TENDENCIES IN DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CRIME IN POLAND

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Abstract

The article deals with social, political and economic transitions in Poland after 1989 had a decisive impact on the dynamics of crime, its structure, and the appearance of new forms of criminal activities. New tendencies in the world, especially easy access to firearms, the opening of state borders and multidirectional migrations enabling the creation of multinational criminal connections have also had an impact on the roots and dimensions of crime. In 1989, 547,589 crimes were reported in Poland, whereas in 1998 this number was doubled and amounted to 1,073,042, and in 2002 it reached 1,404,229. The detection rate in the last years has oscillated between 47 and 50%. The changes in crime, which have occurred in consecutive years, have not meant merely a growth in the number of crimes. One can observe some transformation in each category.

Since the beginning of the 90’s one observes a continuous, steady rise in the number of crimes, oscillating around 10–15% a year. As for the structure of offenses in Poland, acts of criminal character dominate above others, accounting for 82–86% of all offenses. Offenses that earlier had occurred on a marginal scale now have a tendency to growth; instances of such offences include unfair competition, money laundering, computer offenses. In the light of the latest police reports, the most important tendency observed in the last years is multicriminal activity of criminal groups, gaining turf in the field of illegal and legal economic activity, and connection with financial and goods beguilement, investing illegal gains in legal transactions.

Immense gains obtained illegally are invested in enterprises supporting criminal activities (purchase of auto shops, transportation firms, distilleries), personal consumption (house building, house equipment, purchase of cars, race gambling, casinos). This money is invested in economic enterprises enabling fast and continuous profits (running night clubs,
fast food bars, organization of sports events, shops selling cellular phones) as well as enterprises with gains in the future (land plots, real estates in attractive locations for auto routes, drive-ins, gas stations). Poland is becoming a market for classic drugs – from cocaine, through synthetics, through hashish and marijuana. One can observe stronger and stronger connections between Polish crime groups and those from other countries (especially in the field of production, transit and smuggling of amphetamine) and participation of our citizens in smuggling of drugs on the territory of other countries. More and more often the transfer of people is done by organized criminal groups with international connections. In the majority of cases it is only one of many elements of criminal activity, which encompasses smuggling of drugs, weapons, goods, cars, women, and so on. The organizers equipped with modern means of transportation and communications, and night vision devices and weapons conduct reconnaissance of border protection systems and sites suitable for illegal crossings. In the field of criminal offenses, offenses against property will still prevail the number of crimes with the use of firearms will also increase. The increase in crime in Poland has resulted from complicated social processes, and the possible limitation of the rate of this growth depends of the whole social and economic policy of the state.

Social, political and economic transitions in Poland after 1989 had a decisive impact on the dynamics of crime, its structure, and the appearance of new forms of criminal activities. The genesis of this process is relatively well known; it has an economic, social and cultural basis. The threat of crime is stimulated by both traditional and new crime-forming factors – especially social pathologies, family crises, and bad living conditions resulting from unemployment, and an expansion of a cult of violence [1, p. 45–48]. Decline in effectiveness of the police, deficiencies in the administration of justice, weakening social control, and normative chaos also ought to be highlighted [2, p. 170–171]. New tendencies in the world, especially easy access to firearms, the opening of state borders and multidirectional migrations enabling the creation of multinational criminal connections have also had an impact on the roots and dimensions of crime [3 p. 20].

In parallel with the growth of the crime rate that is observed and predicted for the next years, in the Polish society there is a growing and fully justified sense of threat. It is reflected in the statistics. In 1989, 547 589 crimes were reported in Poland, \(^1\) whereas in 1998 this number was doubled and amounted to 1 073 042, and in 2002 it reached 1 404 229. The detection rate in the last years has oscillated between 47 and 50%. The changes in crime, which have occurred in consecutive years, have not meant merely a growth in the number of crimes. One can observe some transformation in each category [4p. 15–36; 5p. 55].

Since the beginning of the 90’s one observes a continuous, steady rise in the number of crimes, oscillating around 10–15% a year. As for the structure of offenses in Poland, acts of criminal character dominate above others, accounting for 82–86% of all offenses [6 p. 54].

In the last years some negative phenomena have occurred in the crime structure, i. e.: - there was an increase in the threat of offenses against life and health, as well as property, in connection with aggression, violence and ruthlessness toward victims,

- among criminals there was an intensified growth in use of firearms against victims and intervening police officers,

- crimes against other criminals, murders, robberies, violent crimes and criminal terrorism have intensified. Paid killings which are often committed by professional killers (especially gangsters from the ex-Soviet republics) have become a new criminal category, and the number of robberies on public roads with use of criminal

\(^1\) In Poland there are 38 million citizens.
terrorism has also alarmingly increased.
- the number of criminal groups and their professionalism has increased. Crimes are more often committed in groups in an organized and pre-planned manner,
- the participation of foreign citizens in crime groups has increased,
- demoralization of juveniles has alarmingly intensified,
- with reference to drug trafficking, one can observe an influence of global tendencies [7, p. 19–20].

The police also confirm that after 1990 so-called pivotal transformations have taken place in types, structure and methods of committing economic offenses, especially those inflicting direct losses on public finances. Offenses that earlier had occurred on a marginal scale now have a tendency to growth; instances of such offences include unfair competition, money laundering, computer offenses.

Because of limited publishing capabilities, I will restrict my thoughts to the presentation of the most often occurring criminal threats in Poland.

Special attention must be paid to the outrageous development of organized crime in recent years. The analysis of threat and activities of detected criminal groups indicates that in 2002 there were 522 crime groups (417 Polish, 86 international, 10 ethnic, 9 Russian-speaking groups) on Poland’s territory.

The majority of these groups possess a hierarchic structure with strict division of work and jobs. Planning, ruthless discipline, and exceptional brutality characterize their activity. The analysis of individual crime groups indicates also their perfect equipment (means of communication, transportation, weapons). Among their members there is a sense of brotherhood. It is also connected with complicated systems of financing in order to satisfy luxurious lifestyles of their members and securing means for next missions. The result is the isolation of the group from the outside. The eagerness to gain as big profits as possible, which is connected with territorial expansion, causes crime groups to link with each other. As a rule, there is a certain division of roles, each of them is responsible for a designated task, which is its specialty. Conflicts most often lead to bloody settling of scores [8 p. 61–70].

With the passage of time, crime groups also undergo transformations. Currently one can distinguish two main types of crime groups that operate on the territory of Poland. One type encompasses groups presenting direct threat to citizens – they are engaged in crimes against life and health, and they consist of brutal, physically fit and aggressive young people, who are often addicted to drugs or alcohol, and who are obedient to their leaders. The other type encompasses crime groups acting to the detriment of State Treasury, banking systems and businesses. Most often these groups consist of educated people, specializing in their field of interest.

The offenses committed most often by organized crime groups are: smuggling, trafficking and production of intoxicating drugs, smuggling, production and trade of weapons and explosives, extortions, armed robberies, homicides on request, car theft and transactions, beguilement of VAT, human trafficking, organization of illegal migration, document and money forgery, smuggling of alcohol, cigarettes, and so on [9, p. 3–4; 10, p. 359–360; 11. p. 63].

In the light of the latest police reports, the most important tendency observed in the last years is multicriminal activity of criminal groups, gaining turf in the field of illegal and legal economic activity, and connection with financial and goods beguilement, investing illegal gains in legal transactions [12].

Immense gains obtained illegally are invested in enterprises supporting criminal activities (purchase of auto shops, transportation firms, distilleries), personal consumption (house building, house equipment, purchase of cars, race gambling, casinos). This money is invested in economic enterprises enabling fast and continuous profits (running night clubs, fast food bars, organization of sports events, shops selling cellular phones) as well as
enterprises with gains in the future (land plots, real estates in attractive locations for auto routes, drive-ins, gas stations).

One should pay attention to the areas that bring great profits within the organized crime. Definitely, one of them is drug crimes. For the last several years there has been a continuous growth in detected drug offenses based on the 1997 law of drug prevention, including drug possession, trafficking and smuggling.

I need to emphasize that Polish narcobusiness has reached the phase of diversification into producers’ cartels. It is an exceptional situation in Europe – it can be compared only with transformations on the South American market in the 70s, and it is very dangerous for the state. Drug production in Poland draws attention of more and more “entrepreneurs,” because, according to specialists’ assessments, it allows to produce a million dollar gain by investing 100 times less. The professionalism and expansiveness of producers is increasing. Crime groups do not limit themselves establishing only one laboratory – they create nets of illegal plants producing mainly amphetamine. Moreover, although Poland is not situated on any important smuggling routes (these is a heroine smuggling route from Asia to Western Europe and a cocaine smuggling route from South America to Europe), our country is a point of passage for people and goods on a large scale by air, sea and land. It creates suitable conditions to take advantage of the territory of our country by international crime groups as a point of drug smuggling and trafficking (mainly heroine and cocaine) [13].

Poland is becoming a market for classic drugs – from cocaine, through synthetics, through hashish and marijuana. One can observe stronger and stronger connections between Polish crime groups and those from other countries (especially in the field of production, transit and smuggling of amphetamine) and participation of our citizens in smuggling of drugs on the territory of other countries.

In recent years one can observe increasing professionalism among crime groups dealing with cars. Although until recently car thefts have dominated in the Polish criminal statistics, their structure has slightly changed. It is because the number of thefts of luxurious vehicles and fake thefts is slowly but steadily increasing. This enterprise is so profitable, that it encourages criminals to create organized crime groups, sometimes on an international scale. The biggest market for acquiring stolen cars for Poland and other Eastern European countries is Germany, although in recent years this market has expended and includes other countries of the European Union. Some smuggling groups from Europe, including also Polish ones, have reached the US. Since recently Poland is also a stock market for the ex-Soviet republics, Romania and Bulgaria. A few smuggling routes lead through Poland. They are transit routes in character. Hence, Poland has changed from a selling market for stolen cars to an area of transit and a stock market for such vehicles.

This is the reason why among crime groups dealing with cars, German-Polish-Russian groups are the most active, and they show high willingness to use violence. This crime is accompanied by other offenses, for instance robberies, forgery of car and customs documents, frauds, corruption, money laundering. The phenomenon of car thefts undergoes constant, dynamic changes [14, p. 229–235, 240–241; 15, p. 43].

After the crisis of 1989–90, there is a steady increase in the number of violent crimes, especially directed against life and health. Among organized crime groups, they are most often an effect of settling scores resulting from mutual stealing of bounty, extortion of back payment of debts, accusations of informing the police, struggle for areas of influence [16, p. 174–176; 17, p. 342–343]. In this category of crimes, a typical sign of organized crime are murders committed as a result of settling the scores. Year after year firearms become an increasingly popular tool to commit this kind of crime. The acts that have the characteristics

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1 In 2002 15 illegal amphetamine laboratories were liquidated in Poland. Professional plants are capable of producing 15 kg a day.
of an execution are a special group of such crimes. Perpetrators are characterized by ruthlessness and determination [18, p. 54–56]. A specific offense based on settling scores is also deprivation of liberty (kidnapping, abduction of a person). As a rule, it is an initial phase of criminal settlement of scores, especially when warnings, threats and property damage bring no effect. Brutal treatment of victims (tortures, breaking limbs) is generally a sign of activity of organized crime groups extorting tributes.

Great significance is assigned to terrorist bombings with the use of explosives. They are conducted mostly in public places (for example in bars), in cars, private houses. The current analyses indicate that the development of criminal terrorism is caused by easy access to military explosives stolen from military units, smuggled from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, ex-Soviet Union countries, and it is caused also by easy access to literature on construction of explosive devices.

A sign of increasing aggression and violence is the growth of the number of armed robberies. The increase in the brutality and more and more frequent use of weapons is an obvious threat from their perpetrators.

The majority of robberies are planned robberies of stores, banks, post offices, private apartments and houses [19, p. 129–130]. In recent years a new form of robberies has appeared – robberies to the detriment of Polish and foreign citizens using public roads. One of the most popular targets of robberies are TIR trucks. The methods used most often are “the fake policeman,” at the parking lot, at the fake car repair. Perpetrators of these robberies do not let go any goods. Electronic and household goods, computers and food articles are very popular. Victims of such robberies are mostly Polish, Belarussian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Russian and Latvian citizens. B. Holdys predicts that this activity is and will be “attractive” for a long time, because it can bring a lot of money within a short period of time and with little possibility of arresting its perpetrators.

Since the second half of 1989, one can notice a phenomenon of migration of ex-communist block foreigners to Poland. Among them there are many citizens of ex-Soviet Union countries. Gradually, the character and motives of their arrivals have changed. At the beginning one could speak about tourist objectives, but next years have brought the influx of organized, hermetic Russian-speaking groups, that committed both criminal and economic offenses [20, p. 161, 167–168; 21, p. 273]. Activity of these groups is characterized by criminal terror (drive-by shootings, threats of car damage or setting fire to cars, threats of future injury or maiming), extortions of tributes from traders from ex-Soviet Union republics, road robberies. These groups assumed that Poland is an ideal area to settle down criminal scores using services of ex-members of “Specnaz” as professional killers [22, p. 36–38]. Russian-speaking offenders treat Poland as a transit country to Western Europe. They smuggle luxurious cars, electronic devices, alcohol, cigarettes, weapons and explosives. It must be emphasized that criminal activity of these groups as a rule is characterized by ruthlessness and a lack of respect for health and life of their victims [23, p. 149, 24, p. 284].

According to the findings of the Polish police, Poland has became an area of activity of Italian criminal groups, especially in the field of money laundering, drug and car smuggling [25, p. 1] and Vietnamese groups. In Poland their criminal activity focuses on running economic enterprises without permission, customs offenses, tax offenses, offenses against trade marks and offenses against property. Vietnamese groups are hermetic, they tend not to reveal their problems and what is going on inside them, including conflicts of criminal character [22, p. 41]. Crimes committed by foreigners are becoming more and more serious problem for the society and law enforcement agencies. One of the reasons for that is also the phenomenon of illegal migration, which in 1990 was marginal, but with the passage of time it increased to reach a massive scale. Today we can speak about canals of illegal migration going through our country. The national structure of illegal migration movements
is also changing. Instead of citizens of Romania and Bulgaria there are citizens of countries created after the fall of the Soviet Union and countries of Africa and Asia.

More and more often the transfer of people is done by organized criminal groups with international connections. In the majority of cases it is only one of many elements of criminal activity, which encompasses smuggling of drugs, weapons, goods, cars, women, and so on. The organizers equipped with modern means of transportation and communications, and night vision devices and weapons conduct reconnaissance of border protection systems and sites suitable for illegal crossings. The process of intensifying international exchange is accompanied by the growth of threat of smuggling with increasing dynamics over the years [26, p. 32–69]. Alcohol, cigarettes, legal tenders, weapons, drugs, works of art and other goods which bring the greatest profits are also most often smuggled across the Polish border. Smuggling focuses mainly at the bigger border crossing points, but it is also conducted across so-called “green border.” Discovered attempts of smuggling are a proof of professionalism, specialization, high level of organization of groups performing such activity, which often have international connections [27, p. 22–23]. Nevertheless, individual smuggling is also a significant source of profits for unemployed people living in the border zone.

This is the reason why illegal migration and smuggling (together defined as border offenses) will still remain the basic threat at the state border.

The growth of economic crime in Poland is even greater than this of traditional crime. The areas of threat from economic crime have also remained unchanged for years. Among the main fields one can include the banking sector (credit beguilement, manipulation by using banking cards) and insurance sector (beguilement of transportation, property and economic damages).

In the goods trade, the most common offense is based on the beguilement of goods purchased with postponed payments using fake identification cards [28, p. 115; 29, p. 100]. The area of intellectual property offenses include illegal production, distribution of cassettes, discs, video piracy, computer piracy. There is a growing number of customs, foreign currency and tax offences. In Poland money laundering surely takes place [30]. According to estimated data we can talk about 7.5 to 10 billion dollars a year. “Washers” use more and more sophisticated methods. Offenders often invest illegal funds in legal enterprises in order to capitalize and hide them. With premeditation illegal profits (gained as a result of various criminal activities) are mixed with legal ones to mislead prosecution agencies [31, p. 77; 32, p. 302].

Corruption is an important problem in social and economic life in Poland. The following factors tend to favor it: current laws and regulations, low effectiveness of control mechanisms, low salaries in the government sector, including administration, control and law enforcement agencies. National and local administration belong to the areas, which are the most vulnerable to bribery, overuse of power, and paid protection. They are vulnerable, because they are the source of administrative legislation, and they are responsible for public procurement, where persons responsible for running the proper procedures are often targeted. Corruptive behavior takes place also in health services, administration of justice, law enforcement agencies, banking and insurance systems. The above mentioned spheres are not the only ones threatened by corruption, but they indicate the universality of corruptive behavior – from economic to administrative and political circles [33; 34]. Most often corruption is accompanied by economic crime, and more and more often mechanisms of corruption assume the appearance of organized crime activities. However, the statistics of this crime category does not correspond to its real range.

In recent years one of the most disturbing phenomena is the growth of juvenile delinquency, and it is the growth both in the number of perpetrators and in the number of offences. The brutality and aggressiveness of their acts are also increasing. The reason for intensifying this process should be looked for not only in the above mentioned negative
consequences of social and economic transformations, but most of all in the crisis of 
education, social and family ties, with the latter burdened with difficult tasks that do not fulfill 
their proper pedagogical role.

One of the characteristics is lowering of the age of perpetrators, who tend to commit 
offenses even before the age of 13. There is an increasing number of perpetrators 
committing most serious crimes, against life and health. The method the perpetrators use is 
characterized by brutal, ruthless, aggressive operations, often in organized groups. The 
characteristic item is the growth in the number of offenses against life and health, and this 
fact confirms the thesis of brutalization of juvenile delinquents. The under-aged commit 
murders, participate in brawls and batteries. However, most often they commit thefts with 
burglary, robberies, thefts of property [35, p16–17]. Unwillingness to see this fact and 
neglecting this problem may in the future result in dangerous social consequences. 
According to the latest research, among the 100 questioned juveniles (who decided to 
participate in an organized crime group), 14 would agree to commit murder [6, p. 249–250].

The forecasts for the future threats are not too optimistic. Most probably drug 
trafficking will remain the traditional source of income for organized criminal groups. 
Domestic synthetic drug production will be developed based on simpler and more effective 
technologies. Organized (Russian-language) crime groups will further penetrate the territory 
of Poland. Current information indicates also an increased interest of the US-based Russian-
speaking mafia attempting to forcefully subordinate Polish crime groups and to gain full 
control over their territories.

Foreseen deterioration of economic problems in Asia will bring an increased demand 
on transit of illegal immigrants to Western Europe.

Placing criminal structures in small urban communities may prove a very dangerous 
factor, since these structures may attain real control over the social and economic life in 
local communities. In connection with this fact, criminal groups can place themselves in the 
border zone and at the very border crossings, which is always accompanied by connections 
of corruptive or even mafia character.

It should be expected that the enrichment of the society would be accompanied by the 
growth of entertainment industry, which is especially vulnerable to the expansion of crime. 
This type of industry is generally regarded as the domain of crime society.

One should expect that areas of criminal activity will overlap with areas of economic 
crimes, and they will be oriented both toward money laundering taking roots in crime, and 
investing in side enterprises.

Significant profits, especially for organized groups will be brought by crimes 
connected to the granting of concessions by administration officials, privatization and 
property transformations as well as with public expenditures [9, p. 60].

In the field of criminal offenses, offenses against property will still prevail. The threat of 
robberies of banks, post offices, money exchange, convoys with securities, wholesale 
stores, gas stations and TIR trucks will remain. Ruthlessness of the perpetrators of these 
offences may cause more and more human victims during robberies. More probably than 
not, the number of crimes with the use of firearms will also increase.

The increase in crime in Poland has resulted from complicated social processes, and 
the possible limitation of the rate of this growth depends of the whole social and economic 
policy of the state. Therefore, it is necessary to create a cohesive system of prevention and 
reaction to every type of crime with the possibility of predicting upcoming changes. It is not 
possible to improve the level of security immediately. It is a process with many phases, and 
it is immensely complicated. It requires cooperation and commitment of many institutions 
and governmental agencies, and most of all, of the society itself.
The main conclusions:

1. The threat of crime in Poland is stimulated by both traditional and new crime-forming factors – especially social pathologies, family crises, and bad living conditions resulting from unemployment, and an expansion of a cult of violence. Since the beginning of the 90’s one observes a continuous, steady rise in the number of crimes, oscillating around 10–15% a year. As for the structure of offenses in Poland, acts of criminal character dominate above others, accounting for 82–86% of all offenses.

2. Special attention must be paid to the outrageous development of organized crime in recent years. The analysis of threat and activities of detected criminal groups indicates that in 2002 there were 522 crime groups (417 Polish, 86 international, 10 ethnic, 9 Russian-speaking groups) on Poland’s territory.

3. Currently one can distinguish two main types of crime groups that operate on the territory of Poland. One type encompasses groups presenting direct threat to citizens – they are engaged in crimes against life and health, and they consist of brutal, physically fit and aggressive young people, who are often addicted to drugs or alcohol, and who are obedient to their leaders. The other type encompasses crime groups acting to the detriment of State Treasury, banking systems and businesses. Most often these groups consist of educated people, specializing in their field of interest.

4. Polish narcobusiness has reached the phase of diversification into producers’ cartels. It is an exceptional situation in Europe – it can be compared only with transformations on the South American market in the 70s, and it is very dangerous for the state. Drug production in Poland draws attention of more and more “entrepreneurs,” because, according to specialists’ assessments, it allows to produce a million dollar gain by investing 100 times less. The professionalism and expansiveness of producers is increasing. Crime groups do not limit themselves establishing only one laboratory – they create nets of illegal plants producing mainly amphetamine.

5. Among crime groups dealing with cars, German-Polish-Russian groups are the most active, and they show high willingness to use violence. This crime is accompanied by other offenses, for instance robberies, forgery of car and customs documents, frauds, corruption, money laundering. The phenomenon of car thefts undergoes constant, dynamic changes. A specific offense based on settling scores is also deprivation of liberty (kidnapping, abduction of a person). As a rule, it is an initial phase of criminal settlement of scores, especially when warnings, threats and property damage bring no effect. Brutal treatment of victims (tortures, breaking limbs) is generally a sign of activity of organized crime groups extorting tributes.

LITERATŪRA


Šiuolaikinio nusikalstamumo raidos tendencijos Lenkijoje

Dr. Katarzyna Laskowska

Pagrindinės sąvokos: nusikalstamumas, organizuoto nusikalstamumo grupės ir formos, ekonominė veikla, su narkotikais susijusi nusikalstama veikla.

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje pateikiama nusikalstamumo, jo struktūros, ypač naujų nusikalstamumo formų Lenkijoje po 1988 m., apžvalga ir socialinių, politinių, ekonominių permains Lenkijoje įtaka nusikalstamumo pokyčiams.

Naujos socialinės pasaulio tendencijos, ypač galimybė įsigyti sprogmenų, atsivėrusios valstybių sienos ir daugialypė migracija lėmė multinacionalinių kriminalinių ryšių atsiradimą ir tapo naujų nusikalstamumo aprašų pagrindu.


Pastarųjų metų policijos ataskaitų duomenimis, išplito nusikalstamų grupių multikriminalinė veikla, tiek nelegalioje, šešelėje, ekonomikoje, tiek ir legaliame versle. Dažni šiame versle sukūrė dabartinių pažeidimų, pinigų plovimo, konkurencijos sąlygų pažeidimai.

Legalus verslas gauna pajamų iš nelegalių šaltinių. Legalaus verslo šaka yra: automobilių pardavėjus, transporto firmos, distributorių paslaugas, statybos bendrovės, namų interjerio salonai, kazino.

Šešelėniai pinigai pirmiausia investuoja į tuos ekonomikos barus, kur galima gauti greitą ir nuolatinę nuodų (gretė maisto įmonės, sporto renginių organizavimas, mobiliojo ryšio priemonės prekiaujančios bendrovės ir pan.), o vėliau investuoja į objektus, iš kurių tikimasi naudos ateityje.


Tarp visų registruotų teisės pažeidimų Lenkijoje, kaip ir kitose šalyse, daugiausia turinčio pobūdžio nusikalstumų, daugėja taip pat turinčio pobūdžio nusikalstumų, padarytų panaudojant įvairių medžiagų ginklų.

Nusikalstamumo augimas Lenkijoje yra sudėtingų socialinių procesų visuomenėje išraiška. Stabdyti nusikalstamumo augimą padėtų esminė valstybės, ypač valstybės socialinės ir ekonominės politikos, pertvarka.