging, smuggling, extortions forcible evictions and the like and assumed the classical form of organised crime. While Haji Mastan made explorations into the political field by establishing a political party that sought to bring Muslims and Dalits on the same platform and under his protective umbrella, Daud Ibrahim has gone a step ahead in the typical organised crime activity and poured his ill-gotten millions into legitimate business where monopolisation with the help of money and muscle power is manifestly the aim.

The reported nexus first between these organised criminal gangs and our politicians as well as law enforcement officers and then with the Inter Services Intelligence the notorious cloak and dagger outfit of Pakistan, has added a sinister dimension to Daud's internationalised organised criminal activities.

This disquieting development not only provides the rationale for undertaking the present study but also adds urgency to the endeavour. To have organised criminal gangs is by itself disconcerting because it aims at negating the government. The President Commission has rightly observed, "It is the organised crime's accumulation of money not the individual transactions by which the money is accumulated that has a great and threatening impact on the country. It may provide a strong motive for murder and the means to commit murder with impunity. Organised crime exists by virtue of the power it

purchases with its money. The millions it can throw into the legitimate economic system give it a power over the lives of thousands of people and over the quality of life in the whole neighbourhood". And further, "When organised crime places an official (who is its stooge) in public office it nullifies the political process. When it bribes a police official it nullifies law enforcement" nullification of the visible legal government.

Organised crime is the Organised criminal groups such as the one headed by Daud Ibrahim acquire in the process tremendous operational capability which they can efficiently but ruthlessly put to use When this sinister capability is made available to a buccaneering outfit like Pakistan's ISI the implications for the country are indeed frightening. With the best of intentions it is not possible for any authority much less an authority that has been plagued by corruption to devise effective counter measures unless the working of these organised criminal gangs are studied and the nature and extent of their activities properly assessed.

The present research is confined to studying the organised criminal activities in the cities of Bombay and Delhi, Any effort to extend it further to cover other cities might deprive it of incisiveness and depth. Constraints of time and resources would also preclude such ambitious project.

Though there exist organized criminal gangs that specialize and confine their activities to white collar crimes, they have been excluded, again for the reasons stated above. Put succinctly the present project is confined in its scope to cover only large criminal gangs who started their criminal activities as street but now qualify be called organised criminal gangs and mainly operate in Bombay and Delhi. It must be added here that Daud Ibrahim's is not the only organised gang that is operational in Bombay City. There are several others which function independently or in competition and freely commit murders, kidnappings for ransom and gangland revenge killings which have exacerbated the feeling of insecurity even in the common man.

The above analysis of what constitutes organised crime and how it is evolved which is based essentially on the research and related literature available on the activities of organised crime in Western countries, is intended to serve as a hypothesis for the research in hand. It shall be the endeavour of the present study to test this hypothesis and in the process discover any new facets

The knowledge thus gained will be used to formulate a strategy for the control and containment of the organised crime in these two cities, that the local police may like to examine and adapt.

Historical Background of Organised Crime in Bombay City.

If street gangs are a manifestation of organised crime in rudimentary stage then Bombay being a port city had it for centuries. In fact the modern organisation for policing in Bombay owes its coming into being to the menace of street gangs robbing sailors. Governor Aungier established a militia of six hundred locals of Bhandari community in 1669 in order to combat this kind of predatory crime

Street Gangs, a permanent feature:

However street gangs remained street gangs in as much as they were semi-cellular with a bully or Dada as he was commonly known, as the central figure. Knives especially the Rampuri variety, were their main weapon and they largely confined their activities to extracting money from gambling dens and prostitution houses as also shopkeepers by forcing on them their protective umbrella. They also frequently robbed people on lonely streets mostly after dark. Peculiarly the communal sentiment in them came to the surface during Hindu-Muslim riots which occurred with nauseating regularity from the beginning of the twentieth century. These street gangs used their skill at using the knife with dexterity in maiming and incapacitating innocent people belonging to the opposite community who happened to stray into areas which were strongholds of these hoodlums.

The histories or activities of these gangs have not been systematically chronicled mostly because the Dadas who headed these gangs were essentially small time operators whose writ ran within a small area surrounding their abodes. These gangs also invariably disintegrated with the disappearance of the leader from the scene whether by death, long incarceration or because of his taking to some legitimate business after amassing enough wealth. There was in fact no continuity though gangsterism as a phenomenon never really disappeared from the city as a whole

Emergence of Organised Crime

With the introduction of the prohibition policy soon after independence that gave rise to the thriving and relatively lucrative clandestine trade in illicit liquor, the situation changed dramatically. Bootlegging not only attracted the covetous attention of these street gangs but it also gave rise to syndicate type of coordinated chains of illicit activity, Resultantly, the gangs which took to bootlegging became larger, more powerful and affluent as well as influential. For the first time organised crime in its classical form made appearance in the underworld of Bombay city.

The Vardha Gang

One such gang which ruled the roost for several years beginning early 1960's was that of Varadraj Muniswamy Mudliar @ Varadhabhai @ Vardha. Typically he also acquired the nickname of Godfather

It is not that Vardha was the first gang-leader who organised bootlegging in a systematic manner, though he undoubtedly was the first to provide an umbrella of protection to several bootlegging gangs who could not transport or sell illicit liquor in Bombay city without Vardha's approval and paying tribute to him. In its natural progression street gangs first stepped into offer protection to transport and sale of illicit liquor which initially was a cottage industry but soon, expanding its economic base and scale of operation, shifted to secluded creeks, nullahs and riverbeds outside the city where liquor was clandestinely distilled under the protection and watchful eye of the gangsters. Starting his life as an unlicensed porter at V.T. railway station, Vardha soon took to committing petty thefts in nearby Docks area where pilfering of imported material unloaded by ships was a tradition. In this phase of his racketeering career he was under the tutelage of Haji Mastan a South Indian who made a humble beginning in the criminal world of the docks but soon assumed control of all pilfering and larcenous activities in that area. On coming in contact with Lambu Muttu a bootlegger from Rawli Camp area in Matunga, Vardha joined him in the business of illicit distillation and sale of liquor. However, soon differences developed between them resulting in Vardha getting Lambu Muttu murdered and appropriating to himself the leadership of the gang. Vardha quickly established himself as a resourceful leader and expanded the activities and influence of the gang. His gang, more particularly he himself became a protective umbrella for other bootleggers especially those who transported and sold illicit brew in Bombay city. Once they accepted Vardha's suzerainty they could carry on their illicit trade with impunity, Vardha could provide this protection by being friendly with police officers to whom he had managed to secure free access. His entente cordiale was equally effective with other law enforcement agencies such as Bombay Municipal Corporation, Customs, Excise and Income Tax departments.

Vardha's Lieutenants

By meticulous planning of his illegal activities which he also diversified in several fields and by avoiding confrontation with the law enforcement agencies in fact by managing their connivance, he soon became a force to be reckoned within Bombay city. He made Thomas Kurian @ Khwaja in charge of bootlegging and allied activities. Mohinder Singh Viji @ Bada Soma looked after smuggling operations. He organised landing of contraband gold in Vasai-Virar area reportedly with the assistance of Bhai Thakur who later became a trusted landing agent of Daud Ibrahim. His smuggling activities extended not only to the Konkan belt in the south but also Santacruz airport where almost the whole airport staff was under his sway. His hold over the lower employees and his influence with the higher-ups was certainly most remarkable. Resultantly, Vardha could organise any smuggling operation by air with their assistance. Vardha's most lucrative business namely, of matka gambling, extortion and supari killing.

was entrusted to Darshan Singh Dhal @ Tillu while N. Vithal, his fourth lieutenant ran passport rackets.

A Good Samaritan

Physically a short statured person Varúha wore all the Tell-tale marks of being a God fearing man to revelled himself by holding 'Durbars' during the course of which he dispensed instant justice. He acted as good Samaritan to anybody in need who approached him for succour. Disloyalty from his henchmen even suspicion of it was ruthlessly dealt with maiming and murder.

Because he brought scores of poor Tamil boys from Tamil Nadu and provided in his gang and also because of his liberally helping poor Tamil them employment residents of Matunga -Dharavi area he became quite a popular figure whom the poor venerated and even the middle class admired for the good deeds he did.

Influence Building

An organised crime operator's main aim always is to neutralise the law enforcement by direct bribery and bringing pressure through influential politicians more particularly those in power. Vardha, true to his calling contributed liberally to political parties when they held rallies and other functions and to their election campaigns. All the elected representatives from Matunga area were amenable to his influence because of his helping them in several ways. With officials of the law enforcement agencies notably the police he maintained very cordial relations and secured for himself free access. This fact he did not accomplish merely by paying court or obeisance to them but inmost.cases by paying haftas to them and pandering to their various needs of the senses.

Though he was ruthless with dissidents from his gang he never crossed swords with law enforcement authorities even when they became a thorn in his side. Thus, when Deputy Police Commissioner. Y.C. Pawar relentlessly chased his henchmen he retaliated not by organising an attack on him but by asking his own men to file several criminal cases against the police officer in the court of law. He thus managed to harass and" demoralise Pawar to a larue extent but ultimately he had to bow out from Bombay and shift his residence to Madras where he died soon thereafter due to illness.

Relations with other Ganga

If not crossing swords with law enforcement agencies was pragmatism indeed, not indulging in gang wars was real politic. Though he showed no mercy to infidels in his own gang. his main strategy in dealing with other gangsters was to win them over by helping hand approach, Whenever any criminal of promise was in difficulty especially when he lell into the dragnet of a law enforcement agency Vardha by using his money

power and influence got him out of trouble thus earning his gratitude and eventual loyalty when he joined Vardha's entourage.

Vardha was in the true sense a mafia don, a godfather who operated organised crime for nearly two decades -from 1960's to 1980's- in Bombay city and managed his criminal activities with dexterity and finesse though he had little education and a poor upbringing. He also gracefully withdrew from the Bombay scenes when he saw clear signs of his meeting his nemesis in case he held on any longer.

End of Vardha Gang

After his death his lieutenants more particularly Darshansingh Dhal @ Tillu tried to assume the mantle of leadership but soon realised the he was woefully inadequate for the task and gave up. Thus, the criminal empire that Vardha had built up almost from a scratch disintegrated completely after his death. But this was not the end of organised crime in Bombay

Haji Mastan - Yusuf Patel

While Vardha was thriving in North Bombay on large scale bootlegging, dock thefts and smuggling, during the sixties, Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel of Dongri and Pydhoni areas from South Bombay had opened a new front of smuggling activities. Although united by crime, Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel were divided by their personal and monetary interests. Their differences over distribution of booty occasionally surfaced. These differences reached a flash point when in the year 1969 Haji Mastan hired to attack Yusuf Patel, who was seriously injured in the firing. The assailants were caught and tried in the court. They were convicted but Haji Mastan who was charged as conspirator was acquitted. This was the first major clash between the smugglers. The incident established supremacy of Haji Mastan in the underworld.

The huge unaccounted money acquired by these smugglers and their spending in holding mujra programmes, cocktail parties and high stake gambling attracted the attention of the youths in the area. These unemployed youths, mostly Muslims were used as carriers or escorts for smuggled goods. However, their share in the huge profits was absolutely meager. The imposition of national emergency gave these youths and other marginal smugglers an opportunity to force their way up into smuggling activities. This was because during this period. Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel were detained under NSA and their detention had created a vacuum in the smuggling market.

Emergence of Daud Ibrahim Gang

These youngsters did not always keep their promises in making payments which led to frequent clashes, giving rise to the need for enlisting musclemen in order to recover

money or to settle scores with the rivals. These second line smugglers, therefore, sought the support of criminals who had by then gained knowledge and information of the smuggling activities and had occasionally started looting the smuggled goods in transit. These men included Daud Ibrahim and his brother Shabir, Alamzeb and Amirjada, Saced Batla and Mohammed Kalya etc. They started helping the smugglers in recovering money from the defaulters. Here it must be added that Alamzeb and Amirjada both belonged to the gang of Abdul Karim Sher Khan @ Karim Lala of Dongri. Karim Lala who is still alive is an Afghanistani Pathan who came to Bombay in 1942 and has really never gone back. Apart from bullying he ran and patroised gambling dens and illicit liquor joints but he was more notorious for drug peddling. For a brief while he became leader of Jirga-e- Hind. an association of Pakhtoon nationals. His nephews and henchmen were all Pathans who pushed drugs and extorted money. Alamzeb and Amirjada were prominent among them

Beginning of Gang Warfare

Daud Ibrahim is a Konkani Musalman hailing from Khed in Ratnagiri district. His father was a Policeman in Bombay Police from where he retired as Head Constable. On the other hand, Alamzeb, Amirjada and others of that group were Pathans owing allegiance of Karim Lala a Pathan drug trafficker operating in Dongri area. In fact, Samadkhan from this group was his phew. Between Daud Ibrahim and these Pathans there was nothing common except their occasional communion for looting, escorting smuggled goods or recovery of money from defaulters. During one such transaction, Alamzeb and Amirjada kidnapped a customs officer for alleged misappropriation of smuggled gold. The matter was settled for rupees two lakhs and the customs officer was allowed to go. This money was accepted on behalf of the above two by Daud Ibrahim. He paid them only a small part of it and kept the rest for himself. This dishonest behaviour on Daud's part and the quarrel that ensued ushered in a turbulent period of battle royal between Dawood group and Alamieeb group which saw brutal murders of gangsters and their sympathizers of either side.

Daud Gang Becomes Supreme

By this time Daud Ibrahim had established an efficacious smuggling network and consequently gathered good fortune. Senior smugglers in smuggling activity, Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel, had receded into the background. While Yusuf Patel took to construction activities in a big way in Nagpada -Agrimada area, Haji Mastan entered politics. He became a self-styled leader of the oppressed class of Muslims and scheduled castes and formed a political party christening it as Dalit-Muslim Suraksha Mahasangh. He was using this organisation out as a cover for his illegal activities. He would also mediate and settle disputes among the smugglers and underworld operators. Daud Ibrahim thus became the dominant force in smuggling activities. He had ample money and manpower to meet

any legal or illegal challenge. His four brothers Shabir, Noora, Ance and Iqbal and several young men whom he selected with care became his mainstay. Before long he became the head of the most powerful gang of smugglers in and around Bombay soon spreading activities to the coastal areas in the North and Konkan, and Karnataka in the South.

Liberal Bail Policy Helps Gangs

Daud's ascendancy in the underworld came at a time when the judiciary had adopted the policy of granting bail liberally even to criminals essentially because a large number of under trial criminals were then languishing for years in different jails. This policy got further reinforced by Justice Krishna Iyer's historic judgment in 1977 that made bail and not jail as the credo of the judiciary which now started granting bail freely not only to those involved in serious crimes but also to those who had been convicted in such cases and were involved again in serious crimes like robbery, dacoity and murder.

It is worth noting here that during the early stage of his criminal career, Daud Ibrahim along with 7 others had robbed a businessman on 4.2.74. All of them were arrested in this case but were released on bail. They were convicted on 3.7.77 and sentenced by the Sessions Court for 4 to 7 years' R.I. Likewise Alamjeb was convicted in an offence of robbery for 7 years R.I. This offence was committed by him in 1975. On the basis of the above mentioned Supreme Court ruling, all of them were granted bail on the plea of filing appeals against their conviction. This liberal grant of bail emboldened the criminals to take to more and more crimes as, there was no fear of remaining in police or jail custody or long. The chances of conviction also receded as, it took more than 8 to 10 years for sessions trial in a bail case when it was difficult to trace the witnesses and the investigating officers had either retired or transferred to different units. Worse still, by that time every person including the aggrieved had lost interest in the case. This unhappy situation spurred up offences of robberies, dacoities and gang murders, involving the same criminals again and again. There was a transformation in the thinking of the criminals much to the disadvantage of the police.

Daud Ibrahim and his rivals Alamjeb and others took full advantage of this judicial liberalism. There was no let up in the raging rivalry between the two gangs. Karimlala intervened and brought about a truce between them, But the enmity was too deep seated to be eliminated by the truce, In 1978, Daud Ibrahim, Shabir, Anshum Pehalwan and others assaulted Saced Batla, who was on parole, while undergoing imprisonment having been convicted in the murder of press reporter Iqbal Natiq. This was retaliated by Alamjeb gang by firing on Daud and his henchmen in 1979 when they were released on bail from Nagpada police station. In the cross firing, Alamjeb was slightly injured. Alamjeb, Amirjada and others were arrested by Nagpada Police station. Haji Mastan brought about the second compromise between the two gangs. However, it was short lived. Both the gangs awaited opportunity for revenge. The situation soon

became explosive and stray skirmishes occurred intermittently. However, Aiamjada's strength in terms of new cars, musclemen and money power was no match for Daud Ibrahim's resources, but he was more desperate. In January 1981, Alamjeb's men tracked down Shabir (Daud's brother) and murdered him at the Prabhadevi, petrol pump. Simultaneously they tried to attack the residence of Daud at Pakmodia Street. This was a great blow to attack Daud gang, and particularly to Daud himself as, he lost his elder brother. Revenge was uppermost in his mind now on. After the murder of Shabir, Alamjeb and Amirjada fled to Gujarat.

This left the Bombay underworld at Daud's mercy who now became the centre-figure. Sharad Shetty from the western suburbs, Igbal Mirchi from south Bombay and a number of small time smugglers rallied round Daud. Although, Daud was arrested by the customs department once or twice he was never convicted. Daud expanded his smuggling activities to Gujarat by establishing contact with Lallu Jogi, a notorious smuggler of consequence from Gujarat. This also facilitated his hunting for Alamjeb and his gang to avenge his brother's murder.

In June 1983, Daud Ibrahim lodged a false complaint against Alamjeb at Makrapara police station in Gujarat in order to get him arrested. The local police suspected the game and in the counter action they arrested Daud, Lallu Jogi Antulay and Sharad Shetty for possession of fire arms and later detained them under COFEPOSA for a while. However, on 2.8.83. Alamjeb and his gang did attack Daud and his gang in which Daud's two muscle men, Abdul Shakoor and Rais Ahmed received bullet wounds. Daud realised that he could not accept the challenge of his rivals in Gujarat.

In spite of enormous money, weapons and motor cars and manpower, Daud was unable to subdue Alamjeb and his gang. He, therefore, thought of another subterfuge and recruited a desperado, Rajan Nair who was then operating in the eastern suburbs of Bombay monopolising black marketing in cinema tickets near Shahakar cinema at Ghatkopar and had recently attacked a police officer brutally.

Amiriada Murdered

Daud obtained from his sources the date on which Amirjada was to face his trial in the sessions court in connection with one of the offences committed by him. Daud's plan was to kill him in the court itself. For this purpose, Rajan Nair provided him, the man to execute the job. He was David Pardeshi from Rajan Nair's gang. David Pardeshi was given target practice at Nagpada in a godown. On 6.9.83, while Amirjada was in the court room, David Pardeshi fired at him from point blank range and killed him. David Pardeshi was injured in the firing by the police officer present in the court. He was arrested and taken into custody. Daud thus succeeded in eliminating one of his two most hated rivals. After this assassination, Rajan Nair became the right hand man of Daud.

Taking advantage of Daud's patronage, Rajan Nair murdered Philips Pandhre and Abdul Kunju who were his rivals in the eastern suburbs. Rajan Nair also got killed a number of his opponents by hunting them out in and outside Bombay. By helping Rajan Nair eliminate his rivals Daud ensured that Rajan Nair was now beholden to him and prepared to do any thing at his bidding.

Alamieb Continues the Crusade

Alamjeb, however, continued his fight against Daud by taking shelter in Gujarat but secretly visiting Bombay. Thus, in January 1984, Alamjeb's men opened fire on Rashid Arba, a staunch supporter of Daud near Mahalaxmi petrol pump. Although seriously injured Rashid Arba survived. But within a few days therefore, Alamjeb and his gang murdered one Baxi, an associate of Daud, at Wadhwan in Gujarat Financial Investments Many smugglers, after the lifting of national emergency, invested their money in real estate such as cinema theatres, namely Metro, Shalimar, Ganga Jamuna, Apsara etc and hotels like Poonam International, Horizon, Ceasars Palace etc. They also plunged themselves into construction of housing accommodation which was in great demand because of Bombay's bloating population. For this purpose, they kept close contact with the two Mafia gangs of Daud and Alamieb whose strotig arm methods were used for taking possession of plots of land by forcible eviction of hutment dwellers.

Climate Favourable for Mushrooming of Gangs

Concomitantly, circulation of black money also provided good opportunity for musclenien and gangsters. Businessmen dealing in black money were not prepared to lodge complaints with the police or courts for fear of exposure to income tax authorities. They, therefore, turned to Daud, Alamjeb and other local gangs in order to recover their moneys, the latter pressurising their targets by threat, kidnapping and even murder.

The musclemen were in great demand. The mutka den and liquor den operators, vulnerable to looting also needed these men as protectors. There was thus favourable climate for the growth of gangs almost in every lane and mohalla. Apart from the gangs of Daud, Karinlala, Alamjeb and Vardha, a tumber ol other gangs came up; one prominent gang amongst them being Rama @ Ramya Naika gang from Agripada, Shekhar Joshi- Taramal gang freom Lalbag, Prakash Chavan gang from Bengal Chemicals (Worli), Satish Raje- Nandu Khare gang from Bhoiwada, Babya Khopde gang from Lower Parel, Walji- Palji gang from Dadar, Manya Surve gang from Dadar, Suhas Bhatkar (Potya) gang from Prabhadevi, Dholakia gang from Khar, Robert-Bastav gang from Juhu, Sharad Shetty gang from Jogeshwari, Kanta Gawde gang from Jogeshwari, Anil Bambulkar gang from Dadar, Hamid-Majid (sons of Aziz Daleep) gang from Dongri, Sadhu Shetty gang from Chembur, Arjun Lokhande gang from Baiganwadi, Bala Kadam

gang from Vikhroli, Philips Pandhre-Shetty gang from Bhandup, Guru Satam gang from Parel, Dilip Prabhu gang from Khandke building, Dadar etc.,

Daud forms Alliance

Daud Ibrahim wanted to bring all these gangs under his fold. He had already won over Rajan Nair gang and eliminated some of the latter's opponents through him only. In keeping with this plan he established contact with Ramya Naik from Agripada.

Ramya Naik Gang

In the early seventies, Ramakant @ Rama @ Ramya Shankar Naik residing at Byculla station road in the jurisdiction of Agripada police station, was a young boy in his twenties. He was then working as a mill hand in Bradbury Mill in the area. From early age itself he went astray. He formed friendship with Babu Rashim, Arun Gawali and Heward Malcom Rego who were senior to him and lived in the area. In the beginning the gang used to approach Matkawailas, liquor dealers and club owners, intimidate them and extort money from them. They used to collect money from shopkeepers for various festivals. They had the blessings of Shiv Sena leaders from the area. Complaints of threat, assault and extortion by this gang started pouring into Agripada police station. Ramya Naik not having much interest in his job left Bradbury mill. His first major involvement in crime was in the murder of Parasnath Pande, a known bully and matka den operator on Byculla station road on 22.2.79. In this case, Ramya Naik along with 6 others were convicted for life by the Sessions Court. They filed an appeal in the Bombay High Court against the conviction. Pending hearing of the appeal, they were released on bail in 1982. While on bail, the gang committed murder of one Shridhar Shetty at Byculla on 4.3.1983. In view of their involvement in serious crime while on bail, an application was made in the High Court on 20.10.1983 and their bail was got cancelled by the Police. However, in spite of the High Court Order, the then Minister of Jail released them on parole. A writ petition filed against the parole order by Shri Jayant Shetty (uncle of deceased Shridhar Shetty) came up for hearing before the Bombay High Court. During the hearing of this petition, the Division Bench passed strictures against the Minister and suggested that the powers to release convicts on parole be withdrawn from the Minister and be vested in to a "parole committee". The Judges called for the Parole file and found that these gangsters were released on parole despite strong objection by the Commissioner of Police. It is interesting to note that the Minister pleaded that he had acted on the recommendation of three MLAs who asked for the favour on the ground that these gangsters had helped them during the textile workers' strike. The Chief Minister then revoked the parole orders and on 8.10.84 Ramya Naik and on 8.11.84 Babu Rashim surrendered to the police. Unfortunately, however, Ramya Naik and his associates were later acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

Acquittal in the murder case gave a great boost to Ramya Naik and his gang. The gang conducted its criminal activities which mainly comprised extortion and bootlegging, from the Dagdi chawl in Agripada locality. Ramya Nayak and his henchmen bribed as well as intimidated the hapless chawl dwellers into submission who were not only mute witnesses to the criminal escapades of the gang but often found themselves resisting the police when the later raided the gang's hideouts, at the behest of the gang. This attracted the attention of Daud Ibrahim, who then lost no time in winning over the gang, This he did through Rajan Nair with whom Ramya Naik and Babu Rashim had established a working relationship around this time. Money was no problem for Daud because his smuggling activities were also prospering.

Pathan Gang Eliminated

Getting encouraged by Ramya Naik's record Daud entrusted the job of annihilating Alamjeb and his gang to Ramya Naik. In the meantime, Alamjeb had shifted his activities to Gujrat and Samadkhan had been released on bail. The latter took over the reins of the gang in the absence of Alamjeb. He was a desperate character. However, Ramya Naik gang was already on the job and killed Samadkhan in the early hours of October 5, 1984 while he was on his way to the railway station in order to go to Gujarat. With the elimination of Amirjada, Alamjeb and Samadkhan, the activities of this gang in Bombay virtually came to an end and so also the one time strong opposition to Dawood. He was supreme now,

End of Rajan Nair

Farlier on 15.9.1983, the Crime Branch CID officers succeeded in arresting Rajan Mahadeo Nair at Tilak Nagar. He was then found in possession of a loaded .38 revolver. Bafore taking to crime, Rajan Nair was working as turner with Larsen & Turbo Ltd, in 1972. He resigned from the company and started indulging in anti-social activities in Tilak Nagar area. Rajan Nair's first daring involvement in crime was in 1976, when he made a murderous atiaack on Police Inspector Sarmalkar then working at Tilak Nagar Police Station for his cffective intervention in cinema ticket black marketing by Rajan Nair and his gang at Sahakar Cinema, Ghatkopar. Inspector Sarmalkar survived. However, the case did not come up for trial till 1983 in the Sessions Court. During the period from 1976 to 1983. Rajan Nair committed eight serious offences involving violence and murder violent

After his arrest in Amirjada's murder, Rajan Nair while being brought back to the lock up after remand from the Esplanade Court on 30.9.8, one Chandrashekhar Safalika dressed in Naval uniform fired at him from point blank range and killed him on the spot. The police constable who was escorting him also received a bullet injury in the stomach. The assailant was arrested on the spot. Alamjeb & Abdul Kunju were behind this murder.

On his demise in this manner, Raian Nair was succeeded by Rajan Nikhalie @ Chhota Rajan as the helmsman of the Chembur Gang.

The other accused persons in Amirjada murder case, viz. Balaram Venugopal and Ali Abdulla Antulay who were also arrested remained in police custody for some time. However, in February 1984, both the accused secured bail from the Bombay High Court. Leading lawyers Ram Jethmalani and Shamrao Samant appeared for them in the court. Daud Ibrahim, who was also wanted in the case remained absconding.

In the first week of May, 1984, Advocate Shamrao Samant moved the Sessions Court for anticipatory bail for Daud Ibrahim. At that time, the public prosecutor brought to the notice of the court that Daud Ibrahim was already convicted to 4 years' R.I. His appeal against this sentence was pending in the High Court and hence his bail application should not be granted. It was also brought to the notice of the court that Daud Ibrahim had abused the liberty of bail by committing five offences and those cases were pending. The court, however, granted anticipatory bail to Daud Ibrahim. This was a serious setback to the police. Daud could not be thoroughly interrogated.

Daud Gang Operates with Greater Vigour

Emboldened by the grant of anticipatory bail, and the elimination of his opponents, Daud Ibrahim pursued his smuggling activities with greater vigour and his brothers and musclemen resorted to kidnapping businessmen and extorting huge sums of money. They extracted huge amounts of money from builders who were investing their black money in construction activities in a bag way. The huge amount of money collected in this way was being spent by Daud in purchasing buildings and property in benami and fictitious names, and in financing the film producers. He frequently visited Dubai. He had no fear of the courts or the law enforcement agencies because the criminal cases filed against him would not come up for hearing for another 8 to 10 years. Daud also obtained anticipatory bail in the order case of Samadkhan by pleading alibi in the court. Daud flees to Dubai. Daud Ibrahim's appeal against his conviction in the Carnak Bunder robbery case came up for hearing in the Bombay High Court in 1985. This was a nagging worry for him. To his good luck, Daud was acquitted in the appeal. An appeal against his acquittal filed by the police was admitted in the Supreme Court. Notices against Daud Ibrahim and other accused were issued by the Supreme which directed the police to serve them on the accused. As soon as Daud Ibrahim got wind of it, he went underground. He went to Dubai and has not officially returned since then. The notice could not be served on him.

From then onwards Daud Ibrahim has been conducting his activities through his musclemen by remote control. In the following years all his brothers and close relatives have flocked around him in Dubai.

During the intervening period,, Ramya Naik's gang committed a number of murders in the city at the behest of Daud Ibrahim. The gang was responsible for the murders of Rahimkhan Pathan,, brother of Karim Lala and proprietor of R.K. Hotel in South-Central Bombay. Abdul Kunju at Chembur, Nanji Shah at Kanjur Marg, John Joseph at Juhu, Dilip Bhise at Bhoiwada to name some of the sensational killings carried out by this gang. Ramya Naik had now become the principal hitman of Daud the Supremo.

Babu Rashim Assassinated

While pursuing these violent activities, Babu Rashim who was a labour leader in the docks but now a senior leader of this gang, inducted a daring youth by name Vijay Utkar residing Agripada area into the gang. With his assistance Babu Rashim, committed a number of heinous crimes, However, that friendship was short lived. Soon differences arose between Babu Rashim and Vijay Utkar over the share of ill-gotten money. In the altercation, they tried to attack each other. The violent criminal friends turned into bitter enemies almost in a manner similar to Alamjeb-Daud friendship. While the infighting was going on Babu Rashim was arrested by the police in connection with a murderous attack on his one time gangster friend Raja Kamerkar of Agripada. Babu Rashim was remanded to police custody and was lodged at the Jacob General lock-up. In the early hours of 5th March, 1987 Vijay Kanjari and his friends stormed the lock-up duly armed with choppers, firearms and bombs. They murdered Babu Rashim after overpowering the guard and breaking open the lock-up and successfully escaped. Like many other gangsters, this was an unexpected and tragic end for him. It transpired later that the wily hand of Daud Ibrahim was behind the elimination of Babu Rashim the senior most member of Ramya Naik Gang. He took this drastic step to clip the wings of Ramya Naik whom he thought to have become too powerful for his comfort. One more reason for Ramya Naik falling from grace was his ignoring Daud's advice to keep off and not interfere in Bhai Thakur's affairs. Ramya Naik was putting pressure on Bhai Thakur to give back the land of a farmer who was related to one of Ramya Naik's men but which Thakur had usurped.

Vijay Utkar and one of his associates were later killed in police encounter at the Parkway Hotel at Dadar. Soon after the murder of Babu Rashim which was a great blow to Ramya Naik gang, Heward Malcom Rego left the company of the gang, formed his own group and started black marketing at the Maratha Mandir Cinema. Ramya Naik and one of his trusted associates, Arun Gawali however, remained together and continued their criminal activities.

Ramya Naik Parts Company

Daud Ibrahim cunningly let it be known to Ramya Naik that Mahesh Dholakia owner of Caesars Palace and an associate of Daud Ibrahim was behind the murder of Babu Rashim. Resultantly, Arun Gawali and others of Ramya Naik's gang killed Mahesh Dholakia on 30th March, 1987. However, Ramya Naik now realised that it was Daud who got Babu Rashim killed and decided to part ways with him. As gangsters go he did not simply part company but chose his own daring way of taking revenge.

First, he organised his gang properly and amalgamated several small gangs like Chhota Babu gang of Cross Galli, Sada Pawale gang of Kanjur Marg, Kiran Walawalkar gang of Sion, Paul Patric Newman gang of Colaba, Ashok Joshi gang of Kanjur Marg, and Vijay Tandel gang of Prabhadevi. This not only augmented his ranks with experienced men and expanded his operational area but also ensured that they were kept out of Daud's influence who could have used anyone or more of them against the Ramya Naik gang.

Ramya Naik Killed

He then adopted a very insolent and disdainful method of daring Daud and at the same time helping himself with abundant money. He started calling to his headquarters those builders who had obtained possession of lands of farmers of Vasai-Virar belt with the help of Bhai Thakur, and demanding huge sums of money saying that if they refused they would be eliminated and Bhai Thakur would not be able to come to their rescue from Vasai- Virar. Each builder was robbed of three to four lakhs of rupees. Bhai Thakur naturally complained to Daud Ibrahim who put Chhota Rajan on the job and through him passed the information to the police about the secret hideout of Ramya Naik in Chembur area where he used to go for night rest as he was wanted by Agripada police station. Consequently Ramya Naik was killed in a police encounter on 21.7.1988.

Arun Gawali the New Leader-Gang War Hots up

On the death of Ramya Naik the mantle of leadership of the gang fell on the shoulders of Arun Gawali and Ashok Joshi became his principal lieutenant. For a while they came money by purchasing farms from Christian families of Kanjurmarg where Ashok Joshi held sway, and selling them at huge profits to builders. But Daud was never out of their mind. They did not want him to establish his unquestioned supremacy over the Bombay underworld. Therefore, Ashok Joshi and others of the gang brutally killed Satish Raje by attacking him at a traffic signal near Byculla bridge where his car had stopped. Satish Raje who was an educated person was the main agent of Daud Ibrahim in Bombay. He meticulously carried out Daud's instructions and at the same time kept good relations with law enforcement officers. The plan was actually worked out by Arun Gawali.

This was a great blow to Daud but he soon avenged Satish Raje's death by arranging brutal assassination of Ashok Joshi and four others near Panvel when they were travelling by a maruti van to Lonavala to meet Arun Gawali who was hiding in Lonavala after the murder

Undaunted by this incapacitating blow Arun Gawali returned to Bombay and started needling the lion himself. He started inviting businessmen who had dealings with Daud Ibrahim to Dagdi Chawl, the gang headquarters and demanding huge sums of money from them by threatening them.

During a brief period when he was arrested by the police Arun Gawali chanced to meet Tanya Koli who was active in Kumbharwada and made him a member of his own gang. On coming out on bail he picked up the old practice of sponging on Daud's clients this time concentrating on business who purchased smuggled goods from Daud. Side by side he reinforced the gang's arsenal by purchasing firearms. Thus, he purchased 7-8 revolvers from ex-army major Arjun Singh and a stengun from one Man Singh Salunkhe of Kolhapur. He constructed a makeshift indoor firing range in the Dagadi Chawl where his men practised shooting with these weapons.

In 1989 Arun Gawali became bolder still and kidnapped Mahendra Choradia who was looking after Havala transactions of Daud Ibrahim. Not liking his arrogant behaviour he later got Choradia executed through his men. In retaliation Daud Ibrahim got Arun Gawali's younger brother, Kishore @ Papa shot dead through his hitmen notably Sunil Sawant, Anil Parab, Manoj Kulkarni and Srirang Pawar. It was now Manoj Kulkarni's turn to get executed in retaliation by Arun Gawali gang

The gang war between these two powerful gangs thus continued unabated with roughly equal number of men getting killed on either side. On July 19, 1990, CID Crime Branch carried out a combing operation in Dagadi Chawl and succeeded in netting Arun Gawali himself and some senior members of his gang. The stengun earlier acquired from Man Singh Salunkhe was also seized by the Police.

Since then till to date Arun Gawali is in prison. Resultantly, his trusted lieutenants namely, Sada Pawale, Tanya Koli, Sunil Ghate etc. took over the control of the gang's activities as a syndicate. Ofcourse they used to discuss important matters with Arun Gawali and take his counsel and directions by meeting him periodically in jail. The businessmen dealing in smuggled goods continued to be their main targets. How bold and daring they had become can be gauged from the fact that they extorted Rs.50 lakhs from Yusuf Patel who was one time a lop smuggler and had now entered construction business. Their main thrust however, was at the businessmen dealing with Daud Ibrahim. In addition they killed Lambu Ameer and Rai Mehendi. Both were trusted men of Daud.

The Anti-Terrorist Squad of Addl. CP. North raided Dagadi Chawl again and arrested Tanya Koli and others and also seized a number of automatic weapons. It was strongly suspected by some experienced police officers that the tip-off came from Daud Ibrahim. The hauled up gangsters were later arrested connecting them with the murders of Lambu Ameer and Raji Mehendi. The gang of Arun Gawali remained undaunted despite the arrest of several of its important and experienced members. They murdered Daud's own brother-in-law, Ibrahim Ismail Parkar on 26.7.92 in Nagpada locality. In retaliation Daud Ibrahim got Shailesh Talankar, the assassin of Ibrahim Parkar killed in a daring raid on JJ Hospital where he was under treatment, in the night of 12.9.92. Gawali gang then gunned down Maulana Ziauddin Bukhari soon thereafter in front of his shop on 21.4.1993. Maulana Bukhari's association with Daud Ibrahim dates back to early 1970's when Daud was a small time operator in Musafarkhana area in Phydhoni. Bukhari had used him for subduing his rivals in the elections. Since Bukhari had free access to several top politicians it was believed by Arun Gawali that Daud used Bukhari's influence to stall strong action against Daud and his men.

While the battle royal between the two stalwarts of the city underworld was going relentlessly Arun Gawali's men opened yet another front now taking on Amar Naik's gang which was fast emerging as a band of extortionists in Dadar area. Before we discuss the reasons for such reckless stance it would be pertinent to narrate briefly how Amar Naik gang was formed and came to prominence.

The Amar Naik Gang

The Amar Naik gang which has now become very powerful in the underworld of Bombay started showing its fangs in Dadar area of Bombay city in the year 1980. The head of the gang, Amar Naik is son of a vegetable vendor in Dadar vegetable market and is the youngest and the most educated among the notable gang leaders. College educated Amar Naik started his criminal career by joining what was then known as Bapat gang which operated near Plaza Cinema in Dadar. When the leader of this gang, Ram Bhatt and other senior members of the gang were sentenced to suffer imprisonment in a robbery case. Amar Naik took over the reins of the gang activities. The main thrust of his criminal activities was toward collection of 'haftas' from vegetable vendors, hawkers and even bssleggers and gamblers from Dadar area. This earned him good money.

Being young and ambitious he joined hands with the gang of Kalyan and Krishna Pally of Vikhroli and took guidance from them. These two were, however, killed by Daud and which in effect spurred Amar Naik into conducting operations independently the scope and extent of which he also expanded with the help of one Dashrath Rahane of Girgaum, South-Central Bombay.

Dashrath Rahane was on inimical terms with Sunil Sawant, a close and trusted associate of Daud Ibrahim. In the latter part of 1990 Sunil's men killed Dashrath Rahane whose followers then came under the wings of Amar Naik. Amar Naik's younger brother, Ashwin who is a Diploma holder in Civil Engineering joined him and is now a very important and much liked second-in-command. Thus augmented in manpower the gang extended its extortion activities to Thane and Pune cities. This gang essentially sponges on people indulging in illicit activities such as boolegging, gambling, in fact any illicit trade. This ensures that no complaint is made to the police.

Initially the jail authorities lodged all Bombay gangsters in Aurthur Road Prison. Naturally they carried their jealousies and animosities inside the jail where each gang tried to establish its supremacy. Anun Gawali's and Amar Naik's gang members thus happen to be lodged in Aurthur Road Prison together and inevitably sparks began to fly between them. The Amar Naik boys hit upon a novel idea of keeping themselves in professional trim and supplied with enough money. They would corner prisoners who were incarcerated in drug offences and obtaining information about their relatives or bosses they would send them threats and collect money. Tanya Koli, the Arun Gawali second ranker thought of emulating them and picked up newcomers. The competition led to clashes so much so that Tanya Koli and Ashwin Naik who was also interned those days clashed over the issue resulting in a larger confrontation between the two gangs who were otherwise not interfering in each other's domain and activities outside.

Tanya Koli was, therefore, transferred to Amravati Central Prison. Revenge being the byword with any gangster worth the name Tanya Koli did not keep quiet even at that distant place and got Ashwin Naik's father-in-law, one Harkisan Jagjivandas Jethwa killed through his men on 22.5.1993 as, Jethwa had started openly helping the gang. In retaliation Amar Naik's boys killed Tanya Koli alongwith two constables at Kalyan railway station in July, 93 while he was being escorted back by train to Amravati after court hearing at Bombay.

Arun Gawali's men were not the ones to keep quiet. Two days later they shot down one Hamid who took care of wanted men of Amar Naik gang and soon thereafter kidnaped and killed Sudhakar Naik a gang member when he refused to divulge the whereabouts of Amar Naik who has gone underground. Sudhakar Naik was reportedly working after the financial deals of the gang and knew about all activities of the gang. They also killed Babubhai Shah owner of Sheetal stores who was close to Naik brothers and helped the gang in several ways being himself involved in various types of racketeering, Ashwin Naik was himself shot at on 18.4.1994 when the latter was being escorted into the Sessions Court, Bombay. The assailant came in the garb of a lawyer. Though bullets hit him in the head he survived. In retaliation Amar Naik killed Sunil Khatao, owner of Khatao Textiles Mills in broad day light as, the latter was closely but secretly associated with Arun Gawali whose help he was taking to make his mill workers

agree to shifting the textile mills to another site in the suburbs so that the land where the mills are presently standing could be sold at a fabulous price. Soon thereafter they also attacked Shankarrao Jadhav who was recently elected as President of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh because he had also sought Arun Gawali gang's help in his election.

The feud between these two gangs will continue in the near future in the same fashion as the long drawn out war between Daud's and Arun Gawali's gangs. The most notable feature of these gang wars is that the leaders of all the three gangs are now commanding their forces by remote control. Daud Ibrahim has perched himself at Dubai since 1985 and has perhaps now become a globe wanderer, Arun Gawali is in Yerwada Pune Jail since 1990 and refuses to come out though granted bail and bail money of Rs.50000 was deposited long ago. Amar Naik is a fugitive as, he is wanted in several crimes including the murder of Sunil Khatao which was masterminded by him and committed under his direct supervision. Since his passports and he has several of them - show that he had travelled in the past to several places in the South-East Asia as well as Europe and the USA he is likely to be outside the country. There is reason to believe that he is involved in drug trafficking which has given him international connections and obtained for his gang most modern weapons. Given the fact that both Ama and Ashwin are educated and at the same time are desperadoes they may, if they survive long enough become a formidable force to be reckoned with in the underworld. Smuggling, demanding protection money, extortion, contract killing were their principal means of collecting money. For the sake of extorting money they quite often called the potential victim to their hide-out and detained him until he agreed to part with the demanded sum. Quite predictably such detention was short as, the demand which was not too exorbitant was often agreed to without much effort on the part of the extortionists. If they technically Kidnapped a prospective quarry it was more to expeditiously bring him to the gang hide- out for quick negotiations.

The Babloo Shrivastava Gang

Kidnapping for ransom, the phenomenon almost unfamiliar till then in Bombay was first introduced by the Babloo Shrivastava gang which has earned considerable notoriety for this kind of offences in northern India. It was again an unscrupulous businessman who invited Babloo to Bombay to settle his private score and in the process opened the gates of the underworld of this money rich city.

One Dilip Jain of Bombay who for the first time invited Babloo Shrivastava in 1992 to Bombay to try the gangster's usual methods to make Jain's business rival, Chunnilal Jain, amenable in his business dispute with the former. Babloo could not lay hands on Chunnilal Jain, therefore, he kidnapped his son also Dilip by name. Police claim that young Dilip was released after being confined for 13 days by the kidnappers on the intervention of Iqbal the Dubai based brother of Daud Ibrahim who was approached by a

relative of the hostage living in Dubai. Babloo and his gang then kidnapped one Sukluraj. Bafna of Walkeshwar, Bombay sometime in April/May, 1992 and managed to extract a ransom of Rs.2.5 Crores from his relatives. This case was never reported to the Police.

In the same year one Nitin Shah a dealer in brassware and having his office in Khetwadi, Bombay gave a contract to Babloo Shrivastava to murder Lalit Suneja of Laxmi Nagar, New Delhi as the latter who was a promoter of Nitin Shah in Delhi had started undercutting him. Lalit Suneja was shot dead by Babloo's men on 2.8.1992. It is suspected by the Police that Nitin Shah who also maintained an office in Daryaganj, New Delhi was already involved in some way in Babloo's smuggling activities across the Nepal border.

Before proceeding further it would be pertinent to examine the background of Babloo Shrivastava.

Born around 1930 he hails from Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh. He is a double graduate and was a student activist in Lucknow University. He is said to have a brother who is an army officer. He is close to Chandraswami with whom he stayed for some time in Delhi while continuing to commit criminal offences. He is actively involved in smuggling contraband goods from Nepal in which operation he is assisted by Mirza Dilshad Beg a member of the Nepali Parliament. These smuggling activities often took him to Kathmandu, Hongkong, Singapore, Bangkok, Dubai etc.

Babloo also became friendly with Daud Ibrahim gang leaders and their allied collaborators like Mohammed Dosa. Babloo got Customs Officer L.D. Arora killed on 24.3.1993 at Allahabad where he was posted then. The CBI investigation has revealed that Arora was killed on receiving a contract from Mohammed Dosa whose huge gold consignments were earlier intercepted by Arora when he was serving in Bombay.

Babloo maintains a relatively small gang of school and college drop-outs whom he pays handsomely after an assignment is carried out successfully. These days he is mostly engaged in contract killings and kidnapping for ransom. Babloo does not personally remain present at the scene of offence but invariably negotiates the deal from abroad by using the conference telephone facility. Normally an outside gang making inroads into the Bombay underworld should be resented by the gang that holds sway but this has not happened in the case of Babloo. On the other hand he is supposed to have close relations with Daud and Company. This is because Babloo with this small band of henchmen does not pose a threat to Daud's empire but on the other hand serves a very useful purpose. Daud is known to be hiring small gangs in Bombay to carry out specific missions of eliminating unwanted persons. Babloo can fill the bill easily. His penchant for kidnapping rich businessmen does not hurt Daud as, that is not his speciality. Besides Bombay is not short of money rich people. Perhaps Daud's gang suggests potential targets

to him. May be he has a share in the booty. Thus. Babloo who was then staying in Dubai sent his two associates, Virendra Pant and Saniay Khanna to Bombay from Dubai where they had been to meet Babloo, and later informed them to contact one Syyad who would suggest targets. Accordingly Vishwanath Mittal a builder was targeted and kidnapped on 21.6.1994 but unluckily for the gang Police intercepted them and rescued Mittal. It is however, the belief of some responsible Police Officers of Bombay city that though Mittal was then not required to pay the ransom he did later visit Dubai and pay a tribute of rupees 5 Crores in order to save himself from similar attempts in the future.

It is generally mentioned in Bombay social circles that Babloo's gang had also kidnapped several other rich businessmen who secured their release by quietly paying the ransom money without informing the Police. One Jati's kidnapping in March this year was, however, reported to the Police by his relatives but while the police were preparing for a trap the relatives developed cold feet and brought the police efforts to naught by paying a ransom of Rs.1.50 Crores on the sly and securing Jati's release.

Babloo has reportedly been arrested by Interpol at the behest of CBI. He may remain in Jail for sometime for, he is wanted in over 40 cases of murder, kidnapping and so on. This, however, is no guarantee that his other associates will not operate in Bombay now that they have secured a strong foothold with no rivals yet in sight.

Kidnapping for ransom is assuming menacing proportions in the north. It is the easiest and often non-violent method - in the sense that actual bloodshed rarely takes place - of reaping huge harvests of money. Therefore, now that other gangs have come to know of Babloo's exploits in their own citadel, they may actively think of emulating him and exploit the rich pastures of Bombay.

GANG IN PROFILE

Awidely held impression by common citizens who are unfamiliar with the ways of the underworld, is that a gangster who takes to violence on the slightest provocation must ocaburly man of strone muscles. In other words a phantom like figure that holds sway over people by its very appearance. Contrary to this conceptual portrayala gangster is more often an ordinary looking person who can and does easily merge with the people. In other words there is nothing extra - ordinarily attractive about his physical personality. This is the impression of police officers who deal with gangsters as a part of their official routine and the citizens who have come indirect contact with them.

Profile of gangster

In order to establish the reality a simple of 906 history sheets maintained by the Bombay City Police, CID Crime B - ranch was studied. It more or less corroborated the impression that the police have ofagangster and rightiy so because they have the first

nand experience of dealing with them . This study revealed several other characteristics or the gangsters, as the following analysis of the data would bring out

Age Distribution

As would be expected a vast majority of them are young men falling within the age. 19 to 28 years . Sixty six percent belong to this group followed by 26 per cent into 38 years age group, Very few - some 6.5 per cent are above 40 years of age suggesting . thereby that most get knocked out before they reach the age of 40 years . As collateral evidence would suggest a vast majority get killed, falling prey to either gangland revenge Killings or to police bullets . Very few either drop out or retire gracefully , though there is evidence to suggest that some do take to apparently legal means of coming when a gang breaks up and there are no takers for them or when they have amassed enough wealth and do not want to take further risks or have lost out in the leadership race but have no desire to avenge defeat or topple the winner . This is not to say that they either give up completely their relationship with gangsters or do not use those strong and terrorising methods in their new avocations . The only means known to them to score over the rival are violence and intimidation and they are never averse to making use of them . .

A very small number (0 . 8 per cent) fall in the category of juveniles being less than 18 years of age . These belong to the families of gangsters and receive early initiation or they catch the attention of a gang leader who sees in them good potential and picks them up from among the street children and juvenile delinquents . The potential is invariably in the form of readiness to use violence ruthlessly without provocation .

Physique

As mentioned earlier there is nothing visibly awe inspiring about a gangster . This is borne out by the fact that a large majority , 60 per cent of them are of medium height (161 to 170 cms .) and build . What is noteworthy is that 21 per cent were found to be of below average height and 26 . 6 per cent were of thin build .

Education

Educationally , however , they cannot be said to be scums of society . The standard education in them is roughly the same as is found in the society at large . An overwhelming majority of them are drop outs from schools and colleges . The sample in question showed that 29 per cent had studied upto primary school level , 42 . 5 per cent upto Breondary school level and nearly 5 per cent had college education . In fact some of them . had shown enough aptitude to obtain a degree and quite a few are ssc passed .

Socio - economic Status

Almost all of them come from poor socio - economic background in as much as invariably their fathers are either petty employees like mill - hands , peons , clerks and their like or small traders and self - employed semi - skilled craftsmen . Surprisingly , very few are products of broken homes or off springs of drunkard or vice ridden fathers . Most found nothing heartening about their surroundings or bright about their future and quite a few were faced with the prospect of unemployment when the family circumstances were . already meagre , in some cases further aggravated by the death of the breadwinner . . .

A Mijority are from Outside

Though Bombay city ' s work force has traditionally been attracted from the four coastal districts of Konkan and , therefore , logically gangsters who come from economically weaker sections should - one would presume - belong to _ these families hailing from Konkan . This assumption is further reinforced by circumstances such as the fact that the prima dona of all gangsters - Daud Ibrahim Khaksar - comes from a family of Konkani Muslims which originally belonged to Ratnagiri district . The sample , while not completely demolishing this belief throws up some startling realities because , while 29 per cent of the gangsters do hail from the Konkan region excluding Bombay city which forms a small percentage of 5) as many as 52 . 5 per cent are from outside this region . What is more , 30 percent are from outside the State . In other words gangsters hailing from families that have migrated to Bombay in the recent past contribute the single largest group amongst the gangsters though one must hasten to add that they do not for mgangs based either on region or religion . To that extent the composition of any single gaing shows the . absence of Charvinism or narrow caste , class , creed considerations which we see in ahundance in the society at large and from which even educated people are not immune . Except the Spar cent whose families were living in Bombay for generations the others do retain their contacts with the relatives living in the mofussil though it must be added that almost all gangsters were found to be bom and brought up in Bombay . The only circumstance that binds gangsters together into a single gang is loyalty to the hoss ' and none another . A gangster wants money , protection and an opportunity to give expression to his basic urge for adventure or . hidden hostility . Whoever gives him these satistiers gains his loyalty which is also held in place by the fear of instant reprisal should he waver or betray .

Psychology of a gangster

A number of police officers who have had considerable experience in dealing with important gangs operating in Bombay city were questioned in this regard. They were of the near unanimous view that a gangster is invariably a cool headed schemer who becomes ruthless and unhesitatingly employs terroristic methods when he perceives his interests jeopardised. A person who can be categorised as a regular gangster that is being a full fledged operative of a criminal gang entrusted with the task of executive actions, is invariably a person of violent nature that is to say, he takes to violence on the slightest provocation more concisely, violence appears to be his second nature. Most also are deeply vengeful and would leave no stone unturned to seek revenge for a perceived wrong done to them or because wittingly or unwittingly their ego was hurt. Inevitably, therefore, most have a criminal record involving them in crimes of violence several of which were committed before they were recruited as members of an organised gang.

Violence comes naturally to them with the result that they think nothing of killing a person in the most gruesome manner even when they have nothing personally against him. They can make mincemeat with knives, swords, choppers and the like or extensively perforate him with showers of bullets from an automatic weapon only on the command of the boss. What is frightening is that they feel no compunction or remorse after the dastardly act. Joy of accomplishment which would please the boss and anxiety for self preservation seem to be the only considerations that occupy their minds. The dead person does not matter to them though he had done me wrong to them. Their conscience is and one might conclude, from the confessional statements made by them what annoys me the uppermost in their minds is to go into hiding as fast as they can, in order to avoid arrest and to report to the boss the successful accomplishment of the task in the hope of would follow, getting an approbation, may be a little rise in his esteem and the monetary reward that would follow.

Methods of recruitment and indoctrination

By all accounts it is clear that no major gang today is inclined to put up a "Nin Vacant hoard" outside its headquarters. In other words each one of them feels that it has reached optimum level in terms of manpower and hereafter augmentation of the ranks should take place only by way of merger of lesser gangs or by picking up really promising young lads who show courage, ruthlessness and scary disposition in other words, who have the making of atypical personalities and hence could be an asset to the outfit.

This is for two reasons. Each of these important gangs has strength of a thousand plus. In addition they have auxiliary members and associates whose assistance can be requisitioned whenever required. The largest of course is that of Daud Ibrahim whose strength is put by knowledgeable people between 4000 and 5000. The smallest gang is that of Amar Naik whose soldiers number a little over one thousand. Secondly, it is very

expensive to maintain as a gang. The lowest regular member in the gang is paid not less than five thousand rupees and those who form the inner coterie get upwards of twenty five thousand rupees a month. The errand boys get between Rs. 500 / - to Rs. 2000 / -. The regular members also, in addition get a part of the booty whenever a money making job like extortion is accomplished. The gang occasionally sub-contracts a killing job in which case the smaller gang or individual is paid a neat sum. The gang also has to maintain hide outs or safe houses for the gangsters to hide, meet legal expenses for getting them released on bail and to defend those who must face a criminal trial. The families of those incarcerated are generally paid the same monthly dole as the gangster was getting by way of remuneration when he was active and what is more, arrangements are usually made at the gang's expense to provide them creature comforts in the jail which includes, inter-alia, home cooked food. Naturally the jail staff is bribed on a continuous basis to permit these clandestine operations. All this obviously costs considerable money. According to one trusted associate of Chhota Rajan of Daud Ibrahim gang, the jail staff of Nasik Central Prison where some 200 members are lodged, is paid Rs. 50,000 / - in exchange for facilities to the gang members. Thus, maintaining a game not being an inexpensive proposition the gang leaders are wary of allowing their ranks to be swollen by fortune seekers and adventures,

However, the following methods of recruitment have come to notice during our investigation:

The regional heads of a gang also act as talent spotters, when they see a young criminal with potential and they feel that he would be a welcome addition to their ranks they instead of making him an offer or inviting him to join them, wait for an opportunity when they can put him under obligation and earn his gratitude as well as obtain leverage on him.

Such opportunity comes their way when (a) he is arrested by the police in a Criminal case. They establish contact with him and arrange for his release on bail. Once he is released they involve him in their activities which he cannot avoid. Thus, a working relationship is established, and (b) he has a fight with another criminal or bully in his Street or locality and is keen to take revenge, they help him achieve his objective. Alternatively, he himself approaches them with a request to help him settle scores. The Seeker mentality appears to be a dominant trait in most gangsters. They would go to any lengths to seek revenge whatever they think was a wrong done to them. This intense desire to seek revenge on an adversary which the individual feels he cannot accomplish on his own, has prompted young men even from reasonably decent or non-criminal families to approach a gang for assistance only to find that they have in the process themselves become a part of the criminal outfit.

(ii) A corollary, therefore, each gang has to reckon with the phenomenon of walk-ins if a walk-in appears promising he is given a task to test his determination and mettle. This task more often involves committing a heinous crime like murder. It serves a two fold purpose. First, it shows how easy the 'walk-in' is on violent crime. If he commits a

murder unhesitatingly without raising difficulties and excuses or getting nervous he is the right type . Secondly , as soon as the allotted crime is committed the volunteer becomes dependent on the gang for his protection . Such protection naturally would be from police arrest and in several cases from the vengeful attention of the associates of the victim if the latter is a gangster or a criminal . This dependence gives the gang leader tremendous leverage over the newcomer whose obedience and loyalty are now assured .

IT the walk - in is a street Dada who has come in to seek assistance to wreck vengeance on his adversary who may be from the same locality then his entry may be welcome for one more reason . If the gang has no influence in that locality the joining of the Dada or his aligning with the pang gives the gang a foothold in the locality and thus an opportunity to enlarge its area of influence .

Some times a criminal on the run who finds his adversary too powerful to tackle on his own or with the resources available to him approaches a gang to seek its protective umbrella . He is extended protection it in the judgement of the gang leader he has potential to be useful to the gang .

(iii) Though gang memlers may be individually loyal to the leader they do not necessarily harbour friendly feelings towards fellow gangsters . Rivalries . personality clashes , animosities all exist in a gang . This dissensions are often sought to be exploited by alluring a gangster who is at loggerheads with his colleagues by promising him facility to take revenge or settle scores . In many cases allurements of money is held out to him . Needless to say , protection from the parent gang after he defects is also guaranteed |

(iv) Since a majority of gangsters are school and college drop - outs they still have friends in schools and colleges though they themselves have become regular gang members . These gangsters then stand firmly behind their erstwhile mates when the latter get into a scrap with other students . This happens over personal matters which may include teasing of girl friends by some other vagabond students etc . Often help of these gangsters is obtained in college elections . The net result is that these students start taking pride in the fact that they have a friend on whom they can rely for help , in a notorious criminal gang . As a quid pro quo these students are made to do odd jobs , run errands for the gang or provide shelter to members when they are on the run after committing an offence ,

A promising student is introduced to a high ranking gangster who influences the former to join the ranks which he often does . This is the reason why many educated persons are found among the ranks of a gang . Some become executive members and actually commit heinous crimes while others take up such jobs as collecting money . obtaining legal assistance for gang members when they are arrested , yet others work as

cut - outs and pass weapons to nominated gangsters before the commission of a murder and later become repositories of these weapons when the task is accomplished . They also act as cut - outs for reaching money to gangsters especially if the latter are fugitives and . passing messages to and fro .

Friendship with a gangster or auxiliary gangster because of neighbourhood relations , common interests such as in the game of cricket , school or college association and in respect of gangsters from outside the State identity or nearness of home places (Gaonwalla) appear to be the most preponderant cause for an educated person to join a gang . Wrong company one might say is the sole cause of many a good boy joining a criminal gang .

(v) Gang also sponsor Ganapati and Navaratri festivals for which they make generous donations . This not only brings the gangsters in inter - action situation with the latter who develop soft . comer . sometimes even admiration for the gangsters without whose monetary assistance it would not have been possible for them to celebrate the festival on such a grand scale , but attracts youngsters also who before long become their ardent supporters , some of them becoming auxiliary members or front men .

(vi) Following clashes between rival gang members inside the precincts of a jail the prison authorities have adopted the system of lodging members of different gangs in different jails . Consequently whenever a criminal accused of a violent crime is despatched to jail authorities by the police , the jailors invariably ask him as to which gang he belongs to in order to decide in which jail to lodge him . Even if the criminal does not belong to any , particular known gang out of bravado he names a notorious gang like Daud Ibrahim ' s or Arun Gawali ' s . Reluctantly he is dispatched to the jail where members of that gang are Lodged after designating him on their records as belonging to that gang . The criminal thus acquire the official classification of the criminal ' s . choosing and finds himself among the gangsters he admires . The gangsters for their part have not been mindlessly disowning outright the gate crasher but taking advantage of the proximity and free access , observing him carefully . Some of these volunteers have been later accepted as member's when they found them to be good material . Thus , almost unwittingly the jails where the gangsters are incarcerated have become recruiting grounds for the gangs . Several instances have come to light where alliances between a large well - established gang and a smaller gang have been formed in a prison where leaders of both gangs came in contact with each other as co - prisoners . A prison thus is a very important place for recruitment of new members .

INFRASTRUCTURE OF A GANG

Centrifugal Nature

All the important gangs operating in Bombay city are first generation gangs in-as-much-as no gang leader has inherited the mantle of leadership from his father or uncle, In fact none of them can claim inherited privilege. The gangs inevitably, therefore, are quite young and have mostly emerged from a small band of youngsters having criminal tendencies. Naturally, they by and large, tend to be centrifugal in their infrastructural composition in that the leader is the centre of all activities, of decision making and is in the most part directly in communication with all members of the gang who can likewise directly approach him.

Though this has been the situation in almost all gangs, the leader was never in a position of being a total autocrat. Though his opinions and decisions would finally prevail he always has a few senior members who grew up with him and whose counsel he takes on important operational and organisational matters. Thus, Daud had his brother Shabir until such time he was murdered. The same position was later taken by his brothers Noora @ Noonuddin, Iqbal and others: Ramya Naik had Baba Rashim and later Arun Gawali to assist him in running the affairs and activities of their respective gangs

Character Changes with expansion

The situation appears to have changed in respect of each of the gangs as it decided to augment its ranks by amalgamating or absorbing gangs which also inevitably enabled it to expand its area of influence both territorially and functionally as, the gang leaders invariably annexed so to say, the lesser gangs' areas of operation.. In fact the lesser gangs which were allowed to operate albeit under the tutelage of the stronger gang, reinforced their own influence by making it known to rivals the support they now had from the larger or more vicious gang

This annexation or amalgamation inevitably brought about certain changes to a lesser or greater degree in the hierarchical structures of the gangs though the merging gang had to rigidly follow the code of conduct of the master gang. Because the merging gang had operated for sometime as a band and, therefore, had developed certain amount of camaraderie and understanding among its members, above all they had all said and done better knowledge of the area where they operated; within the general framework of the master gang's policies, attitudes and objectives the lesser gang leader was given certain amount of latitude and in some cases even autonomy Naturally they had to report their actions and seek prior clearance from the master gang leader about all major operations they undertook on their own.

Confederation of Gangs

Therefore, while the gang continued to be centrifugal vis-a- vis the gang leader and the leaders of the constituent gangs, the followers of the latter held similar relationship with their respective leaders and not with the main gang leader. In other words, the main gang leader controlled their actions through their respective leaders. This is something like the sun, the planets and their moons. All of them get light from the same central source but the satellites are revolved round the planets which have a direct influence over them. However, because of frequent casualties among lesser gang leaders more so because of inter-gang rivalries and feuds in which, in order to decimate the larger gang or to spite its leader these subordinate gang leaders are killed, there is a fairly frequent turn over in this category. When a small gang leader is thus killed his second-in-command takes the reins or the gang merges into another gang. There are no cases of a leader being foisted on a gang from outside.

Even where an existing gang from a locality has not merged into a big gang, the gang leader in order to extend his area of operation and control has encouraged a local bully or criminal to form a 'unit' and operate under his tutelage. Thus, one finds that the city gets divided into, first the major gangs -Daud Ibrahim gang, Arun Gawali gang and Amar Naik gang to name the three who hold sway over the city and within their respective areas of control the lesser but aligned gangs or units have their own 'subahs' or provinces. The following are illustrative examples.

Amar Naik has divided the city in some twenty one sectors, placing each sector under a sub-leader with a band of followers. Since the basic local activity of the gang comprises collection of protection money first from gambling den operators, liquor joint managers, brothel keepers and the like who carry on illegal business and then from beer bar owners, restaurateurs, petty shopkeepers and small time builders, this task is allocated to those units. They make payments to the gang members from the money so collected and set aside some money to look after the families of those who are in jail or have died and also to meet the legal expenses palms of policemen, jail authorities and giving contributions to politicians of the area, They then remit a sizeable chunk to the central kitty or reserve which is under the control of the gang chief. Though the sector incharge does not draw a fixed salary himself it is clear that he provides himself quite liberally for meeting his own needs. This is not frowned upon by the central leadership so long as it is not done clandestinely and the amount is not unreasonably high.

When differences developed between Ramva Naik and Daud Ibrahim on the issue of Bhai Thakur's criminal activities in which Daud did not want Ramva Naik to interfere and Daud in order to elip the wings of Ramya Naik got his main lieutenant and counselor Babu Rashim killed in 1987 in a daring attack on Jacob Circle central police lock up, it was clear to Ramya Naik that he had no alternative but to directly fight Daud if

he had to survive because the next would be his turn. He, therefore, first augmented his ranks for which purpose he successfully persuaded a number of small gangs to join hands with him. Each gang leader was allowed to bring with him 5 to 6 followers over whom he retained the disciplinary and operational control. Each was allowed to operate in his own area but all met together and recognising that Daud and his night had to be faced jointly worked out their common line of action at the same time continuing their extortion and allied money collecting activities as before perhaps with greater vigour now that they had the combined strength of the allies behind them. not far different. Rajan Nair and on his assassination Chhota Rajan continued to rule the roost in Chembur-Tilak Nagar area at the same time unquestionably owing allegiance to Daud Ibrahim. Bhai Thakur ruled in the northern coastal was Daud's main landing agent for smuggled goods. Likewise Sharad Shetty, Lambu Shakil, Chhota Shakil have their own fairly autonomous areas of operation. When Babya Khopde, head of golden gang of Central Bombay and Anil Parab who was until the death of Subhas Makadwala with him and was operating in Kanjur Marg area joined Daud Ibrahim, they were allowed to continue holding sway over their respective areas.

Daud in addition and perhaps other gangleaders also to some extent, seems to have some trusted men operating for him directly as part of the central command. He frequently makes use of them to carry out important and sensitive assignments, and of course to eliminate those regional gangleaders whose loyalty was suspect or who seem to be showing more independence than Daud would tolerate.

As mentioned earlier each of the gangs has an inner coterie which while being subservient to the top leader whose position was unassailable, served as his advisory council with whom he would like to share his thoughts and through whom he mostly passed outwards his decisions and commands for execution. It is seen that though the other members who are important but not part of the inner circle had the liberty of directly getting in touch with the top leader, the latter quite often preferred to pass his operational commands even to such members through one of the coterie members. This happened when he assigned a particular task to a coterie member and authorised him to take the assistance of other important members, particularly the hitmen. When such instructions were so conveyed indirectly no one questioned the authenticity or tried to verify its veracity. This has been very clearly brought out in the confessional statement of Subhash Singh Thakur, one of the senior and successful members of Daud gang. He carried out many assassination assignments on being conveyed Daud's instructions through Sunil Sawant who belonged to the inner circle. Even such risky and brazen assignment as shooting down in September 1992 Arun Gawali's hitmen by storming a ward of the J.J. Hospital where they were recuperating under police protection in which there was a clear possibility of his side suffering casualties, Subhash Singh Thakur willingly carried out the instructions as conveyed through Sunil Sawant. The same spirit

is noticed in Arun Gawali's men in the brutal assassination of ex-MLA and politically well connected Maulana Ziauddin Bukhari.

Unflinching Loyalty to Boss

One thing that stands out as an unwavering feature of these gangs is unquestioning loyalty to the leader even in his absence. Daud Ibrahim has perched himself in Dubai since 1985 not of his own volition but essentially because he is a fugitive from law. All know that he cannot return to India for fear of being arrested or killed by the police. Even then his henchmen in Bombay and elsewhere are carrying out his dictates unhesitatingly and keeping him informed of the happenings with the result that he has not only been able to consolidate his then fledgling gang but expand it into a real mafia gang on the western model. Fear obviously plays an important part in this relationship but to a large extent there is a sense of loyalty and gratitude too which appears all pervasive.

The same phenomenon is noticed in Arun Gawali gang too. He is in prison from 1990 yet his gang is carrying on its activities of collecting money by various illegal methods and is at the same time fighting war with two adversaries namely, Daud Ibrahim gang and Amar Naik gang simultaneously. It has also succeeded in making substantial inroads in the textile labour activities, the obvious objective of which of course is to extract huge sums from mill owners.

Arun Gawali has claimed in his statement to the police that after his arrest by the police on the 19th July 1990, he being continuously in prison, his lieutenants like Kiran Talwalkar (killed by police), Tanya Koli (later murdered by Amar Naik gang), Suresh Patil and Sunil Ghate started managing the affairs of the gang by working as a syndicate and that many an action taken by them was without his knowledge or approval as, the jail authorities had stopped permitting anybody except his close relatives to meet him. The latter part of his claim does not appear to be correct. Others from his gang have confessed that all major decisions and actions were taken by the gang with his prior approval. That his incarceration in Yerwada prison was a minor inconvenience suffered in exchange for the safety from predators that it provided, is amply clear from some of the statements of his gang members. They admit to have received money in Yerwada prison itself when they want to visit Arun Gawali and others on the express orders of Arun Gawali. Thus, even money was not in short supply in the jail. As an example can be sighted the confessional statement of Shantilal Joseph Parmar, one of the accused in Maulana Ziauddin Bukhari murder case. He admits to having passed on the information that one Mansoor Inayatullah of Sakli street, a contact of his had obtained from both Maulana Bukhari and Mohammed Dosa (both Daud men) to Raju Philips of Gawali gang. Later Parmar was taken to Yerwada prison and produced before Arun Gawali. He was paid money there itself for the useful information and was asked to point out Bukhari to the

gang's hitmen. This he did on 21.4.1993 when Gawali men shot Bukhari down in front of the latter's shop.

Similarly, though Arun Gawali claims that he heard about the murderous attempt on the life of Ashwin Naik in retaliation to Amar Naik killing Tanya Koli, a trusted associate of Arun Gawali, only on the radio and had no hand in it which perhaps was the handiwork of his another lieutenant, Sada Pawale, it is difficult to buy this claim. This is because the main assailant Ravindra Sawant who was an ex-Navy rating had directly approached Arun Gawali in jail to express his desire to work for Gawali. The clever and elaborate planning also bears the stamp of Arun Gawali who by his own admission planned most of the murders when he was not arrested

Thus we find that in these well-established large gangs there is unitary as well as federal structure in as much as while the leader - is at the centre of all activities and all major decisions are taken by him and no one functions beyond the latitude allowed to him, each second ranker has his own assistants who report to him, act on his command and bear allegiance to him as well as to the chief.

Categories of Members

These ordinary members are not all of the same type. They can be roughly placed in three categories, viz., the shooters or assassins, the money collectors and liaison workers.

Auxiliary Members

Then there is one more category of auxiliary members. These are the persons who have not indulged in criminal activity or at least not come to notice of the authorities or people as having indulged in criminal activity. They have their own ostensible means of livelihood which serves as a good cover for their activities and errands they undertake for the gang. These people provide shelter for gang members whenever required. This is done either in their own houses, business places or in premises of their friends and relatives, They also act as repositories of weapons. No executive gangmen is issued with a weapon permanently. He is asked to collect the weapon before the assault from a person whom he mostly meets in a public place like a restaurant or bazar. The person who delivers the weapon and later collects it is the auxiliary member. Sometimes these members keep with them several weapons. Since they are not suspected of being involved in any criminal activity they are rarely discovered. The auxiliary member likewise collects money from financiers who may be gang members entrusted with finances of the gang or victims of extortion or hafta. The money is then passed on just like the weapons to a nominated gangster whose identity he may not know but whom he would recognise on the strength of the description given to him on phone, at a predetermined rendezvous. He makes no decisions but carries out orders as per

instructions. Many times a person recommended by a gangster for recruitment is as a first step given this role. Naturally these auxiliary members are adequately compensated monetarily for the risk taken and services rendered.

Communication System

Since the character of a gang even Daud Ibrahim's gang which is the largest continues to be essentially centrifugal at least so far as the front rankers are concerned, the Boss or Chief has the liberty of directly getting in touch with lower cadres. It is, however, seen that except in few cases, ordering killing of Shailesh Haldankar the assailant of Daud's brother-in-law for example, Daud Ibrahim has been communicating jobs to be done through his inner coterie people such as Chhota Rajan (who has now fallen out from him), Chhota Shakil, Sharad Shetty, Lamboo Shakil etc. These people in turn contact their 'in place' gang commanders and ask them to execute the job. Peculiarly telephone appears to be the most common means of communication.

Code of Conduct

One basic rule and perhaps the most important rule in any of these gangs is, unflinching loyalty to the boss. Any deviance real or suspected is never ignored and is usually awarded with death sentence. This rule Daud Ibrahim has been enforcing ruthlessly and without compunction. Even senior members who had rendered good and valuable service to him have not been spared. Thus, Ramya Naik who had become Daud Ibrahim's number one hitman in Bombay after Daud fled Bombay, was got killed by him when Ramya Naik ignored Daud's advice to him to leave Bhai Thakur alone. Obviously Bhai Thakur being the main landing agent of Daud, was more valuable to him. Therefore, he tilted in his favour and asked Ramya Naik to keep off whatever may be the latter's compulsions. He naturally expected Ramya to obey.

Remunerating the gangsters

Though the practice of remunerating the gang members varies from gang to gang, one thing that clearly emerges is that the gang members are well cared for by their bosses. The chief or boss has total control over the money earned by the gang, whatever the means. This does not mean that the money is actually transferred to the central exchequer which is under the control of the Boss but that all receipts are reported to the Boss and its distribution takes place either as per the policy laid down by him or specific instructions given by him in a particular transaction. Any violation of this code is not tolerated. Maya Dolas of Daud gang lost his life essentially because he tried to appropriate to himself the moneys obtained by him and his men by extortion.

According to the accounts given by arrested members who of course do not know everything about the financial dealings of Daud Ibrahim but only their part and what is

immediately related to it, Daud is quite liberal with his men who form the inner circle. Considerable proportion of money they or their men can is allowed to be retained by them. According to some police officers these lieutenants have to remit fifty per cent of the money obtained from big victims like builders etc. to Daud and the remainder they can use for themselves and the upkeep of their outfits. Persons like Sunil Sawant prefer to spend lavishly on themselves hiring expensive houses, flats and purchasing cars for personal as well as operational use. On the other hand others like Chhota Rajan for example, have preferred to invest money in real estate in Bombay and the native place and to start business enterprises like restaurants, hotels etc. Just to list out Chhota Rajan's investments as given out by his one time confidant and manager of his outfit's financial and legal affairs, Prudeep Narayan Madgaonkar @ Bandyama, Chhota Rajan has purchased 22 acres of land at his native place in Satara District, also a communication centre, 8 to 10 shops and 3 or 4 jeeps. In Bombay, apart from acquiring an additional room next to his room where he was living since childhood, he has purchased 2 flats worth Rs.25 lakhs, another two blocks valued at Rs.25 lakhs, a shop in Chembur, the floor area of which is 4000 sq.ft. He is also engaged in constructing a hotel at Panvel in partnership with some associates. This project will cost around Rs.2 Crores. In addition he has purchased land in Madras and started a fishery project in partnership with a friend. The cost is said to be about Rs.5 crores. He also has a Trading Firm in Dubai perhaps as a front. Similar is the situation with several other members who have provided enough for the rainy day for themselves. It appears to be a practice in all the major gangs that inner circle members or sector commanders or sub-gang leaders if we may call them so, do not receive any fixed monthly salary. Only Arun Gawali states in his confessional statement that around 1985, when Ramya Naik was alive that the latter was paying Rs.20 to 25 thousand to top members like him from the money collected by extortion and upto Rs.5000/- to ordinary members.

Whenever large sums of money are received through extortion, kidnapping or from builders for doing a job or getting a premises vacated the participant members are paid in proportion to the role played by them and their status in the gang. Some money is invariably kept aside to look after the police and to meet legal expenses which could be very heavy. It is said that from every such deal fifty per cent amount is sent to the main gangleader to whom all such deals are reported part of the code of conduct.

Weapons & training

The choppers, swordsticks, knives etc., the use of which is diminishing in carrying out murders because of difficulty in carrying and the mess they create because of spattering of blood etc. and the fear of a counter offensive by the victim, are generally purchased from the local market i.e. Chor Bazar where they are freely available. These weapons also remain with the members whatever their station in the gang,

The firearms such as pistols, revolvers, grenades etc. are generally purchased by Arun Gawali gang from ex-military personnel, some of these weapons, more particularly automatic weapons are perhaps purchased from Sri Lanka Tamil militants and Punjab terrorists many of whom are known to be selling them in Bombay on the Sly.

For the Daud Ibrahim gang procuring weapons is no problem. Along with smuggled goods firearms are also smuggled. The investigation in the Bomb Blast case of the 12th March 1993, has brought to light the tremendous capacity of this gang to smuggle into the country literally tons of explosives, weapons and ammunition.

Surprisingly Amar Naik gang possesses some of the most sophisticated and handy automatic weapons if the seized weapons are any cue. Perhaps his connections with drug traffickers gives him this benefit.

Training- a weak point

Very little training is imparted much less practice given to gangsters before they are allowed to use a weapon. Though it must be added that police raid on the 19th July 1993, revealed a make-shift indoor range in the Dagdi chawl where gang members were given shooting practice. In order to smother the noise crackers were exploded and loudspeaker was played at full volume. The bomb blast case investigation has brought on record the fact that some of the conspirators in the case were given firing practice with AK-56 rifles in the jungles of Raigarh district. Be that as it may, it is obvious that very few gangsters get the opportunity of training on a weapon and those who do, do not get enough practice. Since weapons are issued to the executioners every time they are sent on a mission just before the assault, it is obvious that more often they have to use unfamiliar weapons with which they had never fired before. Secondly, the condition of the weapons can also not be very good. If most of the time they succeed in killing the victims that is because of the short range from which they fire and the number of times they fire. They are also now increasingly using automatic weapons with which a hail of bullets can be showered on the quarry in burst fire.

GANG DYNAMICS

Process of upward mobility in gang hierarchy

As established in the preceding chapter, a gang is essentially centrifugal in its structure when small with the leader as the focal point and tends to become hierarchial when it expands its jurisdiction and manpower but more particularly when it, in the process, assimilates small gangs which till then essentially had a street gang character. Here also the relationship between the Boss or the top leader and second rung leaders who have their respective units or gangs, is direct and essentially one-to-one. The sub-leader in turn has similar centrifugal structure at his disposal with one-to-one relationship

with each of its members though they fall in different categories basically characterised by their role in the gang operations up only if he survives long enough, one must stress that ability to survive because of the favour bestowed by Dame Luck or to escape the bullet of the assassin is not the only or even principal criterion that guarantees upward mobility. That would tantamount to saying that promotion is strictly on seniority subject to the ability to survive. As in all spheres of human activity and endeavour, in a gang situation the qualities of leadership are very relevant, in fact they are much more required than elsewhere as, in the beginning when a gangster has not reached the helm, he does not enjoy any positional power and, therefore, has to essentially depend on his personal power.

Charismatic Power of Leader

The personal power emanates from three factors, namely, (i) personal example, (ii) desperate character and (iii) caring attitude towards colleagues. A gangster has to set an example by taking initiative, planning operations meticulously so that they do not lead to disaster but success, and leading by the front in carrying out the operation. Since all operations call for use of violence or threat of use of violence, the ruthlessness with which this is executed not only impresses the other gang members but also instills an unspoken fear in their hearts because they realise the consequences of infidelity or betrayal. The gangsters mostly live from day to day in that any day they can lose their life or liberty. Therefore, a person who takes care to ensure that their lives are not unnecessarily or recklessly endangered and should they get caught, injured, maimed or killed bestows enough attention on the dependents earns their loyalty and allegiance not to speak of administration

It is these qualities which enable a gangster to rise above others because he earns respect and admiration of others and at the same time succeeds in inspiring enough fear. In short the gangsters have for the leader a respectful fear. They are prepared to take risks and face danger for him not merely for fear of consequences should they refuse or demur but essentially because of the comforting conviction that should they run into difficulty he would do his best to take care of them and their dependents. We, therefore, see that in Daud gang, Daud Ibrahim was the leader though his elder brother Shabir, was in the gang. Though Babu Rashim was older than Ramya Naik it was Ramya Naik who was the leader of the gang. On Ramya Naik's death, Arun Gawali was crowned by common consent, again not because he had a very impressive personality or he was the seniornost but because of the belief that in the difficult period ahead when they would have to fight the mightier gang of Daud, Arun Gawali would be able to provide the necessary leadership. In Amar Naik gang also though at the moment Amar Naik who started the criminal career much earlier is the leader of the gang, it is well known that it is his younger brother, Ashwin who really commands respect and loyalty of the gang members. Perhaps because Amar is the elder brother of Ashwin that he is still at the helm of affairs.

In the past, in the street phase of the underworld the death of the street Dada who also headed the gang of the street in most cases spelled to death of the gang. The same phenomenon manifested itself even when crime became organised disappearance from Bombay and death soon thereafter resulted in the withering away of his once all powerful multifaceted gang. Somehow his lieutenants neither had the charisma nor the ability to hold the gang or a faction of it together.

When Leader Retires

After their release from detention when Emergency was lifted, both Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel for all practical purposes retired from their profession of smuggling. As happens the world over a gangster never really retires in the sense that gangsters never give up their ways whatever change might take place in their avocation. Thus, though Haji Mastan tried to become a sectarian political leader, he did keep with him a band of musclemen. But it was not the same thing as having a powerful criminal gang that would strike terror in the community. Yusuf Patel who devoted his time to construction activity peculiarly appears to have maintained a very weak set up at his disposal otherwise it would not have been possible for Arun Gawali's boys to kidnap him and successfully demand a ransom of Rs.50 lakhs in the recent past as admitted by Arun Gawali himself.

In respect of Daud Ibrahim we notice a very peculiar phenomenon. Not only that he is outside the country in exile for nearly a decade a circumstance good enough normally to oust him - but his inner circle lieutenants are also living with him in Dubai for years. Yet his gang has prospered in terms of its prowess, resources and manpower. From that distance he extorts large sums of money, orders executions which are dutifully carried out and influences in a big way events in the underworld, Three factors seem to be at work. First, Daud's aura and prestige in the underworld appears to be so much that a fledgling gangster who aspires to establish a position for him self considers it as a great honour and a matter of pride to belong to Daud gang. Therefore, finding new recruits and getting heinous crimes committed through them, as is the common practice among gangsters, is not at all difficult. Secondly, his unremitting ways of punishing deviants certainly act as a deterrent against people leaving the gang. Lastly, case of communication through International Subscriber Dialling facility and mushrooming of communication centres which permit international dialling without much effort, has enabled Daud and his friends to keep a close tab on the activities of their henchmen operating in Bombay and elsewhere and issue operational instructions. Though strongly rumoured but never established, perhaps Daud and his inner circle assistants do pay clandestine visits to Bombay and nearby places, thus marking their presence felt

As against this, Arun Gawali depicts a different phenomenon. He is in Yerwada prison since July, 1990 and refused to come out even when bail has been granted. He considers it safer to operate from the sanctuary of the prison because with the connivance

of the prison staff he is able to freely communicate with his men operating outside, plan murders and other heinous offences, call intended victims to jail as captive visitors and personally threaten them, keep large sums of money to be used for the welfare of the colleagues and for operations. In fact carry on his gangland adventures with abandon for he has no fear of being attacked either by Daud's men or Amar Naik's men with whom he is fighting a running battle and not a losing one by any reckoning. In addition, his gang is being mauled by the police from time to time. Arun Gawali himself is apprehensive that he would be eliminated by the police who have raided his Dagdi chawl hide-out several times, and killed several of his men in encounters or may be Daud using his old tactics gets him eliminated through the instrumentality of the police. After all his one time leader and mentor Ramya Naik was got killed by Daud in this manner. In brief, one may say that being in jail has not materially affected the ability of Arun Gawali to lead his gang, If anything, being in Pune albeit in jail he has dropped roots in Pune where now his gang has developed operational capability.

A yet different type of phenomenon is depicted by Amar Naik who is a fugitive from law and yet effectively leads the gang, His incognito movements are so successful that he is even able to travel abroad albeit on passports obtained in fictitious names. By all accounts this status of being an absconder or wanted by police person has not affected his ability to take his gang from strength to strength. In fact the chances are that he may emerge before long as a gang leader with more widespread international connections and a part of the international crime syndicate engaged in drug trafficking and illegal arms peddling.

In a nutshell, it is no longer necessary for a gang leader to be present and leading the gang. There are no revolts, no coup d'etat, and no withering away of the gang either. One cannot, however, deny that when a gang leader suffers from any of the handicaps discussed above, inevitably he has to delegate powers to his trustworthy juniors. This is not the same thing as a syndicate managing the affairs of the gang. The leader is still the supreme authority whose word must be respected, whose command must be carried out. What has, however, happened is that these senior and experienced members are allowed to plan and carry out operations on their own provided they obtain the Boss' clearance and share the spoils with him.

OBJECTIVES And ACTIVITIES

Type of criminal activities

In the initial phase, that is, when a gang is in its formative stage and can be rightly regarded as a street gang, some of the gangsters who deal in hi-finance these days, indulged in petty street crime. Haji Mastan, Yusuf Patel and even Vardha took their

initial schooling in criminal activities in the Port Trust docks where they thrived on thieving and pilfering imported goods from the consignments that had landed and stored in godowns or lying in the docks area awaiting clearance. This they did at the instance and on the advice of unscrupulous businessmen who also invariably purchased the stolen goods.

Later Haji Mastan and Yusuf Patel took to smuggling of gold and other contraband. Varda took to bootlegging as his main business. Karimlala, the oldest of all and still surviving started his criminal career in 1940's by running gambling dens and later peddling drugs such as bashish, ganja and opium though admittedly side by side he by his highhandedness bullied people in the neighbourhood into submission and to a degree collected protection money from the shopkeepers etc.

Daud Ibrahim and his brothers peddled smuggled goods like watches etc. near Musafirkhana in Pydhonie area and indulged in what in common parlance is known in Bombay as Dadagiri i.e. bullied the docile and pliable people. It is because of their connection with smugglers through the first mentioned activity and the sprightly spirit they showed through the latter that smugglers engaged them for giving protective cover to the couriers who transported gold jackets on their persons. This was the beginning which gave a boost to Daud's criminal career in which he has very successfully blended together his violent criminal tendencies and the business acumen of a smuggler.

Ramya Nayak and several of his contemporaries, ran matka gambling dens and indulged in violent retributory activities to cut down competition and to take revenge for the deemed wrongs done to them. They later took to violent crime as full time avocation. Rajan Nayar or Bada Rajan and after him Chhota Rajan, though desperate characters by nature, specialised in black marketing in cinema tickets which peculiarly enough even today is a thriving business for many.

Violence the Underlying Factor

It has to be noted that whatever the money making activity which was essentially racketeering of one sort or the other, these criminals became fearsome gangsters entirely because of the violent streak they had in them. Racketeering when combined with the propensity to strike terror into the hearts of the opponents resulted in the emergence of a gangster who organised crime into a fine craft that brought abundance of money, status in the underworld and hence new recruits and alliances. What is more, it also furnished access to power groups within the government and outside because of the ability it provided to grease the palms of all who matter. Inevitably it also enabled the gangsters to purchase social acceptability.

Gang

For Daud gang smuggling has been the core activity since later 1970's. it was liberally laced with extortion of money from businessmen more particularly builders contract killing, settling land and property disputes including black money transactions and, it is strongly believed, drug trafficking. Way back in 1980's the Drug Enforcement Agency of the US Government had put Daud Ibrahim as financier of drug trafficking from Bombay to Europe and the United States. They had also named Arvind Dholkia one of Daud's associates in the same category Daud Ibrahim's pang appears to be now substantially involved in drug trafficking. But it has chosen its own strand in order to establish a monopoly in international illicit drug market, rather than serve as a small cog in heroin trafficking in which big cartels and mafia of gigantic capabilities are involved.

His gang seems to be specialising in getting mandrex tablets manufactured at several places in Bombay, Maharashtra, Gujarat and elsewhere and exporting them to foreign countries particularly the countries of the black continent. Thus huge quantities over 500 kgs. of mandrex tablets were seized by Bombay CID Crime Branch from Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places in January 1994. Investigations revealed that the owner of the consignments, Prem Shetty who was known to be a supplier of mandrex tablets to Iqbal Mirchi, a notorious trafficker in this drug, also has connections with Daud Ibrahim

Similarly, Bombay CID Crime Branch uncovered a mandrex manufacturing plant in Sakinaka area of the city in November, 1994. They have been able to collect enough evidence to show that this illicit drug manufacturing unit was being run at the instance of Anis Ibrahim, a brother of Daud Ibrahim.

A month prior to this discovery the Crime Branch seized nearly 100 Kgs. of mandrex tablets from two vehicles. The persons arrested with the contraband were associates of Sunil Sawant, a trusted lieutenant of Daud Ibrahim. The drug was being transported to Kanpur. Since Sunil Sawant spends part of his time in Kathmandu, Nepal and has his first wife permanently based in Kanpur, it is quite likely that the consignment could have found its way to Nepal wherefrom it would be further transported to Western countries.

In June, 1994 the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence seized nearly 1400 Kgs. of Hashish at Surat. The persons arrested with the consignment belonged to Chhota Rajan's outfit. This again points to Daud Ibrahim gang's multifaceted involvement in drug trafficking where the emphasis is on exporting Indian drugs to countries in the West. The Abdul Latif gang which operates in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat and indulges in criminal activities similar to Daud Ibrahim's gang's has now diversified into trafficking in drugs and illicit arms. This gang operates in close conjunction with Daud Ibrahim and is subject to his influence. Naturally one cannot believe that Daud Ibrahim would be keeping himself aloof from the new merchandise traded by the Latif gang.

Hawala racketeering goes hand-in-hand with smuggling, therefore, naturally Daud's name is connected with some very notorious hawala racketeers like Choradia family, Raju Jain and Mulchand Shah. However, this is not all.

Daud Ibrahim being more ambitious and enterprising than an average smuggler, himself started operating a hawala racket. Lambu Shakeel and Anis Lambu two of his trusted lieutenants were entrusted with the task of taking care of the illicit transactions at the Indian end since Daud was living in Dubai and could not come to India. They operated from a place in Bori Mohalla behind Cool Treat Ice-cream Parlour which Lambu Shakil run as a cover for his hawala business. These two Daud men worked in conjunction with hawala bankers like Moolchand Choksi and Chandrakumar Amichand Choksi who acted as go-betweens. These hawala bankers would make payments to Lambu Shakeel and Anis Lambu for the gold and silver that Daud smuggled into India with the help of Bhai Thakur in Maharashtra and Lallu Jogi in Gujarat on receiving payments from the purchasers of smuggled gold or silver.

Daud Ibrahim would strike bargain with Indians abroad who wanted to send money to India by hawala channels. He would then advise Lambu Shakeel to deliver the money from his reserves, proceeds of gold and silver to the given address. The hawala business has helped Daud to expand his activities to several parts of the country. This mode of operation was disclosed to CBI by Sohail Ahmed who was arrested by them in connection with the Bombay Bomb Blast case,

From the statement of another Daud associate namely, Manish Lala who also acted as his legal advisor, Daud Ibrahim has worked out a very simple hawala banking system for making payments in any currency of the world in any part of the world. By ringing up a particular Dubai number you can open an account in this bank, A code number is allotted to you. Whenever you want to transfer money to any party outside India what you have to do is to simply ring up the said number, give your account code number and register the request. Soon somebody perhaps an emissary of Lambu Shakeel would approach you and collect the required money, Then the amount would be delivered to the nominated party abroad. You could also get some money from your bank account transferred to you in India when the system operated in the reverse order. The whole banking channel operates on trust and no papers are made that would implicate you in any illegal transaction or racket.

Arun Gawali Gang

Graduating from Matka pambing Ramya Nayak Arun Gawali gang took to extortion. Their main victims were businessmen and builders especially those connected with Daud Ibrahim. This is even today their main activity and the principal source of income.

Amar Naik Gang

Unlike Ramya Nayak gang which ran matka gambling rackets Amar Naik gang started with collecting protection money from vegetable vendors and small shopkeepers in Dadar area. But like Arun Gawali gang extortion from big business has now become its main business. It must, however, be mentioned that the gang does not confine its extortion activities to big builders, estate agents, etc, alone. It has spread its net wide. Money is collected from each gambling den, each brothel, each illicit liquor joint. In fact anybody and everybody who runs any illicit activity to earn money becomes its target. Naturally the beer bars and restaurants who have female waitresses also become their clients because very few can be said to keep their business activities above board. Kidnapping a target and demanding ransom from the family, is fast becoming their favourite tactic.

Businessmen, builders, policemen in fact all knowledgeable people are of the view that the gangsters target moneyed people not essentially because they have pots of money, meaning thereby that only those people are targeted who indulge in illicit activity in order to enhance their profits. There are very prosperous builders who have never been touched by the gangsters while there are others on whom very heavy and repeated demands are made by exploiting their vulnerability.

The quick prosperity of Amar Naik gang has, however, also to be attributed to his suspected involvement in drug trafficking. The police so far have no definite proof. They cite two circumstances to substantiate their suspicion. First, between November, 1991 and January 1992, Anjali Naik, wife of Amar Naik received a total of US \$ 60,000/- as declared by her to the Income tax authorities under the Remittances in Foreign Exchange Immunities Scheme 1991. Nothing specific, however, is known about the source of this income in foreign currency. Secondly, Ashwin Naik, brother of Amar Naik helped to organise the release of an Afghan national, Shirbat Haji Khan who was undergoing a long sentence of imprisonment in Arthur Road Prison, on conviction under the NDPS Act. This he did by bribing some staffers of the Bombay High Court.

Chhota Rajan Faction

Chhota Rajan who succeeded Rajan Nair soon became a trusted man of Daud and kept the flag of the gang flying in Chembur Tilak Nagar area. Chhota Rajan went away to Dubai in 1988 but continued to keep a close tab on the activities of his followers in his areas to which he now seems to have annexed the new township of New Bombay, In New Bombay Chhota Rajan has systematised collection of money from CIDCO contractors but to ensure a regular supply he has also ensured that the contractors who are aligned to him and meet his demands cover all the CIDCO contracts. Bandyia Mama one time portfolio manager of Chhota Rajan has given a vivid description of the modus

operandi. According to him contractors of Chhota Rajan fold have formed a syndicate. Only they are allowed to submit tenders for the various works such as construction of road, laying sewerage pipes etc, which CIDCO notifies. Other contractors are prevented from submitting tenders by the gang by administering threats. The contractor who finally gets the contract pays 3 per cent of the contract amount to the Chhota Rajan gang. This paltry sounding 3 per cent commission works out to 25 to 30 lakh rupees per month. Elsewhere whenever a builder starts any sizeable construction activity Chhota Rajan's boys approach him and ask him under threat to stop work unless clearance from Chhota Rajan was obtained. For good measure they furnish him Chhota Rajan's Dubai telephone number. The poor builder has no option but to contact him and then at his bidding cuff up 3 to 4 lakhs of rupees in order to buy peace and relative security.

In sum, it may be said that extortion including protection money and getting cuts for settling land and living premises disputes as well as black money transactions appear to be the main money spinning activities of the important gangs operating in Bombay. Usually the gang claims between 40 to 50 per cent of the money received by the beneficiary. Daud lorahim's gang while indulging in these criminal activities is also specialising in smuggling of contraband. Drug trafficking has attracted his attention as a great money spinner soon after he landed in Dubai. He is also known to be smuggling firearms in small quantities alongwith the contraband and running a prosperous havala racket. Amar Naik is also suspected to be involved in drug related activities. Perhaps drugs and illegal arms might before long become the main trading and smuggling commodities for these gangs

Investment in legitimate business

It is a fact now universally recognised that when organised crime syndicates become flush with ill-gotten money through various kinds of racketeering and heinous offences like contract killing, abductions for ransom and extortion, they tend to seek legitimate channels for making white the abundant money they amass. Naturally they turn their attention to legitimate business. But money being their basic obsession and their characteristic methods of obtaining it being crooked, they cannot think of running a business in a honest and upright manner as a decent entrepreneur would do. Apart from making the black money white their objectives in entering the business world are, to earn yet more money by buying out such business as serves the needs of the society or starting their own outfits and then driving out the competition by using their usual tactics of intimidation and threats of violence, and even by use of violence. The idea is to obtain leadership position in a particular business activity and then taking advantage of the near monopoly position manipulate prices and supply and again make immense profits by illegitimate or at least unethical means.

In Bombay city we find that almost all gangsters leaders and followers alike- first feather their own nests in as much as they make investments in real estate and business enterprises in their native places as well as in Bombay, But this is at personal and family levels and presumably a gangster thus invests only his share of the money. The gang or syndicate is not involved. We will therefore, find that all leaders and gangsters of some standing in their respective spheres of activity and their family members are well endowed in a short time and live in comfort many of them concomitantly doing legitimate business.

Only Daud Ibrahim's gang has made entry into the legitimate field of business that can be regarded as a corporate or gang activity.

METHODS OF OPERATION OF GANGS

Selecting targets

The targets, that is. intended victims are selected by a criminal gang for (i) extorting money (ii) taking revenge or terrorising others, and (iii) as an assignment which could be for, (a) forcing a target to return property to the rival who has engaged the gang for the purpose or, (b) eliminating an adversary of the sponsor who pays the gang for the job i.e. contract killing or supari killing as it is called in Bombay.

Selection of targets for extorting money as a one time operation or on a regular basis, is relatively easy. The most favourite targets on which the lower echelons of the gang operate are gamblers, bootleggers, har owners especially those engaging female waitresses who are often used for prostitution, in fact every person who engages himself in some illegal activity in order to make quick money. Here the gang's role is parasitical. It forces these people engaged in illicit trade to share their ill-gotten money with the gang. In return the gang offers nothing not even protection though many times such forced collections are euphemistically referred to as protection money, with the result that an unscrupulous trader finds himself paying to several gangs just to keep the wolves away for a while.

Builders the Main Targets

As a corollary most builders and property developers find themselves paying to several gangs, to ensure that their construction or development activities are not brought to a standstill. Needless to say, most builders and developers meekly submit to these illegitimate demands entirely because they have so many things to hide. **Settling**

Disputes

Settling property disputes of all kinds is a highly paying and at the same time a favourite avocation of these gangs. They perhaps feel socially important as well playing the role of an adjudicator as they in a sort of way do, in which free play is given to their penchant for using intimidatory tactics. Usually the gains are divided in the ratio of 60:40, mercifully the larger share going to the property owner.

GANG WARS AND ALLIANCES

The term gang war was given currency by the press in Bombay and now it has come to be accepted in common parlance to mean any killing of a gangster by another gangster more particularly if one of them could be identified as belong to a known criminal gang. Therefore, even intemecine killings, executions of recalcitrant members by way of punishment is now alluded to as gang war, not to speak of retributive attacks by one gang on the members of an adversary gang. Executions are ordered by the boss of an organised criminal gang when the code of conduct laid down by him is ignored. Such slayings are carried out without remorse or consideration for the service rendered in the past. Two glaring examples in which Daud Ibrahim got his able lieutenants who effectively carried out many an assignment on his command, executed peculiarly enough through the agency of the police, are those of Ramya Naik who was killed in 1988 and Maya Dolas in 1991. Both were killed in encounters which people now put in inverted commas.

Interneicine Killings

These are the two examples where the Boss ordered the killing of his one time trusted assistants because they disobeyed him. But there are other examples where gangsters belonging to the same gang got at each other's throats due to perceived acts of hostility. In this context an excerpt from the police statement of Subhash Singh Thakur would be very revealing. He states that in the second quarter of 1992 while he was staying in Delhi's Hotel Holiday Inn, K.T. Thapa a notorious gangster in his own right and a Shiv Sena Corporator of Bombay, met him at Delhi and expressed apprehension that Chhota Rajan might kill him. Thereupon Subhash Singh Thakur who was obligated to Thapa and regarded him as his friend organised a telephonic meeting between Thapa and Daud Ibrahim through the interlocution of Sunil Sawant. Daud Ibrahim personally assured Thapa that he would not be killed. Thapa returned to Bombay reassured about his safety only to be killed within a few days. Obviously Daud Ibrahim did not keep his promise. The other alternative inference could be that although staying in Dubai itself under the patronage and protection of Daud Ibrahim Chhota Rajan had then started making his own decisions and did not alter them even when Daud Ibrahim expressed himself against them.

GANG AND THE POLICE

A builder of considerable experience of gang land activities and those in real estate business could be easily regarded as having the closest relationships with gangsters both the Police can stop gang activities in Bombay if they really wished to but do not. Predatory activities of organised gangs provide rationale and justification for similar predations by the police themselves especially at the police station level. He was being perhaps too harsh on the police though obviously his line of argument was not entirely without justification. Many times people in his or similar business have to make a choice

between meeting demands of the gangsters and spongings by the police. Organised crime is neither created nor sustained by the police though they may derive certain benefit both legitimate as well as illegitimate from its existence. They simply have no control over the causative factors that give rise to organised crime or its growth. They can at best control and contain organised crime which exists in every large city in a lesser or greater degree. It can be justifiably said that organised crime grows with the growth of a city. But this is no reason for the police to either look at it detachedly or helplessly, as one does a mid summer bush fire, or to connive at it. Neutralisation of the law enforcement machinery is a vital objective of organised crime because only by doing so it can expand its multifarious criminal and other antisocial activities. It tries to accomplish this important objective basically by bribery. It tries to bribe police officers involved in the enforcement of laws that hamper criminal activities of organised gangs so that they look the other way when the gangsters are engaged in their criminal trade. In the alternative or in addition they try to put pressure on the officers by bribing and in several ways obliging politicians especially those in power. This subterfuge is taken recourse to more particularly when a dutiful police officer resists their attempts to corrupt him. In this context one must look at the relationship between the local police and the criminal gangs that operate in the city of Bombay. Daud Ibrahim whose father served in Bombay City police's Crime Branch for a number of years as Head Constable before he retired, is still regarded by several Police officers especially the old timers as 'our boy' who went astray. Many have seen him and his brothers indulging in petty crime as they crossed their teens, and perhaps shaken their heads in disapproval but did not feel like chasing them out of the underworld even when they graduated from ordinary street robbers to big time operators in the world of smuggling, contract killing and extortion. To several of them it is unbelievable that Daud Ibrahim would commit such heinous crime as organising the dreadful bomb-blasts that shook the city of Bombay and in fact the whole country, on 12th March, 1993. Daud Ibrahim, one is inclined to believe, took full advantage of this soft corner for him and charted his course with speed and eclat. If some usually reliable Police Officers are to be believed he had no dearth of "sources" in the police department especially in the Crime Branch who regularly gave him update on what was cooking. Though much of it was out of goodwill and friendship Daud Ibrahim did not hesitate to bribe officers and men particularly after he became affluent due to involvement in smuggling activities. He continued this policy even later so much so that it is believed, not without sufficient justification that he got several of his rivals eliminated through the agency of the police by tipping them about the rivals. Sometimes police do put up the defence that they have no choice but to act when they receive a tip off from whatever quarter it may come, about a criminal. Admittedly they must act even such a tip off also true that such information usually comes from the rivals but it cannot be gainsaid that elimination than anything else. Secondly, it would be difficult to say that in all cases it was only during the course of

their duties as busters of crime the police do come in contact a ao sm poyp aq ueo ganm sacea uuao us aseag acuodsaa aod a4 with criminals either as suspects and accused or as informers. The total effect on the nersonality of a police officer of these encounters with baser elements of society, ope mast admit, is negative which slowly almost imperceptibly in the beginning, erodes his personality. Therefore, unless he is a man of strong chazacter and is sware of the malefie influence of the criminals he deals with, it is highly possible that he comes under their influence especially if they are affluent criminals who can offer heavy bribes and good things of life one may aspire for. With the erosion of values in the society and less of professionalism in younger police officers, il 1s inevitable that their resistance collapses like a domino before the high allurements held out by the organised criminals for the "small" and not easily detectable favour of not doing one's duty sincerely and diligently. Many a police officer has, therefore, fallen an easy prey to his moral victimisation. Some have gone to the extent of doing the shooting for the criminals while most have benefited by acts of omissions such as deleting the names of real accused or ccepting dummies in their place or keeping lacunae or shortcomings in the invetigation and remand applications, and so on. These favours are shown for considerations by no standards mean. RAU 4 go sudoad you pun uouoe upns pouduoad pp Ainp jo e It is evident from the statements made by arrested gangsters from time to time that each gang provides monthly doles to officers and staff of police stations within the jurisdictions of which they seek sanctuary. This is in addition to expensive gifts given to officers and staff on special occasions like Diwali, Ganpati festival and the like. Satish Raje of Daud Ibrahim's gang specialised in this and had reach upto the senior officers not only in the police department but also in all other departments relevant to the gang. What they expect in turn and get is connivance at acts of extortions etc. and leaving the gangsters alone to operate in a smooth manner. The other favour sought is not to raid their haunts frequently and if it becomes imperative, to do it with due notice passed on secretly, and not to give away the gangsters by arresting them when they hide themselves in their precincts after committing a heinous crime elsewhere. One, therefore, sees a peculiar spectacle of police from outside coming and fishing out wanted gangsters. More often the Crime Branch performs this unpleasant task. This is by no means indicative of the Crime Branch's above board conduct. There are several instances where officers had to be removed from the Crime Branch because of their suspected complicity with the gangs. They had been passing on information about police operations thus making them ineffectual. Some of them had also manipulated the records of investigation in order to show favour to certain hard-core gangsters. The police statement of Bandyamama who managed bail and other facilities for gangsters belonging to the Chhota Rajan faction indicates that a huge sum of money was paid to an Inspector of the Crime Branch in order to drop the names of certain important members of the Chhota Rajan faction who had actually killed another gangster, Krishna Pillai of Vikhroli in December, 1989 at Chhota Rajan's behest. Such relationship is not confined to Daud Ibrahim gang alone. A

morality which in any event is pretty low in his case, or giving a thought to its implications for him for the future. He is also prepared to befriend, take help or share platform with anybody who he is told is likely to bring him in. It is therefore, easy for gang leaders to take advantage of these vulnerabilities of politicians and extend a hand of help when such help is most needed and wrap them up in the gang network. A politician then has very little choice and opportunity to extricate himself. He has already compromised his position. Secondly, whatever qualms of conscience he earlier had against accepting help from criminal gangs they disappear by that time, On the other hand he seems to enjoy the new found weapon of gang connection as, he can use it to subdue his opponents and distractors. Such relationships are established at various levels where politicians meet gangsters fairly regularly and extend several kinds of facilities and protection to them in order to facilitate their criminal activities. The gangsters take full advantage of it, in fact they take the initiative in drawing the politicians into their web. The politicians allow their offices to be used as safe houses for planning operations, for assembly before carrying out an operation and even to meet after it is executed. They allow their residential premises to be used by gangsters for cooling their heels or remain in hiding when things are hot outside and of course invariably for telephonically contacting associates who cannot be otherwise reached. There are instances when even official vehicles were allowed by politicians to be used to facilitate escape of gangsters. What is worse, this is done by politicians with full knowledge of the kind of activities and purposes to which their facilities were being used by gangsters. In other words, they become privy to the crimes that the gangs to which these politicians are aligned, commit. Police records show that Lalsingh Chavan a Councilor in the Bombay Municipal Corporation allowed his office to be used by the Makadwala gang to assemble before going on the errand of killing, Chavan's association with criminal elements is too well known in Bombay to be recounted here. Maulana Ziauddin Bukhari, Ex. MLA was shot dead in front of his shop by Arun Gawali gang to send message to Daud Ibrahim gang with which he was closely associated, when the Gawali gang learnt that its headquarters, Dagdi chawl in Byculla, was to be bombed by Daud Ibrahim's men. They chose Bukhari as, they knew that Bukhari who had close relations with a number of politicians including an ex-chief minister was aligned with Daud Ibrahim and suspected that he made use of his political connections to bring pressure on the law enforcement authorities whenever they wanted to crackdown on "D" company, that is, Daud Ibrahim gang, What is to be noted is that Maulana Bukhari's long standing relationship with Daud Ibrahim was common knowledge. He also did not make any efforts to keep it under wraps yet even politicians in responsible positions did not think anything wrong in having friendship with him and extending political patronage to him.

This is not a solitary case. When Babu Rashim of Ranya Naik gang and later Ramva Naik himself were killed several politicians even MLAs and Corporators belonging to the ruling party in the State attended their funerals and eulogised them describing them as social workers, excellent leaders and good Samaritans who cared for but to ingratiate themselves with associates of the deceased whose help they would have used. The police statement of Subhashsingh Thakur a trusted hitman of Daud Ibrahim is quite revealing. He and other associates of Daud Ibrahim like Sunil Sawant, Bhai Thakot,

Pradhamingh who took a leading part in J1. Hospital killings and several partners had made the official residence of a sitting M.P. as their operations headquarters as well as a cafe baven in Delhi. This M.P. not only offered them board and lodging as long as they desired but also the telephone facility and kept track of what they were doing. In fact, he went one drastic step ahead and became an accessory after the crime when he organised disposal of dead bodies of the three lieutenants of Chhota Rajan who had earlier murdered K.T. Thapa and, therefore, done to death in Gonda by Subhash Singh Thakur who had vowed revenge. Really speaking, the house in the compound of which the three gangsters were killed belonged to this M.P. Bhai Thakur in his statement before the CBI investigators amply substantiates the involvement of this M.P. with people of Daud Ibrahim gang. He confesses that he had stayed in the house of the M.P. at Delhi for one month and a half in 1992 and during his subsequent stay in the house of this obliging M.P. also discussed with him the cases registered against him by the Bombay Police. Obviously this was done with a view to obtaining his assistance. Subhashsingh Thakur appears to have a penchant for befriending politicians and securing their assistance. He narrates how he had easy access to a Central Minister who even arranged accommodation for him in NTPC Guest House at Delhi. After the J.J. Hospital shoot out the important assailants fled to Delhi where some of them stayed at the house of the aforesaid M.P. and the remainder in the NTPC Guest House. In fact the M.P. as well as a nephew of the Central Minister cited above took keen interest in knowing the details of the J.J. Hospital shoot-out. Subhashsingh asserts that Daud Ibrahim contacted him on long distance call from Dubai when he was putting up with the M.P. after the murders. Subhashsingh Thakur also knew a Personal Assistant of a former Prime Minister of India. Subhashsingh used this contact to arrange a meeting with the ex-Prime Minister at the latter's farm house. Subhashsingh Thakur, Sunil Sawant and other gang members who thus met the ex-Prime Minister obtained an assurance from him to help them sort out the cases registered against them by the Bombay Police. There is reason to suspect that this sympathetic attitude had deeper roots for, Manish Lala who was the legal adviser of Daud Ibrahim gang discloses in his statement to CBI that in July, 1993 he took an important functionary of the ex-Prime Minister's political faction to Nepal to settle matters with Nepal Police who had raided Saail Sawant's house because this functionary knew the IB Chief of Nepal. Subhashsingh Thakur's facility with politicians can be understood more easily when one takes note of the fact that his younger brother is married to the cousin of one Dr. Avadhesh Singh. Avadhesh Singh is an office bearer of the youth wing of a political party. He often visits Bombay for political and other work. He took active part in running the election campaign for a candidate belonging to the ruling party in Bombay city in 1990 when elections to the Legislative Assembly were held. The aforesaid marriage which took place in Varanasi district in June, 1991 was attended by a host of gangsters belonging to the Daud Ibrahim gang.

These facts are revealed in the police statement of Anil Amamath Shama who was arrested by the Bombay Police in connection with the 31, Hospital shoot out. Originally he was a businessman but got involved with gangsters essentially due to his relationship with Dr. Avadhesh Singh. Actually Dr. Avadhesh Singh had persuaded Sharma to allow his Vile Parie flat and the phone installed in it to be used in his absence by Subhash Singh Thakur and Sanil Sawant. This flat was frequently used by these two gangsters to telephonically contact other gang members and to meet for planning criminal operations

Ouile often even Dr. Avadhesh Singh uicd to meet Subhash Singh Thakur and Sonil Sawant in Sharma's flat when on a visst to Bombay. Partscuiarly, Sharma also mentions lcnsth the involvement of the Personal Assistant and a nephew of a former Central Minister in the affairs of the gang even when the Minisder was in office. The nephew is an officer belonging to the Police which compounds the criminality further. Anil Shama also mentions of the association of another Anil Sharma of Bombay with lhis gang. This latter Sharma who was often referred to by the gang as duplicate Anil is an important office bearer of a national political party How politicians occupying responsible public offices also easily become accesscries of gangs for mutual benefit is amply brought out in the case of Suresh Budhamal Kalani @ Pappu Kalani a fast rising politician with very high connections in the party. He was Mayor of Ulhasnagar Municipal Corporation for 5 years from 1986 and was elected to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly in 1990. In lact he has again been elected to the Assembly in the February, 1995 polls with a thumping majority though under detention in a TADA case. Pappu Kalani admits to have come in contact with Sham Kishor Garikapatti @ Kishor Bhai a close associate of Subhashsingh Thakut, on the interlocution of his uncie Kimatrai. Pappu Kalani later made use of Kishorbhai's contact to eliminate Ghanshyam Bhatija an adversary of his on the eve of 1990 Assembly elections and paid Rs.2 lakhs to Kishorbhai for the job. He paid a like amount for the assassination of another Bhatija family member a month later. A few months thereafter Pappu Kalani again contacted Baba Gabriel and Bachhi Pande the two notorious members of Daud Ibrahim gang who had done the carlier two jobs for Pappu Kalani at the behest of Kishorbhai, to kill another rival'of Pappu Kalari, namely, Anna Shetty. They kiled Anna Shetty while he was being escorted by the police and in the process fatally injured a constable too. Pappu Kalani according to his own admission to the police, paid rupees one lakh to the two gangsters for the job. Pappu Kalani disclosed having paid Rs.10 lakhs in cash in the last week of August, 1992 to Kishorbhai on the latter's demand through Suryarao, the then President of Bhiwandi Municipal Committee. Suryarao also confessed to have sent his official car given to him by Ulhasnagar Municipal Corporation to Kishorbhai one day before the J.J, Hospital shoot-out at the latter's behest. The vehicle was used by them to carry the assailants. Suryarao was also equally involved in the activities of this gang. In fact he had become a puppet in their hands because he not only dutifully reported alongwith his official car and the armed police body guard when ordered to do so by Kishorbhai but also allowed his official car to be used by the gangsters to flee from Bombay. The above incidents which can be multiplied several fold clearly show criminal complicity of the politicians. They know full well the kind of activities for which their facilities such as house, office, telephone, transport and in some cases even names are being used by the gangsters. The use of these facilities is so blatant that it would be difficult for anyone except the most gullible to accept that these politicians were not aware of the real nature of what was going on and, whatever help they rendered was more out of goodwill than anything else. Even goodwill if it indecd is so, is misplaced and deliberately so because they knew full well the type, of ppeople they were dealing with. In some cases, Pappu Kalani's for example, they compromised their position so much that they have no alternative but to accede to the demands even unreasonable demands of the gangsters. In all these cases it is the politician who has walked into the relationship and thought nothing wrong in sustaining it obviously for personal gains and fulfilling his political ambitions unmindful

of the fact that the help rendered by him and the protective umbrella provided by him to the gangsters actually would render him liable to prosecution as an abettor. Perhaps they are sure that in the ordinary course the investigating agencies will not dare expose them. The gangsters repay the debt by substantially helping the politicians when the election time comes. This help is not only in the form of money but also by way of garnering votes for them. The recently concluded Maharashtra Legislative Assembly elections (Feb. 1995) in which both Pappu Kalani and Hitendra Thakur, the brother of Bhai Thakur contested elections from the reelective constituencies which had elected them in 1990 as Congress nominees bring in focus a very disturbing phenomenon. Both got elected with thumping majority as independent candidates though both are facing several cases under the TADA Act. In fact Pappu Kalani was not released even on parole to campaign for himself. Pappu Kalani obtained 90479 votes against the 35145 votes polled by his nearest rival, the BJP candidate. Hitendra Thakur likewise secured 81463 votes as compared to 47888 votes received by the Shiv Sena candidate who was the next in order. People, officials as well as private citizens have different and differing perceptions. Some say that though the candidates themselves were ignominiously incapacitated their henchmen maintained the atmosphere of fear and intimidation. Others say that these persons may be bad people and now disgraced but they have in the past done many good things to ameliorate the lot of ordinary folks in their respective constituencies. These people therefore, idolise them and vote for them regardless of their other misdeeds which do not adversely affect them. As it is, the Indian voter has never shown much concern for the character and integrity of the candidates while deciding whom to vote. Perhaps the truth is the mix of the two interpretations. Either way this phenomenon has a very sinister implication for Indian body politic as the Indian gangster is showing increasing preference for himself jumping into the election fray rather than play a role from behind the scene as king maker.

GANG INROADS INTO LEGITIMATE BUSINESS

Extortion, kidnapping for ransom, contract killing and in respect of some gangs smuggling and drug trafficking generates abundant money only. Admittedly a gang has to spend considerable money in maintaining gangsters who are substantially paid and they as well as their families are looked after well when they get incarcerated but it forms a part of the money that gang earns through its various activities. Even a relatively small gang like Amer Naik's or Arun Gawali's for that matter nets money in crores every month. It is estimated by CBI that Daud Ibrahim earns Rs. 25 crores every month by way of protection money in Bombay. It is to be noted that this is not his main activity which is smuggling. Smuggling as well as drug trafficking in which he has now involved himself would be readily accepted, earns for more money. Someone who has so much money cannot just fritter it away in the pursuit of good things of life. Naturally he must find some outlet for it in the world of legitimate business. One more reason perhaps more important than finding an outlet for the abundant money, is the craving for securing social acceptability and subsequent respectability that ownership of a legitimate business enterprise would bring. Such business enterprises are bound to succeed first because initial losses which most fledgling business enterprises suffer forcing quite a few of them to fold up, does not cause the gang leaders any concern because they have enough money to continuously pump in. Secondly, they use the same high handed tactics to which they are accustomed in the underworld dealings, in legitimate business as

well . This drives away competition, in any case it subdues it so much as to be of little consequence. In any case none dare tread on the territory which the gang leader turned businessman may call his. Thirdly they freely use the political contacts as well as contacts among law enforcement agencies and bureaucracy which they have developed to facilitate their illegal activities .

The Current Police Response in Bombay City

Street gangsterism, gambling and prostitution menaced the City of Bombay even as far back as the early nineteenth Century. S.M. Edwardes in his book, The Bombay City Police records on page 36 that in 1844 a succession of daring robberies was carried out in the Harbour by gangs of criminals who sailed round in boats from backbay. The most notorious of them was known as the Bandar Gang, and their unchecked excesses led to the formation of a separate floating Police force under the control of a Deputy Superintendent. Bombay being a prosperous port city even in those days, it attracted European Sailors who came here to drink, gamble and make merry. Inevitably it also attracted a large number of European prostitutes so much so that they became quite a nuisance. But antisocial behaviour was not restricted to white men and women alone. Bombay attracted people from all over the subcontinent and even from Afghanistan. Infact the Pathans who avowedly came to take up jobs as watchmen in prosperous houses mostly engaged themselves in moneylending at exceedingly high rates of interest and using strong arm methods to recover loans. They became such a menace to the population that Sir Patrick Kelly who became Police Commissioner on 1 June, 1922 and regarded as the most popular white Police Commissioner of Bombay, made it his business to rid the city of the Pathan Scourge and could succeed in reducing their number and their nefarious activities by launching a determined drive against them. Earlier Police Commissioners W.H. Wilson (1888-1893) and Hartley Kennedy (1899-1901) had taken similar steps against white prostitutes and their pimps. It was, however, during the tenure of the first full time Police Commissioner, Sir Frank Souter (1864-88) that a Detective Branch which was first founded by Charles Forjett an extraordinary detective himself and predecessor of Souter as Bombay City Chief came into prominence, the main functions of this branch being to control the above mentioned types of crimes. Police Commissioner S M. Edwardes (1909-16) renamed this Branch as CID. Later, Police Commissioner, Sir Patrick Kelly added Vigilance Branch to the CID whose main task was to curb prostitution related activities. Unfortunately, however, as years passed it earned notoriety as the most corrupt unit in the city Police and hence perhaps most sought after by police officers and men alike, Only recently the new Government disbanded it for good reason. As has been brought out the organised crime in its modern manifestation which is a more evolved form of earlier street crime, started making its presence felt in the 1980's. Towards the closing years of that decade it certainly became a menace serious enough to attract anxious public attention. Therefore, vide its order dated 11 July, 1989 the State Government created a Special Operations Squad on the recommendation of the Police Commissioner in order to effectively deal with organised criminal gangs which were clashing with one another quite frequently. Initially it comprised 52 officers and men who were given modern automatic weapons and thorough training to use them, special allowance equal to 50 % of pay and several other substantial benefits. The tasks laid out for the Special Operations Squad were threefold. It was supposed to create a proper data

bank relating to the organised criminal gangs, i.e. their structures, resources, methods of operation, their members and sympathisers and the crimes committed by them. The second task was to collect intelligence about the activities of these gangs and the third was to swoop down on these gangs with a heavy hand whenever they were about to commit an offense or actually committed an offence.

It is somewhat disappointing that the squad was not developed to its full stature so that it could effectively and efficiently play the role it was created for. To-day it serves more or less as a strike force to be put into action whenever resistance from gangsters is apprehended. As regards investigating the crimes committed by organised criminal gangs, the traditional practice of the CIID Crime Branch of the City Police making parallel enquiries while the main investigation was carried out by the jurisdictional Police, is being still followed. In certain situations especially when the gang connection is adequately established, the Crime Branch actually takes over the investigation. This system as can be easily discerned, inevitably brings about a tussle between the two which perhaps is unavoidable in the circumstances. It must be said to the credit of the City Police that most cases get detected in the sense that the police come to know who actually were the perpetrators of a crime, manage to nab a few and send up charge sheets also but the gang remains intact as, a systematic investigation aimed at unearthing the conspiracy that has resulted in the commission of the crime reported is not carried out. Naturally, therefore, the main dramatis personae are invariably left out. Wherever an attempt has been made to implicate a gang leader it has not produced any tangible result for, the evidence against him is mostly in the form of confession of an accused gangster. In order to be able to, first pre-empt a possible crime by a gang and second, to collect evidence against the inner circle gangsters who usually do not expose themselves by taking part in the actual commission of a crime though they might have conceived of the idea and also done the necessary planning, it is imperative to have a sensitive and reliable criminal intelligence collection network. The present scenario as would be evident from the following narration, is not very encouraging. Any attempt to boost up the police effort to fight organised criminal gangs will be of little avail unless the criminal intelligence gathering facility is revamped and made more capable.

Criminal Intelligence System-

The present scenario Intelligence is the backbone of any effective police operations be it a proactive one like prevention of crime or reactive one like detection of crime. If Bombay City Police had a great reputation in the past as an ace Police force which the citizens of this metropolis often liked to characterise as second only to the Scotland Yard, it was essentially because of its Crime Branch ability to detect sensational cases which usually attracted public attention and concern. People of the older generations often talk nostalgically about Central Bank dacoity, Loyds Bank dacoity, Aarey Milk Cashvan dacoity and so on and admire the way the Crime Branch busted those crimes. The City Police more particularly the Crime Branch could register these laudable accomplishments entirely because they especially the latter operated a first rate criminal intelligence system in which, peculiarly the people and police constabulary made a major contribution. The people's contributions can be divided into two categories, namely, that made by informers in place or moles as they are often called in intelligence parlance and the casual informants who were members of the public not usually associated with criminal activities but were witnesses to the crime or knew about the

criminals and their whereabouts. In short, they were observation sources who often preferred to inform by adopting indirect methods of communication such as an anonymous phone call or a letter. The informers-in-place were most often not actually introduced by the Police into a criminal gang. This is a long term operation requiring greater patience and higher professionalism which frankly speaking the Police did not possess. They, however, found it easier to tap an existing member, often peripheral with whom they had come in contact during the course of an investigation and to whom they had put under an obligation in one way or another. These informers were usually men who had moved about in the localities frequented by active criminals and had the requisite expertise born out of long experience to smell the rat where one existed. They were also often used by the Police to obtain an assessment as to who could have committed a particular crime that had prima facie baffled the Police and to find out the whereabouts of wanted and absconding criminals. Since the criminals after committing a crime often took shelter in shanties and hutments it was easier for policemen to move about in those areas in plain clothes and locate them with the help of contacts. Now the criminals especially those involved in organised crime and the like are quite educated and come from higher strata of society. The fast means of locomotion and relative abundance of money enables them to leave the City for distant places thus crippling the efforts of the City Police who suffer from a severe handicap outside their jurisdiction. Secondly, the bosses of these gangsters have provided safe houses in the form of rented flats in different localities where these gangsters take temporary refuge. Many even hire rooms in hotels. Naturally this has taken criminal intelligence of this type beyond the pale of the proverbial Pandu Havaladar. There is no gainsaying the fact that professionalism among the police officers and the concomitant devotion to duty have taken a severe beating in the past few decades. To compound the malaise corruption now holds the sway. This is not to say that Police officers of yesteryears were beyond reproach. The lure of the filthy lucre possessed them too, but it did not obsess them. Moreover they retained their professionalism often showing good judgment and exercising judicious discretion when such discretion was called for. Today professionalism has taken a nose dive while corruption is continually making fresh conquests in its buoyant journey upwards in the department which is further accelerated by the colluding politician. The result is that there is abundant factionalism among all ranks and distrust of subordinates by supervisory officers who often accuse them of being mixed up with criminals. This is the consequence of lack of a high degree of professionalism and resultant absence of realism on the part of the seniors, the relative ease with which some police officers especially at junior levels have developed nexus with professional criminals and the inevitable public outcry when these black sheep were exposed by the media. The seniors instead of taking imaginative steps by way of correction get into the habit of accusing juniors wholesale of being hand in glove with the criminals. The outcome has been that the juniors prefer not to make any efforts at developing contacts with the criminal world wherefrom alone intelligence can flow. It is a risky game in which corruption is a natural by product. Prudence and good judgment lies in searching the right persons for the job, monitoring their forays after giving them adequate resources from the secret service fund so that they could cultivate contacts, and periodically changing the officers though it might bring about a temporary setback. In the past, though the junior officers were less suspected and allowed relative freedom, a properly worked out system did not exist whereby the

supervisory officer could satisfy himself that the current has not started flowing in the reverse direction. The criminals in those days were not in a position to make regular payments to police unlike today when the gangs seem to have more money than the department could ever think of paying. It has, therefore, become the game both can play in which the department often gets the beating. A system of checks and balances should have been evolved from the beginning. This was not done but only brakes were applied for fear that the officers would get mixed up. The result is that while the gangsters do manage to neutralise in fact win over several officers entrusted with the task of lighting organised crime, the department is totally starved of vital intelligence, strategic and tactical. In fact it is widely believed among knowledgeable people that the gangsters know more about police activities and operational plans than the police do about the gangsters. There is more than a grain of truth in it. As for the public, even this useful avenue has dried up. There is a firm belief these days in the public that police are mixed up with the criminals and deliberately leak out their names thus putting their safety in jeopardy. It is a fact that police often disclose the name of the informant to the accused. Sometimes it is done because of the nexus but often it is the result of plain ineptitude, lack of professionalism at the cutting edge level. Whatever the underlying reason the man in the street is now not prepared to take a risk. As the second best proposition people tend to give information anonymously. Unfortunately quite often it is ignored. Telephonic information gets distorted. When the informant finds no tangible action ensuing as a result of his having taken the trouble of informing the Police he surmises that police are mixed up and disdainfully refrains from undertaking that exercise again. The long and short of this rather disconcerting story about the demise of criminal intelligence system is that the police get information about gangs mostly from the rival gangs whose desire it is to use police as the unwitting agents for carrying out their vengeful designs. Starved of any meaningful intelligence, under pressure from the public, press and seniors to show results in view of the growing organised crime menace, the executive police officers are only too willing to oblige. The net result is 'encounters', in which also people have lost faith as, they believe that those are stage managed on behalf of the gangsters the police favour. The other source available to police in these circumstances is the interrogation of arrested gangsters and their associates. This, acknowledgedly, can be a very important source to obtain information about organisation and structure of gangs, their methods of and operations etc. In other words, good deal of strategic intelligence can be collected about gangs through these interrogations but a perusal of fairly large number of police statements of the accused shows that the questioning of these gangsters is largely confined

to the mechanics of committing the crime in which they were arrested. Thus, even this otherwise potentially valuable source is not fully exploited. Resultantly, nothing much is reliably known about a gang's internal administration and economy that would help police officers make an educated guess about its future course of action. One important source of reliable intelligence would be the telephones which the gangsters frequently use and which the police can legally tap after following the due process of law. Enquiries in connection with this research project have shown that Daud Ibrahim and his trusted lieutenants who are all Dubai based keep themselves in close touch with their operational teams by telephone which is natural. They also telephonically threaten potential victims

in order to extort money. Quite often the henchmen supply telephone numbers of their bosses to builders and other victims of extortion rackets and ask them to get in touch with the former which the hapless people often do. Police investigations have revealed that the Bombay based gangsters often receive and make calls from the telephones installed in the houses of their associates occasionally they use the telephone facility available at certain communication centres. All in all, police are aware of the telephone numbers of practically all big bosses who exercise their remote but effective control through frequent telephonic calls. Similarly, police also are in the knowledge of several contact telephone numbers wherefrom these bosses are contacted and vice versa. Tapping of these telephones can give very valuable intelligence about the activities and plans of these gangs. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the police tap not more than half a dozen telephones wherefrom they get precious little. An important and reliable avenue of intelligence thus remains woefully under tapped. The electronic media in other forms remains almost totally unexploited. Perhaps there is no awareness of its utility and feasibility. It is universally acknowledged that a police organisation to be able to competently and effectively combat the complex organised criminal gangs must have a strong intelligence data base. The above narrations have, to be sure, brought out the fact that not much inflow of strategic intelligence that would enable the police to build a profile of a gang, takes place nor is much effort made in that direction. Admittedly the M.O.B has a number of 'cards' on the known gangsters. This information has now been fed into a computer. But the point to be noted is that it is criminal based apart from being sketchy, and not gang based. For the latter, notes prepared by some industrious officers from time to time are the only capital to fall back upon.

THE DELHI SCENARIO

Kidnapping for Ransom is Being Increasingly Preferred The Delhi Police records show that in 1992, 36 organised gangs of criminals which can be regarded important were operating in Delhi. Of these as many as 8 specialised in kidnapping for ransom which type of crime is at the moment, causing great concern to the people and government alike of Delhi and neighbouring States. This kind of crime is likely to become a favourite of other organised gangs as well because of the ease of operation which involves no bloodshed while yielding staggeringly large amounts in many cases. What is more, the kind of people who are made targets do not normally want to make a complaint to the police not always because they have been warned against approaching the police by the kidnapers. Operationally, though kidnapping requires keen surveillance and meticulous planning-in some respects kidnapping is more difficult as well as hazardous than murdering a potential victim as, the victim has to be actually reached physically and not grievous bodily harm should come to him in the process of kidnapping it can be organised with considerably less man power. In more than one sense it is like the stalking of its prey by a tiger which exercise it does not have the embark upon every day. It requires good intelligence about the geese that lay golden eggs among the citizens, painstaking surveillance and accurate planning. It is on record that many gangs do not

undertake the bother and the concomitant risk of holding on to the captives in a safe place or to conduct negotiations either with the relatives or in rare cases with the police which requires special kind of expertise.

COUNTER MEASURES-A FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

Structuring Police effective organised Crime Control

Given the organised crime's versatility, flexibility of operational techniques, abundant resources, easy access to modern technological innovations, ruthlessness, ability to corrupt and even otherwise neutralise both political and bureaucratic as well as enforcement wings of the government, above all its obsession with money and the power it begets, it is imperative that the police who are entrusted with the task of grappling with it -at any rate are held entirely accountable for it both by the government and the people are truly professional in every sense of the term. It is also obvious that given the fact that organised criminal gangs are no respectors of police jurisdictional limits, in fact they show scant regard even for international boundaries, the whole police force must of necessity be geared to face the menace. But it would also be evident that it is well high impossible to bring the whole police force even a city police force to the level of professional efficiency and competence that is required to obtain an upper hand in the department's war against these gangs

It follows, therefore, that a Special Task Force (STF) whose wholetime and sole responsibility it is to wage a systematic war against identified organised criminal gangs in order to cripple them and eventually crush them is constituted. This is not to say that the territorial police units should be divested of this all important responsibility. On the other hand the territorial police must regard combatting organised crime as one of their priority functions. In several ways they are better suited to notice even small nascent activities whether of committing a crime or recruiting a new member. Further, all offences occurring within their jurisdiction are first reported to them. Therefore, they are like the general practitioner who is a family doctor to many. His knowledge and judgement as well as the initial countermeasures taken by him are of immense importance. Since organised crime is a special crime of dreadful variety it will require handling by a specialist unit. But it would need continuous assistance of the territorial police.

Secondly, since organised crime typically operates across jurisdictions of police stations, even across states and, as we have seen across national boundaries, it needs to be treated as a problem of national priority. Inevitably it would require a high degree of intra- police force and inter-police forces coordination and co-operation. This sort of inter-action aimed at planning consonant action can be achieved only by giving this responsibility to the Special Task Force (STF) which will act as the clearing house and the nodal agency for dealing with outside agencies Organisation of the Special Task Force (STF) It is well known that the police have generally a fire brigade approach to

organised crime. In other words, it is a crime- response approach. When an organised criminal gang strikes police rush around and mobilise all their resources to apprehend the perpetrators of the crime. Even though in several cases they are able to arrest the actual culprits they are not able to cause any substantial damage to the offence committing capability of the gang. as the top leadership in fact even the second and third line leadership remains untouched. Whom the police are often able to nab and subsequently prosecute are soldiers who in criminal parlance are referred to as garbage as, they are perfectly disposable. Since they know very little about the structure and methods of operation of the gang their contact only being with the gang member who briefed them, facilitated commission of the offence and subsequent escape, they are not able to disclose any hurtful or damaging information to the police during interrogation. Coupled with this limitation is the unfortunate circumstance confirmed by going through several case papers of gang related crimes, that the investigation of an offence is done in an adhoc manner, the investigating officer remaining content with collecting evidence against the actual perpetrators because his objective invariably appears to be to chargesheet the case rather than unearth the whole conspiracy. While arresting those who actually commit an offence and collecting evidence against them is imperative it is most unsatisfactory to limit the efforts thus. This is the : reason why all the gangs are flourishing unhampered despite police claims to the contrary The gang structures and hierarchies are invariably created with layer upon layer of leader insulation. The higher one is in the gang hierarchy the more insulated one is. Naturally therefore, it is very difficult to get implicating evidence in normal circumstances against these functionaries though they might have actually mooted and planned the operation. A painstaking and protracted investigation is required. This is not done. Resultantly, even though police claim to have solved most crimes committed by gangs they have in effect not been able to administer a crippling blow to any gang. In order to incapacitate a gang the police will have to strike at several levels, Therefore, methods and capability need to be developed to administer a multi-headed salvo at the gangs. In other words, instead of targeting only individual gang members who hGve committed an offence, the entire criminal gang which has backed the effort must be targetted. Therefore, an investigation should have for its objective the prosecution of, gang members at all levels of its hierarchy more particularly the top leadership. This precisely was the conceptual reasoning behind the creation of the Special Operations Squad in the Crime Branch of the Bombay, City police in 1989. Unfortunately, what was created albeit in an embryonic form, was never allowed to grow and develop to its full effective stature largely because of neglectful handling in the following years. Be that as it may, there appears no alternative to creating a fullfledged group the Special Task Force whose exclusive business it will be to fight organised criminal gangs in a methodical manner by launching a multipronged attack and sustaining it until such time the gang disintegrates and all its important members are prosecuted. Though for the present the objective of the STF should be limited to targetting criminal

gangs described in the chapters ie. gangs which indulge in extortion, kidnapping for ransom, contract killing, black marketing in tickets and similar traditional crimes and of course the gangs that have made trafficking in drugs, illicit fire arms etc. their business, it should be obvious that it will have to before long include in its folio such crimes as money laundering (Hawala) loan sharking, bank frauds, stocks related crimes such as and theft of shares bonds and debentures, and manipulation, embezzlement, forg computer crimes, credit card frauds, racketeering in human organs,, smuggling and sale of pornographic literature, and even thefts of nuclear and other technologies which terrorist groups or other nations may want. The list is by no means exhaustive as, any manifest organised criminal activity that becomes the business of people motivated by the same insatiable hunger for money which motivates the gangs busy at the moment in more traditional crimes with overtones of violence or threats of violence, will qualify to be called organised crime. Obviously the composition of the Special Task Force and its methods of operation including investigation will have to undergo the requisite metamorphosis as the criminal gangs expand and diversify their money making criminal activities. As it is, even in the present scenario the Special Task Force while investigating the violent activities of a gang will have to systematically go into the working of the non-violent illegal and legal business activities that have been started, controlled, acquired illegitimately or used by the gang directly or through its henchmen, in order to make out a comprehensive case against the gang as opposed to its individual operatives, Investigative Wing This calls for a high degree of sophistication in the techniques of investigation and sound knowledge of law and procedure that goes beyond the common criminal law. It will also have to know and keep under its vigil goings on in the business world.. This is not the job which a police officer can do justice to even if he develops a contact or two in the financial and business circles or develops some understanding of the market mechanics. This is the job of financial analysts and experts In sum, Special Task Force should have as its main component a professional investigating team comprising experienced police officers known for their knowledge of criminal law and procedure and a penchant for meticulously and painstakingly carrying out an investigation. They should have the necessary flair for writing as, in this kind of investigation preparation of case papers in a methodical and systematic manner is absolutely necessary. These officers should be duly assisted by trained financial personnel like Chartered Accountants, Financial Analysts etc. who should either be on permanent staff or it should be possible to hire their services whenever required. In other words, the Special, Task Force should have strong investigative ability in addition to having ready availability of Forensic Science laboratory assistance and aid of photographic and technical personnel as well as handwriting experts. As a practical proposition the investigative wing should be divided into small investigating teams of two or three officers each whose work will be monitored and guided by an experienced supervising officer. Though specialisation in various fields of investigation should be encouraged there should be no monopolisation in

the sense that only one team will investigate a particular kind of offence. This leads to clique formation and corruption. Likewise restricting a team's investigative endeavours to only one type of crime also leads to the development of tunnel vision with the result that in a crime that has wider ramifications the team is not able to visualise other implications. The credo of the investigative wing should be to continuously increase its work efficiency in order to command respect from the people, the press and more so from the trial courts. To minimise chances of corruption, the wing should develop an effective & system of checks and balances which comes by close but unobtrusive supervision and certain degree of overlap of duties and responsibilities so that monopoly or exclusiveness is prevented from developing. It should be the endeavour of the head of the investigative wing to keep all the investigative teams posted with the new facts, and trends that come to light during the investigations undertaken by his teams. A practice of regular discussion should be evolved whereby all the investigations would be discussed in weekly or fortnightly meetings. Many times useful suggestions are thus thrown up which help an investigating team explore new avenues or speed up the investigation in a particular direction. Only the most sensitive aspects of an investigation should be discussed bilaterally. Admittedly there are chances in this system of people leaking out information pertaining to an investigation they are not handling but proper sensitisation which will engender a sense of responsibility, pride in what one is doing and elimination of corrupt elements will go a long way in minimising chances of undesirable leakages. Legal Advisor Undoubtedly the investigations would be complicated if the objective is to discover ail links and establish a proper case against as many gang members as possible Though it is presumed that the investigators assigned to this wing will be well versed in relevant laws and procedures as well as techniques of investigation, it would be necessary to associate a prosecutor or legal advisor with the investigative wing so that from the very beginning the investigating team will have the benefit of his legal advice in the light of the latest rulings of the superior courts, past experiences in the trial courts etc. As a third party looking at a case from a prosecutor's angle the legal adviser may also be able to make useful suggestions that would enhance the quality and soundness of an investigation. The prosecutor or legal advisor will also assist the investigating officers in preparing chargesheets and choosing witnesses and evidence to be cited. What is more, when the case comes up for hearing he will be able to competently and confidently brief the special government counsel who will be actually conducting the case or carlier, when bail applications come up for consideration. Criminal Intelligence Wing Criminal intelligence that is reliable, accurate, complete and timely should form the basis of any sustained campaign against organised crime if obtaining success in effectively curbing this evil is the objective. We have seen that the criminal intelligence gathering capability of the police at the moment is agonisingly poor. A systematic effort therefore, needs to be undertaken to build up the capability of collecting strategic as well as tactical intelligence. This will also help the Special Task Force to build up a strong intelligence data base

without which the war against organised crime cannot be won. While it goes without saying that: collection of criminal intelligence is the responsibility of every policeman not necessarily posted in the Special Task Force, it should be more of the personnel of all ranks who are members of the latter. Since intelligence is not something lying everywhere ready to be picked up by anyone who cares to the expectations of the kind and quality of intelligence from personnel working in the police force in various capacities must differ. To a large extent it depends on the access that the assignment or job affords to an official. But the point that is being made is that they are all capable of contributing their mite. Thus, a policeman on beat patrol duty, a traffic policeman at a fixed point, an officer going to a crime infested locality to investigate a reportedly minor complaint, and an investigating officer interrogating an accused in a seemingly unrelated crime can all make useful contribution if only they are made aware of the requirement and sensitised to recognise their responsibility in the war against criminal gangs. Since intelligence forms the backbone of any important & operation, one cannot depend entirely on this kind of chance intelligence gathered through casual observation and interrogation to run a campaign which requires a well thought out policy, meticulous planning and systematic execution of operational plans with minimum casualties. Collecting intelligence information which is sometimes called raw intelligence, in a systematic manner through informers etc. verifying the information that flows in from sources such as the ones mentioned above or tips given by anonymous callers and letter writers, as to its credibility, collating such information and the storing it in the data bank for dissemination to the policy planners, investigating officers, and other operational staff must be made the specific responsibility of certain persons who are well versed in the craft of intelligence collection, collation, analysis and storage. The Special Task Force, therefore, should have a Criminal Intelligence Wing. The wing should have the following functions: (i) The first and the foremost responsibility of this wing should be to act as a store house for all reliable information on criminal gangs and gangsters who constitute such gangs. It should, therefore, work out a system whereby all relevant information received from any quarters would automatically flow to it. It should thus get (a) information on gang related crimes (b) information on arrested gangsters and persons suspected to be involved in some capacity in gang activities. (c) information on victims and property that is subject of gang crime (d) information about vehicles, weapons, houses, hotels, business places, telephones etc, used by gangsters for their activities (e) persons, establishments, enterprises, who are known or suspected to be helping gang activities and, (f) particulars of the complaints received against them. The intention is to prepare complete background files on gangsters and gangs to be used at some stage in investigation and prosecution. The Wing should work out an integrated computer records system which will, apart from storing vast information bring speed to data verification and thus help in investigator to quickly check a complaint in hand against past complaints of related nature so as to get a picture of the criminal's or gangs

past criminal activities. As one sees it, this data storage and processing cell should have a composite staff comprising computer literate police officers and computer operators. The latter category of men may be civilians, if need be. (ii) The second important responsibility of the Criminal Intelligence Wing should be the collection of sensitive and reliable intelligence about the clandestine and covert activities of organised criminal gangs more importantly their operational plans, their front organisations and enterprises, auxiliary members and associates who lend support and facilitate gang survival and activities. To collect intelligence of the aforesaid kinds a multi pronged approach is necessary. The information required by the police regarding the activities of the gangs fall in two categories. First, information that can be gleaned from open sources such as newspaper reports, articles and interviews appearing in news-magazines and journals, business records pertaining to gang connected business enterprises and so on. Second, information that is not openly available. Apart from the information and knowledge culled out from interrogation reports and statements of witnesses such information can be fruitfully collected through running sources or paid informers. Now, one knows that sources can be created or introduced and a source is as useful as the access he has to the source of information. For quick returns it is always beneficial to create sources who could be gang members or somebody close to them. Members of rival gangs also prove very useful for, apart from the prospect of ingratiating themselves with the police they see in it a vicarious method of taking revenge. Important information about daily activities of the gangs can be likewise collected by winning over persons living in localities where gang activities abound and where a gang's headquarters is located. Such sources can be recruited from the residents who had become victims of gang atrocities in the past or are sympathetic to a rival gang. As a matter of fact most gangs collect information about the gangs they are on inimical terms with in this manner. Itinerant sources that is to say, sources who visit such localities on the pretext of selling wares or services can also collect information by observation or listening to chance unguarded conversations. As a long term measure which can reap rich dividends some budding young criminals with promise can be persuaded to join the gangs. This can be done with ease in jails where most new recruitments take place. When these persons reach positions of vantage in a gang they can provide very valuable information. It is a risky operation that requires professional handling. It is, therefore, not very easy to recruit and operate human sources of the aforesaid types because people are well aware of the consequences of exposure. This is made doubly difficult in today's situation because people believe that police invariably leak out their names to criminals against whom information is given either because they are unprofessional or because they are corrupt. Both assumptions unfortunately have significant validity. (ii) It is, therefore, necessary to explore the possibility of using technological sources especially because gangsters do make frequent use of technological innovations the simplest and the most commonly used being the telephone, for communication. The police have been for decades tapping telephones to

collect information clandestinely but of late the facility is more used to collect information for the political masters rather than for nabbing notorious criminals. Given the present advancements in information technology the indifferently used facility also appears rudimentary. Cellular and digital phones are all set to invade not only metropolitan cities but even the country side. The gangsters who have no dearth of money are sure to make use of these innovations in a big way because of the versatility and relative safety of communication they offer. As it is the gangsters are using telephones installed in secret safe houses, in the flats of friends and associates and the public call offices several of them are now owned by gang affiliates. Paging which is becoming, quite popular with the corporate sector is already in use by gangsters. Unlike in the past these pagers now offer a two way communication facility albeit of limited nature which is good enough for operational purposes. The situation undoubtedly has become more formidable but by no means insurmountable. On the other hand these new systems also open up new avenues, For example. it should be possible for the police to locate a gang car which is using cellular phone at any given moment, with the cooperation of the telephone authorities. Given the legal position and the authority that the police wield it should not be difficult for the police to enlist their support and cooperation. Likewise, in the paging system by knowing the allotted frequencies the police can nab the gangsters. Overseas communication which is indispensable for dons like Daud Ibrahim, Chhota Rajan and so on can also be tapped though it is digital. The gangsters are, undoubtedly a clever lot. Though they prefer to use telephones for communications and may be now using citizen's band walkie-talkie sets they do keep in mind the possibility of interception by the police. Therefore, apart from using indifferently devised domestic code they believe in giving face to face or personal briefings by meeting in public places like: restaurants, juice centres and the like. A different approach in this situation is required. Short-range transmitters or bugs can be used with considerable advantage in such situations provided the requisite homework is done to find out the places of rendezvous and taking the owners in confidence or even otherwise. Similarly a decoy or in the alternative a gang member who has been won over, or a victim of crime can be persuaded to carry a miniature transmitter on his person and his conversation recorded. As a cruder and more risky proposition he can carry a mini-tape recorder in his pocket. Mini cameras concealed in cigarette cases and the like can also be used to take photographs. Such technical evidence coupled with actual deposition of the person who collected the evidence can go a long way in establishing the complicity or criminality of the gangsters Actual physical surveillance can also be mounted either by using trained policemen in plainclothes or hired auxiliary agents on gangsters when they are on the move or in their known hideouts. Many hideouts, hitherto unknown members and associates and rendezvous joints can thus be discovered. Photographic evidence obtained during these surveillance errands can later be used in a court of law to establish relationships. Intelligence information should also be obtained as

a standing arrangement on a give and take basis from other enforcement and interested agencies such as State CID, police forces of other States, CBI, IB, R&AW, Enforcement Directorate, Central Excise and Customs Department, Income tax Department and Narcotics Control Bureau. The list is not exhaustive. However, to build a proper gang profile sometimes it may be necessary to launch intelligence investigations which are not the same thing as investigating a crime but akin to an enquiry. A team of officers entrusted with this task can make systematic confidential enquiries to establish a gang's assets, financial interests and the like. This is an enquiry intended to collect reliable and presentable evidence about a gang's total activities that can fill the missing links or gaps in the jigsaw puzzle created by the evidence collected through investigation of reported crime. (iv) Intelligence that can form a basis for action neither comes easily nor does it come cheap. To run sources and informers who collect sensitive information often risking their lives invariably want to be properly treated by the officers who liaise with them and of course most of them want to be well paid the exception occasionally being those who want to seek revenge through police. Luckily the police are not starved of secret service funds which they can gainfully use for meeting this kind of requirement. These days even giving a cup of tea to a casual informant costs money which is quite frequent, an honest police officer of lower or middle rank cannot easily afford. Such being the situation, it is imperative that officers and men entrusted with the delicate task of collecting intelligence about gangsters are given enough money to cultivate and recruit sources. At the same time it is a fact that these days, our value system being what it is people entrusted with money often tend to misuse it if proper supervision and control are not exercised. But this is no reason why officers in the field who are supposed to collect intelligence should be starved of funds for fear that they would misuse that money. A common complaint that was voiced by middle rank officers who were bold enough to speak out, was that they were not given any secret service money to spend on sources. If that be the case, it is futile to expect that these officers would raise good sources with access, because they cannot afford to spend money from their own pockets and putting a person under obligation by showing official favour can yield results only for a short time. Then, criminals alone can thus be obliged which limits the scope of this method of creating sources. True that the temptation to spend money recklessly or to make false claims will always be there but that is no reason to cut them off from having secret service money. All intelligence agencies the world over have to grapple with this problem. The solution, however, lies not in cutting out funds but in exercising proper supervision and control while allowing enough leeway for using discretion in spending money for the right purpose. A fairly foolproof method of checks and verification which the field officers will not find irksome or humiliating can be worked out. At present there does not seem to exist any practice of a police officer furnishing to his supervisor any particulars of his contacts or sources he claims he is running. This also makes it very difficult to assess the reliability of the information that a source furnishes. Reliability depends on the

access of the source and his past record both of which the supervising officer has no access to. This is not the appropriate place to elaborately describe a system that will to a large extent reduce the chances of misuse of secret service money. Suffice it to say, however, that it is possible to work out and operate such a system and that, if the department wants useful information to come in, it must loosen the purse strings which today only the senior officers appear to be holding tight to their chests. A controlled liberalisation is the answer. One important task of this cell would be to build up gang dossiers which may enable the investigation wing to launch prosecutions against the gangs per se. In the alternative these dossiers may help the investigating officers in the ongoing inquiries, investigations and prosecutions. In sum, the criminal intelligence wing should form the backbone of the anti organised crime campaign that the Special Task Force would be expected to launch and pursue relentlessly. Awareness training-an imperative need It is not enough to create an organised crime combat infrastructure such as the one described in the foregoing sections, with instructions to the rest of the police force to lend a helping hand, in order to give a fitting reply to the growing threat of organised crime, though it is an important and imperative step in the right direction. More important than any outfit howsoever ingeniously structured is the understanding by the personnel of the nature of the problem and their own roles in tackling that problem. Therefore, perhaps the most important step in the fight against organised crime is to educate the whole police force about the true nature of this scourge of organised crime which is engulfing city after city in our country and has already become the international Frankenstein monster. It must also be impressed upon them as to how each one of them can contribute towards its annihilation. (1) Ideally such education should start at the basic training school itself, the Maharashtra Police Academy for example, where it should be made part of the syllabus. This should be followed up with periodic in-service short term briefing courses that would update the knowledge of the participants as regards the new gangs that have come to light, their areas and methods of operation and the new techniques that have been found effective in subduing them. These courses will also keep their motivation alive for, it should be one of the objectives of these courses to impress upon the participants the malefic influence that organised crime has on the total crime scenario To present a broad framework, such training on organised crime and its impact on policing i.e. law enforcement effort and the society at large, may comprise the following topics, What constitutes organised crime? i.e. essential features of organised crime A brief survey of growth of organised crime (a) in important countries in the world (b) in big cities in our country (c) its trans-national aspect (m) Traditional crimes committed by organised criminal gangs both violent and white collar. Entry of organised crime in legitimate business and its methods of doing so. (AL) (A) How organised crime affects general crime scenario and its impact on society in various fields, social, political and economic Laws relating to organised crime (HA) How police fight organised crime (viii) Citizens' role and obligation in fighting organised crime and the imperative need for

enlisting their involvement by the police. (II) It goes without saying that while initial orientation training on the above lines would surely educate and sensitise an average police officer to the danger posed by organised crime, it would prove woefully inadequate for police officers in the Special Task Force whose sole responsibility it is to launch a frontal attack. These officers will require more intensive and how-to-do it kind of training in order to develop an acute insight and confidence to take actual steps on the ground. Therefore, whenever officers are posted to the Special Task Force they should be given an intensive orientation course, preferably on the following lines; An overview of organised crime activities -national as well as global. A survey of the international movement to coordinate law enforcement efforts. Similar efforts among various police forces within the country (t) Important gangs operating indigenous as well as outside gangs (a) structures and methods of operation of these gangs (b) their important leaders (c) fields of operation (d) their resources and capabilities and (d) associate organisations and outfits (A) Laws and rulings relating to organised criminal activities (IA) Methods of collection of criminal intelligence and its use in investigations. gang case preparation etc. (EA) Modern technical devices and their practical use in intelligence and evidence collection. (viii) Organization and functioning of the Task Force (xi) Some typical case studies These Special Task Force Officers will have to be frequently apprised of the latest techniques of commission of crime that have come to notice locally and elsewhere, the countermeasures that have been found useful by actually examining cases.

They must also be made aware of the latest pronouncements of superior courts that are relevant to organised crime investigation. A detailed critical analysis of the cases that have ended in acquittal must also form part of these briefings. In order to institutionalise these briefings, regular monthly sessions should be held in addition. Since these officers might be called upon to fight gangsters in the street or in their hideouts they should be made to go through an intensive. course in firing with revolvers, pistols and automatic weapons. Familiarisation with improvised explosive devices should also form part of this course which may be held simultaneously with or in succession to the orientation course. Regular firing practice thereafter would be necessary in order to keep the officers in good trim. In an exchange of fire where the gangsters invariably have better weapons it is the superiority of training which will teach them correct tactic and lend better accuracy to firing that will determine who will survive. Hence regular firing practice is indispensable. In police this is most often neglected. The idea behind giving firing practice to the Special Task Force officers is that they should be able to confidently face a situation when they suddenly find themselves challenged by armed gangsters. But if a major offensive on a gang hid-out or an interception operation is planned it would be prudent to seek assistance of well-trained commandos. A standing arrangement whereby such help will be readily available should be worked out. The commando unit need not form part of the Special Task Force. Kidnapping for ransom is fast gaining favour with criminal gangs operating in Delhi and elsewhere in North India. Some of those gangs have already made inroads in Bombay, where this form a crime is likely to attract covetous attention of indigenous gangs as well. In other words, it may be positively reckoned as the crime of tomorrow from which even middle class will not escape. The Special Task

Force should, therefore, apprise itself with the methods of operation of professional kidnappers for ransom and the methods of tackling them. Apart from the skills for rescuing a hostage from the clutches of armed gangsters without any harm coming to him, the team would require ability to effectively intercept all forms of communication which is an indispensable concomitant of this form of crime. What is more, handling a kidnap situation where any false or arbitrary step by the police may lead to the kidnappers killing the hostage, considerable psychological skills are required which do not come naturally even to a professional policeman. Therefore, certain suitable officers should be trained in the craft of persuasive negotiations or arrangements made on standing basis to obtain services of experienced psychologists. The rescue operation surely will require the assistance of the commando unit as indicated in the foregoing.

General administrative and operational practices and policies it should be emphasised on all officers particularly of the special Task Force that enforcement of law in relation to gang activities should be strictly done every lines violation is reported or noticed , and this should be regarded as the imperative duty of all . All enforcement techniques , whatever the seeming compulsions of aniven situation , should be strictly within the circumscription laid down by law . The temptation to take law into one ' s own hands and inflict spot justice should he tenaciously suppressed | Na supervisory officer should sanction or connive at violations of this dictum no matter what the expediency of a situation suggests . Once the seniors - tum a blind eye to this kind of unethical behaviour there is no knowing to what depths of degradation it would sink the force . III . It should be repeatedly emphasises that the campaign against organised crime should be regarded as a corporate venture in which all policemen must sincerely contribute their bit whatever their posting , TV . Nobody , whatever his individual contribution . should be allowed to stay on in the Special Task Force for a longer period than his normal tenure . Periodic rotations of personnel is the best guarantee against vested interests being developed , corruption and ꣳlicers joining hands with gangsters . It may be argued that this will obstruct smooth functioning of the unit and lead to inefficiency which the force can ill afford . This need not be the cusc at all if the rotation is planned in a systematic manner and not allowed to take the form of a mass exodus . Secondly , nobody howsoever efficientis indispensable . It is useful To recall the famous words of Sardar Patel in this connection . He had pithily remarked when asked as to what would happen po his departure , " The Cemetrics of the world are full of bones of indispensable people ' . In addition to transferring people out ina phased manner ifa sound work culture is developed no one ' sahsence would jeopardise the . officiency , with their experience in the S . TE . these officers can continue to contribute from outside . V . No cliques or groups should be allowed to he formed within the Special Task . Force , This can be best ensured by the Head of the Unit by discussing on - going investigations in group meetings and by not allowing a particular team to keep the whole of its information and work sceret from others . This is not to say that the principle of restrictive security should be given a go bye but that it should be adhered to more in respect of people who are not part of the Special Task Force . . . VI A small cell comprising officers of knowm integrity and dedication should be created within the Special Task Force for internal security . The unit should function directly under the Head of the STE . The main brief of this cell will be to see that the officers posted in the Special TaskTorce do not get contaminated by corrupting influences from outside and that they do not blabber away

sensitive information to unauthorised persons lest it reaches the gangsters . The cell should have the authority to conduct internal audits of investigations , operations and other activities after obtaining clearance from the Head of the STF . It should also have the authority to conduct an enquiry to find out the kind of contacts and friends the STF personnel have or how they spend their off - duty time . Some may find this suggestion offensive and demoralising . It is a necessary evil that must be endured in the interest of the unit ' s integrity in the face of rampant corruption all over . It will not appear evil if the officers constituting this cell are properly selected , are inoffensive in behaviour and the Head of the STF to whom they would directly report is vigilant and does not allow them to transgress their limits . This is a far better system than Senior officers starting a wholesale witch hunt on getting suspicious of some officers . Sensitising Prosecution and Judiciary

An effective control of organised criminal activity cannot be accomplished if it is regarded as the exclusive responsibility of the police alone . The whole of the criminal Justice system must be sensitised to the need for active cooperation in curbing this kind of crime which has assumed international proportions with monstrous possibilities for the future . It will serve little purpose if only police officers are made aware of the methods of organised crime and its impact on the safety and security of the citizens and eventually of the nation . If the judges and prosecutors as well as jail authorities are not made conscious , of the sinister nature of the problem with its far reaching implications . Therefore , orientation courses should be designed for all limbs of the criminal justice system . Perhaps special courses for judges and government prosecutors can be run by the Delhi based National Institute for Criminology and Forensic Science which already conducts a number of courses for these functionaries . Maybe the Special Counsels who present cases on behalf of the government on being specially hired for the purpose , cannot be invited to attend these courses . For them as well as for all those already mentioned briefs can be prepared on the crimes that are currently occurring and the revelations made during investigations into those crimes with all their ramifications properly highlighted so that they sufficiently grasp the implications of the crime . In addition seminars that are open to police , prosecutors , judges and prison authorities both serving and retired , should be periodically organised . Even social scientists and other researchers who have taken interest in studying organised crime should be invited to contribute their ideas about possible solutions and make an input about people ' s perceptions . In order to give this endeavour a semblance of neutrality the Directorate Public Prosecutions can perhaps take initiative in organising these seminars . These seminars will educate the participants about the current trends in organised crime and the damage it is causing to the social fabric , the difficulties faced by each limb of the criminal justice system in playing its respective part more effectively , and thereby work out ways for greater cooperation . They may also throw up new ideas about more effective methods and techniques of combating organised crime . Above all , it will on the one hand enhance sensitivity of the whole criminal justice system and attract attention of the public whose cooperation also is indispensable on the other . The need for special statute A law enforcement agency such as the police can only be as effective . - - against the determined challenge posed by criminal elements , as the tools given to it Capability to collect proactive intelligence and to have a well trained special team to deal with organised crimes are two such tools . But both these tools will not be effective

enough to crush organised criminal gangs given our present judicial system , unless there is a special law or laws that would enable the police achieve their goals of showing results to the people without taking recourse to extra - legal methods , in an earlier chapter cognisance has already been taken of the school of thought that the existing common law enacted several decades ago when organised crime of the variety now seen was not even thought of is adequate if properly implemented . This lobby has become more voluble of late because of the often repeated charge that TADA Act which was enacted in 1987 essentially to curb terrorism in Punjab and elsewhere was being grossly misused by the police . From the statistics of the cases launched all over the country it is obvious that too many cases have been launched under this special purpose enactment even in States where the menace of extremism is not that grave . The reason for this overuse has to be found to a large extent in the Act itself Section 3 which describes terrorist acts and section 4 which likewise enumerates what acts constitute subversive activities have been made so omnibus or all encompassing that any offence that is likely to disturb public peace or is a crime committed by a person or group against a person or group can be brought under the purview of any of these two sections . For the first couple of years , the mischief potential of these sections went almost unnoticed as the title of the Act created the impression that it was a specific Act to be used against terrorists and insurgents. But once somebody discovered that other activities not even half as grave as terrorism can also attract the provisions of this Act though parallel provisions already existed in IPC and other statutes, there was no going back. More and more States started using the provisions of this Act to cover activities that could not even be remotely connected with what the term terrorism connotes in common parlance. There is reason to believe, which is further reinforced by the replies elicited from police officers at the cutting edge level who actually registered and investigated these cases that the denial of bail under this Act held out the greatest attraction and tempted them to apply sections of this Act in addition to normal law whenever they were keen that an arrested person was not released on bail. Harried and harassed by the tendency of the courts to release on bail even hardened criminals and gangsters though a number of prosecutions for committing heinous crimes were pending against them, they found the lure of this Act irresistible. What started as a tactic to keep undesirable elements behind bars soon degenerated into exploiting this favourable provision of law for harassing people, extracting bribes and favouring political masters. This is, however, no justification for throwing away the whole statute when the problem of terrorism is still very much there and shows no signs of vanishing away from the country. TADA Act, needless to elaborate, also started being applied to crimes committed by gangs in the beginning of this decade and now it has become a standard practice. Though it is indisputable that the stringent provisions governing granting of bail are most desirable in dealing with gangsters who cannot be easily arrested and who invariably go underground when released on bail, TADA Act also is not a wholesome statute that would adequately cover organised crime in all its aspects it may bring under its umbrella traditional criminal activities such as murder, kidnapping, extortion etc. in certain situations but not always. It would also surely fail when non- violent activities such as racketeering too are the subject of investigation. Therefore, throwing away the baby with the bath water will be highly counter-productive unless one enacts a special legislation custom made to suit the peculiar nature of the organised crime as also the peculiar requirements of investigating such crime. In order to put the gangsters out of

circulation they must in the first instance not be released on bail and secondly, the cases must be expeditiously tried. This is possible only if there is special provision in the law for the purpose. People in favour of the status quo as regards law conveniently ignore the fact that all the clever arguments they are articulately putting forward are of no avail when the judiciary as a matter of policy releases arrested persons on bail, shows a distinct bias in favour of the accused if only to get rid of the case more easily and it is so much in error that even important cases have no chance of being heard for years. It is specious to say if this situation changes everything will be fine. This is fantasy, Much more important than incarcerating a field operator of an organised gang who actually commits an offence and is therefore liable to be prosecuted if arrested, is the prosecution of the top echelons of the gang who never dirty their hands, so to say. The Boss particularly remains so much above this murky business of actually committing crime, insulating himself from the foot soldiers by introducing a series of cut-outs, that it is difficult to rope him in by applying the conspiracy sections of the Indian Penal Code though without doubt he is very much part of it. It is, therefore, imperative that this multi layered rampart of self-protection is pierced by making appropriate provisions in the law. It has been emphasised earlier that if organised crime is to be effectively curbed the gangs must be hit at several levels simultaneously. That is to say, it would be necessary for the police to make out a case or cases against most gang members especially those at the top for being members of an outfit that is engaged in illegal activities. Further, the back of an organised criminal gang can really be broken if it is denied its most important source of power, namely its ill-gotten money. Therefore, legal provisions must exist that will enable the law enforcement agency to investigate all financial assets of a gang and take appropriate measures to seize and ultimately confiscate such assets. Once a gang runs short of money several field operators who risk their lives for the money they get in return will desert the gang. Some may even agree to become approvers for, first the gang will not be able to look after them when put on trial and their families when imprisoned. Secondly, the fear of consequences will also be reduced knowing that the gang was disintegrating. The greatest difficulty in proving a case is in the prosecution not being able to produce convincing evidence. This is one of the reasons for the poor rate of convictions in TADA Act cases too. Witnesses do not generally come forward to give evidence before the police and if they do it is only when they cannot avoid it or in rare case they do so in the heat of the moment. Such witnesses invariably do not support the prosecution at the time of the trial. A three-fold approach is called for. Making confessions before a police officer admissible is not one of them. This provision in TADA Act welcome in the eyes of many young police officers was almost nullified by the Supreme Court rulings and the generally suspicious attitude of the judiciary not to speak of the fact that the accused invariably retracted their confessions. Making a confession made to a police officer admissible in law creates one great impediment which no professional police officer would like. It invariably inducts a sense of complacency as, the investigating officer tends to feel that he had thus established the case. The case falls flat when the confession is retracted, shown as suffering from some infirmity or is not adequately corroborated. A confession should be regarded only as a reliable beacon light that shows in which direction the investigation should be carried out and what all needs to be established to prove the case. Therefore, in order to permit every kind of evidence available to come before the trial court confession made to a police officer should be made admissible but

the police themselves should not totally rely upon it to prove the case. . The effort should be that natural witnesses to a crime or criminal activity should depose so in a court trial. They therefore, need to be given adequate protection which need not be only physical. Secondly, those witnesses who resist should be legally made accountable for it in a manner that would deter others from following the same path. The third most important thing that needs to be done is to place increasing reliance on scientific investigation that makes full use of modern technology. There should be adequate enabling provisions in the law itself so that police are able to tap these sources and produce the evidence thus available before the trial court, Delays in court to take up a case for trial and dispose of it expeditiously by holding hearings in quick succession, really speaking sets all efforts of the enforcement agencies to deter a criminal who is being prosecuted and by his example all others who may be in the same game, come to naught. The court procedures will, therefore, have to be streamlined and it ensured that a gangster does not merrily go on committing crimes intimidating and even killing witnesses thereby ensuring that he is never convicted while the trial is going on at snails pace in the court. An human rights activist of some standing opposing the extension of TADA Act, asserted that the solution to terrorism, etc. lies not in enacting draconian laws like TADA Act but by speedy trials. This is a wishful thinking as even responsible members of judiciary would admit. If by chance a criminal gets convicted he promptly goes in appeal and if the appeal is admitted he is released on bail thus for all practical purposes nullifying the conviction for, as in the lower courts so in the higher courts, an appeal takes its own time to get listed for hearing. Then there is always a further appeal to the Supreme Court. . As if this is not enough every possible leniency is shown in awarding punishments of imprisonment and from the period of sentence the period already spent in custody while the case was being tried is invariably deducted. It is necessary, therefore, that a minimum punishment that would by itself act as a deterrent is laid down in law. The fact that such provisions are these days being invariably incorporated in the new laws that are passed is enough of a commentary on the by now notorious tendency of awarding nominal punishments which are generally not even half of what the law prescribes. Even prescribing minimum amount of punishment in the body of the Act itself has not brought about any improvement in the attitude of the judiciary which shows a disconcerting lack of sensitivity towards social ills and over concern for human liberty the obvious beneficiaries of which are antisocial elements and the criminals. The fact that drug traffickers whose mafia like activities - most drug traffic is in fact in the hands of mafias- are the cause of ruination of youth by their millions are invariably awarded the minimum punishment of ten years' imprisonment prescribed in the NDPS Act while the maximum punishment is 30 years, if the accused cannot be acquitted, is proof enough of this sad state of affairs. Compare this with a case from the United States, the unrelenting champions of human rights the world over. In the case, United States vis Alvarez- Machain, the case involved the DEA's forcible kidnapping of a Mexican citizen, Alvarez- Machain to be brought to Texas and arrested for kidnapping and murder of a DEA agent in Mexico. The ruling pronounced on June 15, 1992 by the Supreme Court of USA said that, "a court properly exercises jurisdiction even though the defendant's presence is procured by means of a forcible abduction" (cited by Claire Sterling in her book, Thieves World, P.22 Simon & Schuster, 1994). Lastly, the argument that equivalent provisions can be found elsewhere in other laws already in existence while relevant is not adequate enough to dismiss the need foGr

a new legislation for, this assortment of legal provisions obviously misses the main objective, namely, of crippling the organised criminal gangs as a body by punishing all members to heavy sentences and depriving them of their illegally obtained wealth. In sum, it may be emphatically stressed here that a new law which will cover all aspects of organised crime's multi-faceted and multi-dimensional activities, is the crying need of the day. From the confessions of several drug traffickers arrested in Bombay city it became evident that the drug lords from Pakistan diverted their traffic to Bombay in early 1980's which then was used as an outlet for Pakistani drugs going to the West, entirely because our law then existing namely, the Dangerous Drugs Act was much too mild compared to the Pakistani Law. Once Bombay became a transit point it did not take the traffickers much time to generate a local market. The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act which was enacted in October 1985 came much too late. Several countries including such oriental countries as Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Japan which boasts of its excellent law and order situation, have enacted such special legislations long ago. The Western countries notably the United States, Germany, Portugal, Italy also have their stringent laws dealing with organised crime. These countries have been mentioned only by way of illustration and not to suggest that it is fashionable these days to have such laws and we too fall in line with the Joneses. No attempt has been made here to submit a draft bill. Some legal luminaries in the Govt. of India would surely undertake that task once the need is accepted. It has to be realised, however, that a legislation that is intended to effectively grapple with social malady should not be left to the legal experts alone to formulate. They often miss the kernel. Too many of our social legislations suffer from this infirmity and hence are ineffective. Therefore, an attempt has been made here only to enumerate the essential ingredients which such legislation must incorporate. Appendix-C places all these requirements and elements together. Peoples participation is imperative for effective Organised Crime Control. Though it cannot be disputed that the main thrust of any concerted effort directed towards the control of organised crime should emphasise on punitive enforcement of relevant criminal law, this cannot offer a final solution to organised criminal activities even if it is amply backed by appropriate action by other governmental agencies. So long as citizens are unaware of the true nature and dimensions of organised crime and how it eventually affects even a law abiding citizen in the street unlike the common belief that organised crime is starkly manifested through gang wars involves gangsters alone and therefore, perhaps is a self-destructive activity which must be witnessed with glee, there is little hope that the relentless growth of organised crime will be halted. It has to be realised that the ultimate in prevention and control of any crime is an aroused public. It is an animated public that cannot only demand of the government that every possible effort should be made to curb the menace of organised crime but itself act as a spearhead in preventing augmentation of the ranks of these gangs and supplying to the law enforcement machinery the intelligence and the evidence which it cannot otherwise easily get. Two things need to be done. The common public should be made aware of the danger that organised crime poses to them if allowed to grow unchecked. This will build public pressure that will ultimately squeeze out organised crime in the same manner it does terrorism. Secondly, several public spirited voluntary bodies should be enthused to take up uprooting of organised crime as their primary task. These organisations in the first instance should take up the responsibility of educating people about the sinister nature of organised crime. Further, they can in conjunction with

the police launch campaigns to see that young men do not join these gangs. It has already been brought out that most gangsters of to-day are educated youngsters who have abandoned their education half-way through the school or college. By concentrating of educational institutions in areas which annear most vulnerahle it should be possible with the assistance of volunteers from within these institutions to spot such potential candidates for the criminal world and to actively work for their emotional and financial rehabilitation. Thindly, the public bodies can serve as eyes and ears of the law enforcement machinery. In other words they can serve as intelligence sources and thus render yeoman's service to the cause of organised crime suppression. As a corollary they should encourage witnesses to come forward and help police. Later, they can help keep up the courage of these witnesses so that they also truthfully depose during trial. These organisations should truly launch a citizen's war on organised crime in which risky endeavour they must get whole hearted support from the police. In order to institutionalise this arrangement it would be a good idea for the city police chief to constitute an inter-action commnittee of activist voluntary organisations and a few dedicated individuals. The Committee can discuss action taken against organised crime, exchange views on what needs to be done and formulate future police thrusts. Admittedly, this is not the traditional police approach and hence the suggestion may be looked down upon with disdain but then the monster of organised crime that the police find themselves face to face with is also not the traditional crime any longer . Real life examples of people ' s . power flow very effective an aroused public can be against organised crime and their ruthless gangsterism can be evidenced from the following three episexdes . The August , 1993 issue of the Reader ' s Digest carries an article entitled , They cannot kill us All by Christopher Mathews . It narrates the story of courage and determination of Carlos Guglielmotla who owned a construction business in Sant Agati on the northen coast of Sicily . On April 23 , 1990 he found his 150 million lire truck set an fire . He knew from experience that it was mafia handiwork . It was common for the local mafia gang to linaperson ' s car and give a call after few days saying that for a couple of million lire their automobile might he returned . Most people paid up , In the like manner the local building industry began to suffer . Cement mixers , trucks and earth moving equipment mysteriously went up in flames on half adozen sites . None of the builders dare help police . That was common , a victim of the pizzo (extortion racket) is in enough trouble without becoming apolice informer . . In a neighbouring town of Barcellona Pozzodi gotto the mafia had become so greedy that they were putting the Pizza on doctors . dentists and lawyers . In fact it was so . widespread that any family with an annual income of over 50 million lire was considered fair game . A month after the truck was bumt down Guslielmotia (G for short) was approached with a proposition to pay wenty million down and then five million a month . . G . refused to give in to blackmail for . it would mean giving up his self respect . . . Salvatore Marotta was the mafia ' s local Goverseer ' (Cupozonn) . With his two sons he held jurisdiction over half a dozen villages and townships . G . was contacted twice thereafter by Marotta ' s emissaries . Each time he stood firm . Two other businessmen , Nitto Morello and Tano Zuccarello took initiative to oppose the mafia saying that they (the mafia) cannot kill everyone . But only3merchants responded to their call for unity given in July . On August 29 , the mafia murdered Libero Grassi , a small manufacturer who had refused to pay the Pizza . He had also gone to the press and the police . Grassi ' s murder was clearly intended to

warm others from following his example . This murder , however , strengthened G ' s and others resolve to lights for the next meeting was attended by 30shopkeepers . They formed an association named ACIS . Finally in November , 1991G . accompanied by Zucciarello went to the police and reported Marotta ' s extortion attempt . On February 16 , 1992 a bomb exploded at the Sant Agatta museum wherea meeting of ACIS was due in a few hours . i was meant to serve as a warming . Sant Agatia was thereafter rocked every week by some new blast or blaze . Even a police station was blasted . G ' s complaint against Marotta and sons came up for hearing on June 15 , 1992 . One witness , the prosecution had pinned its hopes on , turned hostile and deposed that the millions oflire he had paid the marotta ' s were not extorted but represented the renayment . a lon when the tum of o . on whom ACIS had pinned hopes come he deposed unhesitatingly the truth . He knew that the whole ACIS was behind him . This resulted in the verdict going against the Marottas . The father got 13 years in jail while the others got 40 years collectively . The shopkeepers and businessmen of Sant Agitta demonstrated that the decisive element in the battle with the mafia is not so much the heroism of the few as the everyday cournee of the many . The lesson was not lost on others . Shopkeepers ' associations have been formed allover Italy and now complaints against mafia are being fearlessly made to the police . In Italy which is regarded as the breeding ground of World mafia , this isnotthe only example of people , in fact , the potential victims nsing en masse against the mafia and subduing it . The Economic Times issue ofJulv2 . 1995 carries yet another story which Proves that determination and pumption ofordinary folks are good enough to stem the tide ormafia atrocities . Giovanna Terrenova . . 72venr old widow of a judge who was killed Widows of by mafia in 1979 pow . coordinatesawomen ' s group against mafia in Paterno , Italy , mafia victims like her have formed an association which provides moral supporn to women who have dared to come out in the public and denounce the mafia . The association also aims to create a network of professors . journalists , voluntary workers to . spearhead a propaganda war against the mafia . Italy is makingagigantic effort to shake or the mafia in which teaching the children the evils of mafia and the value of leadinga legal life as well as encouragine voluntary organisations to create awareness in public about the mafia menace and the need to stand upto it , form a major thrust areas The Reader ' s digest issue of October , 1992 carries yet another saga of heroic battle against organised gangs , this time in Japan of aslightly different hue but equally laudable was the successful battle launched by the citizens of Ebisuka town of district Hamamatss , under the leadership at Eishiro Minuno , agarage owner . When the Ichiriki Tkka gangalocal outfit which was a constituent of the biggest underworld . syndicate in Japan , the Kobe based Yamaguchigumi , decided in 1986 10 construct its headquarters in the town the citizens felt outraged but also helpless against this desecration . However , slowly they mustered courage and started a non - violent protest by holding morchas and sit down demonstrations . They hired a place opposite the gang ' s new headquarters and monitored all gang activities if only to , embarrass the gangsters . . The long peaceful protest started yielding results after 20 months in as much as the gangsters who deliberately ignored the protesters now responded . They filed a suit against the protestors to stop the campaign on November 5 . 1986 and demanded ten million yen in compensation . Unfortunately for the gangsters , this brought nationwide publicity to the campaigners . Alawyer , Yoshihiro Mitsui volunteered help and filed a counter suit seeking to ban the Yakuzaf pang) from using

the building as an office . The Yakuza outwitted by this move showed its true colours . Its members started threatening neighbours . One gangster entered the garage of Minuno and smashed the wind screens of several cars that had been brought for repairs and threatened Mizuno with dire consequences . Lawyer Mitsui was stabbed while addressing a Citizen ' s meeting . This , however , brought more sympathy and active participation by people all over Japan . Ultimately in February , 1988 the Yakuza showed willingness to negotiate with the citizens and finally , as a part of the deal agreed to vacate the building constructed as its headquarters . The building was later razed down . This success encouraged other people harassed by Yakuza activities to launch similar protest campaigns . These examples from real life have been cited here at some length entirely to bring home the point that unamed people can become a potent force against powerful gangs . if they organise themselves and launch a determined offensive , and that they are in most cases successful if they carry on their struggle long enough . Needless to say , their success will be doubly assured they get active support and guidance from the police . In fact the point that has been stressed here earlier is that the police should take initiative and encourage people to create a front against organised crime . Taking such initiative is in the interest of both . The need for enlarged cooperation would be naive on the part of any police organisation to believe that it can contain much less eradicate the menace of organised crime on its own . It has already been emphasised more than once that organised crime and related gang activities are now spreading from metropolitan cities to not only cover remote suburbs and satellite . townships but also other large urban conglomerates . For example , the Bombay gangs whose headquarters are located in main Bombay Island operate with equal frequency in the northern suburbs , Vashi - Virar region , Thane and more particularly now in New Bombay . Each gang of course operating within the territories that is earmarked for it as if by mutual informal agreement .

These gangs more particularly the Gawali gang have now dropped roots in Pune city while Daud gang controls the sea coast to the South as well as north of Bombay . In fact the Daud gang joined up Gujarat gangsters . mostly smugglers - in mid - 1908 ' s and now operates with ease upto Kandla port . Because of the presence of Mangaloreans in his gang . notably Sharad Shetty . Daud Gang activities have spread down South upto Bangalore . Similarly joining hands with Subhash Singh Thakur and others from the north Daud Ibrahim gang started operating in Delhi and , other places in L . P and finally crossed borders to establish a powerful outpost at Kathmandu , Nepal under the leadership of Sunil Sawant . The Havala racketeering has enabled this gang to spread its tentacles in other States too . In such a situation , it should stand to reason that no single police force can fight any of these gangs single handed . Frequent interaction , exchange of information among affected police forces and an understanding that will allow them to operate in one another ' s jurisdiction either on their own or in conjunction , and occasional joint planning of operations are indispensable for giving worthwhile fight to these highly mobile , well armed and resource rich gangs . Therefore , the preferable line of action would be that , The Joint Commissioner of Police or the Senior most officer in charge of the Crime Branch should organise frequent exchange of information between the Special Task Force and other units of the Crime Branch so that the Special Task Force gets the necessary Support from other Units THY The Joint Commissioner of Police himself or the Commissioner of Police should arrange such exchange of

information and views between the Special Task Force plus the remainder Crime Branch units on the one hand and executive police units on the other . with the same objective in mind . iio In the like manner it appears desirable - one would say imperative - to convene periodic meetings among Commissioners of Police , Greater Bombay . Thane , Pune and New Bombay . DIG Thane Range should also be a permanent invitee as some of his districts are involved . These meetings should be attended by the Bombay based officers of the Central Bureau of Investigation , Intelligence Bureau and perhaps Research and Analysis wing , These meetings can either be held under the aegis of the Commissioner of Police . Bombay or the Director General of Police may preside over them . (iv) An all round attack has to be launched against these gangs in order to subdue them . Considering the kinds of criminal activities they indulge in , it will be highly desirable to associate with any police action plan such other enforcement agencies as the Central Excise and Customs Department , the Income Tax Department , the Enforcement Directorate and Narcotics Control Bureau so that each agency would initiate action under its own authority and power to debilitate a gang that has been earmarked for action . A collaboration of this nature will also greatly facilitate a thorough investigation in a crime committed by a gang . v) The Crime Branch should have a small cell devoted exclusively to the task of organising these meetings and to ensure prompt follow up action . Since gang activities are spread over more than one States a similar arrangement for exchange of information must exist among all the affected States . Naturally the Central Bureau of Investigation should act as the nodal agency for organising these interactions . vi) Since organised crime has crossed national frontiers in our case , and this phenomenon has occurred much earlier elsewhere , it would be necessary for us to establish which seem to show similar concern for control of organised , crime , more so with those countries where the Indian gangsters appear to be operating or taking shelter .

The objective should be to enhance understanding of one another's problems, thereby increasing chances of cooperation in respect of sharing gang related criminal intelligence, particularly about money laundering (havala) exchanging information about new techniques of investigation a few provisions of law that have been found more effective in breaking the back of an organised criminal gang, Organised crime is not only deeply entrenched in several other countries including developed countries but is also increasingly taking advantage of the readily available new technologies, It would be of considerable benefit to us to know the methods of operation adopted by organised gangs in those countries and how they are being effectively countered so that tomorrow when the indigenous gangs bring those techniques in use which they surely would, we would know how to deal with them. With the increasing globalisation of our economy it should be little wonder if a similar phenomenon does not occur in the underworld. There are reports of tie-ups between the Western mafia and Russian mafia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. what prevents these Dons to turn a covetous eye towards this country too? Perhaps the local Dons would welcome them to establish joint ventures for more efficiently robbing the Indian public by deadlier methods, In the light of this probability of a Pax Mafiosa being formed by our gang leaders with the Western, Russian or oriental mafia gangs, it would be far sighted and not far fetched to take active steps to seek membership in endeavours being made elsewhere in the world by the police collaborative efforts. forces to institutionalise EPILOGUE It should be evident that Organised Crime is a growth industry not only in India but also in several other countries. In India Organised

Crime has dropped firm roots in big cities like Bombay and Delhi. But it stands to reason that other metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore for example, cannot be immune from this scourge for, the incubating factors are available there too in abundant measure. Bombay has acquired notoriety because of its protracted gang war which the media loses no opportunity to sensationalise. Delhi hit the headlines because the organised criminal gangs operating there are increasingly showing preference for kidnapping for ransom. It is axiomatic that so long as these cities continue to produce educationally deficient, socially misfit because of lack of family care, and economically unemployable youths who have no credible notion of economic opportunity ahead; youths who have nothing to look forward to that will give them a sense of belonging and achievement, the ranks of organised criminal gangs are bound to swell. From purely criminal acts like extortio with all its variants, trafficking in illicit services and goods it is bound to step into-in fact in several instances it has already done so - legitimate business and allied forms of financial activities where it is sure to give free rein to its fondness for using violence to amass huge profits and in the process establish its own strangle-hold and monopoly over these commercial activities. It is evident that Daud Ibrahim gang has also made far more advance than any other indigenous gang with regard to organised criminal activities. While extortion and smuggling continue to be this gang's main activities in both of which it has developed considerable capabilities, it has now stepped into hotel and film industries as financiers and taken up for itself real estate and related activities. Organised Crime has an insatiable hunger for money and the power money fetches. It uses that money through the medium of corruption to neutralise political, bureaucratic and enforcement processes so that it could collect more money on the one hand and run a parallel system of government on the other. Here again mention must be made of Daud Ibrahim gang which unlike other lesser gangs that rely on 'havala' racketeers to carry out their financial transactions, has started its own enterprise of havala operations in a big way. The gang is soon likely to emerge as a big money laundering venture on the international scene. Already it covers several parts of the country through its own banking system which is a sophisticated version of havala racketeering. Organised gang activity has not remained a localised urban phenomenon alone but has spread its tentacles into country side as well, as can be easily gleaned from what is happening in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and elsewhere. What is worse, it has become trans-national which has opened vast avenues for it to generate easy money. International cooperation in the field of countering organised crime is gaining momentum elsewhere because the problem has assumed frightening proportions. Therefore, it is imperative for us that a sound strategy to combat organised criminal activities at home and a conscious policy to join the international cooperative efforts by governments more particularly law enforcement agencies, are formulated without further delay, so that a synergistic multipronged attack could be launched with a view to eradicating organised gangs and their concerted criminal activities. Further, the police and the other law enforcement agencies in the country which have a vital role to play and without whose willingness to support and cooperate the police would be considerably handicapped, must launch a concerted attack on the organised criminal gangs with a view to incapacitating the top leadership as well as the lower echelons down to the foot soldier. More specifically it should be their endeavour to secure for the leaders and the second line leadership as well long sentences of imprisonment. putting one or two top leaders of the gang, behind bars

causes them only minor inconvenience, if it all. The second front should be opened against their money power. Financially these gangs must be crippled then only their back would be broken. This in fact holds the key to success in the war against organised crime. A gang will collapse the moment money and the ability to earn it cheap are taken away from it. These two all important objectives cannot be achieved unless the police re-structure themselves to create special units of dedicated professionals who are good at systematic and painstaking investigations and at fighting it out in the streets when it comes to that. Of course their hands will have to be reinforced with a legislation that takes into account the special problems created by the organised crime in launching prosecutions and aims at destroying the menace, and by creating a socially sensitive judiciary that would realise the need of the hour and contribute its share which cannot be mean by any reckoning. Support and involvement are equally indispensable. No social malignancy has ever been eradicated without people's active support which in this case will come only when people are made aware of the true nature of organised crime and how it affects them in the long term too, and then encouraged to rise against it together. However, before any such grand national strategy is worked out it would be necessary to study this phenomenon of organised criminal gangs formation and activities in its various manifestations in other metropolitan cities as well-as in rural areas of States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc. where it has entrenched itself deep perhaps under continued People's cooperative political patronage. The present study was limited to cities of Bombay and Delhi. It is recommended that more such studies are undertaken as a follow up measure. More particularly, a systematic study needs to be made of the havala racket operations about which the police do not have in-depth knowledge but without developing a deep understanding of this form of organised crime it really cannot effectively deal with the more violent type which it faces in the streets and which attracts the attention of the people most.