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Pearls in Policing 2013:

International Vision for Policing

1. Background

At Pearls in Policing 2012 in Singapore, participants chose three issues to address at the 2013 event. One of these was to develop a "joint international vision for policing". Europol took the role of driver for this work-stream, with the Belgian Federal Police, the Cayman Islands Police force, FRONTEX, the International Criminal Court (ICC), the New South Wales Police Force (Australia) and Professor Michael Kempa of the University of Ottawa (Canada) offering their support as co-drivers. The Hong Kong Police and Professor Willy Bruggeman were also consulted.

The present document reflects the preparatory work conducted by Europol and incorporates the input of the co-drivers. The Europol Director will make a presentation based on this discussion paper at the annual Pearls in Policing event hosted by the Dutch police in Amsterdam in June 2013.

2. Global Trends

A wealth of information is available regarding trends and scenarios for the future development of global society. A few of those that we found particularly useful are listed in the bibliography at the end of this document.

Rather than "reinventing the wheel" by attempting to predict global trends and map out future scenarios, existing works were analysed to draw out the implications of particular relevance for international policing. There was a particular focus on developments which challenge, or could challenge, current paradigms. The trends outlined under 2.1 below are considered worthy of particular attention. They are followed by a brief look at some recent examples which serve to illustrate that current challenges cannot be fully addressed through traditional methods alone.

2.1. Trends

2.1.1. Globalisation

Globalisation is an extremely broad concept but, from the policing perspective, the main significance lies in the growing complexity of social systems and the increasing interdependence of markets, communities, and various social trends. As a result of this, more than ever before, the consequences of events in one corner of the world can have consequences elsewhere. The case studies in section 2.2 below illustrate this point.

2.1.2. Dimensions of the crime problem

The sheer scale of crime seems to evolving in a non-linear way. The number and diversity of individuals involved in organised criminal activity seem to be increasing while illicit profits appear to be growing exponentially. The rapid emergence of cybercrime is both an example of this and a facilitating factor for a wider range of offences. This presents clear challenges for law enforcement which, as part of government, tends to develop its strategies in a more linear, incremental way.

2.1.3. Falling crime rates in the developed world

Crime rates are reported to be falling in several North American cities, in the UK and elsewhere in the EU. However, no one seems to be quite sure why this is. In fact, in line with the complexity of social systems mentioned under 2.1.1 above, these statistical trends are clearly driven by a variety of social, economic, technological and other factors. Such trends are worthy of more detailed study because prevention and enforcement success stories should be replicated where possible.

2.1.4. Rationalising police forces

In the continuing drive for efficiency, economies of scale are being sought in many countries, leading to the merging of various law enforcement agencies. This may involve the merging of provincial divisions and/or the merging of agencies with previously different mandates.

- In Belgium, the Gendarmerie and all existing police forces were dissolved and replaced by the Local and Federal Police in 2001.
- In Austria, all law enforcement agencies were merged into the *Bundespolizei* (Federal Police) in 2005.
- In the Netherlands, an extensive reorganisation concluded in 2012 has brought the whole country's police under centralised command for the first time.
- In Scotland, eight regional forces and one specialised national force were merged to form the Police Service of Scotland in April 2013.
- In England and Wales, the National Crime Agency will succeed SOCA, CEOP and parts of the National Policing Improvement Agency and UK Border Agency later in 2013.

This raises various questions about the extent to which police forces will remain responsive to stakeholder concerns, particularly at community level. However, from an international perspective the presence of a single

authority should serve to strengthen the links between international and local policing.

2.1.5.Evolving role of the military

- Combined impact of end of cold war and 9/11 led to a significant paradigm shift for the military, both at national level and for NATO, whereby defence actors have taken on roles in counter-terrorism, cyber-security and anti-drug trafficking Operations.
- At the same time, LEAs have assumed certain roles which were traditionally reserved for the military, for example involvement in UN and NATO peacekeeping and peace-building missions.
- How is "security" defined and what are the dividing lines between "defence" and "security", and "security" and "law enforcement"?
- How is responsibility for "security" shared between military and law enforcement?
- What is the impact on security sector governance and reform?

2.1.6.Private sector security provision

- In some societies there is a burgeoning private security industry. Going beyond the traditional roles of such firms (e.g. cash transfers, physical security of business premises), new roles are emerging, in particular:
  - "gated communities" and communities agreeing to jointly employee private security firms to patrol/protect their neighbourhood;
  - Government outsourcing of certain functions traditionally fulfilled by the police (e.g. major event security) or other security/justice government services (prisons, probation, court services)
  - Growth of independent security oversight agencies (self-regulatory security frameworks)
- However there is increasing government and law enforcement intervention in certain areas of economic activity which have traditionally been unregulated or self-regulated, for example banking and intellectual property rights.
- These trends have obvious implications for LEAs, with some of their traditional activities outsourced, and with new requirements to cooperate with private security providers.

2.1.7.Policing the Internet

- Although the Internet, in its earliest form, was the result of research commissioned by the US government, its rapid evolution has been devoid of centralised governance. Government regulation of the Internet has always been several steps behind the development of the Internet itself, and is contested by various user communities.
- Private actors, through service provision, govern the internet to a greater extent than corporations govern their operating environments offline.

- Private actors (especially internet service providers and ICT security companies) play a relatively strong security/enforcement role in comparison to their offline corporate counterparts. For example, Microsoft takes down botnets and sues those responsible for their "command and control".
- This results in different expectations towards government/police powers in cyberspace and a much higher level of dependence on private entities than in any other area of law enforcement.
- Legislation does not keep pace with technological and societal changes related to the use of the Internet. In addition, the limitations of national jurisdictions pose challenges to law enforcement and increase the importance of cooperation between countries.

2.1.8.Social exclusion

- In many developed, urban societies there is evidence of certain groups of society being "left behind".
- In Europe, the economic crisis since 2008 has reportedly led to an increase in the gap between rich and poor.
- In major urban centres such as Paris, London, Amsterdam and most recently Stockholm, there is evidence of "ghetto-isation" whereby certain localities are disconnected from society at large, in terms of education, transport, voting, social services, etc. These areas also pose significant security challenges with the risk of "no-go areas" for law enforcement.
- This has obvious implications for organised crime activity (such as drug trafficking, protection rackets and loan sharking), but also for public order policing (c.f. London riots 2011, riots in French major cities, 2005) and counter-terrorism (e.g. radicalisation of disaffected youth).
- According to some observers, this situation represents a "time-bomb" which governments are failing to deal with, due to the short-term nature of their manifestos and their focus on their core electorate (who do not typically reside in such areas).

2.1.9.North-South Divide

Although the globe is no longer governed along colonial lines, there remains a clear demarcation between the developed world and the 'Global South'. The affluence of the 'North' and the poverty of the 'South' combine to drive criminal markets, with the former as the consumers and the latter as the providers. Poverty and lack of opportunity increase the attractions of criminality and corruption. But the law enforcement agencies in poorer countries often lack the funding, training, equipment and public/political backing to tackle criminality effectively. Various ways in which the 'North' attempts to assist the 'South' in this regard are mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

2.1.10.Convergence and Coordination

A more positive trend in terms of law enforcement capabilities relates to increased strategic cooperation and convergence in legislation, methods and technology.

Cognisant of the ways in which instability in one region can create security threats in other regions, both US and EU decision-makers have moved to strengthen the alignment of internal and external security strategies. In the US this was given added impetus by the 9/11 Commission's recommendation to "join up" the activities of various agencies, while in the EU this has been helped by the removal of the pre-Lisbon Treaty "pillar" structure, the strengthening of Europol, Eurojust and Frontex and the creation of the EU External Action Service.

A number of initiatives to enhance judicial cooperation (most notably the International Criminal Court (ICC) and Eurojust, but also others) should have positive benefits for international police cooperation (although some in the police community see this as threatening law enforcement's ability to pursue its own cooperation agenda).

Many police forces have introduced, or plan to introduce, similar strategies and approaches (e.g. intelligence-led policing and community policing). This facilitates cooperation between forces having adopted similar strategies.

In forensics (including biometrics) and information technology, work is underway to agree on international standards and implement them at national and force level. Such standards further serve to facilitate cooperation. Examples include international standards for recording fingerprints and DNA profiles, and initiatives to achieve "interoperability" between IT systems (e.g. US National Information Exchange Model (NIEM) and EU ISEC Universal Message Format II project).

2.2. Case studies

These case studies are included as examples in which traditional policing measures cannot provide the solutions.

2.2.1. Somalia – Piracy in the Gulf of Aden

- Rule of law has not recovered since civil war in 1990s. Most observers agree that the country cannot be left to govern (and police) itself, and its waters, without international assistance.
- Questions about the legitimacy and capacity of the government and its agencies, including law enforcement.
- Powerful militant Islamist presence – Al Shaabab. International backing? Links to militants and/or terrorists elsewhere?
- Piracy threat to international trade routes:
  - Disputed role of military, civil prosecution, commercial security arrangements.
  - Disputed payment of ransoms. Where does the money go? Does it fund terrorism?

2.2.2. Kosovo

- Only partial recognition of Kosovo's independence among the international community – no consensus even within the EU.
- Serious concerns about corruption and criminality among elected and government officials.

- Western Balkans, and Kosovo in particular, remains a hub for trafficking of various commodities into the EU.
- Only EU Police Mission with executive powers (EULEX).
- Proliferation of capacity building and other initiatives sponsored by the international community, with varying degrees of formality, permanence and effectiveness.
- Imperfect alignment of national bilateral liaison network with multilateral police cooperation structures.

2.2.3.Arab Spring

- Overthrow of several regimes which had enjoyed full or partial support from "the West".
- Course of events was largely unpredicted by intelligence agencies, media or academia.
- Events also not anticipated by violent extremist groups (Al Qaeda and affiliates), which now appear to have lost traction in the affected countries.
- Crucial role of social media, in particular Facebook and Twitter, to mobilise and organise protests; regimes unable to control, monitor or block these forms of communication.
- Democratic support for Islamic/Islamist parties with anti-Western rhetoric, some of which now find themselves in government.
- Significant impact on refugee situations and migration flows, including irregular migration into the EU.
- Implications for international police cooperation: who can we work with? As with Kosovo and Somalia, there are questions about the legitimacy and capacity of some new governments and their agencies, including law enforcement.

2.2.4.London Riots

- Criminal behaviour normally confined to deprived neighbourhoods suddenly present in metropolitan centres.
- Rapid rise in criminal activity fuelled by 24/7 media coverage and mobile technology (in this instance, BlackBerry Messenger (BBM) played a key role).
- Divided opinions about role of police. The riots were triggered by the police shooting of a suspect, whereas many observers found the police response to the riots unsatisfactory (too slow? too cautious? too soft?). The courts went on to hand down unusually harsh sentences in an attempt to respond to the wider reaction of society to the riots.

2.2.5.The Global City

- Cities such as New York, London and others are recognised as "global cities" due to their importance for global affairs, economically but also socially and politically. Typically these cities enjoy relative affluence but also have their share of social problems, as described under 2.1.8 above. Their prominence also makes them likely targets

for terrorist attacks, and their economic importance leads to increased multiculturalism through economic migration.

- The "local" police forces of such cities (e.g. Metropolitan Police Service in London and the NYPD) have globalised their scope and internationalised their functions, in particular to fight terrorism. How do they coordinate their work with national, regional and international agencies? And how do they balance their international work with local/municipal objectives and policies?
- Can the experiences of New York and London be compared with the rapidly emerging mega-cities of the "Global South", such as Sao Paulo and Mexico City?

2.2.6.Lone Wolves

Most of the main terrorist attacks in Europe and North America in the last two years have been perpetrated by 'Lone Wolves' (e.g. Oslo/Utoya, Norway; Woolwich, UK; Toulouse, France; Boston, USA). The term 'Lone Wolf' refers to the fact that, although these individuals have been radicalised through a varying mix of local radical groups, visits to conflict zones and/or extensive online activity, they have not belonged to any structured group. While inspired by events elsewhere and potentially in contact with other extremists, they have ostensibly acted alone in preparing the attack itself.

This trend suggests that the authorities have been successful in identifying and disrupting terrorist groups and the planning of more ambitious, complex attacks. However the intelligence and policing implications of 'lone wolf' attacks are even more daunting because the needle which must be found in the haystack becomes even smaller.

2.2.7.Colombia

Whereas Kosovo and Somalia present seemingly intractable problems, the situation in Colombia deserves to be cited as a success story. Fifteen years ago, few observers would have predicted that the Colombian government would have been able to reassert control over (most of) its territory, dismantle the main drugs cartels and improve the security situation in its cities.

And yet, through the professionalisation of its police and security forces, and significant bi- and multilateral cooperation, Colombia has achieved precisely those results. In addition, recent figures show that cocaine consumption in the US is down by 20-25%.

There are caveats, however. Many observers feel that the "war on drugs" has not taken sufficient account of Colombians basic rights, particularly in the coca-cultivating areas. Secondly, the relative success of the Colombian government has displaced cocaine production to neighbouring countries such as Bolivia and Peru. Thirdly, while cocaine consumption has dropped in the US, it has increased in the EU, which is overtaking the US as the main global market.

2.2.8.Al Qaeda

A second qualified success story is the demise of Al Qaeda as a unified force. While attacks such as those at the Boston Marathon and in Woolwich, London in 2013 still rank among the most distressing security incidents of

their time, they also highlight the fact that violent extremists have had to change their tactics in the face of the coordinated security response since 9/11. 'Lone wolves' are a response to improved surveillance and improvements in linking intelligence from around the world. Afghanistan in particular has seen unprecedented cooperation between military, intelligence and law enforcement agencies working towards shared strategic goals.

3. Challenges and Dilemmas for Policing

Based on the observations above, a series of key issues emerged where policing can be seen to be at "a fork in the road". These issues challenge current thinking and call for consideration, debate and, ultimately, decisions about strategic directions to be taken.

3.1. Privacy and security

The rapid evolution of digital technology and the Internet have dramatically increased the potential for data to be put at the service of law enforcement. The most obvious examples of this (although there are others) are, firstly, the technical possibility for LEAs to store vast quantities of data in order to support investigations, cross-check intelligence and identify crime trends; and secondly, the technical possibility to monitor internet traffic and other telecommunications for the purposes of monitoring, preventing and/or investigating criminal activities. It must be acknowledged that the availability of such data to law enforcement does pose technical and organisational challenges, particularly in terms of separating useful intelligence from a growing mass of data.

In most developed countries, the potential of technology and the ambition of law enforcement are not matched by the legal possibilities available to law enforcement, due in particular to the various laws that exist to protect the privacy and personal data of individual citizens.

Some see this as a choice between privacy and security, with one being achieved at the expense of the other, while others argue that both can be achieved in the right conditions. There are also widely diverging views among interest groups about the relative importance of privacy and security at the conceptual level. This is not a dilemma which LEAs can solve on their own, but the law enforcement community is an important stakeholder in discussions about future technologies and related legislation.

3.2. What communities want and what communities need

Consent and legitimacy remain key concerns for law enforcement. The most obvious route to securing these is through community engagement and democratic accountability. This is reflected in the concept of policing as a public service, by which democratic police develop and implement their activities according to the needs of the public and the State. However this typically leads to a dichotomy between what LEAs believe to be the best course of action (based on practitioner expertise) and what communities (or the most vocal elements within communities) believe to be the best course of action. An obvious example is the oft-heard rhetoric around "more officers on the beat" which may provide reassurance to citizens without always being the best use of resources from a police chief's perspective.

What problems are brought to the police to be resolved – and by which segments of society – as well as how the police respond are clear indicators of the extent to which democratic policing practices have been adopted. Different countries have very different arrangements, ranging from democratically elected police commissioners to police forces being part of the hierarchical pyramid of central government, with many other solutions in between. What is the ideal balance? Which models constitute best practice?

3.3. Policing beyond borders

The current "map" of international police cooperation shows INTERPOL and UNODC with almost global coverage, supported by various regional and sub-regional bodies (including Europol, Ameripol, ASEANOPOL, CARICC, SELEC, SARPCCO, WAPCCO and EAPCCO) allowing for more in-depth cooperation among smaller groups of countries. However these bodies vary widely in terms of resources, legal frameworks, expertise, mandate, etc. Over and above these permanent structures is an array of ad hoc partnerships and coalitions, through which countries work together bilaterally (e.g. USA and Colombia) or in groups (e.g. MAOC-N) to address a particular crime threat at the operational level, or wealthier countries develop targeted capacity-building initiatives (e.g. Austria in the Western Balkans). Completing the picture are the civilian peace missions in conflict and post-conflict zones under the auspices of the UN or the EU (e.g. Kosovo) as well as judicial cooperation initiatives such as the ICC and Eurojust.

Each solution presents its own advantages and limitations. In global "hot-spots" such as post-conflict areas, failed states and drug production zones, the multi-layered nature of international police cooperation can result in a bewildering array of initiatives, not all of which offer obvious synergies.

The question is whether these more ad hoc initiatives should be reined in, in favour of a more coordinated approach led by the key institutions (INTERPOL, UNODC, Europol and other regional agencies), or whether these institutions are too unwieldy to provide adequate responses to emerging crime threats.

The choice between structured/permanent and ad hoc cooperation is only one of the dilemmas. The concept of international policing also encompasses the choices between bilateral and multilateral cooperation, and between 'need to know' and 'dare to share'.

What can be done to streamline the current wide array of initiatives? What can be done to make the institutions more agile and responsive? What can national LEAs, which are the sponsors of both ad hoc initiatives and permanent structures, do to increase synergies? How can international police-reform efforts be given greater strategic coherence?

The aim should be to gain maximum leverage from available solutions and share the resource burden among actors, based on their interests and capabilities.

3.4. Prevention and enforcement from a global perspective

National LEAs already have to grapple with the dilemma between prevention and enforcement. While the importance of prevention is widely recognised, particularly outside law enforcement (e.g. public health), it is far more difficult for LEAs to demonstrate a return on investment for prevention activities than it is for their enforcement work.

At the international level this dilemma can be translated into the two main strands of cross-border police cooperation. Enforcement activity centres around Interpol, Europol and the array of bi- and multi-lateral instruments mentioned above: sharing intelligence and coordinating operational actions with a view to disrupting criminal activities and arresting criminals.

The second main strand is Security Sector Reform (SSR) and capacity-building: a multi-faceted field of activity, where very significant resources are disbursed to support the development of local institutions and promote the rule of law in places such as Afghanistan, Kosovo, Timor Leste, etc.

The first observation is that enforcement cooperation is only possible when structures exist with which cooperation is feasible. For this to be the case a minimum of capacity building is necessary.

Typically, developed countries invest in LE capacity building through "enlightened self-interest": the US to stem the flow of cocaine from Colombia, the UK and Germany to stem the flow of heroin from Afghanistan, the Netherlands to protect shipping interests in the Gulf of Aden, etc.

This presents a series of dilemmas:

- To what extent is capacity building necessary before cooperation is feasible? And what strategies/models of SSR should be applied?
- To what extent does an active presence in the field remain preferable to cooperation with sovereign LEAs?
- To what extent are LEAs in developed countries willing to cooperate with LEAs with limited capabilities, in countries where there are concerns about the rule of law?

Of course, the answers to these questions will be different in each case but there are hopefully global lessons to be learned.

3.5. Sovereignty and international law

There is a disconnect between regulatory architecture (international treaties, UN and EU mechanisms, legal frameworks for LEAs) and the reality of criminal activities on the ground. International norms relevant to policing have been developed and codified by international actors (such as the UN, EU, Council of Europe, OSCE or ECOWAS), as well as by states (as is the case for DFID in the UK for police reform) and NGOs (Amnesty International). They are formalised in a series of overlapping declarations, codes and standards and operationalised by a multitude of actors.

The recent "sting operation" by the US DEA to capture senior officials from the government of Guinea-Bissau accused of cocaine trafficking showed the US in its role of "world police". This role is accepted to varying degrees in different parts of the world, but to what extent would countries prefer this role to be taken over by a supranational body such as INTERPOL (as imagined in the film Lord of War), the UN or the EU?

The International Criminal Court (ICC) currently has extensive investigative powers but still relies heavily on the cooperation of national authorities in the zones where it is mandated to investigate. Its mandate remains limited to war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and related offences.

Is there a need for globally-accepted international norms or standards of behaviour governing policing? What synergies could be imagined between the legal frameworks already in existence? Just as NATO has moved towards "hybrid" missions in the last two decades, could law enforcement follow a

similar path in order to tackle complex situations effectively and make best use of available resources?

4. Strategic Directions: an International Vision for Policing

For a vision to be considered truly international it has to be applicable and relevant in the various regions of the world. There are massive differences in policing and in the configuration of societies between the various countries. The vision presented here is therefore focussed on those aspects that can be considered to be of common interest.

4.1. Public narratives to achieve public consensus

Since Sir Robert Peel in 19th Century London, 'consent' has been recognised as a crucial prerequisite for effective policing. Consent is partly achieved through the good conduct, transparency and accountability of law enforcement agencies, through which they earn the trust of the public they serve. In the information age, public expectations are higher than ever before in this regard.

A second aspect of securing public consensus around policing is less about police forces themselves and more about their mission to prevent and combat crime, and the importance which communities attach to this mission.

Public consensus varies between countries and between communities but also according to the different roles the police fulfil. As a result the police need to engage with all stakeholders and contribute to various public narratives to secure consent and support for all areas of their work.

For example, the priority in counter-terrorism is to provide alternative narratives to counter the messages of hatred promulgated by violent extremists. In relation to organised crime, however, there is no narrative in favour. The problem is rather that OC activity is largely under the radar, so public narratives need to be developed to raise awareness about the links between global crime and local harm.

4.2. Policing where it is needed most

Attention of police services not always equally divided over their jurisdiction. In some geographical areas the limited presence of police officers is in contrast to the need active policing. This applies in particular in the poorer parts of certain cities. The crime rate is well above par but people stopped reporting crimes, either because they do not trust the police, perhaps in the absence of a legal status, or because it has no effect or because of threats from the local gangsters. A single mother without the means to leave such a neighbourhood will see her children grow up amidst drug dealing and racketeering.

General dissatisfaction amongst the local population in regard to the lack of public services and in particular the role of policing can result in sudden upheavals. Moreover, such no-go areas do not just offer a safe environment to commit any type of crime, but they also provide a fertile ground for dissociation from society and radicalisation.

Significant efforts are needed to regain authority in the poorer parts of certain major cities. This does not imply the plain use of brute force to conquer back territory, but rather to use coercive measures where this is

inevitable and appropriate. A clever, multi-dimensional approach is suggested that involves also other public services and that is aimed at getting back the trust of the local community and with that its cooperation in making the environment safer.

4.3. Combating crime that is becoming increasingly international

The steep growth of the movement of people across national borders in the past decades has led to an increase of the international dimension of crimes. Even for local cases the origin of perpetrators or victims can provide links to other countries. This requires a broader focus for investigators and continued investments in stepping up cross-border cooperation.

The number of crimes affecting multiple countries or even continents has also grown. Several crime types involve logistics over long distances. This applies for instance to drug trafficking, facilitation of illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings, trade in weapons and stolen cars. Various forms of cybercrime involve many countries even without the need for any logistical arrangements.

The huge proceeds of in particular cross-border crime have enabled organised crime groups to become powerful syndicates of which some dominate entire sectors of both the legal and the illegal economy in significant geographic areas.

In order to successfully combat such crime syndicates well-concerted international action is required. This goes well beyond what most countries can do individually. The sharing of intelligence and the combination of resources under a joint coordination and steering framework should be considered as an avenue to reduce the influence of international organised crime.

4.4. Strategic division of responsibilities

International police cooperation and information exchange only work to a certain degree. At global level the compatibility between the different legal systems is clearly limited. This poses impediments for operational cooperation to investigate specific crimes, in particular when it comes to the exchange of personal data.

This should, however, not be considered as a complete obstruction for cooperation. In fact, by comparing the results of strategic crime analysis the sources and enabling factors of international crime can still be attributed to certain regions and countries. By acknowledging such factors among the police authorities at a global level and for the countries concerned to commit to addressing those under national authority and in accordance with the domestic legislation, the international coordination at strategic level can still lead to meaningful results. Also the sharing of strategic data on modi operandi, smuggling routes and crime facilitation by legitimate entities can help the countries concerned to address problems more effectively.

4.5. Balancing investigation, disruption and prevention

The predominant approach of law enforcement is to fight crime, aiming to give the perpetrators what they deserve: years of imprisonment. Considering the complexity and the labour-intensity required to get especially internationally operating criminals convicted, this approach might have to be reconsidered. This is especially true when it is taken into account

that the internet facilitates a wide range of crimes at an unprecedented scale, without any respect for territorial jurisdiction.

It could be a viable alternative to instead prevent the criminals from getting what they do not deserve: the proceeds of crime. This can be done either by making it much more difficult to commit crimes or to disrupt the crimes that have been prepared or initiated. Solutions in this regard will target in particular the freezing of financial assets and flows and the blocking of internet traffic from suspicious sources. Also in terms of regulation, education of internet users and cooperation with the private sector, major steps can be made to prevent various types of crime.

It is obvious that a sound balance needs to be sought between repression, disruption and prevention in order to maximise the effectiveness in maintaining safety, security and justice.

4.6. Mutual assistance

The differences in policing are not just limited to the legal systems. The availability of human, financial and technical resources varies hugely across the globe.

Since the internationalisation of crime has created a mutual dependence between countries and regions for safety and security at domestic level, the performance of foreign law enforcement services has become a critical factor. It is therefore worth considering increasing the level of mutual assistance.

Nations with very scarce resources can be used by criminal organisations as a safe haven, from where they operate at international level without too much fear of being caught. Local police services do not have the means to effectively deal with the problem and in the absence of adequate funding they are more vulnerable to corruption. Besides, those crime syndicates may not necessarily cause a local problem and are consequently not considered as a priority for policing.

It should be considered to increase capacity building in such countries by making funds available at international level. In accordance with the impact that criminals operating from vulnerable regions have at international level, funds could be allocated to enable the local government to strengthen its capacity to combat the groups that operate internationally.

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