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NEW PERSPECTIVES IN CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

U.S. Department of Justice
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1. Crime is increasingly being recognized as a major problem of national and international dimensions, with repercussions and ramifications which extend beyond national frontiers, "hampering the economic, social and cultural development of peoples and threatening the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms". 1/ At the same time, there is increasing concern about the functioning of criminal justice systems and the most appropriate, effective and humane measures to deal with crime.

2. Cognizant of the seriousness of criminality, of the difficulties in devising appropriate strategies for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, and the need for co-ordinated international action, the Economic and Social Council, at its 1980 organizational session, decided to include an additional item in the provisional agenda of the Sixth Congress, entitled "New perspectives in crime prevention and criminal justice and development: the role of international co-operation". 2/

3. In including this new item, attention was drawn to Council resolution 1581( L) which recognized the "serious threat that criminality poses to the quality of economic and social development", and to General Assembly resolution 32/58, of 8 December 1977. In that resolution, the Assembly took note of the report prepared at its request by the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, entitled "Methods and ways likely to be most effective in preventing crime and improving the treatment of offenders", 3/ to be used by Member States "in formulating national crime prevention policies and strategies", and "as a guideline for future United Nations activities directed towards the prevention and control of crime and delinquency and the treatment of offenders".

4. The Committee's report emphasized the need for formulating more effective crime prevention policies to deal with the ever-changing challenge of crime, both at the national and international levels, and strongly advocated that, since criminality may impede socio-economic development, crime prevention strategies must be built into national development planning. 4/

5. Considerable attention has already been given by some Member States to the formulation of policies and measures to minimize the impact of criminality: crime prevention and criminal justice have been included in the national plans of countries as widely different as Sri Lanka and Venezuela, and planning offices

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1/ General Assembly resolution 32/60 of 8 December 1977.
3/ "Report of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control on its fourth session" (E/CS.5/336), annex IV.
4/ This also had been emphasized in previous United Nations resolutions - for example, Assembly resolution 3021 (XXVII) and Council resolution 1086 B (XXXIX).
concerned with crime prevention have been established in others, such as Canada, Colombia and France. However, the efforts to implement these policies and measures can be frustrated by certain factors which may or may not be beyond control. Given this situation, the new perspectives in crime prevention and criminal justice require not only the creation of greater awareness of the consequences of criminality on the development process but also the elaboration of practical measures aimed at promoting coherent crime prevention strategies and at establishing the mechanisms for their effective implementation.

6. In this perspective, the Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders — the theme of which is "Crime prevention and the quality of life" — can contribute significantly to the development of an integrated approach in which the strategies for more effective crime prevention and improved performance of the criminal justice system are formulated within the context of over-all development planning. International, regional and subregional collaboration in crime prevention and criminal justice would play an important role in this respect, as would technical co-operation among developing countries.

7. Over the years, the focus of the activities of the United Nations policy-making bodies concerned with problems of criminality has shifted from issues relating merely to the treatment of offenders to the broader issue of crime prevention and criminal justice in the developmental context. This shift in emphasis has been caused largely by the realization that, while development may not necessarily be accompanied by an increase in crime and delinquency, the interplay of the various social and economic factors involved in the process may, at times, create conditions and opportunities conducive to criminality.

8. At the present time, it is neither possible nor feasible to establish general causal relations between "criminality" and development, because both are very dynamic concepts for which there are no precise sets of universally accepted and standardized indicators. However, there is a growing awareness that certain changes in the socio-economic structure and cultural patterns of a society resulting from economic growth and social change, might affect deviance and criminality. Criminality, in fact, may be fostered by such concomitants of development as the atomization of families, rapid and unplanned urbanization, differential sectoral rates of growth (e.g., education and employment; population growth and food production and shelter), inequalities in income distribution, social mobility and the decline of traditional ties.

9. While cross-culturally these factors have, in one way or another, always been associated with deviance and criminality in criminological research, policy makers have only recently come to be aware of them. This is, for example, evident from the replies of some Member States on the implementation of the recommendations and conclusions of the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 32/59. 2/ For example, the United Republic of Cameroon stated: "The world's socio-economic evolution has led to a general disruption in customs, social imbalance and the breakdown of the basic family unit. Young countries suffer the consequences of these inevitable social changes. This manifests itself among young people in the increasing maladjustment of juveniles in newly independent African States. Cameroon has not been spared this phenomenon, which is making itself felt increasingly. Juvenile delinquency is essentially the result of economic, emotional and even spiritual frustration." Iraq stated: "The incidence of modern crimes (embezzlement and forgery) increased at an extremely high rate. It will be noted that crime trends in Iraq reflect the extent of the country's development, the tendency towards urbanization and abandonment of the nomadic life." Finland stated: "Much of the rapid growth of crime in the 1960s can be attributed to the vast demographic changes. The increase in larceny offences which has continued in the 1970s is apparently also a consequence of the increase in the number of opportunities for crime and other factors related to economic conditions."
10. Crime, as associated with extensive and haphazard urbanization, can be explained in part by the specific social conditions of urban life and the kinds of relationships that exist between people living in large cities. Slum dwellings and slumlike settlements, the "street factor"—particularly in the case of young people—and the proliferation of certain types of entertainment enterprises can create conditions and particular environments for criminal acts. In the absence of productive legitimate opportunities, it is more likely that unemployed or underemployed young persons, whose expectations have been raised by education, will choose illicit short-cuts to achieve their frustrated goals. In the case of a factor such as population density, it is well known that human behaviour may be adversely affected when a great number of people with different backgrounds live in urban concentrations without the benefit of real community life. It is probable that such persons, lacking social roots or family support, are more likely to resort to deviant conduct.

11. Whatever the interaction between the above-mentioned processes and criminality, there are reliable indications that the crime problem in many countries is assuming wider proportions, and that it poses a real threat to social and economic progress, distorts national goals, impedes their attainment and prevents the optimum use of national resources. A climate of insecurity and fear pervading daily life is not a fruitful setting for national development. A state of uncertainty about life and property, induced by high rates of criminality or a lack of suitable efforts to control it, will result in considerable direct and indirect costs to the national economy and the society as a whole. It will also encourage an unwillingness to take risks, a rise in interest rates and insurance premiums, and an inflation spiral that will seriously impair the quality of life for citizens. In some countries, crime has spawned social disorders and imperiled customary life-styles.

12. As recognized by the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, costs associated with criminal activity may fall into four broad categories: direct financial losses to the victims of crimes against property and persons; costs of preventive and security measures in public institutions and private enterprises; costs of insurance and of the wages lost by confined offenders and incapacitated victims; and the welfare burden arising from the need to support the families of prisoners and victims. However, perhaps the greatest cost of crime is that attributable to the sense of fear and anxiety engendered by the prevalence of the various forms of criminality. Crime, in fact, always entails some sacrifice of such intangible values as personal security and freedom, which, in turn, may also be limited or restricted by crime control measures.

13. A complete assessment of the cost of crime is complicated by the fact that reported crime usually represents only an insignificant percentage of the total. This means that, in addition to anything calculable, there are other, hidden, costs due to unreported crime which constitute a debilitating drain on the economy.

14. Direct costs of crime are only now coming to be recognized: estimates made for some countries have shown them to be staggering, and they reflect only the tip of the iceberg. The costs are that much higher when expenditures on public order and the criminal justice system are especially heavy. In some developing countries, funds urgently needed for industrialization, health, education and other aspects of development have to be diverted for crime control, with the result that expenditures on crime come to represent a sizeable proportion of limited national budgets.

15. The apprehension, conviction and correction of offenders requires the use of national resources—material and human. Resource allocation in the public sector and, specifically, in the criminal justice sector, is a pivotal issue for policy-making. Accurate and meaningful information on the direction, impact, extent and forms of criminality is necessary as a basis for decision-making in this field, so as to ensure relevant and efficacious crime prevention and control strategies.

16. In order to assess more fully the extent and impact of crime, it is necessary to obtain a better appreciation of crime trends. Social indicators can be used to provide a basis for the assessment of crime trends and their relation to socio-economic development. A number of countries produce "social reports" containing such indicators, which refer to such measures as personal safety, the administration of justice and social opportunity and participation. A basic United Nations framework for integrated indicators has been developed, including measures of "public security", but it needs to be further put into operation.
growth by reducing the potentially disruptive effects of certain sectoral
imbalances. Such findings can profitably be shared, and further inroads made
on seemingly intractable problems.

3. Planning for crime prevention as part of over-all economic and social planning

10. Economic growth creates increased opportunities for the legitimate satisfaction
of perceived needs. However, it may also bring with it new opportunities for
illegitimate satisfaction, as old values lose their impact before new ones are
firmly entrenched, family relationships acquire a different emphasis and the
capacity for social control of traditional institutions is weakened. These changes
assume unique configurations in the social matrix from which they emerge. It is,
therefore, of prime significance in the formulation of crime prevention strategies
to take full cognizance of existing national and local realities. 10/ A modern
approach to crime prevention, alert to such realities, must anticipate socio-economic
changes and the conditions they may produce. This approach has already been put into
extensive practice with regard to the provision of adequate education and housing
facilities. Such planning has not yet been brought fully to bear on crime
prevention - at least as far as most countries are concerned.

19. The task of the crime prevention planner is how to deal effectively with
various development issues so as to achieve economic growth and social well-being
while at the same time containing delinquency within acceptable limits. Tolerance
levels vary with societies, but crime prevention planners can be active
participants in the adoption and adjustment of educational, health, housing,
industrial and urban development policies with a view to minimizing the cost of
crime. The interdisciplinary nature of planning for crime prevention, which derives
from the interplay of economic, social and cultural factors, requires that crime
specialists and planners themselves be drawn from various disciplines. A contrast
is needed between patterns of rapid socio-economic change, which occur in the
realities in all parts of the world",

20. In view of the enormous social and economic costs incurred when crime is
permitted to proliferate, subject only to "post facto" action aimed at the
detection, apprehension and detention of perpetrators, such an integrated approach
is highly economical. It is, however, dependent on further study of the links
between various social and economic issues and criminality, so as to highlight
the need for co-ordinated strategies for balanced growth and social progress,
maximizing the effectiveness of the planning process. Better understanding of
those links would permit appropriate changes to be made in primary crime prevention
programmes, e.g., in budget allocations for such divergent sectors as housing,
public safety, education and employment. An integrated approach would also
extend to physical planning for crime prevention and control by means of improved
city planning and the development of living spaces and social infrastructure,
which would restore neighbourhoods and communities as basic units of social
control. This approach requires a concerted effort by policy makers to redistribute
the financial and organizational resources required for effective policy-making
and implementation. From the perspective of crime prevention, it would demand a
more systematic and systemic effort to carry out problem-solving research and
develop models in this field as a guide to action.

21. To sum up, in the context of development, planning for crime prevention and
criminal justice calls for the concerted action of all agencies of government and
of the public. Such co-ordinated planning must be integrated with sectoral
planning, involving a feedback approach by all agencies concerned with the
prevention of crime and the administration of criminal justice. In this
positive role of non-governmental organizations active in the field should be
continuously underlined. Furthermore, crime prevention planning at the national,
or macro, level, and at the local, or micro, level, must be regarded as
interrelated processes which are complementary in character. 12/
services and sanitation, child malnutrition, a high level of school drop-outs, family disintegration, a high percentage of women as heads of households receiving a low and erratic income, a high percentage of children and teenagers, mistreated children and a number of problems centering around a flock of means for survival. 15/ In Africa, it was noted that "juveniles were the inevitable victims of a process marked by reduced capacity of families to transmit social values and educate the young. Since it was economic and social development which brought about this dilemma, it was by economic and social means that juvenile delinquency had to be primarily prevented. In many cities of the continent, children and young persons were swarming in the streets by the hundreds, without goal except to survive without support, without hope, subject only to peer group pressure". 13/

24. A growing number of countries are paying increased attention to comprehensive and timely approaches directed at crime prevention in the perspective of intersectoral planning. In Kenya, it was reported that "certain social factors such as a high rate of population growth, unemployment and inflation have been responsible for increase or decrease of crime in the country". 14/ In Australia, the variables being used in assessing the patterns and trends of crime and the relationship between crime, urbanization and the national economy include the following: criminal justice (police operations, crimes reported and cleared), number of cases dealt with by the courts, prison population and expenditures; population, masculinity, life expectancy and divorce; proportion of living in urban/rural areas, gross domestic product, unemployment and motor vehicle registrations. 15/ It was reported by the Netherlands that "an increase in leisure time, growing emancipation of women, advanced urbanization coupled with reduced informal social control; and looser family ties with increased independence of children can be expected to lead to the following: (a) larger proportion of women will be involved (as offenders) in crime (emancipation); (b) offenders will begin their criminal careers at a younger age (loose family ties and increased independence of children); (c) offences against property will increase (due partly to feelings of relative deprivation but primarily to declining social supervision); (d) the number of cases of breaking and entering will increase; (e) offences such as vandalism will increase due to the increase in the number of cars". 16/ In Japan, the Research and Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice has analysed the correlations between social change and crime rates and clarified how such changes in the fields of population, industry, finance, labour, education, police and so forth affect the incidence of crime. The results of the analysis show the rates of theft to be in inverse proportion to the affluence of the society as a whole; fraud liable to occur at times when and in areas where people lack economic strength; the rates of homicide to be correlated with what may be called socio-pathologic phenomena such as the rates of divorce or suicide or the shortage of hospital accommodations, and the rates of juvenile delinquency correlated with unsettled labour conditions and the instability of livelihood resulting therefrom. 17/ Crime prevention in socialist countries takes the form of planned, well-organized efforts affecting the structure and dynamics of criminality, at different levels. These preventive measures are adopted as parts of wider social policies directed at furthering the aims of development. 18/

D. Some specific issues of intersectoral planning

25. Of the various variables relevant to the examination of crime prevention in relation to development, the issues of rural and urban migration, industrialisation and rural modernisation, education and unemployment are considered below as illustrations of the scope of intersectoral planning.

1. Rural-to-urban migration and urbanisation

26. There is unquestionably a trend towards rapid urbanisation, especially in developing nations. Metropolitan areas are turning into megalopolitan areas, where inequalities in such areas as social control, health, education, housing and sanitary facilities are all too flagrant. The migrant's or city dweller's expectations of urban life is rarely fulfilled. The frequent resort to crime may be seen as a frustrated effort to achieve the otherwise unachievable.

27. Migration at the regional, national and international levels results in a highly heterogeneous population in the cities of both developed and developing countries. Migration to cities has varying effects on persons. Some migrants maintain their traditional ties to land, family and village; others, especially the young and children, adopt urban life styles and thus cut themselves off more rapidly from traditional normative patterns and values. Many of the migrants are left with almost no external controls on their conduct when faced with the anonymity and the heterogeneity of urban life. Lack of integration into the existing society may lead to patterns of criminal and deviant behaviour.

28. International migration, whether caused by national disasters, political persecution or unfavourable economic conditions, can often drive migrants to criminality, including passport and visa violations, falsification of documents and illegal labour. Moreover, migrants become easy victims of criminal exploitation and violation of their human rights. Effectively planned and regulated...
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Corrigendum

Page 10

The second sentence of paragraph 24 should read

24. The answers provided by Member States for the preparation of the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the recommendations of the Fifth Congress give ample proof of this. For example, in Kenya, it was reported that "certain social factors such as a high rate of population growth, unemployment and inflation have been responsible for increase or decrease of crime in the country".

Foot-notes 15 and 16 should read

15/ Ibid., para. 16.
16/ Ibid., paras. 19 and 20.

Page 11

Foot-note 17 should read

17/ Ibid., para. 18.
migratory movements, implemented within the context of over-all national development (such as the establishment of special industrial towns, along with parallel structural facilities, in deprived and/or underpopulated regions of a country), with the objective of maximizing the utilization of resources and ensuring benefits for the people, would lead to a better quality of life and also to a possible reduction in crime rates.

29. Considerable experience has been reported in successfully dealing with these problems by means of planning efforts at the local level. Thus, in a socialist country of Eastern Europe, in areas prone to a rise in criminality owing to the prevailing anonymity among people, residents are organised so that they may get acquainted with each other and, consequently, establish links of social cohesion, support and control. This method of preventing crime through direct contacts among the residents is used in many socialist countries. Similarly, preventive efforts for crime prevention at places of work have been reported in a number of Eastern European countries with centrally planned economies. 19/ In the United States of America, crime prevention through environmental design and with citizens' participation is said to have had success. 20/

2. Education

30. In the working paper entitled "Juvenile justice: before and after the onset of delinquency", it was stressed that "in both developed and developing nations, the potential strength of their educational system in delinquency prevention is unrealized. There is an expressed concern that despite the belief in the important role of the school in socialization, the school may be perceived in some instances, as contributing to delinquency problems." 21/ That is why, in both developed and developing countries, adjustments in public education in line with national and cultural realities and aspirations becomes a goal of paramount importance. However, disparities between the orientation of the educational system and available employment opportunities may increase resentment, frustration and idleness, often leading to the pursuit of illegitimate opportunities.

31. In Africa, for example, it was reported that "countries had emerged from independence with only a small number of schools. Vast masses composed of the young and the old had to be educated upon independence. The shortage of teachers and schools and of teaching materials hampered the efforts. Young people had to be trained for their role as nation builders, in whatever capacity, and that was regarded as the best delinquency prevention." 22/ Moreover, in new, emerging States, the situation can be aggravated by the destruction of or damage to schools during the struggle for liberation. International co-operation has been requested in order to re-establish education as an agent of change and development.

20/ See "Implementation of the conclusions ... " (A/35/269).
21/ See "Juvenile justice: before and after the onset of delinquency" (A/CONF.87/5).
22/ See "Report of the African regional ... " (A/CONF.87/58/A).

32. In the Asian region it was noted that "special attention had to be given to the need to deal with the ever-increasing number of school-leavers for whom society could not provide employment and who might become embittered and socially dangerous". 23/ Such problems highlight the need for education to be directly related to other economic and social sectors. Education appropriate to existing socio-economic realities must and can have a positive developmental and crime-inhibiting impact on young people.

3. Industrialisation and rural modernisation

33. Problems of industrialisation and rural modernisation are more onerous in the early stages of development, when incomes are low and skills scarce, and when a wide range of new institutions and activities have to be initiated and co-ordinated. 24/ Perhaps one of the most important challenges in policy development is the need to foster industrialisation in balance with agriculture while enhancing employment potential. In most developing countries, governments have played a leading role in the early stages of industrialisation, being responsible for water, sewage disposal, telecommunication networks, the building of infrastructure (roads, railways and ports) and the production and distribution of power.

34. However, planning efforts in the economic sector, as formidable as they are, have often not given enough attention to the need to co-ordinate and plan with due regard to the social impact of planning strategies, especially when new problems of urbanisation, migration, changes in life-style and cultural models, the breaking-down of the old, traditional order and the emergence of the so-called symptoms of "transitional periods". Industrialisation requires careful social-impact studies of all industrial projects, at the pre-investment level. Such studies, and the articulation of the non-economic objectives of industrial development, need to be specific and concrete.

35. If industrialisation proceeds outside the context of integrated planning, conditions for the increase of crime may result. That such negative consequences can be avoided has been amply demonstrated by those countries which have built social planning - including crime-prevention planning - into their industrial development plans. The time may have come for a more effective integration of such planning, especially at the pre-investment level, with built-in mechanisms for assessing its impact on the crime situation. 25/
Unemployment

36. The opportunity and, indeed, the right to work is a basic human right. Unemployment and underemployment have often been linked with crime and delinquency in developing and developed societies, but further research is needed, since the relationships do not appear to be linear and since many other variables may be involved. In many areas of the world, unemployment afflicts a large part of the total population and an even greater part of the youth population. In some countries the group between 15 and 24 years of age is especially affected. For that group, unemployment rates of over 20 per cent are recorded in various areas of the world. The severity of this problem among youth reduces their chances for a better and more meaningful life and constitutes a potentially crisisogenic situation with possible disruptive effects on the normative outlook and values of youth. For instance, in some countries of Latin America, those under 20 years of age range from 35 per cent to 55 per cent of the total population. In many of those countries, that age group will increase in the future at a rate higher than that for the total population.

37. It is generally recognized that the 15-24-year-old age group is disproportionately represented in the criminal population. This leads to the prediction that a decline in the size of the group would lead to a steady but significant decrease in crime. A balanced employment policy, geared to the growth of employment opportunities and the improvement of the capacity of the labour force, are primary goals of social progress, since work offers a chance for the disadvantaged to achieve a better life.

38. In the cities of many countries, large numbers of youth drift about engaging in vandalism out of boredom, in laziness out of frustration or need, and in crimes of violence out of desperation or for lack of inhibition or external controls. Caught between heightened expectations and meagre realities, without employment, crime and delinquency tends to aggravate cultural alienation, divisiveness and social and political marginality. A spiral is thus created, which only special programmes might result from accomplishment through labour, youth underemployed tends to aggravate cultural alienation, divisiveness and social and political marginality. A spiral is thus created, which only special programmes might result from accomplishment through labour, youth underemployed tends to aggravate cultural alienation, divisiveness and social and political marginality. 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42. Perhaps what is needed most in the future is a new type of professional planner, with criminological as well as planning expertise, since crime is always concerned with human behaviour and thus does not recognize sectoral boundaries. In developing an adequate model for sectoral planning, a logical and humane system which does not rely only on the two extremes of crime and punishment should be conceived, aimed at restoring integrative community mechanisms. The sequence of crime and punishment fits only traditional ideas. A rigid articulation of these two elements in the face of the unprecedented rate of socio-economic and political change in most areas of the world today can aggravate existing processes of marginalisation and alienation, especially among the poor and the disadvantaged.

43. Some recent and more realistic efforts at planning for crime prevention have tried to emphasize the following goals:

(a) Conceptualization of the criminal justice system as a whole, in its totality of interrelated parts and activities;

(b) Decriminalization and depenalization of certain kinds of socially acceptable conduct, at present proscribed by the criminal law, and the utilization of community alternatives;

(c) Recognition of the need for the diversification of judicial dispositions and correctional options, and of the need for more humane and effective community-oriented sanctions;

(d) Determination of common, unifying procedures within the various subsectors, especially regarding information and communication;

(e) Progress in the selection and training of personnel;

(f) Reorientation of criminological research to problem-solving, with due attention to indigenous solutions.

44. These goals may seem hard to implement, owing to the constraints imposed in developing nations by the relative scarcity of available resources, the orientation of particular cultures, and the rapid pace of change, both socio-economic and technological. Yet, the options mentioned may well be more economical than past practices. As recommended by the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, the establishment at the national and local levels of a planning and co-ordinating body, with experts in the field of criminal justice and representatives of its different subsectoral operators, and with the participation of members of the community, would be of particular value in assessing priorities and needs, improving resource allocation, monitoring and evaluating programmes, and implementing the above-mentioned goals on a practical level. 28/

45. Moreover, some of the previously examined constraints can be considerably minimized by co-operation at the international level if due account is taken of the fact that some developing countries have achieved significant advances in crime prevention planning. By linking those innovative efforts to regional or subregional efforts, other countries can obtain the professional support needed in similar situations. Furthermore, the services of the United Nations system, at the request of Member States, could be used to overcome some of the constraints.

28/ See "Report of the Committee on Crime Prevention ..." (E/CN.5/536), annex IV.
II. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE REALISATION OF THE NEW PERSPECTIVES

A. Background

46. The new perspectives on crime prevention and criminal justice, as described in the preceding chapter, have evolved over a decade. Both the Fourth and Fifth Congresses contributed to the development of new dimensions and added to the growing body of knowledge on this complex issue.

47. At the Fourth Congress, "the view that social defence planning should be an integral and essential part of planning for national development was accepted without question". 32/ Moreover, it was recommended that "countries should not be bound by the past, but should seek imaginative and original approaches in combating the widening patterns and incidence of criminal offending". 32/

Furthermore, it was noted that the process of law reform required far more attention at both national and international levels than it had been accorded in the past. Correspondingly, the Congress warned against any seeking of facile solutions to the problem of crime through the simple imposition of more severe legal sanctions.

48. At the Fifth Congress, it was agreed that "the criminal justice system had been limited to a fringe role in national development efforts. Lately, a new perspective had emerged in which crime was being viewed in terms of its economic and social consequences. That new approach could not only revolutionise policies for crime prevention and control but, just as important, also develop an awareness in the public and in government that crime and efforts directed toward its control called for an integrated approach to national economic social strategies". 32/

49. While appropriately, new perspectives on crime prevention and control have been advanced largely within the framework of the Congresses, important contributions to the body of knowledge have also been made through other avenues, notably in the international dialogue between economic planners and specialists in crime prevention and control field that took place at the Ad Hoc Meeting of Experts on Social Defence Planning in Relation to Development and Planning, held at Rome in 1969, 32/ at the interregional seminar on the use of research as a basis for policy and planning in the field of research and control, held at Copenhagen in 1973, 33/ at the interregional training course on criminal policy in the context of national development, held at Sydney in 1975, 34/ and, more recently, in the report of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control to the General Assembly, entitled "Methods and ways likely to be most effective in preventing crime and improving the treatment of offenders". 35/

50. Now that a certain level has been reached in the conceptual framework, it is recognised that there is urgent need to establish action-oriented programmes, to stimulate communication and collaboration, and to implement concrete measures to further international co-operation.

B. Scope for international co-operation

51. The task of developing programmes for international co-operation can be approached from several perspectives. One approach is by field of responsibility. At least four can be identified: the criminal justice field itself; fields of responsibility which, by their very nature, involve a strong linkage to the prevention of crime and the administration of criminal justice; the field of over-all developmental planning; sectors whose programmes may have great impact - real or potential - in affecting positive changes in the crime situation and in the criminal justice system.

While it is not possible to deal with any of these fields exhaustively, illustrations are given with respect to each of them.

1. Criminal Justice

52. By and large, practitioners in the field of criminal justice are not always attuned to viewing their problems and their programmes and policies in a new, broader perspective. In the vast majority of cases, they are so heavily burdened with pressing day-to-day administrative responsibilities that they have very little occasion to take a thoughtful long-range view of their activities, especially on matters that would lead to significant departures from present practice. It is fair to say, however, that this problem is not peculiar to the field of criminal justice: there are tendencies towards isolation in many fields. But, for certain reasons - some of them historical - the situation appears more extreme in the criminal justice sector.

53. In this connexion, the Congress may wish to formulate approaches for improving skills in sectoral and intersectoral planning. One approach might be to extend the professional training of the judiciary, the police, institutional personnel, and the like. For those already in service, seminars, refresher courses, in-service

33/ Ibid., para. 81.
34/ See Fifth United Nations Congress ... (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.IIV.9), para. 303.
training, and similar schemes for upgrading skills would probably need to be utilized.

54. In activities of this kind, the capacities of international organizations - governmental and non-governmental - should be fully explored. For example, there could be special interdisciplinary courses at the United Nations regional crime prevention institutes, national evaluation and pilot projects conducted in collaboration with the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute, observation and training abroad through fellowship programmes, direct advisory services to Governments, and an extensive use of existing publication facilities devoted to the criminal justice field.

2. Fields with strong linkages to crime prevention and criminal justice

55. With respect to fields of international responsibility whose programmes might be directly related to the prevention and control of crime and the administration of criminal justice, the two most obvious are narcotics and human rights. These are well known to the Congresses, and recommendations regarding them have been made by the Congresses on several occasions. The Economic and Social Council, some years ago, decided that the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control should report, as appropriate, on particular aspects of its work to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute is heavily engaged in a major collaborative project in the field of narcotics control.

56. There are, however, some fields in which criminal justice policy plays a large part but in which international co-operation could well benefit and be strengthened. For example, for several years, the United Nations has concerned itself with the prevention of transnational violence. Many steps of a legal nature have been taken. These include the Draft Code of Offences Against the Peace and Security of Mankind, prepared by the International Law Commission; the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism; a group of conventions adopted within the framework of the International Civil Aviation Organization; the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents; and the Convention against the Traficking of Hostages.

57. In the work carried out to deal with these issues, and especially through the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism and its subsidiary bodies, attention has been given to the socio-economic matrix from which transnational violence has arisen, although the primary focus has been on its political dynamics. There has been discussion of the social burden which international terrorism and the attempts to control it have imposed on the whole population and how this phenomenon, the fear of it, and the counter-measures introduced, have affected the quality of life. The Committee on International Terrorism has stressed the need for international co-operation in tackling the problem by, inter alia, studying its underlying causes.

58. In addition, the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its fourth and fifth sessions, considered certain aspects of violence and called for case studies and special reports to be presented to it and published in an issue of...
instances in the past of continuous collaboration between UNESCO, UNHCR, the ILO and the United Nations on particular problems of common concern to two or more of the organizations involved. With the widening of the perspective on crime prevention and control, the need to strengthen that kind of collaboration becomes quite clear.

4. Other sectors

63. There are now many international and regional programmes which have been created to advance over-all national development which essentially are not to be identified with policies relating to the prevention and the administration of criminal justice, but which, in fact, at certain points, have a great impact on crime prevention and criminal justice. At those points, how the matter is dealt with may have great importance not only for the attainment of the primary goal of the programme but also in terms of the ramifications for the nature and extent of criminality and for crime control.

64. For example, the United Nations Environment Programme has established a group of experts on environmental law and has debated whether the group should focus its deliberations on the legal aspects of liability and compensation for environmental damage or give prior attention to preventive and remedial measures. The group will be faced with many questions closely related to the preoccupations of the Sixth Congress: Are punitive measures a feasible and an effective deterrent? Are certain policies conducive to criminal evasion? Will the already overburdened judicial systems have the capacity to carry through the role that might be assigned it in a policy of environmental protection based heavily on liability and compensation damage? Work within the United Nations on codes of conduct relating to the transfer of technology and to transnational corporations also has implications for criminal justice systems.

65. Another area in which interesting developments might take place is that of population. Knowledge of the demographic characteristics of a region or country can throw light on the problems of crime and also suggest possible ways to prevent and control it. Some of the more obvious demographic variables which could indicate an expected association with crime are population density, the rate of population growth, and age structure of the population. For instance, it might be hypothesised that countries with rapidly growing populations are likely to have higher rates of unemployment, which could lead to increased crime rates; or that in regions with growing population density but without concomitant economic development per capita income would be lowered, leading to greater poverty, which could create a climate conducive to the acceleration of crime; or that countries with a predominantly youthful age structure would probably have a higher potential for crime.

66. When focusing on crime as a function of the nature and pattern of social and economic development, the need arises to examine its relation to a widely operating demographic factor such as migration. For example, in order to point out the disparities in regional development and provide greater insight into a policy-oriented solution to problems of crime. Migration can be studied at the national and international levels from a crime prevention perspective since unplanned migration creates problems that, in all probability, lead to increases in criminal acts. On the other hand, effective planning of migratory movements, implemented within the context of over-all national development with the objective of maximizing the use of resources and ensuring benefits to the people, while minimizing possible negative consequences, would automatically lead to a better quality of life and, also, to a reduction in the conditions which might contribute to an increase in crime rates.

67. A special aspect of migration - of great concern to the international community - is illegal migration. It is not only a question of the illegality of the phenomenon in itself but also the great vulnerability of the migrant to involuntary criminal involvement in an environment that is unfamiliar and often hostile.

C. Technical co-operation among developing countries

68. Technical co-operation among developing countries is particularly relevant to an international strategy of crime prevention and control in relation to developmental processes and goals. Historically, for the most part, developing countries have received from developed countries ideas, strategies and methods for their criminal justice systems. Historically, this tie was understandable since criminal justice systems in colonial times were based on those of the metropolitan powers.

69. Even today, however, for many developing countries innovation, training programmes and new emphasis in policy and practice are tuned strongly to the standards and modalities of the developed countries. This has a double disadvantage: (1) the developing countries are highly uncertain about the efficiency and the appropriateness of many elements of their criminal justice operations and scholars reiterate constantly that in the area of the prevention and control of crime all countries are underdeveloped; (2) even where full confidence is placed in programmes and policies as applied in other countries, there is a grave risk of their being inappropriate, possibly undesirable, or even counter-productive, when applied in quite different social, cultural and economic settings. On the other hand, it is not unusual for administrators and practitioners of one developing country to be relatively uninformed about policy and practice in neighbouring countries, although the problems being tackled may be quite similar, requiring imaginative and productive, socially progressive and effective solutions.

70. Several Member States, responding to a General Assembly invitation to inform the Secretary-General of the situation concerning crime prevention and control in their respective countries, have stressed that the development of indigenous capabilities, rather than the automatic transfer of alien models, was a basic requisite of really useful international co-operation, as was the introduction and adaptation to local requirements and circumstances of innovations and techniques used successfully in other contexts. 37/ A number of the elements

37/ "Crime prevention and control; report of the Secretary-General" (A/32/199).
of the United Nations system for the advancement of practice and policy in the field of crime prevention and control provide the machinery for an effective programme of technical co-operation in that field. First among them are the regional crime prevention research and training institutes, designed to meet the particular needs of the developing countries they serve.

71. The institutes can be very effective in advancing the concept of technical co-operation among developing countries. As far as the modalities of their operation are concerned, they could, for example, conduct a survey among member countries in the region they serve to determine the issues to which Governments wish to give priority in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. Next, the institutes could establish a roster of personnel in their region, especially in various aspects of the criminal justice system, and are able and willing to participate in collaborative efforts involving other countries of the region. Further, the institutes could identify other specialized institutes and agencies, especially those of universities and institutes, having the capacity to offer training and research co-operation to nationals of neighbouring countries requiring it, within the framework of the priorities set in the previously mentioned survey.

72. In the context of this undertaking, the institutes should analyze the nature of the external support services required from the international community to make the system of technical co-operation effective in their regions. The United Nations Latin American Institute has been operating largely on that basis: language plans on the co-ordination of programmes of work would strengthen the orientation. In some of their activities, the institutes would be in a position to call for assistance on the network of United Nations national correspondents in crime prevention and criminal justice, one of whose responsibilities it is to outline both national needs in the context of international action and local resources for collaboration.

D. A framework for effective co-operation

73. The United Nations has an important role to play in the advancement of international co-operation in crime prevention and criminal justice. The system of international co-operation in crime prevention and the administration of criminal justice within the United Nations consists of the Congresses, the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, the International Research Institutes, the relevant regional research and training institutes, specialized global meetings of experts, regional meetings, the network of national correspondents, the machinery for collaboration within the system as well as with other intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, universities and institutes, a publications programme and direct technical assistance to requesting Member States.

1. Congresses

74. The history of the United Nations Congresses is well known, their origins going back over a century through the efforts of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission and the concerns of the League of Nations. There has naturally been considerable evolution, and the Sixth Congress reflects an important new development, namely, its intergovernmental nature.

75. It is for the Congress to consider how it, as a reconvening United Nations body, can maintain the momentum for the advancement of policy and practice between its sessions. Particularly in the context of the request of the Economic and Social Council to the Congress to discuss and provide advice on "new perspectives in crime prevention and criminal justice and development: the role of international co-operation", it would be appropriate for the Congress to examine how it can itself play an even more effective role. Probably it will wish to continue the practice, introduced at the sixth Congress, of receiving reports on the implementation of its previous recommendations. It must, of course, examine those reports under the mandate of the General Assembly, evaluate the progress achieved, and make observations and suggestions to the General Assembly.

76. In conjunction with the theme of the Congress, "Crime prevention and the quality of life", consideration should be given to the promulgation of a declaration on the subject, referring to the prevention of criminality in the context of national development. It may be at the sixth session that the Congress, in the course of its deliberations, will call for data on special aspects of the crime situation, to be compiled through surveys and research, and reported back at the next session. Alternatively, those special aspects, identified by the Congress for further deliberation, might be fitted into the context of a report on the world crime situation, in conjunction with the relevant General Assembly mandates. Reports of such a character could be prepared quinquennially and timed for submission to the Congress; the observations and recommendations of the Congress might then be submitted to the General Assembly.

77. The Congress, in addressing itself to the issues of international co-operation in crime prevention and criminal justice, may wish to give attention to the role that might be played in this regard by the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control. The Committee, which prepares the Congresses, has been entrusted by the Economic and Social Council with the "preparation and submission to the competent United Nations bodies and to those Congresses, for their approval, of programmes of international co-operation in the field of crime prevention".

[39/ See General Assembly resolutions 3021 (XXVI) and 32/59; Council resolutions 1979/20; and the statement submitted by the International Association of Penal Law, the International Society of Criminology, non-governmental organizations in category II status, and the International Society of Social Defence, a non-governmental organization on the Roster (A/1050/BRO/3, of 1 May 1980).]

[39/ See "Crime trends and crime prevention strategies" (A/CONF.87/4).]

[40/ Economic and Social Council resolution 1979/19, of 9 May 1979.]
78. With respect to the range of areas of international co-operation, illustrated above, the Congress may wish to have drawn up an inventory of the programmes relevant to international co-operation in this field and to examine the potential of the various elements of the existing international and regional machinery in the area for sustaining such co-operation, including advisory services and similar forms of technical co-operation. In view of its special responsibility as the preparatory committee for the Congresses, the Committee should pay particular attention to continuity, the implementation of conclusions and recommendations and the structure of programmes so that the Congresses have greater impact on advancing knowledge and practice in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice in relation to social and economic developmental strategy.

2. Technical assistance

79. The concept of technical assistance offers a special opportunity to serve a wide range of needs through fellowships, group study tours, direct advisory services to requesting Governments, pilot projects, evaluation missions, regional training courses and seminars. Such assistance is available through bilateral and multilateral governmental auspices; there are also some non-governmental resources to be tapped. Direct advisory services to Governments in the prevention and control of crime have been a distinctive aspect of the work of the United Nations in this field from the Organization's earliest days.

3. Informational services

80. Overall reliable and comparable information on the success or failure of innovative crime prevention efforts is scarce or non-existent in most parts of the world. Even where such information is available, there is often insufficient capacity to utilize it in the broader framework of national policy and planning. Moreover, countries facing new crime problems sometimes attack them individually without first trying to benefit from comparable experiences of other countries, thereby wasting resources.

81. In a survey conducted at the request of the General Assembly, the majority of responding Governments indicated that in an international plan of action for crime prevention and control, first place should go to the free and systematic exchange of information. In Governments are interested in receiving information on world trends in crime and criminal policies, against which their own crime picture and practices can be gauged, and in obtaining information on specific subjects of particular concern to them. Member States expressed the view that this is a service the United Nations is eminently suited to provide, drawing on existing national data systems and facilities and further developing the framework for the collation, analysis and feedback of information of use to policy makers and planners everywhere.

82. In order to provide additional knowledge of the problems and processes involved so that more effective policies and programmes may be formulated, a systematic, sustained effort is required. This means strengthening the capacity to gather, analyse and disseminate relevant information in the form most useful to Member States. It also means carrying out problem-related research, including pilot and demonstration projects with built-in evaluation schemes, and developing other approaches designed to increase the store of available knowledge.

83. Steps should also be taken to translate data into plans and programmes; adopt strategies for different cultural settings; develop strategies for dealing with new problems; and deal with criminal justice issues within overall sectoral and intersectoral planning. Governments are entitled to the provision of clearing-house services on legislation pertaining to crime prevention and criminal justice in all other member countries, including a bibliographical service.

84. International Review of Criminal Policy, now in its thirty-fifth issue, has been a major vehicle for the dissemination of knowledge on criminal policy development, innovation, evaluation and trends. Thought should now be given to the frequency of its publication, which may well have to be increased in accordance with previous Congress and Committee recommendations.

4. Regional co-operation

85. Regional collaboration is a particularly effective element of international co-operation in crime prevention and criminal justice. Intensified collaboration has been strongly called for by representatives of Member States. Regional training courses and special seminars are an established part of the programme of international activity sponsored by the United Nations, as are the preparatory meetings for the Congresses. In view of the desire to strengthen the continuity of the Congresses, thought might be given to modalities for regional consideration and implementation of the conclusions and recommendations of the Congresses. In this, the regional institutes play a major role. The regional commissions of the United Nations may find it appropriate to give closer attention to issues of crime prevention and control, particularly in the new perspective of intersectoral planning. The links between the regional institutes and commissions should also be strengthened.

5. The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute

86. The principal research arm of the United Nations, the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute (UNSDRI), is in a special position to advance thinking, research methodology and collaboration in the field of crime prevention and control. It has already contributed to the body of knowledge in the area and is at present engaged in a major project on aspects of juvenile delinquency as related to the developmental process. The Committee on Crime Prevention and Control has been involved in an assessment of the activities and orientation of the Institute, and both a long-range and short-term

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See "Report of the Committee on Crime Prevention ..." (A/CN.5/595), annex IV.

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programme of action have been elaborated, attuned to the new perspectives under consideration in the present report. There seems to be a need to develop a method of maintaining a close link between the Committee and the Institute and its proposed Board of Directors in order to ensure a proper balance between the priorities established by the Committee and the commitments of the Institute.

6. **United Nations Social Defence Trust Fund**

87. In resolution 1086 B (XXXIX), the Economic and Social Council established a special fund to permit Member States and other sources, so inclined, to contribute specifically to the support of United Nations endeavours in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. This grew out of the recognition that, in general, no awareness had developed of the linkage between criminality and development and that, therefore, development funds were seldom available for programmes in the field of the prevention and control of crime. The Social Defence Trust Fund is meant to be of service to the advancement of the developmental objectives in this field. Some countries have contributed generously to the Fund; others, not at all. The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute has been almost totally dependent upon money in the Fund, earmarked for it by the donors.

88. In accordance with General Assembly decision 34/440 and Council resolution 1979/21, it is hoped that strengthened support will be forthcoming for the type of activities dealt with by the Fund. Special emphasis should be placed on the potential of the Fund and on the need for greater liquidity, since the implementation of suitable action programmes is dependent on the availability of adequate resources.

III. **SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

89. The new perspectives in crime prevention and criminal justice discussed above require that relations between crime and various socio-economic issues be further analyzed and that practical measures aimed at promoting coherent crime prevention strategies and establishing the mechanism for their effective implementation, be elaborated.

90. In the light of the foregoing discussions, the following issues seem to deserve particular attention and action at the national, regional and international level:

(a) An integrated approach to crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development calls for the concerted action of Governments and the public, including the important role of non-governmental organizations (para. 21);

(b) In order to maximize the effectiveness of the integrated approach, better understanding of the interplay between various socio-economic issues and criminality is needed (para. 20);

(c) Intersectoral and sectoral planning for crime prevention and criminal justice should be harmoniously co-ordinated in relation to the objectives and programmes of national development (paras. 22, 34, 41 and 42);

(d) Co-operation at the international level can reduce considerably existing constraints to the implementation of various aspects of the integrated approach (paras. 44-45);

(e) Technical co-operation among developing countries is particularly relevant to an international strategy of crime prevention and criminal justice in relation to developmental processes and goals. In this connexion, the regional crime prevention research and training institutes can be useful instruments for effective implementation of the approach (paras. 68-69, 71 and 72);

(f) With respect to the range of areas of international co-operation examined in the various sections of the present paper, the Congress may wish to draw up an inventory of programmes relevant to those areas and examine the potential of international and regional machinery from the point of view of sustaining such co-operation, and maximizing its effectiveness (paras. 76-78). In this connexion, attention is particularly invited to the strengthening of the Social Defence Research Institute (para. 86).