



ARTIGOS / ARTICLES

AUTOR CATEGORIA RESUMO DOWNLOAD LISTA DE DISCUSSÃO

PANÓPTICA - ANO 02 - NOVEMBRO/ FEVEREIRO - N. 11 -
ARTIGO VIII

Organized crime – sleeping with the enemy?

AUTOR / AUTHOR:

FELTES, Thomas

PALAVRAS-CHAVE / KEY WORDS:

Organized crime; Organized exploitation; Social coherence; Countries in transition.

RESUMO / ABSTRACT:

Organized Crime is very often defined as criminal activities, undertaken by criminals and posing a general security threat to societies. The author shows, that Organized Crime must be defined in a broader sense, including political and commercial networks. This kind of crime is a threat for societies in transition: It destroys existing social networks, harms social coherence, causes huge damage to financial systems, reduces the money available for social services, for fighting poverty and improving the situation of those, who are already the losers in transitional processes. The article also questions, if and how police is able to "fight" Organized Crime and comes to the conclusion, that it is impossible to win such a "fight", if the efforts of the police are not supported by politics and politicians and by members of the society in a very radical way.

[Clique aqui](#) para ler o artigo.

DOWNLOAD DO ARTIGO

*[Clique aqui](#) para baixar o Adobe Acrobat (leitor de arquivos pdf);*

COMENTE:

Em breve você poderá comentar. Serviço ainda não disponível.

INFORMAÇÃO BIBLIOGRÁFICA / BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION:

ORGANIZED CRIME – SLEEPING WITH THE ENEMY?

Thomas Feltes

*Professor of Criminology, Criminal Justice Policy and Police Sciences at
the Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany*

Abstract: Organized Crime is very often defined as criminal activities, undertaken by criminals and posing a general security threat to societies. The author shows, that Organized Crime must be defined in a broader sense, including political and commercial networks. This kind of crime is a threat for societies in transition: It destroys existing social networks, harms social coherence, causes huge damage to financial systems, reduces the money available for social services, for fighting poverty and improving the situation of those, who are already the losers in transitional processes. The article also questions, if and how police is able to “fight” Organized Crime and comes to the conclusion, that it is impossible to win such a “fight”, if the efforts of the police are not supported by politics and politicians and by members of the society in a very radical way.

Keywords: Organized crime; Organized exploitation; Social coherence; Countries in transition.

“War on ...” - Organized Crime?

Organized Crime is one of the most misused and misinterpreted term we have in Criminology. It is used to make us believe of clear cut and definable offenders, enemies which could be found and defeated. The message is: There is an enemy, we can fight against. This is the motto and signal which are those sending out who are talking about the necessity to “fight” Organized Crime and to limit human rights by doing so. But in reality, this enemy sits next to us, and we share part of our life with him.

The fight against whatever it might be is always propaganda, because none of such “fights” has been won in the past. Not the war against alcohol in the 1930ies in the US, not the War on Drugs, declared by President Nixon in 1969 and reinforced by Bill Clinton in 1993, not the overall War On Crime and also not the War On Terrorism.

Just some examples: (1) Between 1972 and 1988 the use of cocaine increased more than fivefold in the US, despite tremendous efforts and increase in money, personnel and technique to fight drugs. The CIA even used the illegal drug business for political aims and for collecting money to support radical groups¹, which were in favor of

¹ In the 1980s, top U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials believed that they would never be able to justify a multibillion-dollar budget from the U.S. government to fund the Afghanistani Muslim radicals, the mujahideen, in their fight against the Soviet army, which had occupied Afghanistan. As a result, the CIA decided to generate funds through the poppy-rich Afghan soil and heroin production and smuggling to finance the Afghan war creating the notorious Pashtun Mafia. In the six years from 2000-2006, the USA spent \$4.7 billion on “Plan Colombia”, an effort to eradicate coca production in South America. The main

American policy, or to train and arm groups who were opposing socialist governments like the Contras in Nicaragua. (2) Since the US and the NATO has intervened in Afghanistan, the production of opium in this region has increased (UNODC 2007), p. 4) by more than 100%. I have no doubt that Organized Crime and Globalisation go together and have great influence over the lives of people everywhere in the world. Both will have even more influence over the next years.

Definition

The website “Organized Crime Research” by my German Colleague Klaus von Lampe² offers over 100 definitions of Organized Crime, from America to Tanzania³, showing, that there is no clear idea and (even more important) no joint understanding what Organized Crime could or should be. As a result, Klaus von Lampe defines it in the following way: “...Organized Crime is what people so label” (von Lampe 2001, 113). His immanent critique is shared by the Dutch Petrus van Duyne: “*Organized Crime' is in many ways a strange concept: it is found in widely diverse contexts, being used as if it denotes a clear and well-defined phenomenon. Nothing is further from the truth. The concept of Organized Crime has constantly been redefined and contains all sorts of implicit ideologies and myths, ranging from the 'Mr. Big' to the 'alien conspiracy theory'. Reviewing the literature on 'organized crime' one gets increasing doubts as to the scientific usefulness of the concept. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to relate the popular concepts and theories of 'Organized Crime' to the existing empirical evidence. This shows a less well-organized, very diversified landscape of organizing criminals. As (some authors, TF) have shown, the economic activities of these organizing criminals can better be described from the point of view of 'crime-enterprises' than from a conceptually unclear framework such as 'Organized Crime'” (van Duyne 1996, 53).*

So what is the problem with the definition of Organized Crime? Perhaps it is the fact, that some of the activities are not crimes, and some of the actors are not criminals. What brings them together is the expected accumulation of financial profit. As we know: Money makes to world go round⁴. Organized crime needs an organizational structure, facilitating criminal activities. But which organizations have the best networks worldwide, the best functioning and effective organizational structure? Today's diverse Organized Crime groups operate like corporate raiders: They have clear divided responsibilities. The “real criminals” use violence (if necessary), the “legal” members of the group stay away (at least officially) from the bad guys and take care to solidify their market and profit. Efforts to corrupt government officials, police, and other corporate officials, and some times to infiltrate these organizations are most effectively organized by such networks.

result of this effort was to shift coca production into more remote areas, the overall acreage cultivated for coca in Colombia at the end of the six years was the same, and cultivation in the neighboring countries of Peru and Bolivia actually increased.

² <http://www.organized-crime.de/index.html> The very useful website provides access to some of Lampe's papers on conceptual and theoretical issues relating to Organized Crime and the study of Organized Crime.

³ <http://www.organized-crime.de/OCDEF1.htm>

⁴ Once the title of a cabaret song, in the meantime a synonym for a world, governed by shareholders and trans-national enterprises; nicely told by Barbara Garson in her book: “Money Makes the World Go Around: One Investor Tracks Her Cash Through the Global Economy, from Brooklyn to Bangkok and Back”.

I support the argument of Lampe, van Duyne and others, that there is no clear understanding and definition of Organized Crime. This must have consequences for the academic discussion: If we do not share a common understanding of Organized Crime, we are not able to analyse it properly because we are not able to find the necessary theoretical framework.

Usually, Organized Crime is defined as activities by criminal organizations or as operations, run by criminals, most commonly for the purpose of generating a monetary profit. But as Organized Crime is not always run by groups of criminals and it is not always possible to define it as “illegal”. Therefore I suggest the term “**Organized Exploitation**” for those activities that really cause harm and threaten societies to the core. Some examples for such activities are shown.

Example No.1: The Empire of Shame

The first example is taken from a recent published book by Jean Ziegler. Ziegler was UN Special Rapporteur on Right to Food until 2006 and he is a senior professor of sociology at the University of Geneva and the Sorbonne, Paris. The title of the book is: “The Empire of Shame” (Das Imperium der Schande).

In his book the author for example reports on a meeting of the WHO (World Health Organisation) in Geneva. Every year the WHO is organizing a “*World Health Meeting*”. The delegations invited to these meetings are representatives of the member states of the WHO. In 2001, a group of Scandinavian countries plus some from the so called “Third World” brought in a petition that each national delegate must declare any “conflict of interests” at the beginning of the conference. What does this mean? From former meetings and decisions taken, the representatives of Scandinavian and “Third World” countries learned that a number of members of the national delegations are on the pay list of trans-national pharmaceutical enterprises and companies. The reasons for that are obvious: the decisions of this WHO body and the WHO in total influence the distribution of drugs, the trade with pharmaceuticals, the licensing of drugs etc. This off course has a heavy impact on the profit of these corporations⁵. So what happened? I quote Ziegler (p. 222): “*Reliable sources have reported that in the night before the acclamation, suitcases with cash money circulated between the different hotels on the left side of the river Rhone where the delegates stayed. Next morning, right after the opening of the debate, the representative for the US asked for the floor and declared that this petition is an unacceptable assault on the sovereignty of states. The petition was rejected by huge majority*”.

Is this “crime”? Is this Organized Crime? Even if we use the common definitions by lawyers and mainstream criminologists, it is, because the offenders (trans-national pharmaceutical enterprises) bribed the representatives to vote against the declaration, avoiding that these representatives in the future must open their wallets and explain and declare, who is paying them and perhaps for what purpose. And it also shows that decisions by the WHO are influenced heavily by trans-national corporations.

What are the “enemies” in this respect?

⁵ Just to give one example what we are talking about: The annual profit of Novartis, one of the bigger companies in this business, is 7 Billion Euro or 10 Billion US-Dollar (Ziegler 2007, p. 215). The director of Novartis “earns” – we better should say, “gets” - 20 Mio Swiss Franks every year (over 12 Mio Euro).

Example No.2: Enemies, killing Children

The 500 biggest trans-national capitalistic companies control 53% of the worldwide cross national product (Ziegler 2007, p. 213). Is this Organized Crime? For sure no by itself, but if we look deeper into the ways and means how they get this money and how they increase their income year by year, it is Organized Exploitation.

82% of the Ethiopian people live in deep poverty. Why? The price for 60 kilo coffee in the year 2000 was 670 Birrs (local currency). 2004 it was 150 Birrs, about one-fourth (Ziegler 2007, p. 153). In the same time, the profit of the main coffee sellers (like Nestlé and others) increased by over 50%. Is this crime? No, it is called “*free market economy*”, but I call it “Stone Age Capitalism” and Organized Exploitation.

The most important reason why 850 Mio people suffer malnutrition and why 10 Mio children are dying each year are outstanding debts; loans, which have been taken up by former dictators, juntas or despotic governments; loans, which make up to 40% of the cross national product of countries. As a consequence, these countries do not have money to pay for health care, for schools, for those who are starving. Like in Rwanda, where the people now have to pay back the money which was lent by the former Rwanda Government to buy the weapons, which have been used to kill nearly 1 Mio Tutsi and Hutus within 100 days; their fellow citizens, their parents and grandparents (Ziegler 2007, p. 100) - under the eyes of the UN peacekeepers⁶.

UNICEF has calculated that 7 billion Dollars are needed each year to send all children between 6 and 15 years of age to school – worldwide. This is what the US citizens pay every year for cosmetics, and what the citizens of the 15 member states of the EU spent for ice-cream in one year (Ziegler 2007, p. 86). In a world overflowing with riches, more than 826 Mio people suffer hunger and malnutrition and that every year over 36 million die of starvation and related causes. To quote Ziegler again: “*Every child who died of hunger in today’s world was the victim of an assassination*” (Ziegler 2005); assassinated by crime cartels, by the enemies in our beds.

This kind of crime shares with Organized Crime the durability over time, diversified interests, hierarchical structure, capital accumulation, reinvestment, access to political protection and infiltration into political institutions. But it has something special: It gives those who are the organizers and profiteers of such activities very often high status in society.

So we do have enough reason to label these activities and such behaviour as “crime” – at least as criminologists. But we have to bear in mind, that no jurisdiction, no police, no public prosecutor, no court will ever investigate these activities or even punish the actors. What is the reason for that? This kind of crime is done by highly accepted and admitted business people, or politicians, especially when it comes to the dangerous version of highly sophisticated combinations of legal and illegal businesses.

⁶ Brazil paid the 15.5 billion U.S. dollars loan in 2005, owed to the IMF, clearing all the debts due in 2006 and 2007. However, Brazil remains heavily indebted even after the payment, with a debt of 432 billion dollars, or 51 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP).

Example No.3: Corruption - The Everyday Enemy

The mentioned activities are deeply connected with legal enterprises, with international and trans-national operations, companies and businesses. This makes it extremely difficult to investigate into this kind of crime. If (rare enough) a case goes to court, it is also very difficult to decide, who was responsible for what, and what the illegal outcomes were and what the legal ones.

Let's look at the German Siemens Company: German industrial giant Siemens is currently embroiled in a corporate corruption scandal that is the biggest in the country's history. A former board member has been arrested, and the German journal "Der Spiegel" is talking about "*mafia-style structures*" within the company and a global network of corruption. Some high ranking employees of Siemens have admitted that they have bribed politicians, presidents, but also staff members in Africa and in Eastern Europe over the last years. They have claimed that otherwise no business, no contracts would have been possible. German media reports suggest that five people, including the former Siemens board member, are suspected of embezzling 20 million Euros by transferring money to offshore companies they had set up. At the end of 2006, the Siemens corruption probe was widening after the German company itself found more than 400 Mio Euros in suspicious transactions spanning seven years. In 2007, some people have been convicted, but there are rumours about more cases in the dark and that Siemens has spent more than 1 billion Euros (over 1.4 bn US-Dollars) for bribing politicians and others to win company contracts or tenders. During this time, Siemens had fired thousand of employees, claiming its poor financial situation and closed down his mobile phone business totally.

Post-Modern Society and Organized Crime

Post-modern society and its institutions are organized along the principles of fear, risk assessment and the provision of security (Ericson/Haggerty 1997, Ericson/Stehr 2000). This focus on security in return creates fear and the need for protection. Since some years, the so called "*War on Terror*" also increases the demand for more police, more and tougher laws and better equipment. Both terms, "*Organized Crime*" and "*Terrorism*" share the same problem: They are absolutely unclear, not proper definable and thus open for misuse. These terms are widely used by politicians, police representatives and police unions to demand more power for the state and the police, more options to intrude into the rights of citizens, to overcome data protection laws, and to strengthen the role of law enforcement by weakening human rights. It might be interesting to go deeper into the question, who might misuse these terms, and for what reasons.

Although presenting major public concern, rising crime can be viewed as part of a systematic transformation of social control and policing. We must prepare ourselves for this new situation, by fostering the understanding for the causes underlying these processes, improving the self protecting structures and facilities of societies, eradicating irrational fears and judgements, and enforcing the ethical responsibilities of those, who are responsible for political and social decisions within a society. "*Organized Crime*" and

especially Organized Exploitation harm the self protecting structures of a society, increases public hate and damages social networks.

Especially in countries in transition or countries, where social structures have suffered over wartime, during dramatically political or social changes, or during some kind of turmoil, these criminal activities cause huge damage. After such situations, due to usually increasing gaps between the rich and poor, the overall situation in the community is more than difficult. The gap is broadening between those, who make use of the situation - however difficult it might be for the majority of the population, and those who do not or can not cope with the new challenges. Such social clashes result in a disparate, divided society, in which nobody cares anymore about the problems of others and about crimes, committed by others. People feel defenceless against the multinational companies, which misuse their economic and political powers.

How do people get into “Organized Crime”?

The third Dutch Organized Crime Monitor, published in September 2007 (Van de Bunt & Kleemans, 2007) and presented to the Dutch Parliament⁷, analysed 120 cases since 1996 – cases registered by the police (so nobody knows, what is missing). The authors show that people got involved in many different ways into these structures: through existing social relationships, work and professional relationships, leisure activities and sidelines, certain life events and recruitment. The analysis of the careers of 66 ‘ringleaders’ or nodal offenders demonstrate the following: A significant part switched at a certain point in time to crime from their former occupation. Some offenders carry out their criminal activities as an extension of their legal activities. Others clearly switched at some point in time from their lawful occupation to the trade in illegal goods. Life events may bring certain illegal opportunities within reach of people with a negligible criminal career, or may become more appealing compared to other alternatives. The report also shows, that offenders which are locally strongly embedded, have a multitude of existing relationships with both the licit world and potential co-offenders. They are ahead in terms of knowledge on the possibilities the environment offers them to develop criminal activities, which enables them to develop into versatile, local, illegal entrepreneurs. So one of the special harm “Organized Crime” causes to community is the transformation of norm-abiding citizens into criminals. The result: The enemy is within the society, sleeping besides us.

How to prevent Organized Crime? Through more and better Social Coherence.

Recent criminological research has shown, that the most important single factor to prevent crime is not the police (neither the strength of the force, nor the quality, nor the laws they may use, nor the equipment), not crime prevention activities, not “*community crime prevention*”⁸, not tougher laws or harsher sentences. Instead it is Social

⁷ “In September 2007, the third report of the Organized Crime Monitor was published and sent to the Dutch Parliament. The report contains the main findings of the third data sweep of the so-called Organized Crime Monitor. The main data sources of this ongoing research project are files of closed Dutch police investigations of criminal groups, often spanning a period of several years. Since 1996 up to now, we and our colleagues have analyzed systematically 120 large-scale investigations (40 case studies per sweep) about various forms of organized crime and various forms of cooperation.”

⁸ One of these “golden terms”, sometime used a “holy shrine” or “magic weapon”, which have been invented by the Americans some years ago, because at that time they have reached the end of their dead-end-street in fighting crime with more of the same (more police, more laws, more technology...).

Coherence. But what is Social Coherence, and what has it to do with Organized Exploitation?

To fight “*Organized Crime*” and Organized Exploitation, you need to know what the underlying causes are, because otherwise you can not fight the roots. The increasing development of the “Stone-Age-Capitalism” is one of these underlying causes, especially in Eastern European countries, but also in Africa and the middle and south Americas, where the so called “market-based economy” is a chimera. The ideology behind it offers excellent opportunities for “*Organized Crime*” and Organized Exploitation businesses. And it also forces more and more people to take part in these activities, because it seems to be financially attractive without any special risk, and because they do not have legal alternatives.

In Countries in Transition, groups and networks that have been in power before the transition or during a war succeed in staying in power due to their networks and communication system. One might ask how one could establish a new political caste without at least partly relying on the old-boys-networks and why political parties in many countries in transition have less public support, no clear cut program or change it very fast. The answer is: Because they are built up by members of former social networks, using the situation to get into power. Very often, these groups have worked and are still working together with criminal clans to improve their financial basis. It is possible for them in a comparatively short period of time to establish connections, to organize e.g. trade routes and banking arrangements – that’s what is basically needed for such crime business. Money laundering facilities are easily built up in countries in transition.

A classified report for the German Military on the situation in Kosovo from January 2007 (Jopp/Sandawi 2007) showed that the civil in Kosovo war resulted in a reversal of the social pyramid of the country. The former leading and stabilizing members (like crafters, company employees, farm workers) lost their influence in society, and people, who were at the lower side of the social hierarchy gained influence do to their profession and willingness for violence. The parasitic organized civil law economies are docking at the legal economies of the neighbour regions und get involved in the illegal trafficking of women, children and drugs. The consequence of this kind of social dynamics in post-conflict societies is the continuous existence of organized crime groups. Their financial resources and social networks dominate the rest of the society. The study also highlights the fact, that organized crime is the biggest threat to the political and economical development in South-Eastern Europe. Organized Crime is the only growing and profitable economic factor and is together with corruption a “*clear and present danger*” (Jopp/Sandawi 2007, p. 25) for the stability of the region. As a result, nearly all countries in the Western Balkans are “*aircraft carriers*” for organized crime. The study stresses the fact, that the organized crime groups are “*sophisticated trans-national networks*”, like multinational companies with “fluid and flexible structures”. Their estimated financial capital is some hundreds of million US-Dollars, and the UN Directorate of Organized Crime (DOC) estimated the daily turnover of the organized crime in Kosovo some 1,5 Mio Euro or 2 Mio US-Dollar, corresponding to more than one quarter of the cross national product of Kosovo. The UN Directorate of Organized Crime (DOC) presumes, “*that behind each political party presented, a criminal enterprise of organized crime and corruption exists*”. Another classified report by the German Federal Intelligence Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst) showed in 2005 tied connection between high ranking

politicians and dominant criminal clans of the region, occupying nearly all key positions in society.

Problems behind?

But what is the problem behind? Why is this kind of Crime is a special threat for countries in transition and for so called developing countries? Firstly, it is so pervasive that it threatens the democratization process, which is an especially difficult one in these countries, because they do not have experience with democracy. Secondly, it threatens attempts to develop foreign trade (which is a basis for building up a sustainable new economy). This crime also hampers fair economy with equal chances for everybody. Thirdly, it “steals” money from the people, and very often this money is transferred to private accounts in foreign countries, where nobody is able to trace it. This money is not available any more for important tasks of a democratic state, like solid health care system, social welfare, financial support, and housing for the elderly and so on. Fourthly, drug trafficking and illegal immigration combined with human trafficking belong to the top threats and dangers because of their immense follow-up costs (e.g. health care, social services).

Security is both a valuable social and constitutive public good (Loader/Walker 2007), a constitutive ingredient of the good society. The state has to foster and sustain liveable political communities, where everybody may live in peace and security. But both are endangered by these kinds of crimes, but also by politicians and police. As Loader and Walker show (2007, p. 79 ff.), in “*capitalist democracies*” forms of harm, violation and abuse by the rich and powerful pass unnoticed, lightly policed and rarely punished, but the impoverished, often young and ethnic-minority males are stopped, searched, arrested and imprisoned. This kind of criminal policy produces easy visible enemies, distracting public opinion from the real enemies who endanger the society at large. To quote Loader and Walker: The world today is “*deeply inhospitable to the democratic, egalitarian and solidaristic security culture*”. It is a world “*in which the governments ... increasingly accede to populist, xenophobic demands in ways that undermine the democratic liberties of their citizens. It is a world where neo-liberalism – and the order of egoism that it champion (Dunn 2005) – has come to be ascendant in ways that have enabled policing and security resources to be captured by those with the greatest supply of economic and social capital*” (Loader/Walker 2007, p. 4)

Social Coherence and Organized Exploitation

Organized Crime and Organized Exploitation is one of the reasons for the division of society into profiteers and losers. In post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was a massive influx of resources from abroad, as it was and still is in Kosovo. In the period following the war, Bosnia benefited from huge international aid programs. But according to reports publishes in 1999, as much as a billion dollars disappeared from public funds or were stolen from international aid projects by fraud (Fischer 2006, p. 45). “*Bosnia’s economy was replaced by a rent economy fuelled by international reconstruction aid, with the same local elites profiting from the continued existence of illegal structures as they control internal distribution. At the same time, post-war Bosnia became one of the most important hubs for drugs, human trafficking and prostitution*” (Fischer 2006, p. 45). In 2007 Bosnia has been replaced in this respect by the Kosovo, with even worse

results. Corruption is high and the success of the UN-Intervention heavily denied because of incompetent and corrupt UN-Administration, KFOR⁹ troops and UNMIK¹⁰-Police, cooperating with organized crime groups and preventing former war-criminals, who are involved in the organization of drug trade, exploitation of women and money laundering, using their “old-boys-networks”, anxious not to hamper the UN-mission and allowing the international community to withdraw from this mission as soon as possible (Feltes 2008, Fischer 2006, International Crisis Group 2007, King/Mason 2006, Zaremba 2007). Nobody seems to care about the country left behind under the regime of politicians, deeply involved and connected with organized crime structures.

As already mentioned, this kind of crime has a tremendous impact on the social equality of a society. It broadens the gap between the rich and the poor; it distracts people from regular, hard work, offering fast money. But it also increases the enviousness in the society. People are getting jealous of each other if they realize, that some fellow citizens get rich very fast, drive big cars and enjoy their lives, while they either have to work hard to survive or are unemployed, or depend on day wage.

The situation after the German Unity in East Germany (the former socialist part of the country, GDR) showed, that long existing social networks broke down, because some members took their chance to overcome their fellows, using these networks, e.g. for selling insurance policies, which are useless for the receiver. Or they sold used cars, bought in West Germany to their “friends” or relatives at prices two or three times higher than what they had paid. Very soon the customers realized that they have been betrayed, and they draw back from this special “friend”. But these people also got suspicious about any other activities within the former well functioning and supporting networks. The consequence was the broke-down of social networks, and social coherence disappeared as the common trust in society.

And here we are back at the beginning: Societies with low social coherence are not able to prevent crime. They can not prevent the everyday minor crimes, and they can not prevent Organized Crimes and Organized Exploitation. As people in societies with low social coherence do not care about the misery of others, the “social glue” within the society is disappearing and an “elbow-mentality” is rising. Those who suffer are the weak and the poor, the elderly and the ill or disabled members of the society. Society breaks down.

In such countries, a great part of the young generation does not have any prospect of entering legal economic structures to earn their lives. They will be absorbed by shadow economies or even worse hidden “economies”. It is a difficult way back from the sometimes shiny and both in terms of money and group activities attractive subculture of such hidden economies to a solid, very often boring everyday job from 8 in the morning

⁹ KFOR = Kosovo Force. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) is a NATO-led international force responsible for establishing a safe and secure environment in Kosovo, a province of Serbia which has been under UN administration since 1999. KFOR entered Kosovo under a United Nations mandate. At the time of UN Security Council Resolution 1244, Kosovo was facing a grave humanitarian crisis, with military and paramilitary forces from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in daily engagement. Ethnic tensions were at their highest and the death toll had reached a historic high. Nearly one million people had fled Kosovo as refugees. As of 2007, KFOR consisted of approximately 16,000 troops.

¹⁰ UNMIK = United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo; the interim civil administration in Kosovo

to 5 in the afternoon. The young generation is often called the future of a society. But what kind of futures is it, if 12 year old boys sell black-market cigarettes on the street, have to collect food or metal in landfill sites, or just fight their everyday fight for surviving on the street?

A robust and stable civil society, where the citizens are willing to take over individual responsibility for the community is an important basis for controlling and containing the activities of the state. It also forms the basis for the formation of systems of values and norms which can guarantee social cohesion, transcending ethnicity and stereotyped ways of thinking. This kind of society prevents crime by means of social cohesion. It broadens the scope of the government for investing in economic growth, in health care and social welfare systems, because it avoids financial investments taken away by criminal activities.

But what may foster social coherence or what is the basis for it?

Religion is (or might be) such a basis, as it is itself a system of social coherence, based on a common group of beliefs or attitudes. The supporters share moral codes, practices, values, institutions, traditions, and rituals associated with such belief or system of thought. This causes cohesion, but also dependence. As the role of religion in nearly every (European) country is vanishing, some complain, that the value system breaks down and disappears, causing juvenile crime, but also less social accountability and responsibility within societies.

Shared beliefs besides religion might be such a basis, but it is not clear, what kind of beliefs this might be. For sure, it is not the belief in the capitalistic system or in money as the most important factor of it, because this "belief" is by itself an important crime factor. Pressure from outside or inside is another factor, resulting in sticking together of people and increasing their social coherence. The pressuring force might be an external enemy, but it also could be an internal, oppressing government. E.g., the crime rate in the socialist GDR was significant lower than in West-Germany. One reason for this was of course the fact, that there was not so much which could be stolen like in the capitalistic Western part of the country. But research showed that the suppressing system caused social coherence because people stood together in coping with the situation.

Common history and shared values might be an important factor for social cohesion. But what kind of common history do modern societies share, with high percentages of legal or illegal Migrants? In some cities or parts of cities in Germany, this percentage is as high as 60%. And what about common history and shared values in countries in transition?

What about the Police? What are they doing and what can they do?

Police officers nearly everywhere report, that investigation into organized crime and corruption are often hampered not only by bureaucratic problems, but more important by direct or indirect advice by superiors or higher ranking officials. In Kosovo reports (see Jopp/Sandawi 2007, ICG 2007), could prove, that even well known war criminals, nowadays involved in organized crime activities, were protected from investigation by police or even released from prison by the UN administration. The reason: The international community wants to cooperate with the key leaders in society to establish a

formal government as soon as possible – and no matter, what the ethical basis might be. They just want to withdraw themselves from this country as soon as possible – as they want from Iraq, Afghanistan and other places. And this is not only the case in “countries in transition”: In 2007, three German police officers were disciplined and moved from the detective’s branch to the traffic patrol because they have been complaining about political influence into their investigations.

International Crime is becoming more and more entrepreneurial because of its attraction to any commodity which can be profitably exploited. It is more and more often not possible to distinguish between criminal and legal, usual capitalistic activities. Cartels are focusing on a greater diversity of commodities, involving grey markets and activities on the borderline between legality and illegality. Trans-national criminal alliances are increasing as very sophisticated organizations are. This makes it extremely difficult for police to investigate, to collect evidence and to gather intelligence. Police can only investigate into this kind of crime, if they are backed by supervisors and politicians. To fight this kind of crime is not primarily a police task. It has to be a principal decision by the local government, and by international Organizations like UN, EU or OSCE, WHO or OCDE, and so on. These organizations must show that they do not accept any kind of non-legal, exploitable activities.

Literature

Ericson, R., K. Haggerty (1997): *Policing the Risk Society*, Toronto, Buffalo

Ericson, R., N. Stehr (2000): *Governing Modern Societies*. University of Toronto Press

Feltes, T. (2008): *Police Reform in Countries in Transition – A Story of Failures?* (in preparation)

Fischer, Martina (2006): *Effective Prevention, Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding – Lessons from the Balkans and Challenges for the European Union*. In: *Macedonia and the Region towards EU and NATO*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Scopje

Hellman, J.S., G. Jones, D. Kaufmann (2000): “Seize the State, Seize the Day”. *State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition*. World Bank, Policy Research Working Papers 2444 <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pdf/seize.pdf> (22.9.2007)

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2007): *Breaking the Kosovo Stalemate: Europe’s Responsibility*. Europe Report N°185 – 21 August 2007 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/europe/balkans/185_breaking_the_kosovo_stalemate__europe_s_responsibility.pdf 28.8.2007 (20.8.2007)

Jopp, M., S. Sandawi (2007): *Operationalisierung von Security Sector Reform(SSR) auf dem Westlichen Balkan intelligente/kreativen Ansätze für eine langfristige positive Gestaltung diese Region*. Study by the Institute for European Politics, Berlin, Classified as „VS-NfD“ available at <http://balkanforum.org/IEP-BND/iep0001.PDF> (28.9.2007)

King, I., W. Mason (2006): *Peace at any Price. How the World Failed in Kosovo*. New York

Loader, I., N. Walker (2007): *Civilizing Security*. Cambridge, New York

United Nations Office and Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2007): *Afghanistan Opium Survey 2007. Executive Summary*.
http://www.unodc.org/pdf/research/AFG07_ExSum_web.pdf (17.9.2007)

van de Bunt, Henk, Edward Kleemans (2007): *Organized Crime Monitor research*. The Hague, WODC http://www.wodc.nl/images/ob252_summary_tcm44-81965.pdf (5.9.2007)

van Duyne, Petrus C. (1996): *Organized Crime in Europe*, Commack, New York.

von Lampe, Klaus (2001): *Not a Process of Enlightenment: The Conceptual History of Organized Crime in Germany and the United States of America*, in: *Forum on Crime and Society*, 1(2), 99-116

Zaremba, M. (2007 a): *Koloni Kosovo. Report from Unmikistan, Land of the Future*. In: *Dagens Nyheter*, 25.6.2007 <http://www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=2502&a=664639> (17.9.2007)

Ziegler, Jean (2005): *United Nations Press conference by Special Rapporteur on Right to Food*. 31.10.2005
http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/2005/051028_Ziegler_PC.doc.htm (10.9.2007).

Ziegler, Jean (2007): *Das Imperium der Schande. Der Kampf gegen Armut und Unterdrückung*. München (Original 2005: *L'Empire de la honte*, Paris).