

ORGANIZED CRIME

KEY TERMS

Black Hand
clustered hierarchy
black market
consigliere
core groups
criminal networks
Golden Crescent
Golden Triangle
La Cosa Nostra
Mafia
omerta

organized crime
outlaw motorcycle gangs
regional hierarchy
snakehead
soldati
standard hierarchy
transnational organized crime
Triads
Tongs
Yakuza

OUTLINE

Definition
Types of Organized Crime

Global View of Organized Crime

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, students should be able to:

1. Understand the confusion that develops from the variety of definitions of organized crime that are used by authors, organizations, and law enforcement agencies
2. Define organized crime in a way that enables the term to be operationalized and used in a court of law
3. Distinguish between the Mafia and La Cosa Nostra, as described by the Kefauver Crime Commission and the McClellan Commission, respectively
4. Identify the numerous ethnic groups and nationalities that are involved in organized crime today
5. Name the five different organized crime structures involved in transnational organized crime
6. Trace the history of organized crime in China, Hong Kong (now part of China), Taiwan, Japan, the United States, Mexico, Italy, Russia, and Nigeria
7. Understand how organized crime is used, in Daniel Bell's words, as a "queer ladder of social mobility," for various ethnic groups at different times, but primarily African Americans and Hispanic Americans today

INTRODUCTION

CASE STUDY ONE: Ralph, an Eye Witness

I lived in a section of New York City known as Fordham. I owned and operated an auto repair shop in New York. During the course of my business, I repaired police cars and through this association was able to "fix tickets." I also repaired cars owned by gangsters. I am related by marriage to a man who owned a bakery in whose ovens the mob disposed of its bodies. I witnessed the assassination of a gangster and was told to keep my mouth shut about it. I did so and was rewarded by the syndicate for having done so.

As a child growing up, I lived near a corner store that was a pastry shop in an Italian neighborhood. That pastry shop was where all the gangsters and top hoods came who were in the area to do their business. And they did this business with kids running in and out buying lemonades. The barber shop was another place where gangsters did business, and this was well known. The police department would walk in and out to collect their fees. I was only a little boy, but I was seeing things and getting wiser, and my eyes were opened up slowly but surely toward organized crime (OC) and how it works. Some of the boys I worked with, incidentally, were part of this crime syndicate. All the other boys in the neighborhood were always involved in petty gang thievery, but I managed to stay clear of it, but always keeping an eye on crime and how it operated. The police were always in with the crime syndicate. The payoff was being made. People always talked about wanting to get rid of crime, yet people sort of embraced themselves with the crime machine. No matter what they did—there were people who wanted to make a living so they did with bootlegging, and this is how the system began to grow. And they also had the protection racket going. The small businessman couldn't operate unless he had the protection of insurance. If they didn't buy insurance, owners of the stores received a beating by strangers that were sent in from other areas.

This all occurred during the 1920s. I was born in 1912, so I was going to school around World

War I. People think that OC is dominated by the Italians, but this is not necessarily so. The main syndicate is the Mafia, which people say has changed its name and is now La Cosa Nostra (LCN), but it is still the Mafia. It's only moved into a different racket. And LCN, so to speak, is now just the plain hoodlums. They are now not allowed to associate with the Mafia because Mafia is now big business and they can't afford to associate with hoodlums because they are now part of the society. Yes [names a well-known bank] is part of the syndicate; so are your biggest bankers. If you want to get rid of OC in the United States today, you must get rid of the United States because that is who controls the government, controls everything that exists in the country today, is crime. Politics are part of your crime syndicate. Crime is so prevalent among politicians because they are the ones who are allowing it to go on.

The Mafia is not just here in this country. They are in every country in the world. They are in Taiwan, Japan, and Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, they've got a big business going in Japan. It's not a local organization. It's a worldwide organization. Each man answers to himself in that it is not done collectively. They come with teletype machines and they do it through the teletype when they operate. The way to trace them is they control the money. They can stir up money in any part of the world if they want, and make you believe you are fighting a war for some reason or other. The main operators are out in the suburbs, the bigger wheels. They are in politics. The main organization, the Mafia itself, originates in Palermo, and that organization is still alive. They are not the controlling interest of the world because every country now has its own, which is linked with the international Mafia. Now you have INTERPOL, which is the international police, to cope with them, but they are bought and sold also, so they can't do anything either.

CASE STUDY TWO: Tony, an "Enforcer"

I am an Italian American from New Orleans, and I did some time in prison for robbery. At one time I owned a bar and was associated with the syndicate in New Orleans. I worked with a wire service that was associated with an organization, like most bookie joints are. It was my job to keep those bookies who weren't associated with the syndicate out of

business. They were very generous. They gave me a salary, and I could also keep their bankroll when I closed them down.

I find that even with all the elaborate investigating equipment of the FBI, they find it hard, if not impossible, to get a clear picture of what constitutes OC, how it comes about, and what its purposes are.

I don't believe in the theory of a national conspiracy—that it is a complex organization with tentacles stretching out into every city. It's developed on a local level and always on a local level there is someone who controls, someone with the most influence and who loosely bosses the criminal endeavor such as prostitution, drugs, stolen goods . . . this type of thing. I know two of the men who were at the Apalachia meeting. I think that what was actually happening was an attempt to organize on a national scale, and it was broken up. Nothing was ever accomplished, and there were no more attempts.

Valachi was an old-line, minor criminal. I'm not sure why Vito Genovese swore him dead. I am sure that he did swear him dead, but Valachi was looking for some reason to keep alive and he tried to get this by giving Bobby Kennedy and others some reason. I think that he had a great imagination, and there was probably some truth in everything that he said, but I think he exaggerated them. I don't doubt that he was a gunman. He hadn't done anything recently, if you remember. The information was 15 years old. I don't think that he was much more than I was when I was involved, just a gunman, and a muscle man.

What's happened today is that the Al Capone era is over and done with. You now have highly educated men in high places and they make far more money legitimately than they do illegitimately, I think. It might be questionable how they gained control of this company or that company, but what they do is offer legitimate organizations through which illegitimate acts can be carried out. For instance, I know of an old bank that used to be on my criminal route. This bank will exchange money for securities, bonds, monies that you shouldn't legally have—for a percentage. There's millions of dollars every year just in percentages. But it always develops on a local level and local crime leaders get hold of something, then willingly give up their money to have certain officials elected and thereby get control of legitimate companies and control of the government until it pyramids and those officials find a tremendous influence and power. He has his hands in elected officials for mayor, state governor, and even Congress. Now when you talk about the Mafioso or LCN, which I personally think was invented by Valachi, these people who control at a local level have knowledge of each other. Sometimes they're even related by blood or marriage. The thing, though, that prevents this so-called national conspiracy, is the great amount of suspicion that they have in regard to their ability and power. It's inconceivable to me that the people I know could ever get together and appoint an absolute boss over them. It's contrary to their personality. It's contrary to the Italian personality since we're probably talking more about Italians.

The Mafia started in this country in New Orleans, brought from Sicily by the dock men. Then it spread because this guy would leave and then another and so on. But they didn't leave like a conspiracy. They just went. They developed a personal thing. It wasn't "our thing." It was my thing. They were able, of course, to call on each other for assistance in influencing different things, but that's as far as the alliance goes.

They don't have to use the strong arm anymore, because they can will the law. They have control of the people who write, interpret, and enforce the laws. And they do this. I'd say some 60% of the Congress has obligation to some particular crime boss, and it's the same in the Senate. There are several top businessmen in several large cities that I know of that, although they aren't prime leaders, they are associated with the syndicated activities in their areas. They do favors and provide fronts. This includes bankers and corporation heads.

It is basically true that the syndicate is in reality breaking laws that shouldn't have been laws in the first place—against drugs, gambling, and prostitution. They always appealed to human weaknesses. The public helps make a young man ambitious, like the kid telling me that he'd rather be a Mafia Don than President because he could tell the President what to do. Being successful at crime doesn't discount you anything. You get all the respect, prestige, and material goods anyway. The key is being successful. You'd be surprised at how much this influences the guys I worked with. What a lot of these burglars and gunmen want is to be noticed by some Don who'll say, "Hey man, you're just what I need." The public adds to that, the movies add to that, and yellow newspapers add to that. Then after you condone this big man up here, and you punish this little man down here, and then when you let him out you treat him like some kind of alien being. Society doesn't want to take responsibility for creating this little man.

The only people who can effectively end OC are those people of the community where OC exists. I'm talking about elected officials who must be able to say, "I don't care if you can make me a cinch for this election; I would rather not win than be indebted to you." And then expose them. Or even use them to get into office and then expose them. We're talking about honesty, courage, awareness, and involvement as opposed to ignorance, apathy, and self-seeking rather than for the good of the whole. Also, I mentioned revamping corrections and the justice system. Planting the seed and hoping that it will flourish and that someday we can successfully accomplish this change.¹

The aforementioned case studies were college class lectures by informants that were located by students working in community-based organizations that provided services for ex-offenders. Most of the concerns addressed by these speakers were about the Italian Mafia or LCN. As the discussion progresses during this chapter, it is shown that OC involves many other ethnic groups as well as nations, especially when viewed on a global basis. However, concern about the Sicilian Mafia was a starting point for discussion of OC in criminology and criminology texts. So discussion of the Mafia or LCN is covered initially in this chapter, followed by the evolution of OC in this country and globally.

DEFINITION

One of the most remarkable aspects of this topic is the variety of definitions of **Organized Crime** (OC) that are presented in various published sources. In a Website devoted to the topic of definitions of OC, Klaus von Lampe has provided a collection of 60 definitions whose authors are shown in Table 11-1. A content analysis of these 60 definitions would be useful to derive a definition that can be used for the following analysis. The following are elements that are commonly mentioned in these numerous definitions:

- A nonideological enterprise carried on through a corporate hierarchy involving division of labor and three or more levels or ranks, such as suppliers, manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers, resulting in insulation of key members from identification and prosecution.
- Pursuit of profit or power through traffic in or provision of illegal goods or services in great public demand (vice) or through racketeering (organized extortion).
- Conspiracies (usually done by top leadership) and the provision of reciprocal services by criminals, their clients, and politicians.
- Use of threats, force or violence, or corruption of public officials.
- Use of an informal, though effective, means of communication known as the "grapevine".
- Persistence of conspiratorial activity through time (at least one year) regardless of change in personnel.
- Attempts at cartelization or monopolization of markets.
- Because of scope or scale of operation, the organization eludes control by local law enforcement.
- Lifetime careerist orientation among participants.
- A goal of bringing unlawful gains into the legal economy through money laundering.
- Ethnic ties that result in restricted membership.
- Cooperation of respectable society (active or passive).

Apart from these key characteristics of OC, many definitions (particularly those by government groups) include a list of characteristic activities of organized criminal groups, such as trafficking in illegal drugs, illegal gambling, usury, and prostitution. However, additional illegal activity attributed to OC

Table 11-1 **Definitions of Organized Crime²**

American Definitions of Organized Crime, by Author/Source:

Definitions of OC From Other Countries:

Howard Abadinsky
 Jay Albanese
 Joseph Albini
 American Heritage Dictionary
 Alan Block
 Block and Chambliss
 California Control of Profits of OC Act
 California Commission on OC
 Comptroller General
 Donald Cressey
 Finckenaue and Voronin
 Frederic Homer
 Francis Ianni
 ITT Research Institute
 Robert J. Kelly
 Kenney and Finckenaue
 Lasswell and McKenna
 Donald Liddick
 Alfred Lindesmith
 Peter Lupsha
 William McCulloch
 Raymond Michalowski
 Missouri Task Force
 National Advisory Committee
 New Mexico's OC Commission
 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act
 Oyster Bay Conferences
 Richard Poff
 Gary Potter
 Peter Reuter and Jonathan B. Rubinstein
 Robert Rhodes
 Ralph Salerno and John S. Tompkins
 Thomas C. Schelling
 Thorsten Sellin
 Larry Siegel
 Dwight C. Smith
 Task Force 1967
 U.S. Attorney General (1959)

Australia
 Queensland CrimeCommission
 Pat O'Malley
 Belgium
 Black et al./Annual Report Organized Crime
 Canada
 Samuel Porteous
 Alfried Schulte-Bockholt
 Croatia
 Ministry of Interior
 Germany
 Bundeskriminalamt
 Link to other German definitions (in German)
 Klaus von Lampe
 Great Britain
 Home Office/National Crime Intelligence Service (NCIS)
 Greece
 Nestor Courakis
 India
 Maharashtra Control of Organized Crime Act, 1999
 Italy
 Adamoli et al.
 Vincenzo Ruggiero
 Federico Varese
 The Netherlands
 Petrus C. van Duyne
 Fijnaut et al.
 Van Traa Commission
 Weenink et al.
 Poland
 Emil Plywaczewski

International Agencies

Council of Europe
 INTERPOL
 United Nations

Others

Encyclopaedia Britannica

includes arson for profit, hijacking, insurance fraud, loan sharking, labor racketeering, smuggling, operating vehicle theft rings, and systematically encumbering the assets of a business for the purpose of defrauding creditors. The definition also may include terrorism, fraud, corruption of public officers, extortion of money, shoplifting, stealing automobiles, and robbing banks.

It can be seen from this wide array of crimes that are said to indicate OC, that the term OC is vaguely defined. Often this "list of crimes" is a method of defining OC by government agencies or legislators frustrated in their attempt to define OC. In the United States, lawmakers seem to be saying "forget all this definition business, you know what we mean—we mean the Mafia . . . La Cosa Nostra." Consider the following quotes from U.S. government sources:

- OC . . . is a confederation of some 24 families consisting of up to 5,000 individuals. The families are organized along military lines and receive general guidance from a selected group of family bosses called the *Commission*.³
- Today the core of OC in the United States consists of 24 groups operating as criminal cartels in large cities across the nation. Their membership is exclusively men of Italian descent, they are in frequent communication with each other, and their smooth functioning is insured by a national body of overseers. To date, only the FBI has been able to document fully the national scope of these groups, and FBI intelligence indicates that the organization as a whole has changed its name from Mafia to LCN.⁴

Although the existence of organized crime is not denied in this text, it seems that the definition should be narrowed—not only for legal purposes, but also for scientific purposes. Obviously a definition that includes practically anything and everything has no usefulness. Application of such definitions in the past have led to witch hunts and McCarthyism. Vague definitions can also result in racial profiling or ethnic profiling. Thus, it is important to craft a definition of OC carefully. Even laws on the books today result in severe consequences if the person arrested is deemed to be participating in OC. These include longer prison sentences and confiscation of property.

Thus, what is sought in this text is a clear (and operational) definition of OC that may even have potential for legal application. Some of the definitions reviewed by Von Lampe were definitions given by Commonwealth nations such as Australia and Canada, which stipulated that "indictable offenses" must be part of the conspiracy. That is a clue, but not quite sufficient to differentiate OC from the cheating scam described earlier. "Indictable offenses" are the rough equivalent to "felonies," which are considered to be "serious crimes." However, "felonies" can include "petty theft with a prior" in some states—thus are not always serious offenses. Going one step further, what really seems to make OC a serious offense is the threat of force or actual use of force or violence (extortion). Thus, extortion is the delimiting essential component in OC. The following, then, is suggested as a definition of OC.

OC refers to a conspiratorial enterprise pursuing profit or power through provision of illegal goods and/or services, involving systematic use of force or threat of force.

Because participation in such an enterprise carries penalties greater than participation in a common individual crime, proof must be given that conspiracy or collusion exists; that illegal goods and/or services are provided; and that force, or threat of force, is used. This definition pays no reference to many of the attributes given in the bullet points earlier, including step hierarchy, nonideological enterprise, corruption of public officials, informal

"grapevine," evasion of local law enforcement, lifetime career orientation, money laundering, attempts to monopolize, ethnic ties, and cooperation of respectable society. Many of these attributes characterize almost all crime or deviant behavior and are not necessarily components of the definition of OC. In regard to the assumption of "hierarchy," it is shown that there are many forms of OC today that are nonhierarchical in nature. These are emerging new forms of OC that include "core groups" and "criminal networks," to be discussed later.

TYPES OF ORGANIZED CRIME

As suggested earlier, one way of typing OC is by type of illegal activity involved in the organized criminal enterprise. Some of these illegal enterprises were discussed earlier and include trafficking in illegal drugs, illegal gambling, usury, arson for profit, hijacking, insurance fraud, loan sharking, labor racketeering, operating vehicle theft rings, and so forth. Much of the discussion about OC in government, the media, and academia has been about ethnicity. In fact since the 1950s, discussion has centered about allegations that OC in America consists of a Sicilian American Mafia or an organization controlled by Americans of Sicilian descent—LCN. Over time, a typology of OC has evolved from this discussion, including not just Sicilians, but also Chinese, Mexicans, Japanese, Russians, Israeli, Colombians, Jamaicans, and more. That discussion is summarized subsequently. However, another recent approach to typing OC has been according to organizational structure. A pioneering effort in typing organizational structures in OC was introduced in a pilot survey done by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and is summarized later.

The belief that there is a nationwide crime syndicate controlled by Sicilians (with roots in Sicily) that dominates OC in this country dates back to the 19th century. In 1890, New Orleans Superintendent of Police David Peter Hennessey was murdered. Hennessey had been investigating the activities of the Matranga brothers, a gang of Sicilians who allegedly gained complete control of the New Orleans waterfront in 1890. Residents assumed Sicilians to be responsible and 19 gang members were arrested, and then subsequently acquitted. An irate crowd lynched 11 of the 19, resulting in an international incident, and considerable coverage in the news media blaming the event on the **Mafia** or **Black Hand**. The allegation in the news media led to a strong reaction in the Italian community, and many Italian community leaders vehemently denied the existence of the Black Hand. In 1907, however, these leaders organized the White Hand Society, a society whose acknowledged purpose was to combat the Black Hand, thus themselves confirming the existence of the Black Hand.⁵

It is possible that the Mafia as a large-scale organization did not exist in this country before all the national publicity. However, it appeared to flourish from 1910 to 1920 but then became less influential in the 1920s when the Black Handers joined with the mainstream of American gangsterism. The *Mafia* became a popular term during the 1950s, when the Kefauver Crime Committee began to uncover testimony about a national crime syndicate in this country, based in Sicily and dominated by Sicilian Americans.

Organized Crime as the "Mafia"

Behind the local mobs that make up the national crime syndicate is a shadowy, international criminal organization known as the Mafia, so fantastic that most Americans find it hard to believe it really exists. The Mafia, which has its origin and its headquarters in Sicily, is dominant in numerous fields of illegal activity—principally narcotics—and it enforces its code with death to those who resist or betray it.⁶

The Mafia was said to have arisen in Sicily during the early part of the 19th century. It began as a protective organization of the peasant classes formed to resist oppression by the feudal land barons. The Mafiosi (members of the Mafia), however, launched a reign of terror—murder, rape, robbery, extortion, and kidnapping. Landowners acquiesced to Mafia demands and made deals with the Mafiosi to protect their estates, and the Mafiosi in turn became crueler tyrants over the peasants than the gentry ever were.

Based largely on testimony by Harry Anslinger, Commissioner of the Narcotics Bureau at the time, the Kefauver Committee uncovered several alleged characteristics of the Mafia: (a) a secret code called *Omerta*, or “death to informers”; (b) an inner circle of OC known as the “family”; and (c) a Mafia grand council that governed local families. Evidence for this view consisted of testimony by Anslinger and other Narcotics Bureau agents, systematic denials of the existence of the Mafia by alleged gangsters who testified (“evidence” for the code of *Omerta*), and reference to various violent crimes that “had all of the earmarks of the Mafia.” The international head of the Mafia in Italy was believed to be Charles (Lucky) Luciano, who, after serving 10 years in prison, was deported to Italy by Thomas E. Dewey. Additional evidence of a national conspiracy was produced by a meeting of some 75 leaders of crime cartels in November, 1957, at the home of Joseph Barbara in the small New York town of Appalachian. Although the purpose for the meeting was never revealed, Joseph Bonanno and 26 others were convicted of obstruction of justice for refusing to reveal the purpose of the meeting, a conviction later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court.⁷

Organized Crime as “La Cosa Nostra”

While the term Mafia, as used by the Kefauver Committee, referred to a national organization rooted in Sicily, the term **La Cosa Nostra** (LCN) conveyed another perspective. LCN implied a national organization of Sicilian origin, but centralized and controlled in the United States, and with a somewhat unique organizational structure. This perspective came to light largely as a result of the testimony of Joseph Valachi before the McClellan Committee in 1963.⁸ Valachi, by his own testimony a *soldati*, or soldier, in the Vito Genovese family, revealed in detail the organizational structure of LCN; named the major bosses and numerous subordinates; and told the history of LCN and how it became transformed from the Sicilian-based Mafia to LCN, its Americanized counterpart. Based largely on the McClellan Commission findings, Valachi’s testimony, and a consultant paper by Donald Cressey, a President’s Crime Commission gave a detailed description of LCN in an attempt to bring its existence to public attention.⁹ As discussed previously, the Commission pinpointed the structure of LCN to 24 exclusively Italian groups, with 5,000 individual members, operating as crime cartels in large cities throughout the nation. Together they were said to have controlled most of the illicit gambling and loan sharking in the country, and were heavily implicated in narcotics trafficking and labor racketeering. The Commission estimated the annual income from 7 to 50 billion dollars from gambling, several billion from loan sharking, and 250 million from the heroin trade. In addition, LCN was said to



Joseph Valachi is pictured here testifying before the McClellan congressional committee on organized crime in October 1963. Valachi had been a "soldier" in New York City's Vito Genovese crime family. He was the first Mafia member to acknowledge the existence of the Mafia, describe its structure, and name the major members of La Cosa Nostra (as he called it). Valachi's testimony was followed by his biography in the 1968 book, *The Valachi Papers*, by Peter Maas, and a later movie, with the same title, starring Charles Bronson as Valachi. His testimony also influenced the findings of the 1968 Presidential Commission Report on Organized Crime. Valachi died at La Tuna Correctional Institution in El Paso, Texas, in April, 1971.

Source: AP Wide World Photos.

exercise a virtual monopoly over many legitimate enterprises such as cigarette vending machines and juke boxes. These 24 groups were said to work with and control other racket groups, whose leaders were of various ethnic derivations, in enterprises representing a cross-section of the nation's population groups.

The President's Commission then described the structure of LCN (which became the basis for subsequent Hollywood movies such as *The Godfather* and television productions such as *The Sopranos*).

Each of the 24 groups was known as a "family," with membership varying from as few as 20 men to as many as 700. Each family was headed by one man, the *boss*, whose primary function was to maintain order and maximize profits. His authority in all matters relating to his family was absolute. Beneath each boss was an *underboss*, the vice-president or deputy director of the family. He collected information for the boss, relayed messages to him, and passed his instructions down to his own underlings. On the same level as the underboss, but operating in a staff capacity, was the **consigliere**, who was a counselor or advisor to the boss and other family members, enjoying considerable influence and power. Below the level of the underboss were the *caporegime*, or lieutenants, some of whom served as buffers between top members of the family and the lower echelon personnel. To maintain insulation from the police, the leaders of the hierarchy (particularly the bosses) avoided direct communication with the workers. Although some caporegime served as buffers, others served as chiefs of operating units. The lowest level members of a family were the *soldati*, the soldiers or "button" men who reported to the caporegime. A soldier may operate a particular illicit enterprise—such

as a loan-sharking operation, a dice game, a lottery, a bookmaking operation, or a smuggling operation—or he may “own” the enterprise and pay a portion of its profit to the organization, in return for the right to operate, and perhaps for being backed by the capital and resources of the organization. Beneath the soldiers in the hierarchy are large numbers of employees who are not members of the family and are not necessarily of Italian descent. These are the people who do most of the actual work of the various enterprises. They have no buffers or other insulation from law enforcement. They take bets, drive trucks, answer telephones, sell narcotics, and work in the legitimate businesses.

The *soldati* sometimes served as “corruptors,” functioning to establish relationships with public officials and other influential persons whose assistance was needed. They may also have specialized as “enforcers,” whose function was to maim or kill recalcitrant members.

The most threat in terms of conspiracy, according to the President’s Commission, was the nationwide centralized control of LCN by a ruling body known as the “Commission.” This was an oligarchic body serving as a combination legislature, Supreme Court, board of directors, and arbitration board. It was composed of the bosses of the nation’s most powerful families and had authority over all 24. The composition of the Commission was said to vary from nine to 12 men.

The structure and history of LCN were described in even greater detail in Donald Cressey’s book *Theft of the Nation*, a book developed from Cressey’s consultant paper to the President’s Crime Commission. Cressey’s information came from “police reports, informants, wire taps, and electronic bugs.” LCN, Cressey held, differed from the Sicilian Mafia in several respects. The term LCN came into use when a group of “young Turks” headed by Lucky Luciano emerged triumphant from a struggle with more traditional Sicilian “mustache Pete” leaders, including Salvatore Maranzano and Guiseppe Masaria. The “Commission” was an American innovation and not just a transplant from Sicily. It differed from Italy’s counterpart in its more diffuse division of power, resembling a *corsa* or stable union of families within a given district rather than a *consorteria*, or society-wide Mafia. Despite the dispersion of power, however, the members of LCN, Cressey maintained, threatened a behind-the-scenes takeover of the government of this country on the local, state, and federal levels.

Organized Crime as Independent Collectivities

The idea that OC was exclusively dominated by a national crime syndicate of Italian Americans has been questioned, both by academicians and government sources. One of the earliest essays opposing the idea of a dominant Italian syndicate was Daniel Bell’s “The Myth of the Mafia.”¹⁰ The Crime Commission’s portrayal of LCN was also held to question by Ramsey Clark, who was the U.S. Attorney General from 1967 to 1969, during the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson (who appointed the Crime Commission).¹¹ Also critical of the Italian conspiracy model were Morris and Hawkins in their book, *The Honest Politician’s Guide to Crime Control*.¹² The main theme of these analyses was that although OC exists, it is not nationally centralized but consists at best of independent collectivities organized mainly in the major metropolitan areas—local syndicates without any real national or even regional ties to one another. Also, all three sources challenge the notion that OC is dominated by any one ethnic group, either currently or historically.

Bell challenged the Mafia concept of the Kefauver Committee as based upon speculation and unsubstantiated testimony. Bell further argued that OC is not a Sicilian American invention, but is instead part of the American way of life and a "queer ladder of social mobility" used by many newly arriving immigrant groups in this country.

The salient reason, perhaps, why the Kefauver Committee was taken in by its own myth of an omnipotent Mafia and a despotic Costello was its failure to assimilate and understand three of the more relevant sociological facts about institutionalized crime in its relation to the political life of large urban communities in America, namely: (1) the rise of the American-Italian community, as part of the inevitable process of ethnic succession to positions of importance in politics, a process that has been occurring independently but also simultaneously in most cities with large Italian constituencies; . . . (2) the fact that there are individual Italians who play prominent, often leading roles today in gambling and in the mobs; and (3) the fact that Italian gamblers, and mobsters often possessed "status" within the Italian community itself and a "pull" in city politics. These three items are indeed related—but not so as to form a "plot."¹³

Ramsey Clark was highly critical of the findings of the Commission on OC. He argued that the Commission itself had found evidence of OC in only 25 out of 71 cities surveyed, and that the crimes alleged (narcotics, gambling, prostitution) were of a minor nature. Clark argued that violence was declining among crime bosses, as they "go soft" in comparison to early days, and expressed doubts about the Commission's estimates of earnings by OC. He added that LCN is only part of the picture of OC in America.

As with all crime, we oversimplify our definition of OC. There is far more to it than La Cosa Nostra. Our society is much too complex to expect only a single syndicate or type of illegal activity. There is no one massive organization that manages all or even most planned and continuous criminal conduct throughout the country. There are hundreds of small operations that engage in organized criminal activity—car theft rings, groups of burglars, safecrackers working together, gangs of armed robbers, combinations that occasionally smuggle and distribute marijuana and dangerous drugs—scattered throughout the nation.¹⁴

Finally, Morris and Hawkins critically examined, "the major sources of data, stating (a) the Valachi testimony is analogous to the knowledge of Standard Oil, which could be gleaned from interviews with gasoline station attendants"; (b) Cressey's argument that by outlining the detailed structural skeleton of LCN demonstrates the existence of such is a nonsequitur; (c) the Valachi testimony, though it comprised the prime source of the knowledge of the skeletal structure, is uncorroborated by any other testimony; (d) the Valachi testimony contained internal inconsistency, for example, despite a code such as "one for all, all for one," Valachi testified the organization offered him no immunity from prosecution; (e) the Valachi testimony was contradicted by others; (f) with regard to the alleged "meeting at Appalachia" on November 17, 1967, which has been used as "proof of conspiracy," there was (1) conflicting testimony as to how many top leaders were there and (2) the conviction of 20 arrested there was reversed on appeal and conspiracy was

not proven legally; and (g) there are members even in the Crime Commission Report who are of non-Sicilian ancestry.¹⁵

Other Ethnic Groups

Over time, it has become apparent, as maintained by Bell, Clark, and Morris and Hawkins, that OC in America is not the exclusive province of Italian Americans. In 1986, a President's Commission on OC found a wide variety of racial, national, and ethnic groups engaging in syndicated crime in the United States. These included blacks, Canadians, Chinese, Colombians, Cubans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Mexicans, Russians, and Vietnamese.¹⁶ More and more it is being recognized that OC, rather than being a national crime syndicate of a single ethnic group (Italian Americans), is actually a "transnational" endeavor of a multitude of national, ethnic, and racial groups. The term **transnational organized crime** is used here to refer to crime committed in more than one country, or more specifically according to the Convention against Transnational OC developed by the United Nations in 1998:

an offence is transnational if "(a) It is committed in more than one state; (b) It is committed in one state but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another state; (c) It is committed in one state but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one state; or (d) It is committed in one state but has substantial effects in another state."¹⁷

Transnational groups include Chinese Tongs and Triads, Medellin and Cali drug cartels of Colombia, Jamaican Posse's, Japanese Yakuza, outlaw motorcycle gangs, Russian Mafiya, and Vietnamese Triad groups and gangs of Vietnamese origin.¹⁸ In 1995, the United Nations identified 18 categories of transnational offenses, whose inception, perpetration, and/or direct or indirect effects involve more than one country. These offenses include:

money laundering, terrorist activities, theft of art and cultural objects, theft of intellectual property, illicit arms trafficking, aircraft hijacking, sea piracy, insurance fraud, computer crime, environmental crime, trafficking in persons, trade in human body parts, illicit drug trafficking, fraudulent bankruptcy, infiltration of legal business, corruption and bribery of public or party officials.¹⁹

Transnational Organized Crime

An ad hoc committee of the United Nations developed a five-fold classification of organizational structures of transnational OC groups. The stated purpose of this typology was:

To counter the public image of organized criminal groups as simply Mafia-type organizations. Law enforcement authorities have long underestimated the harm caused by smaller groups whose capacity to adapt to new markets and profits is higher and whose detection is difficult due to their low profile and loose structure. Important also in this regard is to inform the public more generally about the wide variety of forms that OC takes. Experience has shown elsewhere that awareness raising among the public about the dangers of OC (and how to identify its manifestations) can be an important weapon to fight it.²⁰

Accordingly, the research team identified five types of structures found among the 40 OC groups studied. These included the standard hierarchy, regional hierarchy, clustered hierarchy, core group, and criminal network.

The **standard hierarchy** was described as having a single leader, clearly defined hierarchy, strong systems of internal discipline, being known by a specific name, often having a strong social or ethnic identity, using violence as essential to activities, and often having a clear influence or control over defined territory. This was the most common form found in the sample of 40 groups, 13 of which could be classified as fitting the broad profile of this typology. Illegal activities included gambling houses, prostitution, cigarette smuggling, and racketeering. All three groups from China fit this typology, while the other groups who fit the typology were from Eastern Europe—Russia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Ukraine.

The regional hierarchy had a single leadership structure and a line of command from the center, but a degree of autonomy at the regional level, a geographic/regional distribution, multiple activities, often strong social or ethnic ties, and violence as essential to activities. Regional hierarchies appear to operate a “franchise model” in which regional groups pay money and give allegiance to use the name of a well-known criminal group. Outlaw motorcycle gangs from Australia followed this model and are prominent in the production and distribution of amphetamines and cannabis. Japanese Yakuza groups in Australia and the Fuk Ching gang in the United States also followed this model.

The **clustered hierarchy** consists of a number of criminal groups with a governing or oversight body. The groups may have a diversity of structures, but generally they are of the standard hierarchy type. Each group has considerable autonomy, but the groups may come together to divide up markets or to regulate conflict between each other. Clustered hierarchies engage in multiple activities and have a relatively wide membership. In the United Nations research, only three groups corresponded to this model—one consisting of former prison inmates in South Africa, another in an Italian dominated network in Germany, and a third in Russia.

The **core groups** type of OC consists of a limited number of individuals who form a relatively tight and structured group to conduct criminal business. Around this “core group” may be a large number of associate members or a network that is used from time to time, depending on the criminal activity in question. There may be an internal division of activities among the core members. Core groups are generally quite small (20 individuals or less) and are more likely to engage in a single or limited number of criminal activities. Internal discipline is maintained through the small size of the group and the use of violence, though violence is not as prominent as in the standard hierarchy. Of the 40 groups on which data were collected, eight were identified as fitting this typology. They had no name and no distinct social or ethnic base. Two groups active in the Netherlands were mainly involved in the trafficking in human beings. Each member has a specific role in the trafficking process (e.g., recruitment, transport, protection, and marketing). Such groups are more horizontally structured than hierarchically ordered.

Finally, **criminal networks** are defined by the activities of key individuals who engage in illicit activity in often shifting alliances. Prominence in the network is determined by contacts and/or skills, and personal loyalties and/or ties are more important than social/ethnic identities. The network connections are maintained based upon a series of criminal projects. Criminal networks

maintain a low public profile, and are seldom known by any name. The network reforms after the exit of key individuals. While criminal networks characterized only four of the 40 groups in the research, it is likely that criminal networks are increasingly more common and a growing phenomenon. This is because networks can be more easily reformed if key individuals are arrested than can hierarchical structures, where the loss of a key individual causes major disorganization. Two of the network groups were operating from the Netherlands, and the remaining two were from the Caribbean.

Although the United Nations study was broad in scope and provided five organizational types (as compared to only one in American Mafia studies), similar ethnographic research is needed, ideally focusing upon specific forms of transnational crime. As an example of this, Sheldon Zhang and associates studied Chinese alien smuggling into the United States through interviews with aliens, smugglers, and law enforcement officials in China, Hong Kong, and the United States. The study revealed that the groups emerging were non-Triad organized criminals that resemble the "criminal networks" model discussed earlier. The Chinese alien smuggling groups are best understood as "task forces," or small groups of people assembled to perform a particular piece of work. The task forces are typically linked to international social networks characterized by overlapping, dyadic relationships; a high level of role differentiation; and a limited degree of hierarchy. The groups are highly responsive to changing social, legal, and market constraints.²¹

GLOBAL VIEW OF ORGANIZED CRIME

By definition, OC is not a crime done by individuals, but by groups, whether they be clusters, core groups, networks, or hierarchies. Generally the term OC implies a "conspiracy," and that term is part of the list of attributes bulleted earlier. A possible exception to the conspiracy assumption is the *criminal networks* structure that develops around a host of individuals who have specialized skills sought in a particular enterprise. Criminal networks engage in criminal enterprises and share the proceeds of these enterprises, but without a common "boss" or planning group. What they share in common can be simply a common goal—financial gain through illicit enterprise.

Also, OC does not pertain to a particular crime, but to a wide variety of crimes. Because of the variety of group structures and types of crime, a profile of the "typical" individual who engages in OC cannot be drawn. Research is needed to begin to profile individuals who participate in particular types of syndicated crime. At this point all that can be done is to narrow down discussion to a particular key OC enterprise representative of OC. If one were to choose one particular enterprise of OC that is most representative of OC, and one upon which hard data are available for international comparisons, what would it be? Looking at all of the transnational OC enterprises, the one that qualifies as possibly most lucrative and upon which hard data are available is illicit drug trafficking. Among all of the illicit drugs that are involved in the drug trade, one drug stands out as most indicative of OC—heroin. Heroin is probably the most profitable drug to transport, and the demand for it is constant (probably always trending upward) because it is the most addicting of all drugs. Moreover, heroin seems to be the drug that is most involved with crime, especially if vigorous efforts are made by law enforcement to limit access to it. Heroin addicts must

face withdrawal distress, which results in serious illness and possible death in the absence of the drug. Thus, when faced with limitation of their supply of the drug, heroin users will turn to crime, if need be, to obtain whatever funds are needed to feed their addiction. Thus, trade in heroin is "good business" in the sense that a customer base can be assumed.

Previously in this text, the variable kilograms of heroin seized by country was used only as a correlate of various crimes (robbery, burglary, etc.). However, in this chapter, the focus is changed to seeing how countries are ranked by kilograms of heroin seized. Kilograms of heroin seized is used as a proxy for OC, based upon the assumption that heroin trafficking is the most profitable OC enterprise.

In the absence of etiological data on organized criminals, we are back in the business of generating theory for that subject. With the exception of Howard Abadinsky's book, *Organized Crime*, up until now most of the discussion in the literature has pertained to "the nature of OC," as opposed to explaining it. So our task is to contribute to the theory development process started by Abadinsky by looking at countries that appear to be high in OC. What characterizes those countries? Although OC constitutes a vast array of crime, the focus is upon vice, a topic not yet covered in this text. Table 11-2 shows selected countries of the world in the comparative criminology database ranked by kilograms of heroin seized. Included were countries ranked in the top 25% in terms of kilograms of heroin seized in the country and all developed nations.²²

Table 11-2, ranking countries in terms of heroin seized, is definitely an imperfect index of countries with high OC rates; however, it provides a starting point for research. In a study entitled International Crime Threat Assessment (ICTA), published in 2000, a thorough analysis of OC throughout the world is made.²³ In this study, it was pointed out that not all countries serve as a *home base* for OC. Some countries serve as *transit countries* for items and people shipped by OC, and some countries serve as *client countries*, without significant generation of OC groups other than those involved in receiving the illicit traffic. Many, if not most, countries that serve as *home base countries* for OC groups also serve as *client countries* (e.g., Japan). Of course, criminal organizations may work in all countries, but the critical question to be answered in this chapter is what countries serve as home base countries for criminal organizations, and why? The following countries may be considered *home base* countries for criminal organizations according to the ICTA report and other publications: China, Colombia, Hong Kong (now part of China), India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States. What do all of these countries have in common? A brief history of the development OC in some of these countries would be insightful.

A quote from the ICTA report regarding Nigeria provides a clue:

Nigerian criminal syndicates centered in Lagos, many of which have global networks, operate with virtual impunity and in an environment of pervasive corruption. *Decades of mostly military rule in Nigeria have exacerbated the problem* [italics added for emphasis], ruining the Nigerian economy and nearly bankrupting the Nigerian government. Moreover, decades of gross economic mismanagement, with which the newly elected civilian government has just begun to grapple, have left not only private citizens but also government and law enforcement officials and junior and

Table 11-2 Countries Ranked for Kg of Heroin Seized

<i>Country</i>	<i>Kg</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Kg</i>
China	13200.000	Saudi Arabia	178.825
Pakistan	6931.470	Kyrgyzstan	170.898
Turkey	4392.100	Hong Kong	156.400
Tajikistan	4239.010	Hungary	154.410
Iran	4001.000	Taiwan	153.000
Great Britain	3382.390	Kazakstan	136.700
Italy	2004.590	Macedonia FYR	110.882
United States	1983.700	Singapore	106.678
Bulgaria	1550.630	Sri Lanka	102.216
Russia	1287.230	Myanmar	96.744
India	889.000	Slovenia	88.930
Germany	835.836	Czech Republic	88.590
Colombia	787.600	Panama	87.000
Netherlands	739.000	Argentina	84.683
Spain	630.600	Australia	82.729
Thailand	501.000	Canada	73.979
Uzbekistan	466.601	Norway	67.905
Fiji	357.700	Israel	67.625
France	351.055	Nigeria	46.639
Greece	329.725	Sweden	32.627
Portugal	316.039	Ireland (Northern)	29.527
Austria	288.312	Denmark	25.125
Mexico	263.152	Luxembourg	11.358
Ecuador	254.639	Finland	7.500
Venezuela	228.430	New Zealand	5.526
Switzerland	227.515	Japan	4.944
Malaysia	227.058	Monaco	0.011
Burkina Faso	222.000	Andorra	0.009
Poland	208.106	Liechtenstein	0.003
Belgium	187.739		

noncommissioned military officers with great incentive to engage in criminal activity to make ends meet. Under the recent military regime, many of Nigeria's political and military leaders, government bureaucrats, and business elites routinely accepted and demanded bribe or kickbacks in return for facilitating profitable business activity—whether in the lucrative oil sector, competitive procurement contracts, or the drug trade.²⁴

The phrase “decades of mostly military rule in Nigeria have exacerbated the problem” is insightful in that it describes most of the countries listed as home base countries for OC. Certainly, under Communist regimes, China and Russia have had military rule. Hong Kong, India, and Pakistan were subject to British military rule prior to WWII. Mexico, up until recently, has

had a one-party, largely military rule. Italy during WWII was under fascist military rule, and Sicily (home base for the Mafia) has been governed by numerous occupations and military rulers over the centuries. Japan, prior to WWII, was subject to military rule, and after WWII, subject to Allied military rule. One is reminded of the development of the black market that took place in the United States during both World Wars as a model of how OC may develop in various countries, related to imposed scarcity of desired goods and services:

The **black market** is the sector of economic activity in a jurisdiction involving illegal activities. Depending on the sense in which the term is used, this can primarily refer to illegally avoiding tax payments, to the profits of narcotic trafficking, or profits made from theft. It is so called because "black economy," or black market affairs, are conducted outside the law and are necessarily conducted "in the dark," out of sight of the law. The Prohibition period in the United States is a classic example of black market activity, when OC groups took advantage of the lucrative opportunities in the resulting black market in banned alcohol production and sales. In many countries today, it is argued whether a "war on drugs" has created a similar effect for drugs such as marijuana. Black markets have also flourished in some countries during wars, especially WWII, when rationing and price controls were enforced in many countries.²⁵

In the country profiles to follow, the format departs from that of previous chapters because of the subject matter—OC. Instead of looking for factors that might be related to a given crime, the emphasis is upon tracing the historical development of OC in different countries. A brief history of the country will be given, with the focus being on the development of OC groups in the country.

China is the oldest continuous major world civilization, with records dating back about 3,500 years. Successive dynasties developed a system of bureaucratic control, a Confucian state ideology and common written language that gave the agrarian-based Chinese an advantage over neighboring nomadic and hill cultures. The bureaucracy remained staffed with Chinese, even during periods of conquest, such as that of the Mongols in the 13th century. The last dynasty was that of the Qing (Ch'ing) that resulted from the 1644 overthrow of the Ming dynasty by the Manchu's, which expanded China to many border areas. The Qing dynasty declined during the 19th century, partly as a result of a Russian-supported separatist movement in Xinjiang and conflict with Great Britain. Britain, seeking to offset its balance of trade with China, fought two Opium Wars, which resulted when Britain's desire to continue its illegal opium trade with China collided with imperial edicts prohibiting the addictive drug. China lost the Opium Wars and was forced to cede Hong Kong to Britain in 1842 under the Treaty of Nanking and provided a 99-year lease of the New Territories in 1898, significantly expanding the size of the Hong Kong Colony.

Opposition to the Qing dynasty included some young officials, military officers, and students—inspired by the revolutionary ideas of Sun Yat-sen. The Qing dynasty was also opposed by the Triads, and, in fact, the Triad phenomenon is believed to have originated in opposition to the Qing dynasty. The term **Triads** refers to the Chinese societies' common symbol: an equilateral triangle representing the three basic Chinese concepts of heaven,

China

earth, and man. Sun Yat-sen was a Triad member.²⁶ The Qing dynasty was overthrown and a republic was created in 1911 as a result of a compromise that allowed high Qing officials to retain prominent positions in the new republic. One of these figures, General Yuan Shikai, was chosen as the republic's first president. After his death in 1916, the republican government was all but shattered, ushering in an era of "warlords" during which China was ruled and ravaged by shifting coalitions of competing provincial military leaders. One of these factions formed the Kuomintang (KMT; "Chinese Nationalist People's Party") led by Sun Yat-sen, which entered into an alliance with the fledgling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and sought to unite the fragmented nation. After Sun's death in 1925, one of his protégés, Chiang Kai-shek, seized control of the KMT and succeeded in bringing most of south and central China under its rule. Chiang had divided his time between exile in Japan and haven in Shanghai's foreign concession areas. In Shanghai, Chiang cultivated ties with the criminal underworld, dominated by the notorious Green Gang, who he reputedly recruited to fight the CCP in Shanghai. In 1927, Chiang waged war against the CCP and executed many of its leaders. The remnants of the CCP fled, ultimately developing a guerilla base at Yan'an in the northwestern province of Shaanxi. During their "Long March" to Shaanxi, the Communists reorganized under a new leader, Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). Both the KMT and CCP continued a clandestine struggle during the Japanese invasion (1931–1945), though forming a united front to oppose the Japanese invaders. The war between the two parties resumed after the Japanese defeat in 1945.²⁷

During the war, many Triad members turned to criminal activities: gambling, loan sharking, extortion, and trafficking in opium from the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia.



Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) was the revolutionary Chinese leader who led the unification of China in the 1920s. He was head of the Nationalist Republic from 1928–1949. After losing China to the Communists in 1949, Chiang maintained the Republic by moving it to the island of Taiwan (Formosa).

Source: Getty Images, Inc.—Hulton Archive Photos.

This activity was strengthened considerably by the activities of Chinese Nationalist forces in the Golden Triangle (see text box) and Chiang Kai-shek was himself a Triad member, who was reputed to have used Triads in his war against the Communists and labor unions.²⁸ However, Communist forces defeated Chiang's Nationalist Army in 1947 and Triads were suppressed on the mainland with a great deal of violence by Mao Tse-tung. Many Triad members fled to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek and remnants of the KMT government, where Chiang proclaimed Taipei to be China's "provisional capital" and vowed to reconquer the Chinese mainland. Even today the KMT authorities on Taiwan still call themselves the "Republic of China." Other Triad members fled to the British colony of Hong Kong, which already had locally organized Triads that dated back to the early 20th century. In the postwar era, they emerged as powerful criminal societies.²⁹

In Beijing, on October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. Mao made a strong effort to rid China of bureaucratic agencies and procedures, which he abhorred. His goal was to establish a criminal justice system in the People's Republic of China based upon informal social control. Based upon Maoist teachings, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1973, Mao called upon his followers, the Red Guards, to "smash the police and the courts." As a result of Mao's thinking and the action of the Red Guards, the People's Republic of China had no criminal or procedural legal codes, no lawyers, and no officially designated prosecutors until after 1978. While informal control was the goal, in actuality the police were replaced by military control, with arrest power residing in the People's Liberation Army.³⁰ Thus, the entire period of Communist government in China has been characterized by military control. However, the Cultural Revolution did not occur in a vacuum. It was in part a reaction to advocacy for pragmatic economic policies by Party General Secretary Deng Xiaoping in the early 1960s. During the Cultural Revolution, Deng was accused of dragging



Chairman Mao Zedong (1893–1976) wears a Red Guard armband as he waves to the crowd during a Peking rally in 1966. Following the Communist Party's military victory over the KMT in 1949, Mao led the Communist Party rule of China until his death in 1976.

Source: CORBIS/Bettmann.

Golden Triangle and Golden Crescent

The **Golden Triangle** is one of Asia's two primary illicit opium-producing areas. It overlaps the moun-

tains of three countries of mainland Southeast Asia, including Burma (Myanmar), Laos, and Thailand. The term **Golden Crescent** refers to Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan.³¹

China back toward capitalism. Ultimately the rift within the party resulted in protests, including the 1989 civil disobedience that took place at Tiananmen Square by students, intellectuals, and other parts of a disaffected urban population. Although the protest at Tiananmen Square was repressed and resulted in martial law and casualties estimated in the hundreds, economic reform continued, culminating in Deng's dramatic visit to southern China in early 1992. His push for a market-oriented economy received official sanction at the 14th Party Congress later that year. A number of reform-minded leaders rose to top positions, and the Politburo publicly issued an endorsement of Deng's policies of economic openness. Since then, leadership has followed in the footsteps of Deng. China is now firmly committed to economic reform and opening to the outside world. The Chinese leadership has identified reform of state industries and the establishment of a social safety network as government priorities. Government strategies to achieve these goals include large-scale privatization of unprofitable state-owned enterprises and development of a pension system for workers.

Reform policies brought great improvements in the standard of living. However, political dissent, as well as social problems such as inflation, urban migration, and prostitution emerged. According to some estimates by experts, there are 4 to 10 million commercial sex workers in the country, along with a female suicide rate that is the highest in the world. While trafficking in persons was previously a domain controlled by Triad groups in Hong Kong, it is now becoming a major enterprise of mainland China syndicates. In August 1998, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji announced that rampant smuggling was occurring at unprecedented levels in terms of its scope and quantity of products. He blamed smuggling for corrupting government officials, poisoning social morals, and a surge in other crimes. China's high tariffs and taxes, as well as nontariff barriers to trade, make smuggling of foreign-produced automobiles, cigarettes, petroleum products, and other goods extremely lucrative for criminal groups and corrupt officials.³²

Among the items smuggled into China, heroin may be the most problematic. Before 1990, when most Southeast Asian heroin transited through Thailand, China had few problems with drug trafficking or addiction. Between 1990 and 1998, however, the number of registered drug addicts in China increased by a factor of 10 from some 70,000 to nearly 700,000.³³ Thus, mainland China has become a "client country" for OC groups, including Hong Kong's 14K Triad. China has also become a home base country for mainland criminal groups that are now heavily involved in smuggling. Mainland Chinese groups exploiting widespread corruption have established strong ties of their own to Chinese officials and entrepreneurs. In Fujian Province, Chinese alien smuggling networks operate with the assistance of

corrupt officials, local police, and customs officers. Through these activities and the establishment of international networks, mainland Chinese criminal syndicates may be eclipsing the once-dominant role played by Triad members from Hong Kong and Macao. (It should be added that the latter two countries are now part of China, and no longer sovereign nations.) Although the Triad groups in Taiwan and Hong Kong focus on more traditional extortion, gambling, drug trafficking, gunrunning, and alien smuggling enterprises, the upstart Chinese criminal groups from mainland China, on the other hand, are more loosely organized, their members more flamboyant, and their criminal operations often more sophisticated. These groups are also extensively involved in international drug trafficking, alien smuggling, arms trafficking, and money laundering. They have moved more aggressively than the Triads into the more sophisticated and highly profitable areas of credit card fraud, theft of computer chips, software piracy, and other intellectual property violations.³⁴

Hong Kong has human activity dating back over five millennia, including northern Chinese stone-age cultures. The first major migration from northern China to Hong Kong occurred during the Sung Dynasty (960–1279). The British East India Company made the first successful sea venture to China in 1699, and Hong Kong's trade with British merchants developed rapidly soon after. After the Chinese defeat in the First Opium War (1839–1842), Hong Kong was ceded to Britain in 1842 under the Treaty of Nanking. Britain was granted a perpetual lease on the Kowloon Peninsula under the 1860 Convention of Beijing, which formally ended hostilities in the Second Opium War (1856–1860). The United Kingdom executed a 99-year lease of the New Territories in 1898, significantly expanding the size of the Hong Kong colony. Hong Kong reverted from British to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997 (the handover).

Hong Kong

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Hong Kong became a warehousing and distribution center for UK trade with southern China. After the end of WWII and the Communist takeover of Mainland China in 1949, hundreds of thousands of people fled from China to Hong Kong, including Triad OC members. Hong Kong became an economic success and a manufacturing, commercial, finance, and tourism center. Along with that success came crime. Hong Kong has long been a hub of criminal activity in East Asia—a status that has not changed since China assumed sovereignty over the territory in 1997. The massive volume of trade in containerized shipping through Hong Kong (16 million containers annually) offers substantial opportunity for criminals to smuggle all kinds of contraband, including drugs, arms, and illegal migrants. Hong Kong is one of East Asia's major sanctuaries for heroin drug profits. Heroin traffickers launder proceeds through numerous businesses in Hong Kong that are associated with the Chinese Triads.

Hong Kong's ethnic Chinese OC groups, the Triads, control local criminal activity. As they did during British colonial rule, Triad members continue to infiltrate and cultivate contacts in Hong Kong's civil service, political parties, news media, and stock exchange to protect or further their interests. While they do not monopolize international smuggling and illicit financial transactions, Triad members frequently help broker deals and facilitate shipments of drugs, arms, and other illicit contraband through Hong Kong to overseas destinations.

Hong Kong's two largest Triads are the 14K and the Sun Yee On. Hong Kong police estimate there are 50 to 60 different Triad societies operating in Hong Kong. Currently, Hong Kong's largest Triad, Sun Yee On, is the only one with a true hierarchical structure. By contrast, the 14K Triad, still one of the most powerful, is comprised of more than 15 loosely affiliated groups. In addition to facilitating smuggling, they protect many of the retail businesses involved in the manufacturing and distributing of counterfeit compact discs and are engaged in buying, moving, and selling contraband CDs. Moreover, Hong Kong's lucrative film industry is widely regarded as controlled by the Triads.

Although mainland China's law enforcement system is in a stage of redevelopment (after being entirely destroyed by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution), Hong Kong has a much stricter law enforcement environment. It includes an entrenched common law system, a strong rule of law tradition, and well-organized and well-equipped law enforcement bodies. Thus, it is less likely that mainland criminal interests will take a great interest in expanding their operations into Hong Kong as compared to the opposition situation—Hong Kong Triads doing illicit business operations in mainland China.³⁵

Taiwan Taiwan was populated by aboriginal peoples who originated in Austronesia and southern China some 12,000 to 15,000 years ago, while significant migration to Taiwan from the Chinese mainland began as early as 500 A.D. The Dutch first claimed the island in 1624 and administered it until 1661. In 1664, a Chinese fleet led by the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, fleeing from the Manchu invasion at the end of the Ming Dynasty, expelled the Dutch and established Taiwan as a base in his attempt to restore the Ming Dynasty. He died shortly thereafter, and his successors submitted to the Manchu's (Qing dynasty). During the 18th and 19th centuries, migration from Fujian and Guangdong provinces steadily increased, and Chinese supplanted aborigines as the dominant population group. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the first Sino-Japanese war. From 1895 to 1945, Japan developed Taiwan's economy and attempted to "Japanize" the nation, requiring compulsory Japanese education and forcing residents of Taiwan to adopt Japanese names.

At the end of WWII in 1945, Taiwan reverted to Chinese rule. As a result of the Communist takeover of mainland China, two million refugees, predominantly from the nationalist government, military, and business community, fled to Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek established a "provisional" KMT capital in Taipei. During the immediate postwar period, the Nationalist Chinese (KMT) administration on Taiwan was repressive and corrupt, leading to local discontent. Island-wide rioting was brutally put down by Nationalist Chinese troops, who killed thousands of people.

Nevertheless, the KMT authorities implemented a far reaching and highly successful land reform program on Taiwan that facilitated Taiwan's transition from an agricultural to a commercial, industrial economy. Tremendous prosperity on the island was accompanied by economic and social stability. Along with that business success, OC also thrived, deeply entrenched in Taiwan's business and political sectors. Chiang Kai-shek himself was a Triad member. Accordingly, large ethnic Chinese criminal syndicates such as the

United Bamboo and Four Seas Triads—which followed the ruling KMT party from the mainland to Taiwan in the late 1940s—and Taiwanese criminal gangs have established strong influence in Taiwan's local communities. These groups feed off Taiwan's generally strong economy. They reportedly have been involved in direct extortion of "protection" money from construction firms, engage in bid-rigging for public works projects, and have tried to manipulate the island's stock market. Some Taiwan-based Triads have links to Hong Kong and China, including establishing front companies or investing in specific criminal ventures.³⁶

Both the Triads and crime groups originating in mainland China have established relationships with ethnic Chinese crime groups in countries throughout the Pacific Rim, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere. Using traditional Chinese practices of networking, ethnic Chinese crime groups rely on a broad criminal fraternity that can broker contacts in any country where there is a large ethnic Chinese community and help facilitate transnational criminal activity. Chinese OC has strong roots in Chinese ethnic enclaves around the world. Local Chinese crime groups—ranging from street gangs to more formally structured groups modeled after, or affiliated with, traditional Triads—typically are extensively involved in local rackets like gambling, loan sharking, narcotics distribution, prostitution, and business extortion.

Although they are closed and secretive to outsiders, Chinese criminal organizations generally have few qualms about cooperating with other ethnic criminal groups in profitable joint ventures. For example, in the United States, Canada, and Europe, Chinese OC groups have worked with Italian and Dominican criminal organizations in trafficking heroin.

Europe and North America are major targets for Chinese criminal networks. Although ethnic Chinese groups are not as powerful as Italian or Russian OC in Europe, they have long-established footholds in the Chinese communities of several European nations from which they appear to conduct most of their illegal operations. International Chinese OC groups are particularly strong in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Germany. Since the late 1980s, Chinese criminal organizations have also established themselves in Central Europe, which has become a major conduit for moving illegal Chinese immigrants to Western Europe.³⁷ U.S. and Canadian law enforcement reporting indicates that the Big Circle Gang, which is the dominant OC group in China, has in a short time become one of the most active Asian criminal organizations in the world. By the early 1990s, the Big Circle Gang had established criminal cells in Canada, the United States, and Europe. It is extensively involved in drug trafficking; alien smuggling; vehicle theft and trafficking; and various financial, intellectual property rights, and high-tech crimes. Big Circle Gang cells are also highly sophisticated in their use of technology to thwart law enforcement investigations, according to U.S. law enforcement. Since first appearing in the United States in the early 1990s, Big Circle Gang members have been detected in New York, Boston, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The Fuk Ching Gang is most notorious for alien smuggling, including the Golden Venture tragedy in New York in 1993.³⁸

Ethnic Chinese Global Networks

The Golden Venture Incident

The Golden Venture tragedy occurred in 1993 and was an incident in which some 300 Asian illegal aliens were left stranded on a freighter, the Golden Venture, that eventually became grounded on a sand bar in New York. The passengers were ordered by the crew to jump overboard, resulting in the death of many who either drowned or were killed by the

propeller of the ship. The Golden Venture was awaiting orders from a **snakehead** (illegal alien smuggler) of the Fuk Ching Gang. Two factions of the gang were fighting for leadership (and the \$3 million value of the human cargo in the ship). Gang warfare ensued, resulting in the death of one faction and jailing of the other faction. As a result, no snakehead was available to provide berthing orders or arrangements to the ship.³⁹

Chinese Organized Crime in the United States

Just as in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, Chinese OC has a fairly long history within the United States. Chinese immigrants were welcomed to the United States during the mid-19th century to provide cheap labor, particularly in the West during the Gold Rush and in the construction of the first continental railroad. As the numbers of Chinese immigrants increased, anti-Chinese sentiment increased. This occurred particularly in California, where most Chinese had settled. Xenophobic vigilante activity and riots occurred in San Francisco. The result of this anti-Chinese sentiment was the passage of Chinese exclusion legislation, both in California and by the U.S. Congress. The result was the exclusion of all Asians starting in the late 19th century, and the imposition of a quota of 105 Asian immigrants per year in the 1920s. Given the ban on all legal immigration, illegal immigration became the only option for the Chinese, and this was facilitated by the development of large "Chinatown" ethnic ghettos in San Francisco, New York, and other cities. Then and now, illegal immigrants could "disappear" into these enclaves without detection by the police, who lacked familiarity or access to the Chinese population in these settlements. It wasn't until after WWII that immigration laws provided increased quotas for Asians. As pointed out previously, after the 1967 President's Commission characterized the "Oriental Enclaves" as relatively crime-free areas, Asians were stereotyped as hard working, intelligent, and low in crime—the latter of which was soon to be challenged by the arrival of Southeast Asian refugees who formed the nexus of a new Asian crime wave.

Along with the highly productive workforce of Chinese in the 19th century came the simultaneous admission of Triad members from China. In the United States, they were called **Tongs**, a term that means "hall" or "gathering place." Some of the Chinese immigrants were Triad members at home and in the United States engaged in organized criminal activities, including opium trafficking, prostitution, gambling, and extortion. While most Tongs were business, fraternal, or political in character, among the Tongs was a group of "fighting Tongs" who controlled large-scale vice operations and were part of a tight-knit nationwide alliance. Around the turn of the 20th century, Tong wars occurred on the East and West Coasts, one of which in 1909 was between the On Leong and Sip Sing Tongs and claimed an estimated 350 lives. After the passage of the anti-immigration legislation, the influx of Chinese population diminished and the "Tong wars" ceased. However, the Tongs continued to be associated with illegal gambling, particularly Pai Gow, an ancient Chinese domino game.

Contemporary Tongs such as Hip Sing and the On Leong dropped the term Tong from their names because of its association with "Tong wars."⁴⁰ Many contemporary Tongs, including the Hip Sing, On Leong, and Tsung Tsin, and the Ghost Shadows and Flying Dragons in New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco, date back to 1965, the year new immigration laws facilitated a large influx of youths from Hong Kong. The result was an increase in violent street crime (robbery, kidnapping, extortion, prostitution, and loan-sharking). In addition, the new gangs were sometimes used by the Tongs to provide security for gambling operations. A 1995 federal indictment indicated that New York's Chinatown was divided into fiefdoms dominated by Tongs aided by their affiliated gangs—the Tsung Tsin Tong and Tung On Tong with the Tung On Boys; the On Leong Tong with the Ghost Shadows; and the Hip Sing Tong with the Flying Dragons. The younger gangs collected protection money from both legal and illegal Chinatown businesses, including 24-hour-a-day gambling dens.⁴¹

Vietnamese youth gangs, particularly Chinese Vietnamese (Viet Ching, ethnic Chinese born in Vietnam) have also gained a foothold in Chinese ethnic communities and an affiliation with the Tongs. Vietnamese gang members are favored by Tong groups. This is because Vietnamese gangs are reputed to be skilled with and in possession of firearms. One such gang was developed by a member of New York Chinatown's Flying Dragons named David Thai, who was born in Saigon in 1956 and immigrated to the United States in 1976. In 1989, Thai developed a confederation of Vietnamese gangs in New York City named Born to Kill (BTK). The BTK was involved in unrestrained victimization of massage parlors, bars, and Tong gambling dens. The BTK subsequently killed Flying Dragons and Ghost Shadows gang members and committed a string of armed robberies in New England, the South, Canada, and wherever Asian businesses could be victimized. An arrest resulting from a Georgia robbery led to an extensive interagency investigation and successful prosecutions of the gang's leadership. However, not all Vietnamese youth gangs were affiliated with Tongs. Vietnamese gangs in California were highly mobile and constantly changing their gang unit affiliation, a lesson learned from the Vietcong. They engaged in home invasion robberies, usually of Vietnamese families, as well as the armed robbery of computer chips. The computer chips, in turn, were smuggled back to the Far East, eventually to wind up back in computers lawfully imported into the United States.⁴²

Control by the military seems to characterize Japanese history before, during, and after WWII. Of course, after WWII Japan was placed under international control of the Allies through the Supreme Commander, General Douglas MacArthur, of the United States. Prior to the forced opening of the isolationist Japan to the West by Commodore Matthew Perry of the U.S. Navy in 1854, Japan was ruled by shogun warlords. At the top was the shogun himself. Beneath him were the *daimyo*, the local lords who controlled large amounts of land. The *daimyo* had their own collection of samurai, who were the warrior class. The *boryokudan* (violent groups) date back 300 years to the Tokugawa period, when Japan united under a central system of government. With the end of Japanese feudalism, samurai lost their role in life, and many became *ronin*, or masterless samurai, many of whom wandered the countryside as freelance mercenaries. The **Yakuza** were those ronin who became unscrupulous itinerant

Japan

Yakuza and the Crime Rate

It has been pointed out in previous chapters that Japan has a low crime rate in regard to the FBI Index crimes. However, this discussion of the Yakuza's role in controlling crime suggests that the police have a partner in controlling crime in Japan—the Yakuza. As Abadinsky stated, "The relatively low rate of street crime in Japan is in large part the result of a symbiotic relationship between the Yakuza and the police. The police share the political views of the Yakuza (conservative) and do little against them—police raids are

often publicity stunts. The Yakuza reciprocate by keeping "disorganized crime" under control."⁴³ In addition, the respect generally given for the activities of the Yakuza, including many areas of vice (narcotics, prostitution, gambling, etc.) normally subject to police intervention in Western countries, promotes a "look the other way" approach on the part of the police for these activities. Thus, the relationship between vices, such as drug consumption, and crime may be broken, because illegal commodities can be obtained from the Yakuza routinely at a price not requiring additional criminal activity.

peddlers, professional gamblers, and common criminals, eventually forming structured groups. The term Yakuza is actually derived from an old card game whose object is to draw three cards adding up as close as possible to without exceeding the number 19. "Ya-ku-za" represents the Japanese words for 8, 9, 3, which totals 20, a useless number; hence, Yakuza means "good for nothing."⁴⁴

After 1854, the shogun (military governor of Japan) was forced to resign, and the emperor was restored to power. However, this restoration did not dampen the country's inclination toward war. Japanese leaders of the late 19th century regarded the Korean Peninsula as a "dagger pointed at the heart of Japan." After the Sino-Japanese war with China (1894–1895) and war with Russia in 1904–1905, Japan was ceded the Pescadores Island, Formosa (now Taiwan), and Korea, which it formally annexed in 1910.

Subsequently, Japan adopted a Western legal system and constitutional government along quasiparliamentary lines. Japan became a member of the League of Nations and fought with the Allies (Britain, France, Russia, and the United States) in World War I, and obtained new Pacific island territories as spoils of that war. However, economic and political pressures of the 1930s led to an increasing influence of military leaders. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and set up a puppet state that was called Manchukuo. In 1933, Japan resigned from the League of Nations. Japan signed an "anti-Comintern pact" with Nazi Germany in 1936 and invaded China in 1937, and then attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. As a result of WWII, Japan was occupied by the Allied military and lost its overseas possessions, including Manchuria, Formosa, Korea, and other territories. After military occupation for seven years, Japan was granted full sovereignty by the U.S. Senate in 1952.

This historical background provided the backdrop for the development of an OC network called the Yakuza, which in Japan provides illegal goods and services not available through legitimate means. The Yakuza has not been of great concern to U.S. law enforcement. This is probably because the Yakuza engages in illicit trade predominantly to and with its home country, Japan, which itself is a very prosperous nation. In terms of Table 11-2, Japan is in the middle of countries with regard to heroin seizures, probably because the illegal drug of choice in Japan overwhelmingly is methamphetamine.

The Yakuza have gained a wide measure of public acceptance in Japan as a result of their traditional roles in arbitrating disputes and loan collection. The Yakuza practice of "sokaiya," corporate extortion, often by threatening to disrupt corporate shareholder's meetings, has been tolerated by Japanese society and has given the Yakuza considerable economic influence. The Yakuza have often been in a better position than the government to respond to civic emergencies, such as bringing relief aid to victims of the 1996 earthquake in Kobe. The Yakuza have been careful to avoid violence against the police and innocent civilians, and they have been able to operate largely in the open, including highlighting the location of their headquarters in local communities.

Although they have engaged in illegal activities in the arenas of drugs, gambling, and corporate extortion, they also engaged in the fraudulent real estate loans during the real estate boom of the 1980s, accounting for 10% to 39% of the banking industry's bad loans.

There are an estimated 3,000 Yakuza groups and subgroups based in Japan, and 60% of the estimated 90,000 members and associates of Yakuza families are affiliated with one of three groups: the Yamaguchi-Gumi, Sumiyoshi-Kai, and Inagawa-Kai. These groups control most criminal activity in Japan, including gun trafficking, drug smuggling, alien smuggling, prostitution, illegal gambling, extortion, and white-collar crime through infiltration of legitimate business. Yakuza groups have used their international networks in Asia, Australia, and the Western Hemisphere primarily to acquire narcotics, guns, or illegal immigrants—particularly women for prostitution—for the Japanese market. Yakuza groups acquire most of their heroin and methamphetamine from Chinese criminal groups in Taiwan and Hong Kong and many have established relationships with South American trafficking organizations for obtaining cocaine. A large share of the methamphetamine consumed in Japan comes from North Korea. China, Taiwan, and Russia are major sources of firearms for the Yakuza. Because of Japan's strict gun control laws, Japanese police officials have estimated that 90% of the illegal weapons seized each year come from overseas. The Yakuza also rely on their international connections for illegal aliens to work in the prostitution, entertainment, and construction enterprises they control in Japan.

Perhaps because the Japanese market for Yakuza trade is so affluent, there hasn't been much evidence of Yakuza trafficking of persons or contraband in the United States. The major threat has been that posed by the investment of Japanese OC groups in legitimate businesses in the United States and Canada. The Yakuza reportedly have invested heavily in U.S. and Canadian real estate, ranging from golf courses to hotels. By playing the stock market, Yakuza groups have also laundered criminal proceeds through U.S. financial institutions, according to U.S. law enforcement.⁴⁵

The United States (Country Profile)

One form of OC has a uniquely American derivation—the **outlaw motorcycle gang**. In a recent video entitled "Methamphetamine: From the Streets of San Diego," the role of "crystal" in that war was documented, and the consequences after the war were discussed. During WWII, methamphetamine was used extensively—by the German troops, by Hitler himself, by Japanese pilots, as well as by American pilots flying long range bombing missions. After the war, San Diego, which was a major navy base, became the location for the development of the methamphetamine trade by biker gangs who had been

pilots during WWII. The term *Hell's Angels*, now used by a major biker group, was used during WWII by members of the U.S. Army's 11th Airborne Division, an elite group of paratroopers trained to rain death on the enemy from above. The biker gangs developed the illicit trade in methamphetamine through Asian connections developed during the war and made San Diego "the methamphetamine capital of the world" during the 1980s. After a drug sting operation by law enforcement termed Operation Triple Neck that took place in the East County of San Diego, Mexican cartels took over the methamphetamine production, according to the video.⁴⁶

As mentioned earlier, OC seems to emerge most prevalently in countries with a history of military rule. In this regard, or at least in regard to military conflict, the United States stands out as a country with a considerable history of military conflict. If trafficking in persons can be considered a major form of OC, the United States with its wholesale trafficking in African slaves can be considered to be founded in OC. Participation in military conflict has seemingly been a considerable part of the country's history. As a colony militarily occupied by Great Britain, America's occupation culminated in events such as the Boston Massacre of 1770. The colonists fought and won a war of independence against the British that ended in 1783. A weak federal government was formed under the Articles of Confederation, which eventually was supplanted by the Constitution of the United States, written largely by officers of the Continental Army and officials of the Confederation government with wartime experience. American history has been punctuated by wars at approximate 20-year intervals. Participation in the military is considered by some Americans to be a "rite of passage" from boyhood to manhood.

After the Revolutionary War, war was again waged with Britain in the War of 1812. Under the doctrine of "manifest destiny," war was waged with Mexico in 1846, culminating in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. This treaty ceded numerous southwest and western states to the United States, including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, most of Colorado, and part of Wyoming. Then, from 1861–1865, after seven southern states seceded from the union, the Civil War was fought, resulting in a victory for the north. In 1898, the United States engaged in the Spanish-American war in Cuba, which resulted in the Spanish ceding the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam to the United States, as well as surrendering all claims to Cuba. In 1917, America entered World War I and fought on the side of the Allies, and then returned to war in World War II in 1941, after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.

During the 20th century, the pace of wartime involvement increased. From 1950 to 1953, America fought the Korean War, followed by an unsuccessful war campaign in Vietnam from 1964 to 1975. The next formal war was the Persian Gulf War in 1991, followed by the war in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2002. Besides these recent war efforts, there were several clandestine operations, starting with the Kennedy Administration, which launched the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. During the Vietnam War, a secret war was conducted in Cambodia during the Nixon administration. During the Reagan Administration, another secret war, termed the Iran-Contra Affair, was fought against the Sandanista government in Nicaragua. All of these covert operations were said to have been launched against Communist governments or insurgents. There were allegations of involvement of OC in connection with these covert operations, such as allegations that "Air America" pilots were flying opium out of Laos as a means of providing funding for the

secret war in Cambodia. Former Air America pilots were also alleged to have flown Colombian cocaine into the United States as a means of funding the Iran-Contra offensive.

Clearly, the United States may be characterized as a "military industrial complex" and war is a recurring and current part of American life. A wide variety of video games distributed in America provide training in the use of firearms, and a large share of toys developed for boys focus upon war and combat. If there is a correlation between military control and OC on a cross-cultural basis, then the United States should have more than its share of organized criminal groups. An attempt was made to list organized criminal groups by country, and the results are shown in Table 11-3. This list was compiled primarily from the various sources that have been quoted previously.⁴⁷

One can make the case that many of these OC groups have developed in conjunction with American military involvement. For instance, the early Chinese groups that developed in San Francisco began to emerge after the acquisition of California that resulted from the war with Mexico. Vietnamese and Cambodian gangs may have been the product of the massive immigration (to the United States) of Southeast Asian refugees after the Vietnam War. Jamaican gangs such as the "Shower Posse" may have been the product of covert operations by the CIA in Jamaica during the 1970s. However, the most obvious case for the military connection with OC is made with the biker gangs. Although a large number of the gangs listed in Table 11-3 are the product of countries outside the United States, the biker gangs are home grown. At the same time, they have spread to countries around the world. The most notorious U.S. crime groups operating overseas are outlaw elements of motorcycle gangs, according to U.S. law enforcement agencies. Some of the approximately 900 motorcycle gangs that have been identified as having outlaw elements by U.S. law enforcement have worldwide chapters and are expanding into other countries at a significant rate. Law enforcement authorities in countries where motorcycle gangs have established themselves indicate that the motorcycle gangs are extensively involved in OC and have particularly bad reputations for violence, property crimes, prostitution and extortion rackets, and trafficking in drugs and firearms.⁴⁸

According to Abadinsky, these clubs date from the years after WWII, when veterans of combat, especially those residing in California, sought new outlets for feelings of hostility and alienation. Motorcycle clubs like the "Booze Fighters" and "Market Street Commandos" became a symbol of freedom from social responsibilities. These clubs also offered quasi-military comradery among the members. One group of veterans calling themselves the POBOBs, an acronym for "Pissed Off Bastards of Bloomington," a small southern California town between San Bernardino and Riverside, organized a nameless group in San Bernardino in 1947. In Fontana, in 1948, these dedicated outlaws adopted the name used by WWII fighter pilots—Hell's Angels. The club moved to Oakland in 1957, led by Hubert ("Sonny") Barger, Jr., a high school dropout who had obtained army basic training, but had been discharged for being too young. In 1967, Barger appeared in a film, *Hell's Angels on Wheels*, with Jack Nicholson, which helped to add to the mystique of the outlaw motorcycle club. The Hell's Angels and outlaw clubs that have copied them (the Outlaws, Banditos, and Pagans) exhibit a bureaucratic structure similar to that of the military, consistent with their founders' background as military veterans.⁴⁹

Table 11-3 Organized Crime Groups Listed by Country

<i>Country</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Group</i>
Australia	The McClean Syndicate	Holland	Verhagen Group
Bulgaria	VIS-2	Russia	Mafiya
Canada	Hell's Angels	Russia	Sizranskaya Groopirovka
China (mainland)	Big Circle Gang	Russia	Ziberman Group
China (mainland)	Fuk Ching Gang	South Africa	The 28s Prison Gang
China (mainland)	Liang Xiao Min Syndicate	Taiwan	Four Seas Triads
China (mainland)	Liu Yong Syndicate	Taiwan	United Bamboo
China (mainland)	Zhang Wei Syndicate	Thailand	Teng Boonma Group
Colombia	Cali Cartel	Ukraine	Sovlokhov Group
Colombia	Juvenal Group	U.S.	Bandidos (motorcycle club)
Colombia	Medillin Cartel	U.S.	Born to Kill (BTK) (Vietnamese)
Colombia	Ochoa Family	U.S.	Canal Boys (Vietnamese)
Hong Kong	14 K Triad	U.S.	El Rukns/Black P. Stone Nation
Hong Kong	Sun Yee On	U.S.	Flying Dragons (NY Chinese gang)
Italy	Calabrian 'Ndrangheta	U.S.	Fuk Ching Gang
Italy	La Cosa Nostra	U.S.	Gangster Disciples
Italy	Licciardi Clan	U.S.	Ghost Shadows (NY Chinese gang)
Italy	Neapolitan Camorra	U.S.	Green Dragons (Chinese)
Italy	Puglian Sacra Corona Unita	U.S.	Gulleyman
Italy	Sicilian Mafia	U.S.	Hell's Angels
Italy	Clan Paviglianiti	U.S.	Hip Sing (Chinese Tong gang)
Jamaica	Posses	U.S.	Hip Sing Tong
Japan	Inagawa-Kai	U.S.	Junior Black Mafia
Japan	Sumiyoshi-Kai	U.S.	LCN
Japan	Yamaguchi-Gumi	U.S.	On Leong (Chinese Tong gang)
Lithuania	Cock Group	U.S.	Outlaws (motorcycle club)
Macau	Stanley Ho Group	U.S.	Pagans (motorcycle club)
Mexico	Amezcu Contreras Organization	U.S.	Russian Mafiya
Mexico	Herrera Family	U.S.	Shower Posse
Mexico	Arellano-Felix	U.S.	The "Westies" of Hell's Kitchen
Mexico	Carillo Fuentes Organization	U.S.	The Bloods
Mexico	Caro-Quintero Organization	U.S.	The Crips
Mexico	Gulf Cartel	U.S.	Tsung Tsin (Chinese Tong gang)
Mexico	Juarez Cartel	U.S.	Tsung Tsin Association
Mexico	Mocha Orejas Organization	U.S.	Tung On Boys
Mexico	Omar Rocha-Soto Organization	U.S.	Tung On Gang (Chinese)
Mexico	Tijuana Cartel	U.S.	Vice Lords
		U.S.	Zips

While it may seem more usual to characterize the United States as a target for international criminals providing illicit goods and services, the United States also serves as a source country not only of outlaw motorcycle clubs, but also of goods and services banned or heavily taxed in foreign countries. The

United States is one of the world's leading sources of contraband luxury goods, firearms, tobacco products, and alcohol smuggled and sold overseas. Both U.S. and foreign crime groups operating in the United States are involved in stealing cars and other high-priced items and illegally shipping them out of the country. The United States is a primary source for criminal groups involved in the international smuggling of firearms because there are fewer restrictions on the manufacture and sale of firearms than in most other countries. The tremendous volume of goods entering and leaving the United States in legitimate trade provides criminal groups with unparalleled opportunities to smuggle contraband through U.S. ports to overseas destinations. Although the United States is the world's leading importer of illicit drugs, it is also a major source of illegal drugs—some of which are smuggled overseas. The United States is one of the world's leading producers of marijuana, crack cocaine, and methamphetamine.⁵⁰

As mentioned previously, methamphetamine production has increased in Mexico. One reason for this is that many of the precursor chemicals required for production of methamphetamine, as well as cocaine and heroin, can be easily purchased from U.S. sources.⁵¹

The close relationship between the United States and Mexico suggests that a study of Mexico may be important for a fuller understanding of OC in the United States. Although Colombian drug cartels are discussed in Chapter 6, it is important to do some careful analysis of America's next-door neighbor.

Mexico

Mexico clearly exemplifies a country with a history of military rule.⁵² Prior to its occupation by the Spanish, Mexico had a history of highly developed cultures, including those of the Olmecs, Mayas, Toltecs, and Aztecs. Hernando Cortez conquered Mexico during the period 1519 to 1521 and founded a Spanish colony that lasted nearly 300 years. Independence from Spain was proclaimed by Father Miguel Hidalgo on September 16, 1810; this launched a war for independence. An 1821 treaty recognized Mexican independence from Spain and called for a constitutional monarchy. The planned monarchy failed; a republic was proclaimed in December, 1822, and established in 1824. During the interim, General Augustin de Iturbide, who defeated the Spaniards, ruled as Mexican emperor from 1822 to 1823. General Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana controlled Mexican politics from 1833 to 1855. Santa Ana was Mexico's leader during the conflict with Texas, which declared itself independent from Mexico in 1836, and during the Mexican American War (1846–1848). The presidential terms of Benito Juarez (1858–1871) were interrupted by the Hapsburg monarchy's rule of Mexico (1864–1867). Archduke Maximilian of Austria, whom Napoleon III of France established as Emperor of Mexico, was deposed by Juarez and executed in 1867. General Porfirio Diaz was president during most of the period between 1877 and 1911. The Mexican revolution occurred from 1910 to 1920, giving rise to the 1917 constitution and the emergence of popular leaders such as Poncho Villa and Emiliano Zapata. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), was formed in 1929 as a vehicle for keeping political competition in peaceful channels. The PRI controlled Mexico's national government for 71 years afterwards, until the election of Vincente Fox Quesada of the National Action Party in July 2000.

The military has served actively in policing the country and has had to play an active role in dealing with the insurgents in the state of Chiapas, who in 1994 took up arms against the government. They were protesting alleged oppression and governmental indifference to poverty. The insurgents, termed the Zapatista National Liberation Army, have received peace accords from the Fox government.

Not mentioned earlier in the various military conflicts in Mexico was a civil war that was fought between 1857 and 1860 regarding Catholicism. The Roman Catholic Church's role in Mexican history goes back to 1519. When Cortez landed on the coast of Mexico, he was accompanied by Roman Catholic clergy, and the new Spanish territories were to be conquered in the name of the cross as well as the crown. Between 1833 and the early 1840s, the Mexican government produced various pieces of legislation to limit the power of the church. This legislation was based on the influence of 19th century liberals, trained in law and influenced by the French Revolution. During the presidency of Benito Juarez (1855–1872), laws were passed and the constitution was modified, resulting in the confiscation of all church properties and the suppression of all religious orders, empowering the state governors to designate what buildings could be used for religious services. Mexico's first religious civil war was fought between 1857 and 1860 in reaction to this legislation. Further restrictions continued with the constitution of 1917, leading ultimately to the second Mexican religious war, the bloody Cristero Rebellion of 1926–1929 in western Mexico. The church-state conflict ended with the administration of Manuel Avila Comancho (1940–1946), which offered nonenforcement of key constitutional provisions in exchange for the Roman Catholic Church's cooperation in achieving social peace. By the early 1980s, however, the unspoken consensus supporting the legal status quo eroded, and the Church demanded the right to play a more visible role in national affairs. It became increasingly outspoken in its criticism of government corruption, as well as the lack of democracy in Mexico. Peasants and Indians were said to be an exploited, marginalized mass barely living at a subsistence level and subject to continual repression. Bishops denounced electoral fraud in northern Mexico, and in the south frequently accused the government of human rights violations. The Salinas administration's 1991 proposal to remove all constitutional restrictions on the Roman Catholic Church were approved by the legislature the following year. Today Catholicism remains the dominant religion, adhered to by roughly 90% of the population in Mexico.

The interface between OC and the military history of Mexico is seen in the role of the police. The military serves many policing functions in Mexico. OC in the form of espionage, arms trafficking, and bank robberies fall under the purview of the Federal Judicial Police, which tripled in size between 1982 and 1984. The Federal District police are poorly paid. In 1992 they earned the equivalent of between 285 U.S. dollars and 400 U.S. dollars a month. Double shifts are common, although no extra pay for overtime is provided. Incomes can be supplemented in various ways, including from petty bribes (*mordidas*) from motorists seeking to park in restricted zones. Junior officers are forced to pass along a daily quota of bribes to more senior officers.

From the 1940s until it was disbanded in 1985, the Federal Directorate of Security was the equivalent of the United States DEA. By the final years of its existence, the directorate had more than doubled in size to some 2,000 personnel. The agency's demise came after it became evident that many of its personnel were in league with the major drug traffickers.

In 2001, the military played a large role in some law enforcement functions, primarily counternarcotics. However, corruption was widespread within police ranks and also in the military. There were numerous reports of executions carried out by rival drug gangs, whose members included both active and former federal, state, and municipal security personnel. Each day during 2001 in Mexico City, one officer was fired for misconduct ranging from armed robbery to beating suspects and accepting bribes.

Mordida, in addition to characterizing the police, also permeates the judicial and correctional system in Mexico. Corruption, inefficiency, impunity, disregard of the law, and lack of training are major problems for the judiciary. Many detainees report that judicial officials often solicit bribes in exchange for not pressing charges. Mexican prisons are typically run by prisoners, displacing prison officials. Violent confrontations, often linked to drug trafficking, are common between rival prison groups. Prisoners complain that they must purchase food, medicine, and other necessities from guards or bribe guards to allow the goods to be brought in from the outside. Inmates in many prisons exercise authority and engage in influence peddling, drug and arms trafficking, coercion, violence, sexual abuse, and protection payoffs to control fellow inmates. In July 2001, the Ciudad Juarez prison director cited a study that showed that as many as 80% of the prisoners in the facility used some type of drug—heroin being the most common.

OC that takes place in Mexico is in the form of trafficking in persons and drug trafficking. These two pursuits are not mutually exclusive, as undocumented migrants may serve as willing or coerced human “mules,” who backpack or strap the drugs to their bodies. Mexico is a source country for trafficked persons to the United States, Canada, and Japan, a transit country for persons from various countries, especially Central America and China, and a destination country for children trafficked from Central America, especially from Honduras to Tapachula, Chiapas. There are no specific laws that prohibit the trafficking of persons in Mexico.

Taking full advantage of the approximately 3,300 kilometer (2,051 mile) border between Mexico and the United States, as well as the massive flow of legitimate trade and traffic, well-entrenched polydrug-trafficking organizations based in Mexico have built vast criminal empires that produce illicit drugs, smuggle hundreds of tons of South American cocaine, and operate drug distribution networks across the continental United States. Mexico is the primary transit route for South American cocaine, and a major source of marijuana and heroin, as well as a major supplier of methamphetamine to the illicit drug market in the United States. Mexico has also become a major money laundering center and a significant international placement point for U.S. dollars. Drug cartels launder the proceeds of crime in legitimate businesses in both the United States and Mexico, favoring transportation and other industries that can be used to facilitate drug, cash, and arms smuggling or to further money laundering activities.

Drug cartels led by Colombian drug lords are said to operate throughout Mexico. These include the Juarez Cartel, operating in 15 states; the Tijuana Cartel, headed by the Arelano Felix brothers, operating in 11 states; the Colima Cartel, run by the Amezcua brothers, operating in 11 states; the Valencia Mendoza Cartel, operating in 4 states; the Gulf Cartel, headed by Juan Garcia Abreyo (now serving a life sentence in Houston, Texas); and the Miguel Caro-Quintero Cartel, operating in Sonoma. These cartels smuggle drugs that include marijuana, Colombian cocaine, Mexican-grown heroin, and methamphetamine. Persistent corruption at all levels of the justice system and frequent

changes in personnel have combined to hinder Mexico's ability to meet the goals of its antidrug strategy.

Historically, Mexico has been a hideaway for bandits and a staging area for cross-border smuggling. The urban sprawl that straddles both sides of the border in twin cities like San Diego/Tijuana and El Paso/Juarez has complicated the problem. Both Tijuana and Juarez, on the Mexican side, became "boom towns" during Prohibition in the United States. The city of Juarez became an entertainment destination for many Americans living near the border. Juarez established a streetcar system to facilitate the movement of American tourists to various nightclubs, restaurants, casinos, and brothels, a phenomenon that still exists today.⁵³ Prior to U.S. Prohibition, Tijuana was a rural area, with a climate suitable for the cultivation of grapes, tomatoes, and onions. However, during Prohibition Tijuana became a popular location for Americans seeking alcohol, receiving thousands of tourists on a regular basis. During WWI and WWII, U.S. military personnel were stationed in San Diego, and Tijuana provided access to prostitutes as well as alcohol for underage soldiers, sailors, and Marines, as well as nightclubs, bullfights, horse races, and every other kind of entertainment imaginable.⁵⁴ Just as the U.S. military helped enhance the economy and illicit enterprises of Tijuana during WWI and WWII, soldiers stationed at El Paso's Fort Bliss helped Juarez's entertainment based economy during the war years.⁵⁵ It is shown later that there has been a link between the military of both countries (United States and Mexico) and the development of OC in Mexico. These two border cities have been a location for major OC activity. In the case of the wartime participation, one major driving force between the development of OC activity was the U.S. military "looking for a good time" and the Mexican military helping to provide it.

Mexican drug traffickers have trafficked in Mexican-grown heroin, cocaine from Colombia, and, most recently, methamphetamine. More than half of the cocaine smuggled into the United States comes from Mexico. Mexican traffickers now dominate the methamphetamine production and distribution in the United States, which previously was controlled by outlaw U.S. motorcycle gangs. Besides drug smuggling, Mexican criminal groups are involved in illegal alien smuggling, product piracy, and cross-border trafficking—from the United States into Mexico—of stolen vehicles, firearms, tobacco, alcohol, and other contraband. Mexico is also the top money-laundering country in Latin America. President Vincente Fox in 2000 called "narcocorruption" a "national cancer" and promised to launch an aggressive campaign against Mexico's drug-trafficking organizations, as well as restructure the country's antidrug forces. However, rooting out corrupt officials and reversing ingrained patterns of institutional corruption will be difficult and meet significant bureaucratic and political obstacles.⁵⁶ It can be seen from Table 11-3 that Mexico is second only to the United States in the number of OC groups listed. It should be added that Mexican American gangs in the United States are numerous and are not listed in Table 11-3. However, one multinational group deserves some mention—the so-called 18th Street Gang. While Hispanic gangs in Southern California number in the thousands, most are territorial and exclusive to members living in a specific area, and are accordingly called "homeboys." On the other hand, the 18th Street Gang, which began in the 1960s in the downtown Rampart area of Los Angeles, has grown to be one of California's largest street gangs, with over 20,000 members. Members of the gang often tattoo "18", "666," or "XVIII" on their bodies, and are considered to be the most violent and aggressive of street gangs. What is unique about

18th Street is that it is nonterritorial and heavily populated with illegal immigrants, as well as numerous Asian, black, native American, and white members. The gang has a relatively high level of organization, credited to the gang's close relationship with Mexican and Colombian drug cartels.⁵⁷

So far, coverage of many groups that impact OC in the United States has focused upon Chinese and other Asian groups, biker groups, and Mexican organizations. However, coverage would not be complete in this chapter without returning to a couple of countries high on the list of heroin seized—Italy and Russia. Italy was covered earlier as an alleged source of most OC in America, according to the investigations of Estes Kefauver. However, law enforcement's apparent success in combating these traditional Mafia or LCN groups was tempered by a concern about the new groups arriving on the scene—Chinese, Asian, Mexican, and biker groups. However, there is no reason to believe that the Italians have entirely disappeared from OC activity, so our concerns turn there next. Focus then shifts, to Russian OC. Less is known about Russian OC, because Russia was behind the "Iron Curtain" before 1991, when the Berlin Wall fell and new leadership declared openness with the West. Many former Soviet Union states were given sovereignty. However, Russian OC is shown to be a significant and world-threatening problem, so coverage will include what is known at this time.

OC in the United States commonly connotes that which derived from Italy, and more particularly Sicily, the island off the south coast of Italy. Sicily is also closest of any part of Italy to the continent of Africa. The Sicilian Mafia, as discussed previously in this chapter, was said to be the source of the American Mafia, which was later called LCN. However, there were and are other criminal organizations in Italy—the Camorra, the 'Ndrangheta, and the Sacra Corona Unita. All of these organizations developed in the south of Italy. In reality, the American Mafia drew from many of these organizations and regions.⁵⁸

In a sense, Italy could be considered the epitome of a country having a history of military rule, and the Mafia developed in large part as an adaptation to military rule. The peninsula was unified under the Roman Empire and the neighboring islands came under Roman control by the third century B.C. Roman Catholicism developed during this period. The Roman Emperor Constantine I was converted to Catholicism in 312 A.D. and with his Edict of Milan (313 A.D.) he ended the persecution of Christians. After the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D., the peninsula and islands were subject to a series of invasions, and political unity was lost. Italy became a frequently changing succession of small states, principalities, and kingdoms, which fought among themselves and were subject to ambitions of foreign power. Popes of Rome ruled central Italy. Rivalries between the Popes and Holy Roman Emperors, who claimed Italy as their domain, often made the peninsula a battleground. Invasions more typically occurred in the south of Italy, because the Roman Catholic Church had greater control in Rome and the north. It was in the south, or Mezzogiorno, that organized criminal groups developed over the centuries. The groups that would become OC groups were initially secret societies that developed as part of a resistance to the rule of foreign emperors. Secrecy was ensured by the limitation of membership of the secret societies to family members, or blood ties.

The evolution of the resistance movements into criminal societies in the south was also rooted in Italian history. The Mezzogiorno never enjoyed a

Italy

Renaissance, but remained mired in feudalism and dependent on agriculture, with a legacy of repression. Just as in the United States, in Italy the northern region became industrialized, while the south remained agricultural during the 19th century. After the 1860 revolution against (Spanish) Bourbon rule, Italy united. However, under this unification little changed for the common people of the Mezzogiorno. Instead of foreign repression, the peasants of the south were repressed by other Italians. The new states political foundation was an alliance between the northern industrial bourgeoisie and the southern landed aristocracy. The members of the landed aristocracy of the southern estates were, for the most part, absentee landlords who preferred to reside in the urban areas of Palermo, Naples, or even northern Italy. They hired or rented their estates to *gabelloto*, a manager who had already gained the reputation of *uomo inteso*, a "strong man." The *gabelloto* ultimately developed an organization that evolved into a network known as the Mafia. The *gabelloto*, assisted by *famiglia* (family members), *amici* (friends), and *campieri* (lawfully armed mounted guards), ruled over the estate (*latifondo*) with brute force, protecting it from bandits, peasants' organizations, and unions. The *gabelloto* typically did not appear at the *latifondo* but left day-to-day operation to the *campieri*, who themselves could become *gabelloto*. The *gabelloto* was a patron to the peasant laborers on the *latifondo*, controlling access to scarce resources and mediating between official government power and the peasantry through the exercise of force. On the other hand, he fought land reform, labor unions, and revolution, in league with the landlords.⁵⁹

The term *mafia* developed in Sicily, during a time of Arab rule. Originally, the term *mafia* did not connote a secret criminal organization, but rather it meant a state of mind involving guardianship and defense against the arrogance of the powerful. However, there certainly were *mafiosi*, who exploited the gap left by an ineffective state, providing a form of rudimentary order on the anarchy of Sicilian life. In southern Italy, mistrust and suspicion permeated personal and business relationships. The *mafioso*, in this context, provided himself as guarantor. For legitimate enterprises, he provided insurance against untrustworthy suppliers. He was also the guarantor for illegitimate entrepreneurs, who could not turn to the police or courts to remedy their grievances.

The Mafia developed in Sicily as a criminal organization due to its unique history, which was characterized by a succession of occupying regimes dating from ancient history. Sicily was colonized by the Phoenicians and Punic settlers from Carthage (Africa) and by Greeks, starting in the 8th century B.C. Following the First Punic War between Rome and Carthage that ended in 242 B.C., all of Sicily was in Roman hands, although Sicily continued to periodically revolt against the Roman Empire. The empire did not make an effort to Romanize the island, and the island remained largely Greek. As the Roman Empire ebbed, Sicily fell in 440 A.D. to the Vandal king Geiseric, then to Ostrogoths, followed by the Byzantines in 535 A.D. The Byzantines ruled until the Arab conquest of 827–965 A.D. The Arabs were followed by the Normans, who conquered and ruled from 1060–1266. Sicily was then conquered by the French, who ruled until 1479. After 1479, Sicily was ruled by the kings of Spain, followed by rule by the Austrian Hapsburgs, who in 1734 formed a union with the Bourbon-ruled kingdom of Naples. Sicily was joined with the Kingdom of Italy in 1860. Sicily had bypassed the industrial growth that had transformed the larger urban areas of Northern Italy, and remained with vestiges of feudalism, out of which emerged the Sicilian Mafia.⁶⁰

The rise of Mussolini in the 1920s was an important turning point for the Mafia and Italian American OC. Although other OC in the south of Italy became Fascist almost overnight, the Mafia in Sicily continued to be defiant. Mussolini responded by providing emergency powers to Prefect Cesare Mori of Lombardy, who sent a small army of agents who essentially purged the island of mafiosi, torturing, killing, and sending many to prison, in many cases based on information from the landowners, who knew that the Fascists would replace the Mafia as intermediaries and maintainers of Sicilian law and order. While Mori claimed to have destroyed the Mafia, in reality they were simply driven underground, and re-emerged as soon as Fascism fell in 1943.⁶¹

Repressive government in the south of Italy may have been a factor leading to the immigration of some four million Italians to America between 1891 and 1920, the overwhelming majority coming from the Mezzogiorno. In the urban slums of America, the Mafia organizational structure facilitated even more rampant criminal activity for the American Mafia than had occurred in Italy. Members of the *Unione Siciliana* (American Mafia) thrived during Prohibition as "alky cooks" or bootleggers. The American Mafia drew not only from Sicily, but from other parts of southern Italy. The defeat of Italian fascism in WWII allowed Italy's largest criminal organizations—the Sicilian Mafia, Calabrian 'Ndrangheta, Neapolitan Camorra, and Puglian *Sacra Corona Unita*—to extend their influence into urban areas of Italy, which, in turn, provided these OC groups greater access to the outside world. Many of Italy's banking, commercial, and port facilities fell under the influence or control of OC. These four major Italian OC groups comprise 540 crime families and more than 21,000 members. The Sicilian Mafia is the oldest, most powerful, and most hierarchical of Italy's criminal organizations.

These organizations have been weakened by a series of sweeping prosecutions and convictions in both Italy and the United States. However, testimony of informants indicates that Italian criminal organizations have responded by making organizational and operational adjustments, including restructuring into smaller compartmentalized cells that have tightened security and allowed the continuation of widespread criminal activities. As a result, Italian OC groups have moved well beyond their home regions in southern Italy and are now firmly entrenched throughout Europe, in Central and South America, the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States. They are able to move highly profitable contraband products including drugs, arms, and cigarettes, and launder illicit proceeds on a global basis. They maintain worldwide legitimate business holdings, particularly in real estate and entertainment enterprises such as gambling casinos in Germany, France, Monaco, Spain's Costa del Sol, and the Caribbean. These holdings also serve as a conduit for money laundering.

Drug trafficking remains an important source of revenue for Italian crime syndicates. Although they have traditionally procured Southwest Asian heroin from Turkish traffickers, they have more recently established heroin-trafficking links to Russian, ethnic Albanian, and Asian crime groups. They also collaborate with South American traffickers to acquire cocaine. Italian OC groups were responsible for 85% of the U.S. heroin trade in the 1960s and 1970s, and they continue to be involved in smuggling drugs into the United States, but on a smaller scale. The reduced Italian participation is a result of the "French connection" prosecution in Italy, Turkey, and the United States, targeting Italian networks supplying heroin to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Much of this trade has been supplanted by Mexican OC groups,

discussed earlier. To fill the diminished market in the United States, Italian groups have developed mutually beneficial relationships with Russian criminal organizations (in transitioning former Communist countries) that help facilitate their drug and arms trafficking operations. They have moved aggressively into the legitimate economy of many formerly Communist countries, including Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Romania, taking advantage of poor regulations guiding privatization of national assets, capitalization of banks to purchase or invest heavily in banks, financial institutions, and businesses, and to defraud fledgling stock markets. These activities have enabled criminal organizations to operate companies as fronts for smuggling contraband between East and West and for laundering illicit proceeds.

The developing link between Italian and Russian OC has resulted in the growth of the "Balkan route" for trafficking in drugs, persons, and other contraband to Western Europe (and as has been shown, the return of proceeds sometimes in the form of stolen vehicles). This new venture and partnership for Italian syndicates suggests that the influence of Russian OC is now of greater significance than in the past.⁶² Russian OC seems logically to be the next subject of study.

Russia

Although Americans generally think that Russia (now termed the "Russian Republic") was dominated by a military dictatorship during the 69 years of Soviet rule, less known is the fact that Russia was highly militaristic under the Tsars. Ivan III (1462–1505), in fact, referred to his empire as "the Third Rome," and a century later the Romanov dynasty was established under Tsar Mikhail in 1613. Peter the Great (1689–1725) created Western-style military forces and developed expansionist policies that were continued by Catherine the Great, who established Russia as a continental power. The military capability of Russia was shown by the defeat of Napoleon in 1812, when he attempted to conquer Russia after occupying Moscow, setting the stage for Russia to share with Austria-Hungary a domination of the affairs of Eastern Europe for the next century. In 1860, Russia expanded across Siberia all the way to the port of Vladivostok, which was secured on the Pacific coast in 1860. However, Russia's economy failed to compete with those of Western countries. Imperial decline was evident in Russia's defeat in the unpopular Russo-Japanese war in 1905, and subsequent opposition was suppressed. Popular anger was manipulated by the Tsars through diversion into anti-Semitic pogroms, in the absence of much needed economic reform. These problems, combined with the ruinous effects of WWI, sparked a March, 1917 uprising that led Tsar Nicholas II to abdicate the throne. A provisional government headed by Alexander Kerensky was overthrown by Vladimir Lenin's Bolshevik Party on November 7, 1917. Civil war broke out in 1918 between Lenin's "Red" army and various "White" forces and lasted until 1920 when, despite foreign interventions, the Bolsheviks triumphed. After the Red army conquered Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia, in 1922 a new nation was formed—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).⁶³

During the 69 years of the USSR, millions died in political purges, the vast penal and labor system, or state-created famines. However, during this time an underground economy continued to provide goods and services not provided by the government. The ancient organization that ran the black market in Russia came to be known as the *Mafiya*.⁶⁴

The term Mafiya was used in Russia beginning in the 1970s. The term was based upon images of the American Mafia described in the mass media. More specifically, the term Mafiya refers to Communist Party barons accused of corruption, black market speculators, and the groups of criminal entrepreneurs and corrupt officials who came to prominence in the post-Soviet era.⁶⁵ Both under the rule of the Tsars and the Communist state, Russians had to endure totalitarianism that made them distrustful of government. This distrust for government is a breeding ground for OC, because people turn to gangsters as guarantors for business deals or as a source of goods and services. While the former Soviet Union did not have OC similar to the American system, it did have an extensive professional criminal underworld, the *vorovskoy v. zakone*, literally translated "thieves in law," and also known as *vorovski mir* (thieves' world). The vory actually began in prison and originally developed during the Stalinist era. Stalin tried to crush the thieves through execution and imprisonment. Membership in the *vorovskoy v. zakone* required three sponsors. Participants were required to undertake a ceremony with an oath of allegiance. Also, members had to be free of regular employment, paying taxes, and membership in the Communist Party (i.e., no involvement with conventional society). The other term for this group, *vorovski mir*, referred to a criminal society in the model of Camorra. This organization was run from prison by crime bosses who planned and organized operations across the country, with lieutenants, called *brodyagi* (vagabonds), who conducted formal dealings with the outside. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, vory groups developed as an important element of Russian OC—the Mafiya.⁶⁶ However, prison gangs are only part of the Mafiya. The Mafiya includes not only ex-prison gang members but also the *nomenklatura capitalists*, Soviet party elites who have participated in illegal activities, including bank fraud, to become wealthy business owners. It also includes members of the Red Army who have been caught in smuggling rings, as well as cabinet ministers and police officials discovered working for disreputable commercial firms.⁶⁷

One is tempted to cast the Russian Mafiya as Russia's version of the Sicilian Mafiya. However, that would be an incorrect interpretation. The Mafiya has been referred to as "the most disorganized form of organized crime"—a loose series of networks of criminal entrepreneurs rather than any formal structure. These networks form long- and short-term affiliations on the basis of common backgrounds, friendships, hometowns or region, or ethnic identity, but do not fit into formal hierarchies. They are prone to internal disagreement and bloodletting, but they are also extremely flexible and responsive to the market.

The Russian model is best understood as OC, white-collar crime, and political crime all rolled into one. This is because it developed in a society in which all forms of private enterprise were illegal. Thus, the gangs operate across a spectrum, from entirely legitimate enterprise (formerly illegitimate), through "gray" or paralegal business into overtly criminal activities. For instance, a mobster may set up a private bank using money embezzled from Communist Party funds in 1990, but is now operating above board as a property company. However, this company may also launder drug money and serve as a front for protection racketeering. Thus, it is difficult to tell a gangster from a businessman, a distinction that people doing business in Russia may see as irrelevant. The Russian Mafiya is highly diversified, with activities ranging from contract killing to cybercrime, but also includes legal and paralegal businesses.⁶⁸

The Mafiya is all-pervasive within the Russian economy. According to the Russian Ministry of Interior, (MVD), there are 89 major criminal communities in Russia that are comprised of about 1,000 smaller criminal groups. Eleven of these communities make up 243 groups with some 50,000 members who also operate in 44 other countries. The U.S. government estimates that there are about 200 sophisticated OC groups in Russia with a broad range of operations, some of which extend beyond Russia's borders in some 60 different countries.⁶⁹ According to one Russian estimate, the underground economy accounted for 40% of the country's GDP in 1996. A 1997 study by then-President Boris Yeltsin's staff found that 70% to 80% of private businesses paid extortion fees to OC amounting to 10% to 20% of their revenue. According to published Russian figures, 79 Russian bankers and at least twice as many businessmen were assassinated in contract killings between 1994 and 1997. In 1999, there were 155 contract killings in Russia, according to published figures. In the absence of effective legal protections, Russian businesses often rely on criminal groups and pay significant fees for protection, debt collection, capital, and information gathering. Representing their business "clients," criminal groups often play a role in negotiating contracts or resolving business disputes, which often end violently.⁷⁰ In other words, they serve as a surrogate justice system.

In addition to servicing business interests, the Russian Mafiya has a lucrative "bread and butter" drug smuggling business in Russia that has been facilitated by the elimination of travel controls and opening of borders with Europe. By 1999, according to Russian data, there were 350,000 officially registered drug users in Russia, of which 175,000 were considered drug addicts. The MVD and Health Ministry estimate that the actual totals are 10 times greater—more than 3 million users and almost 2 million addicts. Three million users would be 2% of the Russian population. Afghanistan opium cultivation increased tremendously after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In addition to participation of Party officials in OC, there have been significant reports of participation of the Russian military in the trafficking in drugs and other contraband. Press reporting from the region says that Russian troops in Tajikistan have accepted large bribes to facilitate the movement of Afghanistan-produced narcotics into Central Asia and are themselves involved in drug trafficking. In the most notable incident, Tajikistan officials seized 109 kilograms of opium from a Russian border guard's helicopter in August, 1996. With close ties to corrupt officers and soldiers in the Russian armed forces, Russian OC groups are also heavily involved in illicit arms trafficking. Most Russian criminal arms deals involve sales within Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union, including combatants in ethnic conflicts in Chechnya, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.⁷¹

Mafiya activities in Russia and former Soviet countries present an indirect threat to United States citizens in the way that they contribute to destabilization of those countries, as well as a breakdown in government attempts to establish democracy. However, the Mafiya contains another very direct threat in that Mafiya members have immigrated to the United States and are conducting their criminal activities on U.S. soil. The background provided earlier is important in providing an understanding that Russian OC takes a different form than Mexican or Italian OC, and it would be a mistake for American law enforcement to respond to it using the same methods as with those groups. Russian OC, in addition to the usual smuggling and extortion crime usually associated with OC, has a strong business or "white-collar crime" component.

Thus, the tools of law enforcement must go beyond the usual wire taps and undercover work normally used in dealing with OC when approaching Russian OC. More sophisticated techniques must be employed for dealing with the use of computers, for instance, in cybercrime. The most frequent violations found in U.S. investigations involving Russian OC were for crimes that border on "white-collar crime"—fraud and money laundering.⁷² Russian OC has been a growing law enforcement problem in the United States since small groups began establishing a foothold in this country in the late 1970s.

This timeline seems curious, especially in light of the fact that *perestroika* (openness, or more generally liberalization and democracy) occurred starting in 1991, during the administration of Boris Yeltsin. However the 1970s were significant, according to Robert Friedman who wrote a book on the subject, because the 1970s were a period of détente with the Soviet Union, a policy of the Nixon Administration.⁷³ In 1974, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Reform Act (Title IV) forbid granting of the Most Favored Nation status (now known as Normal Trade Relations) to countries with a poor record of human rights—chiefly the right to emigrate (migrate out of the country) freely and inexpensively. The thrust of the legislation was clearly anti-Russian, and Henry Kissinger, then U.S. Secretary of State, was so alarmed that he flew to Moscow and extracted from the Kremlin a promise that "the rate of emigration from the USSR would begin to rise promptly from the 1973 level."⁷⁴ Friedman revealed in his book that a major byproduct of the Nixon détente and the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was that the Russians opened prison doors in the gulag, and thousands of hard-core criminals left for the United States. He added that a product of this was an explosion of the members of the Jewish Mafia in Brighton Beach, New York during the 1970s and 1980s, when 40,000 Jews from Russia settled there.⁷⁵ Because of its reputation as a seat of the Organizatsiya, as the Russian Jewish mob was called, Brighton Beach came to be known as Little Odessa. Odessa was a Black Sea port in the Ukraine where many Russian mobsters spent vacation time and settled.⁷⁶

Friedman also stated that more than 800,000 Russian Jews settled in Israel since the first massive wave of immigration in the 1970s, taking advantage of Israel's most sacred law—the Right of Return, which guarantees citizenship and freedom of Jews who return to their ancestral homeland. Friedman indicated that about 10% of the Russian immigrants were criminals. Israel was an attractive destination for several reasons. It was a good place for money laundering, because banks can accept large cash deposits with no questions asked. Israeli police officials estimated that Russian mobsters poured from 4 to 20 billion dollars into Israel's economy, and purchased factories, insurance companies, and a bank. After two decades of unimpeded growth, the Russian Mafiya, Friedman contended, turned Israel into its very own "mini-state."⁷⁷

In a book on the Mafia, Finckenauer and Waring contended that Russia released not only its "suffering" Jews into America, but also sent their Afghan war veterans and KGB thugs as a fifth column, after giving them false Jewish identities.⁷⁸

Friedman maintained that the Mafiya has become bigger, more brutal, better armed, and richer than other crime cartels. The Russian mob, he said, is involved in trafficking of drugs, money, handguns, assault carbines, submachine guns, antiaircraft missiles, helicopters, plutonium, enriched uranium, and submarines. The latter item (submarines) was discussed in an interview

with Ludwig Fainberg (aka "Tarzan"), a Russian mob nightclub owner who arranged the sale of a Russian submarine, complete with captain and crew, to Colombian drug runners. The actual sale of the submarine to Colombian drug runner Juana Almeda was interrupted by DEA agents who arrested Tarzan.⁷⁹ Fainberg was deported to Israel with 1,500 dollars in his pocket after spending a mere 33 months in the Miami Federal Detention Center. As he awaited deportation, Fainberg told Friedman that, given what he knows about the sex industry, he'll soon be rich again (he had owned a strip club in Miami known as "Porky's"). But he added that he regretted leaving America. He said, "I love this country. . . . It's so easy to steal here."⁸⁰ Israel has a policy of not extraditing its citizens, so it may prove a "safe haven" to Fainberg, as it has for other Russian criminals, and a place where he can continue his activities on an international basis.

In Russia, there are, according to Russian police, three forms of organized criminal activities: (a) criminal gangs of thugs—the violent enforcers that collect protection money, run prostitution rings, sell counterfeit goods, peddle drugs, and sell weapons; (b) big businessmen whose methods are rough, who avoid paying taxes when they can, and make liberal use of bribery; and (c) those who obtain government property, or commodities like oil or diamonds, from corrupt officials at controlled or very low prices, and sell the contraband on the open market at a vast profit. Probably the biggest area of concern since the Soviet breakup has been the *mafia in uniform*. The term refers to a large number of service men, some still in the military, who engage both in drug consumption, as well as drug and other illicit trafficking. Many of these men acquired drug habits during the nine years of war in Afghanistan. They are now poorly paid, badly housed, and demoralized. Smuggling crimes of all types (particularly drug and arms trafficking), the massive diversion of equipment and materials, illegal business ventures, and coercion and criminal violence, all occur under the umbrella of military OC. Furthermore, an increase in the number of "contract killings" has the mark of military involvement. With the fall of communism, ex-KGB officers, veterans of the Afghan war, and unemployed military officers formed expedient alliances with the gangster thugs and black market profiteers who carried out work-violence, threats, and intimidation.⁸¹

Afghanistan was Russia's Vietnam in the sense that members of Russia's military were criminalized, both by the loss of morale, but also by contact with opium, of which Afghanistan provides some 72% of the world's supply. (The criminalization of American Vietnam veterans will be discussed later.) Once again, the theme of this chapter, that military rule is the seed of OC, seems to hold true in Russia, as well as all of the countries discussed earlier. It also seems that addiction to heroin may be an engine driving OC in that it provides not only a motivation for participation in crime, but also a lucrative source of revenue through the illicit trade in heroin.

The last country that is profiled in this chapter is Nigeria, the country that was mentioned at the beginning of this analysis as having decades of military rule. It is also a country described as having networks of organized criminal groups in many countries of the world. Nigeria is described before concluding this chapter, and serves as a link with African American crime. Just as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Latin American illegal immigrants have "disappeared" into ethnic communities, the same can be said of Nigerians, as well as Jamaicans, and others of African descent, who can blend into America's African American ghettos.

Nigeria was briefly discussed as a country with a significant participation in OC, a fact that was related to its history of military rule, corruption, and economic problems. Nigeria is a coastal country located in central West Africa. Historically, it has been a center for trade, not only of goods, but of slaves. After 1000 A.D., in what is now Nigeria, the North African Berbers and forest people exchanged slaves, ivory, and kola nuts for salt, glass beads, coral, cloth, weapons, brass rods, and cowrie shells (used as currency). In the 17th through 19th centuries, European traders established coastal ports for the increasing traffic in slaves destined for the Americas. It is suggested later that this legacy of trafficking in persons—the slave trade—may be related to the current day traffic in another commodity—heroin.

Nigeria

Nigeria has a history of military rule, first under the British from 1914 to 1960. After independence, Nigeria has been ruled successively by militarily controlled governments, with occasional attempts at democracy, usually marred by rigged elections. The country has a poor, mostly rural, economic system with a recorded GDP per capita of \$250, with much of the country's wealth concentrated in the hands of a small elite group.

This inequality is due to corruption, nontransparent government contracting practices, a banking system that favors the wealthy, and regulatory and tax regimes that are not always enforced impartially. Law enforcement in the country is disorganized by a "tripartite" system of criminal law and justice: the Criminal Code, based on English common law and legal practice; the Penal Code, based on Maliki Law, which is Islamic; and customary law, based upon the customs and traditions of the people. The British-based Criminal Code is often in conflict with both customary law and the Penal Code, creating additional confusion. Reportedly, most crimes (60%) that should be kept in police records are disposed of without being recorded at the informal, customary courts.⁸²

As in Israel, the law prohibits expulsion of citizens, and there is no forced exile of criminals. The succession of military regimes has made for a large number of Nigerians living abroad, fearing persecution by previous military regimes. Prostitution is said to be rampant in Nigeria, particularly in urban areas, and there is an active market for trafficking in women to Europe and elsewhere. No law makes trafficking in persons a crime, and there is a steady flow of Nigerian women lured and sold into prostitution in Europe, particularly Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the Czech Republic. Nigerian girls are sold into sexual slavery and trafficked throughout England. The girls reportedly request asylum at British airports and are taken into the care of social services or foster care. A few weeks later, the girls disappear and reportedly are trafficked to European countries, in particular Italy, where they are forced into prostitution. Additionally, there was evidence of trafficking of children to the United States and Europe, primarily to reunite children with their undocumented parents abroad.

BOX 11-4

Child Trafficking Linked with Heroin Trade in Nigeria

Prince Nnaedozie Umegbolu, a 12-year-old Nigerian American kid, was made to swallow 87 condoms filled with heroin while traveling from Lagos to New York. His Georgia-based African American mother

Alissa Walden says her son was made to work as a mule for Nigerian drug dealers because he was desperate to return to the United States. The boy's father, Chukwunweike Umegbolu, 40, of Atlanta, has served 7 years of a 10-year sentence for his role in a heroin ring that trafficked more than \$33 million into Atlanta.⁸³

Trafficking in Wildlife Linked with Drug Trade

LONDON—Although conservation groups are working hard and spending millions to save endangered species, their efforts are being undermined by organized gangs conducting a hybrid drug and wildlife trade. Live snakes stuffed with condoms full of cocaine are shipped across borders; live snails packed with heroin travel by air. The WWF and TRAFFIC investigators found that about half the wildlife criminals prosecuted in the United Kingdom have previous convictions for drugs, violence, theft, and firearms offenses, a pattern that they say shows up around the world. In Brazil, recent estimates suggest that up to 40% of illegal drug shipments are

combined with wildlife. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service reports that more than a third of cocaine seized in the United States in 1993 was associated with wildlife imports. Legal shipments of wildlife are used to conceal drugs as customs officers at Heathrow discovered in 1996 while inspecting a consignment of live snails. They were packed with heroin. In 1993, a U.S. Customs inspector in Miami noticed an unnatural bulge in a live boa constrictor that was part of a shipment of 312 animals from Colombia. Officers found cocaine-filled condoms that had been inserted into 225 of the snakes. A total of 39 kilograms (86 pounds) of cocaine was recovered from the reptiles, which all died. Venomous snakes are used by criminals to guard or conceal drug caches and consignments.⁸⁴

There have been allegations based upon statements made by returnees that immigration officials actively cooperate with crime syndicates. Nigeria also remains the hub of African narcotics trafficking. Nigerian polycrime organizations operate extensive global trafficking networks, control the sub-Saharan drug markets, and account for a large part of the heroin imported to the United States. There is an interesting connection between trafficking in persons and the heroin trade. Traffickers can get double duty out of persons who are trafficked to foreign countries, because drugs can be secreted on their person or can be ingested by the couriers in a condom tied shut. The text box describes the remarkable case of a child who "paid his way" to America to be reunited with his mother through swallowing 87 condoms filled with heroin. In 1998, the Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Administration scored a key success at Lagos Airport by breaking up a well-organized ring that had been smuggling heroin to the United States concealed in the wheelchairs of Nigerian Special Olympics participants. There is evidence that the technique of smuggling described in the text box (condoms full of drugs) has even been used by Drug traffickers in conjunction with the legal (or illegal) traffic in wildlife, as discussed in the text box.

According to the ICTA, Nigeria is involved in international criminal activity coming from Africa. Powerful and sophisticated criminal syndicates based in Nigeria have extensive networks that reach into the Western hemisphere, Europe, Russia, and the New Independent States, Southeast and Southwest Asia, Australia, and Africa. Worldwide, there are hundreds of Nigerian criminal cells located primarily in major metropolitan centers in North America, Europe, and Asia. Recent estimates suggest that more than 500 Nigerian crime cells are operating in at least 80 countries. Nigerian criminals take advantage of large West African ethnic communities in major cities to establish the infrastructure needed to support a wide range of criminal activities—foremost among them drug trafficking and sophisticated schemes to defraud individuals, businesses, and governments—that reap

billions of dollars in illicit proceeds. Nigerian crime groups also facilitate illegal immigration of Nigerian nationals to metropolitan areas around the world, whom they then use for filling high-risk, low-level roles in drug trafficking. The United States and Britain are the primary targets of Nigerian criminal activity, with Nigerian crime cells elsewhere in the world purchasing drugs or providing financial and logistical support. Between 25% and 30% of the heroin seized at U.S. international airports in recent years was taken from couriers employed by Nigerian trafficking groups, according to U.S. Customs data.⁸⁵

Nigerian criminal syndicates are among the world's most active traffickers in Asian heroin—particularly to the United States. Producing no heroin of their own, Nigerian traffickers have well-established networks in Southeast and Southwest Asian countries to acquire the drug. The steady and virtually uninterrupted flow of Nigerian-controlled heroin from these source regions is facilitated by criminal cells in transit countries along the way. Nigerian traffickers typically smuggle only small quantities of drugs, using both express mail services and thousands of individual couriers in an effort to overwhelm market country customs and law enforcement capabilities and to lessen the cost of any seizures. They tend to avoid sending drug couriers on direct flights from drug-producing and key transit countries to market countries, relying instead on a widely diverse number of routes transiting airports throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In planning their drug courier runs, Nigerian traffickers make careful study of customs and security procedures in producer, transit, and market country air and sea ports. They readily adapt to international law enforcement measures against them. Nigerian traffickers, for example, are now recruiting "low-profile" couriers who are less likely to draw the attention of international customs agents. These include whites, women (often with children), and the elderly. To avoid scrutiny at U.S. international airports, Nigerian traffickers sometimes deliver drugs to Canada or Mexico for overland transshipment to the United States.

This discussion of Nigeria may raise more questions than it answers. Some may wonder, what does this have to do with American criminology? What do the Nigerians have to do with crime in America? Is there a connection between Nigerians and African Americans? The answer may come in the form of an answer to a point made about the history of Nigeria and having to do with "roots." Many African Americans have roots in Nigeria and surrounding countries because they were the victims of the "trafficking in persons" (i.e., slavery) that took place not so long ago in America—before the civil war. Some extremely elderly African Americans may even have living great-grandparents living in Nigeria. Curiously, a DNA study tracing family ties to Africa revealed that Nigeria was one of the countries from which many African Americans derived.⁸⁶ Thus, there may remain some family ties that facilitate today's trafficking in persons from Nigeria.

As is discussed in the next section on the OC picture in the United States, the heroin trade in America appears to be heavily dominated, not by Chinese, Italians, or even Mexican Americans, but by African Americans. The Nigerian connection may be explanatory, and this information suggests that blacks in America are prominent in American OC, not just at the lowest level of street trafficking, but also at the highest level of OC. Furthermore, their participation is highly sophisticated and global in nature.

Assumptions have been made throughout this chapter to analyze the concept of OC. At the beginning of the chapter it was pointed out that OC, unlike the single crimes described in previous chapters, is extremely difficult to define. For one thing, OC theories are conspiracy theories, and conspiracies are difficult to prove. A second problem is that a host of crimes are included under the umbrella of OC, with varying characteristics. Another difficulty, as elaborated on in this chapter, is that a variety of organizational structures characterize OC—ranging from rigidly hierarchical organizations to loose networks. The loose networks, particularly, run far afield from the rigid hierarchy employed in the traditional theory of OC that focused upon the Sicilian-based Mafia. Thus, OC is difficult to study empirically. A compromise was made to operationalize OC, notably to pick one crime that most characterizes OC and do international comparisons with that. The crime was heroin trafficking and the index used was kilograms of heroin seized. It was also pointed out that this is a highly imperfect index of OC because it includes host or home base countries, transit countries, and client or target countries. Seizures of heroin could take place in countries that are on the receiving end of the heroin trade, but with no particular OC network within the country, other than for distribution. However, ranking countries by kilograms of heroin seized provided a starting point for analysis. Qualitative sources, including government reports and country profiles, were used to describe countries at the high end in terms of kilograms of heroin seized. More analysis is needed (both quantitative and qualitative) to distinguish the client countries from the home base countries to develop a good index of OC cross-nationally, but this analysis is beyond the domain of this text.

Turning to the task of analyzing OC within the United States, a similar analysis can be done using data by states. States within the United States are ranked in terms of kilograms of heroin seized, as shown in Table 11-4. Left out of Table 11-4 were Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wyoming, which had no reported heroin seized. Intuitively, looking at the table, this appears to be a reasonably good

Table 11-4 States Ranked by Kg of Heroin Seized

<i>State</i>	<i>Kg</i>
New York	181.9
Florida	148.6
California	84.7
Washington	84.0
Texas	49.6
New Jersey	20.3
Illinois	13.9
Pennsylvania	13.2
District of Columbia	9.1
North Carolina	6.7
New Mexico	6.0
Virginia	5.8

Table 11-4 (Continued)

Arizona	
Nevada	5.7
Kansas	5.3
Maryland	5.1
Michigan	4.8
South Carolina	4.6
Louisiana	4.4
Connecticut	2.7
Oregon	1.9
Alabama	1.7
Minnesota	1.2
Georgia	1.2
Hawaii	1.1
Massachusetts	1.1
Ohio	1.1
Indiana	1.0
Rhode Island	0.9
Wisconsin	0.5
Delaware	0.4
Missouri	0.3
Oklahoma	0.2
Alaska	0.2
Utah	0.1
Vermont	0.1

index of OC. The big OC syndicates mentioned in the literature are located in New York, New Jersey, Florida, California, and Illinois. But as with the international data, there is the problem of host, transit, and client states. For instance, New York (although the location of traditional Italian Mafia families) may actually rank higher than it should because it is a major port of entry into the United States. Washington State may also be primarily a transit state, because it not only is an ocean port state, but also a border state with Canada. Thus, kilograms of heroin seized is only a rough empirical guide to OC. With that caveat in mind, the correlations between kilograms of heroin seized (and kilograms of heroin seized per capita) can be viewed as rough indices for attempting to understand OC in the United States. An attempt to validate these indices was made, correlating the number of gang cities (cities that report gang activity) by state with both heroin kilograms seized and heroin kilograms per capita seized. The correlations were low to moderate, as seen in Table 11-5. Much more work on construct validity is needed, because the variable "number of gang cities" itself is an imperfect measure of OC.

If the assumption that heroin seized is a rough indicator of OC activity is accepted, then what does Table 11-5 tell us? The table may look familiar because it bears a resemblance to the table of state correlations for murder in Chapter 6, especially in regard to the correlations with heroin kilograms per capita. From this table it looks very much as though black ethnicity and variables related to black ethnicity (infant mortality, unwed mothers, poverty,

Table 11-5 Kg Heroin Seized and Kg Heroin Seized per Capita by Various State Demographic Variables

<i>State Database Variable</i>	<i>Heroin Kg</i>	<i>Heroin Kg per Capita</i>
Divorce	-0.01	-0.11
Infant mortality	-0.14	0.27
Marriages	-0.04	-0.09
Births to unwed mothers	0.10	0.43
Child abuse victimization	0.64	0.26
Kg cocaine seized per capita	0.36	0.19
Gini Index	0.27	0.35
Percentage living in poverty	0.13	0.22
Unemployment	0.23	0.47
Male unemployment	0.19	0.39
Female unemployment	0.26	0.50
Percentage black	0.08	0.40
Black/white income disparity	0.18	0.61
Beer per capita	-0.14	0.03
Wine per capita	0.22	0.48
Spirits per capita	-0.03	0.33
Alcohol per capita	-0.01	0.32
Hispanic migration rate	-0.25	-0.34
Hispanic population	0.35	0.08
Juvenile population	0.63	0.22
Number of gang cities	0.35	0.17

and unemployment) is a major correlate of OC as measured by kilograms of heroin and kilograms of heroin per capita. Particularly important in this table, however, is that the strongest variable is the black/white income disparity. Mexican American ethnicity is a low correlate of heroin kilograms per capita, but it should be noted that it is a moderate correlate of heroin kilograms seized. A good guess as to the difference has to do with the location of the Hispanic population, which is disproportionately in California, Arizona, and Texas, so there may have been some big seizures in those border states that bring the correlation up more so than with the heroin kilograms per capita variable. The black population is spread much more evenly around the country, so its participation per capita has a greater chance, on a state-by-state basis, to show up in relation to kilograms per capita seized.

All issues considered, it appears from Table 11-5 that OC is very much an African American enterprise in American society. Early black participation in OC had to do with black exclusion from the mainstream. Prior to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, black Americans were frequently denied access to bank loans, good jobs, nice homes, insurance, influential political positions, advanced educational opportunities, and equal social treatment and benefits. Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist who made insightful observations on the situation of blacks in America, referred to blacks as a quasicaste

in a society that held up the "American dream" as accessible to all.⁸⁷ Given this exclusion, the American equivalent to apartheid in South Africa, it is understandable that blacks would turn to OC as a rational alternative to poverty and unemployment. There is evidence that blacks did so and were quite effective in OC in the early days of its development in America. It is also evident that American criminologists have also minimized the efficacy of blacks in their pursuit of organized criminal endeavors. Lombardo, for instance, pointed out that:

Though a number of authors have recognized black participation in the policy (lottery) gambling racket, they also argue that African-Americans lacked the political associations and organizational skills necessary to participate in criminal activity on the same level as the once prominent Italian American crime syndicates.⁸⁸

Lombardo also quoted other authors on the issue of the capability of African Americans to succeed at OC. He quoted Shatzberg and Kelly in their book entitled, *African-American Organized Crime*, who maintained that:

Throughout the early period of white gang development, African-Americans were not visible in the structure of any significant organized criminal process. Indeed, African-American criminals who entered the twentieth century had no documented history of a leadership role or any significant active affiliation with any organized criminal group.⁸⁹

Through a qualitative detailed analysis of African American OC groups, Lombardo provided strong evidence that African Americans developed sophisticated OC groups in Chicago independently of Italian American OC. Furthermore, they eventually played an active role in the activities of the Chicago Outfit, the traditional Italian American OC group in Chicago. He argued that there were several black crime bosses who developed extensive political connections as far back as the 1890s. Blacks literally developed the "policy game" or numbers racket, and black nightclubs dominated the illicit distribution of alcohol during Prohibition, where whites would "go slumming" looking for alcohol, prostitutes, and "jazz" when it was introduced in Chicago.⁹⁰ Policy bankers who accumulated financial assets often became the source of loans for blacks unable to obtain financing from white-dominated financial institutions.⁹¹ Policy banks also came to own many legitimate businesses using the capital they had accumulated from the numbers game. The black policy racket even survived an attempted takeover by Al Capone, who made a deal with the black underworld to leave the numbers game to African Americans in exchange for their staying out of the beer business.⁹²

Another approach to black OC was authored by Francis Ianni in 1974. Ianni followed Daniel Bell's thesis of "ethnic succession," and argued that a "black Mafia" would emerge to replace the traditional Italian American OC, using OC as a means of social mobility. The Italians, like the Irish before them, had, using OC as a stop-gap, found jobs, educated their children, and moved to the suburbs.⁹³ Ianni maintained that childhood gang and prison gang participation served as the basis for networks that will (he predicted) emerge as a militant black criminal empire forged out of the wreckage of the crumbling Italian dynasty.

There were several major areas of black involvement of a resistance, criminal, or protest nature at the time of Ianni's publication that may have helped bring reality to Ianni's prophecy. One was the civil rights movement, which grew increasingly militant during the 1970s with the emergence of quasi-military black civil rights groups such as the Nation of Islam, the Black Panthers, and the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). Another was black participation in the Vietnamese war. Other expressions of black militancy were the prison riots that took place during that time, including the Attica riot of 1971. The military order of the Black Panthers, the Nation of Islam, the SLA, and even combat platoons in Vietnam may have provided prototypes for black criminal organizational enterprises of the 1980s, 1990s, and up until today. Blacks also brought back one additional "asset" from Vietnam—enhanced knowledge of Southeast Asian drug networks. In addition, an estimated 20% to 33% of service personnel came home from that war addicted to heroin.⁹⁴

The question of whether or not black gangs are forms of OC is subject to question. Just as with early studies of African American OC, studies of black gangs on the West Coast question their ability to organize. For instance, a study of drug sales and violence among San Francisco Crips (black gangs), concluded that:

most gangs do not have the skills or knowledge to move to other communities and establish new markets for drug sales. While it is true they can and do function on their own turf they are often like fish out of water when they go elsewhere. . . . They are not like OC figures (Mafia and Colombian cocaine cartels) who have capital, knowledge and power . . . while it might be romantic to think that the L.A. Bloods and Crips are exceptional, I will remain skeptical that they are more competent than other gangs.⁹⁵

However, other studies have found the opposite—that there are high levels of mobility among "entrepreneurial" California gang members traveling long distances to establish drug distribution outlets and maintaining close ties to their gangs of origin.⁹⁶ Further evidence that the black gangs are more than just groups of youthful neighborhood "chums" is shown in the growth, migration, and proliferation of these gangs. One study found 274 black gangs in 17 cities and 5 unincorporated areas in Los Angeles County—198 Crip-affiliated and 74 Blood-affiliated (the terms Crip and Blood are discussed later). There is evidence that there was little or no black gang activity during the 1960s, which was a decade during which civil rights and political activism attracted the attention of would-be gang members.⁹⁷ In terms of growth of gangs, Miller's 1996 compilation of data from several sources indicated that in the 1970s, street gangs existed in the United States in 201 cities, climbing to 468 cities in the 1980s, and to 1,487 in the 1990s.⁹⁸ In regard to proliferation of these gangs, one study found that nearly three fourths of the 792 cities that responded to a 1992 mail survey reported that at least some indigenous gangs adopted gang names generally associated with Los Angeles or Chicago (e.g., Bloods, Crips, Vicelords, Gangster Disciples, or Latin Kings).⁹⁹

Abadinsky maintained that the heroin trade is a major enterprise for black gangs, of which he mentions Jamaican Posses such as the "Shower Posse," Crips, and Bloods of Los Angeles; and the Gangster Disciples, and El

Rukn/Black P. Stone Nation of Chicago. He also adds that the rise of this lucrative trade was coincidental with the Vietnam War.

There are important black criminal organizations in the heroin business, particularly in New York, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. Although blacks have traditionally been locked out of many activities associated with OC (e.g., labor racketeering and loansharking) by prejudice, dope is an equal opportunity employer. African American criminal groups made important strides in the heroin business when the Vietnam War exposed many black soldiers to the heroin markets of the Golden Triangle—previous black groups were dependent on OC families for their heroin. As a result of their overseas experience, black organizations were able to bypass traditional OC and buy directly from suppliers in Thailand.¹⁰⁰

Interestingly, there is a military connection to the Crips and Bloods. As mentioned earlier, the 1960s were characterized by the emergence of black militant organizations, including the Black Panther Party (BPP). The BPP was founded in Oakland in 1966 with a large membership of returning black Vietnam Vets who were angry at having fought for Vietnamese civil rights while being denied their own back home. In addition, they objected to the disproportionate number of their black brothers who were being drafted and dying in a war that they considered unjust.¹⁰¹ Black militant organizations like the BPP were suppressed in the late 1960s through the actions of the federal and local police.¹⁰² A 15-year-old student at Fremont High School started the first new street gang on 78th Street in Los Angeles in 1969. Members wore the BPP black leather jackets and called themselves Baby Avenues. Later, they became known as the Avenue Crips, a comment on their youthfulness. In addition to their black leather jackets, they were in the habit of often walking with canes, and wearing an earring in their left ear lobe. The name was changed to Crips, based upon a newspaper story describing the robbery of a group of elderly Japanese women who described the perpetrators as young cripples that carried canes.¹⁰³ As mentioned earlier, the term Crips now describes some 198 gangs in Los Angeles, and is considered an umbrella for those organizations, rather than a term for one particular group. The Bloods, on the other hand, is an umbrella term for some 98 groups in Los Angeles, and many elsewhere. The Bloods were originally a group of gangs who unified to defend themselves against the Crips. Bloods identify with the color red, while Crips identify with the color blue. The term *Blood* has a link to Vietnam. The term most likely originated with black Vietnam vets, who referred to each other as “blood” as a greeting. The original Bloods centered on Piru Street in Los Angeles, and the original Blood gangs were probably the Pirus and Bounty Hunter Bloods. Crips and Bloods brought hand signs into greater use and sophistication, and this, too, was probably derived from the Vietnam War. In the Vietnam War, black soldiers routinely greeted each other with a complex, stylized ritual termed the *dap*. Soldiers developed daps according to where they were from, what unit they were with, their political views, and so forth. When these black Vietnam Vets returned, many were bitter about how they had been treated and used in the military, as well as angry about the contempt that returning servicemen experienced. While they lacked marketable skills for legitimate jobs, their military training (and access to drug markets) made them ripe for another form of employment—with criminal gangs.

Although the rise of black gangs in America seems, in part, to be a byproduct of the Vietnam War, there are obviously other factors that seem to account for the growth of black gangs. A major factor has been increased segregation in America. While de jure segregation of schools ended with court decisions that had begun with the 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, there is evidence that de facto segregation has actually increased in America. In fact, after the Supreme Court authorized "forced busing" in its 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* decision, there was increased "white flight" from the cities. Where serious attempts were made to force busing, such as in Boston, the whites reacted by rioting, protesting, removing their children from public schools and placing them in private schools, and by moving out of the city to the suburbs.¹⁰⁴ In addition to these maneuvers, whites also control school boards who perpetuate segregation by drawing school district lines and locating new schools so that students are segregated.¹⁰⁵ Although participation in and bitterness in regard to the Vietnam War may have spurred some blacks to join gangs and participate in an alternative occupation of trafficking in drugs, the continued increase in the growth in gangs in the decades after the Vietnam War must reflect the growing bitterness and alienation that has been produced by the abandonment of the American Dream. With the increasing globalization that has resulted in a decline in manufacturing jobs, as well as increased "ghettoization" of blacks, participation in gangs and the drug trade has become a rational and predictable outcome, an outcome only furthered by the War on Drugs.

Military Rule and Organized Crime: A Review

To review, there are several ways that military rule can contribute to the development of OC.

1. The military provides a hierarchical model that has been adopted historically by traditional OC groups.
2. Military experience exposes participants to foreign criminal networks.
3. Soldiers can experience psychological or physical pain resulting from wounds or injury leading to use of and possible addiction to narcotics such as heroin, as well as alcohol.
4. Morale problems resulting from a perception of forced participation in an unjust war effort can contribute to secretive participation in crime.
5. Participation in foreign wars can lead to parental absence, leading to juvenile delinquency on the home front.
6. Wartime restrictions on civilian access to goods needed in the war effort can lead to a Black Market for those goods.
7. Corruption of military personnel can result from an "end justifies the means" mentality that may be the product of battle experiences.
8. Isolation from needed sex partners leads to pursuit of surrogates through prostitution.
9. Migration that occurs after war results in a body of refugees seeking asylum that may turn to crime for survival purposes.
10. Wartime occupation may result in the development of resistance groups that grow into OC groups over time.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter began with case studies of two informants, Ralph and Tony. As a child, Ralph had observed police being bribed, businesses paying protection money, and bootlegging activities in New York City during the 1920s. Tony had owned a bar and worked as an enforcer for the New Orleans crime syndicate. Tony indicated that Italian immigrants had started LCN in New Orleans and it spread to other parts of the country as the immigrants migrated. Both Ralph and Tony stated that crime bosses have, in their opinion, "gone legit." They no longer have to use strong-arm methods because they own legitimate businesses and control the people who write, interpret, and enforce the laws."

In this chapter, we defined the term OC as "a conspiratorial enterprise pursuing profit or power through provision of illegal goods and/or services and involving systematic use of force or threat of force." The terms Mafia and LCN have characterized popular and public concepts of OC in the United States since the 1950s. However, criticisms of the widely held view that Italian Americans control OC in this country emerged in the 1960s. Of these criticisms, Bell's contention that OC is subject to "ethnic succession" is probably the most significant. More recently, it has been acknowledged, even by a 1986 President's commission, that OC is the province of a variety of ethnic and national groups and that it is transnational in nature. A United Nations study found that there are at least five different organizational structures involved in OC, of which "core group structures" and "criminal networks" involve little or no hierarchy.

An attempt was made to operationalize the term OC through limiting the definition to one measurable variable—the traffic in heroin. Countries discussed in the criminological literature and/or high in heroin trafficking were selected for profiling, including China, Hong Kong (now part of China), Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Taiwan, and the United States.

What these countries have in common is a "history of military rule." In China, Triad OC groups developed as an underground secret society opposing oppressive governments and as a black market organization providing desired goods and services (drugs, prostitution, etc.). In

China in the 1990s, free trade enabled the drug trade and trafficking in persons to flourish as new groups of "networking" smugglers from mainland China emerged. Like China, Japan has a military history that dates back to Samurai warriors of the Middle Ages. The Samurai were models for today's Yakuza OC groups, which carry on an illicit trade that is largely confined to providing goods and services for Japan itself, particularly the drug amphetamine. Mexico's long military rule has as its legacy corruption in the form of the bribe (*mordida*), accepted routinely in Mexico by underpaid police. Mexican gangs then transport illegal drugs and aliens into the United States with little police intervention. Italy historically has been occupied by a succession of military governments, especially in Sicily, where the Mafia began as a resistance movement to various military regimes. Mafia members have recently migrated, especially to countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union, sometimes referred to as the Newly Independent States where law enforcement is lax and corruptible. The Italian Mafia has collaborated with the Russian "Mafiya" in joint ventures such as narcotics trafficking and vehicle theft. The Russian Mafiya developed at several levels—as a secret society of criminals in prison (*vory*); as a black market business that moved goods and services during the austere Soviet era; as Communist Party officials engaging in corrupt practices; and as alienated, underpaid members of the military who were exposed to drug trafficking and other OC through their travels, notably in Afghanistan. The United States has never had "military rule" per se, but frequent wartime involvement has, at times, led to priority being given to military considerations. The United States is a point of origin for one particular form of OC—outlaw motorcycle gangs, whose members initially were veterans of WWII who trafficked amphetamine after the war.

Finally, Nigeria was discussed as a country both with a history of military rule and slave trading. Military rule led to a large number of expatriates forming a nexus of some 500 criminal cells in 80 countries, including the United States, where one fourth of all airport heroin seizures are attributed to Nigerians.