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THE C. I. D. IN EAST PAKISTAN

ABUL HASANAT

S. Abul Hasanat M. Ismail is Inspector General of Police, East Pakistan, in which position he is in charge of the Police for the entire province. Inspector General Hasanat recently attended a World Conference of Police Chiefs in Lisbon, Portugal and has been prominent in Pakistan Police Service for a number of years. He has written extensively not only on problems of law enforcement but on sociology as well. Among the several books which he has published are *Crime and Criminal Justice* and *Farewell to Bloodshed*—EDITOR

GEOGRAPHY

History has been moving very fast in our century, and the political geography of the world has undergone many changes. No new continents have been discovered, but familiar ones have had unfamiliar frontiers drawn and redrawn on them. This has sometimes happened so fast that maps and map-makers have not been able to catch up with the changes.

I need, therefore, to introduce Pakistan before I broach the subject of the discourse to the readers who may not know much of my country. Pakistan is a new State carved out of old India when the British departed in 1947. It is the sixth largest, and the biggest Muslim state of the world; its area is equal to the total area of France, Italy, Belgium, and Holland. More than eighty million people live in it.

Pakistan consists of two parts; West and East, separated by nearly 950 miles of India. It is, as someone said, a geographical monstrosity—almost as if France and Finland were one country with Germany in between. It is also a promise to mankind, demonstrating how political entities can comprise widely separated parts of the world.

West Pakistan has a varied topography, ranging from the level plain including vast deserts to the snowy mountains. The historic Khyber Pass through which Alexander and Pathan and Moghul invaders came through to India, some raiding and ravaging, others subjugating and holding parts of it, separates Pakistan from the Afghan territory. The reconstituted territory of post-partition India, separates this wing entirely from the East Wing.

East Pakistan is the home of about 45 million persons within an area of 54,501 square miles. It constitutes the major part of Pakistan on the population basis.

Except for the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the extreme south-east, East Pakistan is essentially a delta built by mighty rivers—the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and the Meghna. These rivers, navigable all through, assume vast dimensions during the rains, and flood the entire countryside. In normal years the flood-water serves to deposit silt on land and to fertilize the soil. Paddy which provides rice, the staple food of the people, is widely grown. The chief land-product, however, is jute of which the best quality and largest quantity comes out of this province.

The entire province is made up of 17 districts. These vary in size and population. The largest district, Mymensingh, north-east of the Dacca district, has a huge popu-
The districts of Bakarganj and Khulna, to the extreme south, lie on the Bay of Bengal and have the Sunderbans—a tropical forest preserve of huge dimension.

There are only two cities, Dacca and Chittagong—the former the capital with a population of about one half a million and the latter the chief port and commercial center with a little over one quarter of a million.

District headquarters form small towns and subdivisions of districts still smaller ones. The rest of the countryside is rural and mainly agricultural.

Communication is difficult because of the numerous rivers, streams, and streamlets interspersing. Most of the traffic is borne on boats and steamers. Railways and wheeled traffic constitute the lesser mode of conveyance.

Crime of nearly all known varieties occurs.

THE POLICE—HOW ORGANISED

The police in Pakistan, as well as India, is a rough copy of the British police. It was introduced by the British rulers with adaptations. It served them well. How much it served the public is open to doubt. India and Pakistan are legatees, and the police system functions under the old laws and police regulations. The outstanding points of difference between the British police and those in Indo-Pakistan is that whereas the former were diffused and only partly owned by the state, the latter are integrated Province-wise and entirely state-owned.

The Inspector General is the head working under the Home Department of the Provincial Government in matters of policy, but wields wide powers in the internal management of the force. He has Deputy Inspectors General in charge of territorial ranges (East Pakistan is divided into four ranges), and of specified functional departments such as the Intelligence Branch, the Criminal Investigation Department-cum-Anti-Corruption Branch, and Border Police. The districts are run by District Superintendents of Police, assisted by Additional, Assistant, and Deputy Superintendents of Police, according to the area and importance of the districts. There are sub-divisional police officers and Inspectors of Police in charge of sub-divisions of districts and of smaller areas (Circles) respectively which again have 3 to 7 police-stations in charge of Sub-Inspectors of Police.

The Police Stations of varying sizes are spread all over the districts and cover out-lying places. They are numerous, but still a few of them are unmanageably large.

THE NATURE AND TYPE OF CRIME

Crime, as the civilised world knows, is an act or omission by which the criminal seeks his own gratification at the expense or some injury to the society to which he belongs. A crime may be described briefly as conduct (either in commission or omission) of which the state disapproves and for which it demands a penalty.

In British India in the year 1860 the legislature passed an act called the Indian Penal Code. It had the brain of Lord Macaulay behind it. It is a remarkable code, sweeping in scope and purely rational in conception. The Hindu and Muslim penal laws were superseded by the adoption of this Code. It is a bit out-of-date in some
respects now, but it still holds both in India and Pakistan. Offences are defined, classified, and graded punishments are laid down—e.g. offences against the state, offences against the person, and offences against property. There are 511 sections with additions and insertions by way of amendments. From the police point of view, the more heinous cases are termed *cognisable* and the others *noncognisable*. Examples of the former class are murder, grievous hurt, rioting, rape, abduction, robbery, theft. Those of the latter class are simple hurt and minor mischief.

**Police Responsibility and Authority**

It is the duty of the police to prevent and investigate all *cognisable* crime. They have been given free powers to initiate, and to carry on investigations in all cognisable cases reported—whether by complainants, outside informants, or by the police themselves out of their own knowledge. Let us suppose that Mr. A's house has been attacked and property stolen or attempted to be stolen. It is incumbent on the house-owner or occupier to report this crime to the nearest police station. If he neglects or even suppresses the report, Mr. B, a neighbour or even a passerby, may lodge the information. If there is no information from any quarter, but police officers in the course of a visit or otherwise come to know of the occurrence, they can themselves record the information. In all these cases, the police concerned have the powers, rather the duty, to investigate the crime and to bring the offenders to justice.

In police parlance, the recording of the information, in short or in detail, of the occurrence of the crime is called F.I.R. (First Information Report); the starting of the F.I.R., the taking cognisance and the process of sifting examination of the spot, collection of evidence, arrest, and interrogation of the accused or suspects, is called the investigation.

At the conclusion of an investigation, the police submit the Final Report to the judiciary and the superior police officers, stating whether the case is true or false, whether the offenders have been found, whether the evidence justifies prosecution in court of the offenders or only reasonable suspicion against them.

In palpably false cases the informants are prosecuted, and in detected cases the offenders are, wherever possible.

The next stage is the judicial sifting of the evidence adduced by the police prosecutors in court. The entire course of judicial sifting or trial is governed by the Criminal Procedure Code, which is as elaborate a code as the Penal Code. The assessment of the evidence is governed by the Indian (or Pakistan) Evidence Act.

These three acts, viz., the Penal Code, the Procedure Code, and the Evidence Act together with the Police Act cover the entire fields of Prevention, Detection, and Prosecution. It is to be noted that the state bears the burden of the whole process and the complainant has only to lodge an information for recording by the police for which he has to pay nothing.

**The Criminal Landscape**

Conditions in the two distant wings of Pakistan affecting crime differ materially. So far as East Pakistan goes, the Partition affected the crime situation at once and badly. The unsettled conditions after Partition in August, 1947, were an encourage-
ment to criminals, and crime figures shot up abnormally. The minority (Hindu) community was restive, and many members left their houses and properties almost unguarded or only negligibly guarded. The Hindu personnel who constituted the majority of the police force left for West Bengal en bloc and police stations, outposts, district police lines were left with nominal skeleton staffs only. The C.I.D. had to be built up from scratch. Surveillance and detection thus fell off appreciably due to lack of officers and men.

The food problem was also acute and prices of consumers' goods were high. All these and many other factors contributed to the deterioration in the crime situation. The position will be clear from the comparative figures of Table 1.

![Table 1](#)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dacoity*</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Theft</th>
<th>Rioting</th>
<th>Murder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>23368</td>
<td>14650</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>25773</td>
<td>15755</td>
<td>4188</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947†</td>
<td>2364</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>28164</td>
<td>8772</td>
<td>3090</td>
<td>913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2730</td>
<td>1475</td>
<td>26371</td>
<td>15682</td>
<td>3125</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2530</td>
<td>1584</td>
<td>26192</td>
<td>14672</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3015</td>
<td>2520</td>
<td>24210</td>
<td>14560</td>
<td>4255</td>
<td>1048</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Dacoity is gang-robbery. A full discussion comes later.
† Partition of East Bengal from West Bengal took place in August, 1947.

Dacoity figures shot up from 1317 in 1945 to 3015 in 1950—1948–50, the three post-partition years, far exceeding the figures of 1945–1947! So also did robbery from 775 in 1945 to 2520 in 1950, and so did the three years previous compare with three years after Partition!

**THE POLICE CATCH UP**

The police in the meantime made up its deficiency in personnel with accelerated recruitment and speeded training courses, and the C.I.D. with a chosen staff started functioning. Although the deficiency in experienced hands could not be made up, the police struggled on and had a better grip on criminals.

A number of gang cases, some the largest in the history of crime-tackling, were started, and a number of criminals locked up in the process.

**INVESTIGATION—ORDINARY AND SPECIALISED**

The volume of cognisable crime the police have to handle is actually much greater than the figures quoted would indicate. There are numerous other crimes reported also. The local police stations, of which there is a network all over the Province, including urban and rural areas, register all such cases and investigate them, guided by their own superior officers.

But certain forms of crime of unusual complexity or importance cannot be easily managed by the local agencies. They need handling by expert investigators and a centralised organisation. This is provided by the provincial C.I.D. (Criminal Investigation Department) of which the headquarters is located at Dacca, the provincial capital.
The C.I.D.

The C.I.D. provides the expert investigation staff and includes (1) the Criminal Intelligence Bureau, (2) the Photographic Bureau, (3) the Finger Print Bureau, (4) the Ballistic Section, (5) Forged Notes and Counterfeit Coins Section and (6) the Foot Print Section. The functions of this department include the collection and distribution of information relating to:

1. The classes of crime detailed below which are ordinarily the work of professional criminals
   a. Dacoity (robbery by more than five persons)
   b. Highway, railway, or mail robbery
   c. Counterfeiting coins or stamps, forging government currency or promissory notes, or being in possession of the same
   d. Drugging or poisoning
   e. Swindling
   f. Murder for gain
   g. Insurance frauds of a serious nature
   h. Cases of bank frauds.

2. Professional criminals whose operations extend beyond the limits of a single district; to control, assist, or advise as circumstances require inquiries or investigations into crime of the classes described in (1) above.

3. Control or assistance of investigations in connection with cases against members of specially formidable gangs of criminals.

The position of the C.I.D. in East Pakistan with relation to the over-all police organization in the Province is to assist and advise the local police in, or to take control of, investigations into serious crime in which such control, advice, or assistance is invoked by local authorities—the Deputy Inspectors General of Ranges or District Superintendents of Police. Usually, the Deputy Inspector General of Police in charge of the C.I.D. selects cases of complexity himself from the first reports of all important crime that come in.

Then again, the C.I.D. has the principal duty of collecting and distributing information relating to serious crime, criminals, and other matters of interest to the local police—information chiefly collected from the following sources:

1. Special reports, first information reports in swindling cases, and express letters
2. Special reports received on serious crimes from other provinces
3. Confessions of convicts
4. Case histories kept on record in Criminal Intelligence Bureau
5. Finger Print slips received in the Bureau
6. Notices received for insertion in the *Criminal Intelligence Gazette* (Weekly Crime Journal of the C.I.D.)
7. Police Gazettes of other neighbouring countries
8. Reports on crime and criminals received from its own officers.

It is also the duty of the C.I.D. to peruse weekly the Gazettes of other provinces, and extract therefrom all matters of interest to the police in East Pakistan for publication in this province.

The C.I.D. has an overall and concurrent jurisdiction along with the district uniformed police in the country and the Deputy-Inspector General who is head of
the institution has wide powers of assuming control of investigation of crimes reported. He may also advise or assist the district police without assuming control thereof. The C.I.D. has a tried set of investigating officers selected from the uniformed police and skilled in their job who are assigned to work as called upon in districts to deal with the cases enumerated already and of which control has been taken over by the C.I.D. With the assumption of control, the responsibility is transferred from the Deputy Inspector-General of the Range to the Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D. The former in that case refrains from passing any orders or comments on investigations controlled by the latter.

Such control includes the determination of the broad lines of investigation, as well as such supervision of its conduct thereafter, as will prevent serious errors or irregularities. Superintendents of districts are responsible for the details of investigation within their districts but are required in all cases controlled by the Criminal Investigation Department to consult the Deputy Inspector-General of that department before ordering final disposal of the cases by the police. In investigations in which the C.I.D. assists or advises, the responsibility of control remains with the Deputy Inspector-General of the Range. The Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D., issues no orders in respect to these investigations.

The Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D., may assume control of an investigation at any stage. On assuming control he informs the Deputy Inspector-General of the Range forthwith, sending a copy of his intimation direct to the Superintendent or Superintendents concerned.

The C.I.D. investigating officers are under the direction and control of the Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D., but in cases in which the services of officers of the department are placed at the disposal of Superintendents without control being assumed, such officers are placed under the exclusive control and responsibility of the Superintendents.

Before the inception of Pakistan and also for some time afterwards, the Intelligence Branch, which collects and collates matters of political interest, was also under the Deputy Inspector-General, C.I.D. but it has now been placed under a separate Deputy Inspector-General of Police. The C.I.D. in existence in India is also more or less alike in its organization and functions. In both instances, crime is a provincial matter. The central government has no agency for investigation of criminal cases.

The C.I.D. in East Pakistan is centralised and unlike the Detective Police in the Metropolitan Police, London, where each police division has a section of detective officers, side by side with the uniformed police, with the primary function of investigation of crime.

The pay and career prospects of the investigating officers (sub-inspectors) in the countryside are so poor that the best material is not attracted. Whereas the F.B.I. (Washington) recruits from among law graduates or accounting graduates, we have to be content with graduates and undergraduates who have failed to get better jobs.

The training curriculum of sub-inspectors comprises drill, detective methods, law, and criminology. The training period is 12 months.

While sub-inspectors form the bulk of the investigating officers of the Province, the C.I.D. employs the higher rank, i.e., inspectors on its own investigations. The C.I.D. officers are taken in by selection from officers with excellent records.
To give the C.I.D. officers better professional knowledge and skill, bimonthly conferences are held at headquarters. In these conferences, progress of investigations is reviewed, special problems are studied and solved, better assistance where needed is offered, and topics of general interest are discussed. The Office Library affords books on the profession for study. Lecture Courses are arranged. For some time recently Andrew Kobal, Ph.D., Consultant in Public Administration, U.S.A., had been lecturing on Techniques of Investigation.

Our C.I.D. officers in their turn visit the Police Training College and lecture on their respective subjects to cadets and probationers.

There is an adapted cinema hall in which films relating to crime, detection, policing and sociology are shown when available.

For watch and surveillance work, officers and men work disguised.

**Sections of the C.I.D.**

We have so far discussed the organization and functions and relative position of the C.I.D. Now, we propose to deal with the sectional composition.

*Finger Printing.* Identification is a major problem in all criminal investigation and finger prints have helped us greatly indeed. The connection between individuality and the prints left by fingers is said to have been recognised long ago by the Chinese.

The first attempt to make use of it was made in 1858 by Sir William Herschel of Indian Civil Service, who was then the Collector of Hooghly District in Bengal, but his system was abandoned with his departure from Bengal in 1878. Sir Francis Galton, an English scientist, proved after due investigation that no two finger marks were alike, and the fact was recognised by the Parliament in 1894. Subsequently in 1897, a Committee of Investigation to consider finger-print identification in India was appointed, and it advised the adoption of a scientific system of classification. In order to organize the huge number of finger print slips of criminals into smaller groups, Sub-Inspector Azizul Haque (later Khan Bahadur) of the Bengal Finger Print Bureau, Calcutta, devised a system of classification assigning numerical values to whorl group of prints whereby all finger print slips could be sub-divided into 1024 groups. The late Sir E. R. Henry of Indian Civil Service, the then Inspector-General of Police for Bengal, and subsequently Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police from 1903 to 1918, incorporated this system of primary classification in his book, *Classification and Uses of Finger Prints*, published in 1900. Thus the system of classification of the late Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque received world-wide publicity through this book and became known as Henry’s System of Classification. It remains until this day one of the accepted methods of finger print classification throughout the world.

In the year 1898, in a case of theft with murder in Bengal, the complicity of one Kangali Charan was established by two blood stained finger impressions found on the outer cover of a calendar kept in a despatch box which was rifled by the culprits. This evidence of identification established by a comparison of finger prints was alone sufficient for his conviction on the charge of theft. This was the first case convicted, based on identification of finger prints, and the records of this case are still preserved in the British Museum.

A method of classifying single finger marks which may be found at the scene of
crime has lately been developed. The feature of this system is that prints of the ten digits are filed separately, thus reducing search to a minimum when, as frequently happens, it is possible to determine the particular finger responsible for an impression.

The infallibility of identity established by fingerprints has been taken for granted although it has been vaguely asserted that a forgery with respect to these prints is possible. For all practical purposes, the evidence offered has been relied on by the courts. Our finger print officers are often called upon to testify in courts and to convince the jury. Some figures relating to their activity are recorded in Table 2.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>F.P. Slips and Prints Recorded</th>
<th>No. of F.P. Slips of Reconvicted Persons Replaced in Record</th>
<th>No. of F.P. Slips Received for Search</th>
<th>No. of Cases in Which Documents Were Examined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>10280 Ten digits</td>
<td>1490 Single digit</td>
<td>6842</td>
<td>1558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>9110 Ten digits</td>
<td>2610 Single digit</td>
<td>7633</td>
<td>1735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>11660 Ten digits</td>
<td>1150 Single digit</td>
<td>8093</td>
<td>1619</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of finger print slips of all varieties of criminals on record is about 163,474, and the total number of impressions recorded separately for each finger of dacoits and burglars only is about 8920.

*Chemical Section (Forensic Laboratory).* There is a government Chemical Laboratory which provides the C.I.D. due assistance. The exhibits are sent to the Chemical Examiner for analysis and report. It is confined to giving opinion regarding blood and viscera. Although this arrangement has been in existence for a long time, it has not been found to meet all the demands of criminal investigation, particularly in recent times, when crime is treated on a scientific basis and a forensic laboratory has acceptance throughout the world.

Medico-legal opinion represents only one branch of the work of the chemist. Physics, metallurgy, physiology, and biology which are closely related with the toxicological aspect of the chemist's work, together with the studies and recognition of the numerous drugs, dyestuffs, pigments, paints, inks, cosmetics, and other types of adhesives have to come to our aid. Efforts are currently being made to install a forensic laboratory in the C.I.D. premises themselves.

*C.I.B. (Criminal Intelligence Bureau).* It was realised from long experience that professional criminals very seldom changed their *modus operandi* but usually followed a single pattern throughout the entire run of their criminal careers. Most criminals, by force of habit, commit the same form of crime over and over again in a particular manner. This knowledge about the habit of professional criminals can be useful in investigation work.

A specialized branch known as the C.I.B. was brought into existence in 1910. Dossiers of professional criminals were examined, classified, and sub-classified according to *modus operandi* with a view to placing valuable information at the disposal of police officers. It was modelled on the lines of the Criminal Record Office attached to Scotland Yard. The primary function of the C.I.B. is to establish the identity of
criminals who have fled after committing some offence and whose identity and associates are unknown. The Bureau is also in a position to supply information regarding the associates, relations, probable resorts, and fields of operation of professional criminals under arrest. In order that the Bureau may render substantial help to investigating officers in the detection of professional crime, the district police officers help the Bureau in building up its records by supplying criminal histories of professional criminals containing accurate and detailed information.

The records of professional criminals have been classified according to *modus operandi* and placed in different albums in the Bureau, and for facility of search and reference each album has again been divided and sub-divided, where necessary, as an index to the information on record in the Criminal Intelligence Bureau.

The Finger Print Bureau and the C.I.B. are closely connected with each other. One may be called an integral part of the other. Just as the Finger Print Bureau may be instrumental in furnishing the identity of an unknown criminal and the previous convictions, if any, of an arrested person, the Criminal Intelligence Bureau may furnish details regarding his previous criminal career, *modus operandi*, associates, field of operation, and places of habitual resorts.

Another way of supplying intelligence to the investigating officers in police stations is through the medium of photographs kept on record in the Bureau. When a case baffles the attempts of police officers to find out the culprit and the complainant expresses his ability to identify him, these photographs may be placed at the disposal of the investigating officers to enable the victim to pick out the likely culprit.

*Other Sections.* The C.I.D. has been doing its best lately to introduce scientific criminology as applied to records, documents, firearms, and photography. We have installed Ballistic Section, Handwriting Section, and Photographic Section with a moderate amount of modern apparatus. We have a long way to go yet in these fields, but we are conscious of the deficiencies and possibilities. Our experts in the sections are developing their skills and with time and toil will attain adequate skill and confidence. But our future is not gloomy. Our technicians have the requisite university science degrees and in some instances they have already given marvellous opinions on complicated matters of scientific criminology.

**C.I.D. Procedure**

The C.I.D. officers investigate selected serious cases like dacoity, swindles, forgery, and murder. It is found that an inspector takes up about one case only per month and takes over three months in concluding the investigation. The C.I.D. enters a case after the local police have already probed it preliminarily for some time. The inspector has no other worry—office, correspondence, or miscellaneous work. He can put his whole time into it. When the C.I.D. investigates, its officers work like a detective department, officers taking over everything from the local police. This leads to better results.

**Robbery and Dacoity (Gang-Robbery)**

The special form of heinous crime that constitutes a headache to us and the people at large is dacoity. It is defined in the Penal Code as follows: "When five or more
persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit a robbery, or where the whole num-
ber of persons conjointly committing or attempting to commit a robbery, and persons 
present and aiding such commission or attempt, amount to five or more, every person 
so committing or attempting or aiding is said to commit a ‘dacoity’.”

Robbery is extortion or theft with violence, the number of participants being less 
than five.

A typical dacoity is committed as follows: One or more persons are sleeping at 
home. In the dead of night, some five or more persons, usually 10 or 12, enter the 
courtyard, raise a war-cry, break open doors, assault or tie down and make immobile 
the residents, seize keys by force and ransack for cash and valuables. A state of terror 
seizes the residents who either stay out or get assaulted by offering resistance. Some-
times murders are committed in the process.

More often than not, neighbours remain unaware of what happened. If these turn 
up on the scene, they are beaten off at the point of dagger, sword, or spear or by firing 
of guns. The dacoits wear masks, paint faces, and otherwise disguise their identity.

The same predicament may overtake a passenger or passengers on boats or in 
carriage.

This is a distressing phenomenon. It has a long history behind it. Thuggism was 
widely prevalent in undivided India. The Thugs were a society of hereditary murder-
ers who strangled and robbed their victims. They came to the notice of the Govern-
ment in 1799, and by 1835 they were mostly crushed under the command of Captain 
Sleeman—whose name will be remembered in this connection.

Thuggism was hereditary but dacoity is casual and sporadic. Dacoity attained 
serious dimensions in Bombay, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces in 
1923-24. Towards the end of 1923, a gallant piece of work of the United Province 
police led to the capture of a Bhantu gang which had for long terrorised certain 
districts.

Even more extensive operations than in the above case had to be undertaken in 
the same year against a desperate gang led by one Mirkhan in Gujrat. The depreda-
tions of this gang were so intolerable that a special mechanised force had to take 
position upon a steep hill which had to be stormed. Two were shot dead and among 
things seized were armaments, booty, horses, and ornaments.

The real menace now, however, lies in the sporadic cases of dacoity committed in 
the interior all over Indo-Pakistan by isolated gangs ever forming and reforming. 
Members combine freely, separate, and reunite as clouds do.

In East Pakistan also, dacoity constitutes a serious and difficult problem. Bands of 
dacoits composed commonly of men of bad livelihood, combine to assault and rob, 
in circumstances of heightened terror, wealthy villagers or helpless travellers. Having 
committed the crime, they disperse to enjoy their booty, only to rally once more 
when another opportunity offers itself. They look to the dark nights especially for 
their nefarious activities. Favoured by the difficulty of communications, the immense 
areas, and the multitudinous jurisdictions which characterize many parts of the 
country, they frequently escape detection. Two or three successful operations of the 
nature usually gain for the leader the reputation of a local Robin Hood with a halo 
of a perverse glory. They carry on, so to say, a sort of guerrilla warfare avoiding 
open conflicts with the forces of law and order, as far as possible.
Complexity of Dacoity Cases. A special feature of dacoities is that gangs go on forming and reforming. Suppose A, B, C, D, E, F, G form a gang and commit a dacoity. The local police investigate the crime but find no clue. After having enjoyed the booty, the gang may be thirsting for more. For a bigger enterprise, they will recruit H, I, J to add to their number. The next operation succeeding, D may think of himself heading an adventure. He will then exclude A, the leader, B and C, the senior members and take on K, L, M as junior members. This process goes on and on and some old criminals have individual experiences of 50 to 60 operations! The police arrest members on suspicion and send some to jail, but those outside keep on reforming gangs and operating on and on!

Another special feature is that the gangs respect no police station or even district boundaries. They may embrace several districts and operate now in this district, now in that. A gang in a boat may start from somewhere up the river, committing a crime on the bank or on river and ply down-current a hundred miles before committing another. The local police arrive at the scene of crime when the gang is 100 miles down the stream—far out of their clutch and within the jurisdiction of quite another district police.

It is in the face of such difficulties that the C.I.D. with tabulated knowledge on record and trained officers with province-wide jurisdiction can step in effectively and do so; the success in detection is really phenomenal.

Gang Cases

Gang cases make up a splendid record. Through interrogation of suspects and other evidence, the C.I.D. builds a colossal frame of charges involving sometimes over a hundred individuals in one case. It is not the police alone who say that so many formed a single gang with individual members jointly committing 30, 40, 50, 60 or more cases. The whole case is tried by a Sessions Judge and Jury. The criminals, their receivers, relations, and friends together put up a formidable legal defence. But so overwhelming is the evidence marshalled by the C.I.D. that these cases do end in conviction.

Since the inception of Pakistan, the following notable gang cases were started in East Pakistan by the C.I.D. The first name is of the district.

1. Chittagong district. Forty-seven desperate criminals responsible for crimes over a wide area were involved. The case was partially successful in courts and the criminals were curbed.

2. Khulna district. Sixty persons were prosecuted, 42 were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment including life sentences.

3. Bogra district. Thirty-one persons having been sent up for trial, 29 were convicted by the Sessions Judge. In another case thirty-seven persons were prosecuted, and 32 were convicted.

4. Dacca district. Eighty-five accused persons were prosecuted, of them 61 were convicted and the remaining acquitted.

5. Khulna district. Sixty-four persons having been prosecuted, 12 remained at large, 2 were examined as approvers, 2 acquitted, and the remaining 48 were convicted.

6. Mymensingh district. This is a very big case in which criminals were operating in
several districts. 104 persons are undergoing trial in the court of Sessions at Mymensingh.

**Police Progress**

The police, in these few years, have made up its deficiency in personnel with accelerated recruitment and speeded training courses and the C.I.D. with a select staff is functioning effectively. Although the deficiency in experienced hands could not be fully made up, the police have struggled on and have now a better grip on criminals.

In addition to the work of the C.I.D., district police also gained experience and confidence and the crime situation began to improve. The figures of Table 1 show the deterioration while Table 3 reveals the improvement.

Dacoity figures shot up from 1317 in 1945 to 3015 in 1950. The same is true of robbery increasing from 775 in 1945 to 2520 in 1950.

**Table 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3015</td>
<td>2520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1473</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>1054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dacoity tells a truer tale than other forms of crime do, being hardly suppressed, showed the lowest figures ever in the years 1952–55, and the very lowest in 1955 itself. Robbery also dropped appreciably in 1953–55.

**Conclusions**

This country has problems of its own and if those discussed in this article serve to draw the attention of the people abroad to them, I shall be grateful. The need for a scientific center for this wing of Pakistan should be felt still more now in view of the greater possibilities of treating crime scientifically. It will not only be able to tackle home problems but will be able in the long run to contribute to world thought about crime. It will be in a position to keep in close touch with other institutions of the world that are and may be carrying out research in related spheres.