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The beginnings of international police cooperation

Introduction

The history of international police cooperation has been studied by many Hungarian and foreign researchers, but many aspects of Hungarian participation in this field have remained unexplored. Firstly, the initial steps in the fight against international crime are presented and how they were reported in the Hungarian police journals of the time, and then the assessment of the same period by a few foreign researchers of today is summarised.

The beginnings of international police cooperation according to contemporary Hungarian law enforcement periodicals

In the Middle Ages, the lack of modern means of travel and roads and the peculiarities of feudalism made travel possible for very few people. Only the wealthy, merchants, diplomats, explorers and great travellers were able to cross national borders and travel long distances. The industrial revolutions changed all that. First macadam, then high-quality roads were built, where postal and private carriages became more widely available, and then railways and steamships began to take masses of people on journeys. With the creation of major industrial centres, people flocked to the cities, and with the discoveries of new continents, millions of people, mainly from Europe, migrated to new places in search of better livelihoods.

At the same time, the era of simple highway bandits, robbers and thieves who proliferated in the markets came to an end, and in their place, cross-border crime took hold in Europe and around the world, in the hope of greater profits and escaping prosecution. For example, we know from foreign news published in the first issues of our first law enforcement journal, Public Safety (Közbiztonság), in 1869, that in Vienna a man from Romania,

posing as a baron, seduced several young girls to satisfy his lust, but was arrested by the police authorities in Vienna¹. Paper money, securities, shares and bonds appeared on the international market, and this offered great opportunities for fraudsters and counterfeiters, who took advantage of the lack of centralised state law enforcement agencies and rapid news coverage at the dawn of the industrial revolution. The London Stock Exchange, internationally renowned resorts, spectacular tourist destinations, gambling halls, all attracted the rich, who could be stripped of their wealth by fraud or violent robbery and the criminals would leave the given country with the stolen goods. The cross-border criminals needed to sell the acquired assets as soon as possible, because storing them increased the risk of being caught. Counterfeiting currency and the sale of its products required a high level of skill in international criminal circles. *"Almost without exception, large-scale counterfeiting now thrives internationally. It is precisely in order to make counterfeiting impossible that the states have perfected the art of producing both paper money and coins. The perfect imitation of money is therefore only possible with the help of an expert. To obtain such an expert in the country and to make him acquainted with the criminal intent is not only difficult, but also fraught with dangerous risks. For this reason, the larger-scale counterfeiters proceed in the following way: The counterfeiter travels to various capitals and orders only a certain part of the necessary plate in each place, e.g. a figure on the banknote in one place, a marginal note in another, etc."*² It is clear from this description that counterfeiting was carried out internationally by well-organised and trained criminals, who were very difficult to crack down on if the law enforcement officers of the individual states were only doing the investigation on their own.

In addition to the production and distribution of counterfeit currency, the acts and devices offensive and contrary to public morality that started

¹ Közbiztonság, 1869. augusztus 22. 1.

² A nemzetközileg szervezett gonosztevők. [Internationally organised villains] Közbiztonság, 1911. április 23. 223

dominating international trade and entertainment industry as a "by-product" of the industrial revolutions were a major challenge. These included pornographic literature and printed matter and the internationalisation of the "ancient" craft of international prostitution, one of the flourishing services of which was white slavery at an international level. Thus, for example, at the end of the 19th century in Hungary, young waitresses were sought in Bavaria through advertisements in Hungarian newspapers, disguising what in fact was white slavery. According to a report made by the Ministry of the Interior on the downside of emigration and labour flows, Hungarian girls applied for passports to work as waitresses, mainly in northern Germany, but many of them became victims of prostitution. According to the report, white slave trade in Hungary was a rich area, which was further exacerbated by the fact that Hungarian girls³ were favoured in Europe. For this reason, the Home Secretary said they needed to be protected because many of them could and did fall victim in the Western European market.

In Europe, *"the export markets for white slavery at the moment are mainly the Polish territory of Austria and Russia. In Russia in particular, where especially the Jewish population is subject to so much persecution and where the economic and cultural conditions are so miserable, the agents of the traffickers are always in a good position to carry out their criminal activities. The victims are often seduced with the promise of marriage. In many cases, however, they themselves are aware of their fate and are willing to succumb to the bright but deceptive promises. The consignments usually leave from Austrian and Italian ports and their destination is usually North America"*⁴. In order to prevent white slavery, several bilateral agreements were concluded in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,

³ White slave trade in from Hungary was relatively simple. Agents travelled around Hungary, especially in the country, offering the prettier girls jobs as cooks, waitresses or artistic positions, then taking them away, and very many were never seen again in their place of residence.

⁴ A nemzetközileg szervezett gonosztevők. [Internationally organised villains], Ibid.

followed by an international treaty, signed by Hungary, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, England, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Norway and Switzerland in Paris in 1904. This international agreement foretold the future as the signatory states committed themselves *"to the establishment of centres for the regular monitoring and mutual exchange of information on all phenomena relating to the trade in women". They will inform each other of the arrival of suspected traffickers, monitor their activities and arrange for the return of any victims discovered.*"⁵

At the dawn of the rise of cross-border crime, Dr. Lindenau, a government adviser in Berlin, classified international criminals into the following five groups:

- "(a) Criminals fleeing from the place of the offence to a new land.*
- b) Foreign criminals who have settled in the country.*
- c) International vagrants.*
- d) Certain professional criminals travelling from country to country.*
- e) Internationally organised villains"*⁶.

For national police forces, it was already clear at the end of the 19th century that developments in the criminal world had led to the creation and the flourishing of the most modern types of internationally organised villains, the organised crime groups. *"The internationally organised criminal resides in a permanent residence and weaves and spreads his web from there to other countries. It is here that international connections are most typically at the forefront. The danger to the public posed by this international organisation is not merely the extent of its area of operation, but above all the fact that the perpetrator and victim are usually from different countries."*⁷

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Effective action against the above encouraged police forces and diplomats of different nations to cooperate and establish institutions and organisations for international police cooperation among themselves. Simple as the formula may seem for the police forces of the states to cooperate against international, cross-border crime, international police conferences, meetings and organisations were slow and difficult to set up, probably because some states were concerned about their own interests and feared that political influence would gain ground in some international police organisations. Despite these apprehensions, international police cooperation was achieved; the states recognised the need to build bridges between them to reduce crime. The most important domestic and international milestones in this process before World War II were the following.

The explanatory memorandum of Act XXI of 1881 on the Police of the capital city Budapest already refers to the costs associated with the pursuit of criminals abroad. Also, the Decree of the Minister of the Interior issued on 27 May 1898 under No. 46.826/98 B.M. *"expressly authorises the Chief Constable of Budapest and those of the towns to approach the foreign authorities directly for urgent investigations or public safety measures."*⁸

The Police Instruction on Investigation issued in 1899 (Decree No. 130.000/1899 B.M.) *"deals specifically with the action to be taken in response to a foreign request, and also regulates the procedure to be followed when a delegate of a foreign authority comes to the authorities to carry out an investigation (§§ 18-19.) In our country, therefore, the investigating police authority, on the basis of long-standing legislation, communicates directly with foreign police authorities that are prepared to provide us with legal assistance in this way."*⁹

In 1898 in Rome and in 1904 in St Petersburg, international conferences were convened to fight anarchism (Sallai-Borszéli, 2021). The International Union of Penal Law, at its meeting in Hamburg in 1905, decided that it *"considers it necessary to set up central offices in all states, which should*

⁸ Dorning H. (1937): A bűnügyi rendőrség nemzetközi összeműködése. [International collaboration of the criminal police]. Pallas. 336

⁹ Decree No. 130.000/1899 B.M.

*be in direct contact with the police authorities of the capitals, and should have the task of combatting international crime."*¹⁰

In 1909, the International Conference on Motor Vehicles¹¹ was held in Paris, the resolutions of which led to the issuance of the Circular 57.000/1910 B. M., the first highway code regulation in Hungary.¹² In 1912, the German Police Conference in Berlin dealt with international relations exclusively from the police point of view. The police forces of the *"big German cities had been maintaining foreign relations for a long time – although their instructions still forbade it and the German Foreign Office did not even consider giving them the authorisation. The conference finally adopted the principles that an international convention should be sought which would permit the large police authorities to communicate directly with each other in the prosecution of individuals suspected of crimes and in other important police matters."*¹³

In 1914 in Monaco, at the first International Congress of Criminal Police (Premier Congrès de Police judiciaire internationale), the idea of what later would become Interpol was born. 300 officials from 24 countries discussed possible international cooperation in the fields of crime investigation, identification techniques and extradition, and called for direct contact between criminal police forces.¹⁴ This was followed by a gap in international criminal cooperation, the main cause of which was world history, namely World War I, which lasted more than four years between the Central and Entente Powers.

In 1922, the International Police Conference was organised in New York. As a result of the conference, a special telegraph code was introduced to facilitate and cheapen communication between police authorities of different states. This ensured the confidentiality of the text of telegrams and

¹⁰ Dorning, H. (1937): A bűnügyi rendőrség nemzetközi összeműködése. [International collaboration of the criminal police]. Pallas. 337

¹¹ The conference was attended by 111 delegates from 53 countries. Several Hungarian proposals were adopted during the meeting.

¹² A Rend, 1926. Vol. VI, Aug. 25

¹³ Dorning, H. (1937) Ibid.

¹⁴ Tóth, V. (1937): Európai rendőrség, [European police]. Magyar Rendőr, 1937/24. 30

reduced the cost of telegraphic service announcements.¹⁵ In 1923, following the initiative of the President of the Vienna Police, Johannes Schober, the International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC) was established at the International Police Congress in Vienna, with delegates from European and Asian countries and the USA. The ICPC met annually in the capitals of various European countries from 1924 to 1938.¹⁶ Representatives from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, the Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Japan, Hungary and Poland, were sent, along with a large number of representatives of the German Empire to the International Police Congress in Sopot in 1924¹⁷.

An interesting aspect of what happened there was that the presentation of the theory and practice of the remote identification procedure system, which was to be given by the Danish side, was, at the request of the Danish government and the participants in the conference, delivered by a Hungarian police chief constable Dr. Binger, a delegate who, later conducted two more courses on a similar subject in nearby Gdansk. The conference also featured a presentation by Dr. Sonnenberg from Warsaw on international patrols, by a Siemens chief engineer on the latest police signalling equipment, and by an engineer from Berlin on the use of radio in police work.¹⁸ Signifying the boom in international police science, the Prussian Minister of the Interior in Germany opened the Police Science Week at the Berlin Academy of Public Administration. In 1924, barely after the First World War and the revolutions, the German public safety situation already allowed hundreds of police officers to leave their posts and attend the event.¹⁹ The first international police exhibition took place in Karlsruhe in 1925.

¹⁵ Circular No 127.742/1925 B.M.

¹⁶ Tóth, V. (1937) *Ibid.*

¹⁷ According to the news reports of the time.

¹⁸ A zoppoti rendőrkongresszus és rendőr szakkiállítás. [International Police Congress and police exhibition in Sopot]. *A Rend*, 1924. Vol. IV 59 1

¹⁹ *Polizei-Führungsakademie* (2002): 100 Jahre Bildungsarbeit in Der Polizei. 43.

After the 1923 police congress in New York and the ones following in Vienna, the next stop on the study trips of police officers abroad was Budapest. The Hungarian colleagues who received the foreigners drew their attention to "... *the Hungarian police in general as a unique, unified police organisation, the Hungarian national criminal record as a long-standing, exemplary and special institution, and finally the Hungarian police training as the most definite and consistent solution of its kind.*"²⁰

In 1926, the Berlin International Police Exhibition was held.²¹ Foreign countries played only a representative role at the exhibition. "*However, in addition to a number of other meetings, discussions and presentations, the International Police Congress and the subsequent general police conference, which were truly international, were also linked to the exhibition. The former, for example, attracted 253 participants, 141 of whom were foreign. (19 of them Hungarians.) The permanent body of the Congress, the International Criminal Police Commission, also met in relation with the Congress.*"²² The main message of the exhibition was that police forces should be equipped with wireless telegraphs.

In 1926, the following important topics were discussed at the Criminal Police Congress in Bern:

1. the international police telegraph;
2. the International Criminal Dictionary;
3. international public safety;
4. uniform cards for the identification service;
5. international remote identification bureau in Copenhagen;

²⁰ Nemzetközi konferencia Párizsban [International Police Conference in Paris]. *A Rend*, 4 September 1926

²¹ "*The historical exhibition in Baden is very interesting. You can see many old police-related documents. Most of them date from the 18th century and the early 19th century, but some date back to the 13th century and even earlier. There is a decree threatening Gypsies with hanging if they do not leave the country and granting impunity to anyone who kills a Gypsy after the deadline for leaving.*" (*A Rend*, 4 September 1926).

²² Dörning, H. (1926): A berlini rendőri kiállítás. [Police exhibition in Berlin]. *A Rend*, 1926 Vol. VI 81 1

6. international register of public offenders;
7. collection of photographs of international criminals;
8. international police radio waves;
9. the introduction of criminology files;
10. international fight against drugs;
11. facilitation of extradition procedures;
12. international deportation²³

One of the most important results of the Bern Congress was that the issue of the police radio and radio waves²⁴ were discussed and their final version was prepared for the New York Congress. Another achievement was the presentation of the International Criminal Dictionary in French and the translation of the Police Telegraph Code into several languages.²⁵

The 1926 Paris International Motor Vehicle Conference discussed ways of facilitating international transport in the fields of motor vehicle, railway and air traffic and border policing and customs administration. The Hungarian delegation made the following proposals.

"1. As long as the need for passports remains, the delivery of passport visas should be facilitated.

2. The entry visa should entitle the holder to stay for at least two months without any special permit (carte d'identité).

²³ A berni bűnügyi kongresszus [The Criminal Police Congress in Bern]. A Magyar Detektív, 1928/19 7

²⁴ "The most interesting of the individual programme items is the police radio issue. The matter of separate "police waves" is at an advanced stage, and the radio congress to be held in Washington at the end of this year will provide the waves for a separate police radio service, so that this modern device for combatting crime may soon be available for police purposes." (A Magyar Detektív, 1928, Ibid.)

²⁵ Sallai, J. – Borszéki, J. (2021): Egy megvalósítható utópia? Közös munkanyelv keresése a nemzetközi rendőri együttműködés kezdetén. [A feasible utopia? The search for a common working language at the start of international police cooperation]. In: Csaba, Z – Ficskovszky, Á. (eds.) Tehetség, szorgalom, hivatás. Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság Vám- és Pénzügyőri Tagozat, Budapest

3. Passport control and customs checks should be carried out everywhere on board trains and boats, without passengers having to disembark.

*4. Closed groups of more than 20 incoming foreign passengers can benefit from a 33-50 percent fare discount."*²⁶

The above Hungarian proposal on transport and border management was unanimously heard and supported.

In 1927, the Amsterdam Congress passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a National Central Office in each member state for liaison purposes. As a result of the Budapest congress on police radios in 1930, the development of the police radio network continued. An article on international criminal cooperation was published in the periodical *Magyar Detektív* (Hungarian Detective) in 1930 by Dr Bruno Schultz. According to the internationally renowned police officer, the director of the Vienna police the criminalistic focal point of the international criminal convention in Vienna were the questionable principles of extradition, the fight against counterfeiting of dollars within the field of counterfeiting, and the international police radio service. In the same year, the 6th regular session of the Criminal Police Commission was held in Vienna. The aim of the closed meeting was to bring the police authorities of the participating member states as close as possible to cooperate in the fight of public interest against international professional crime, as well as in the field of extradition and the fight against counterfeiting.

In 1930, the Antwerp Congress, as a continuation of the Vienna Conference, was held at the end of the year. The 148 participants included an eight-member Hungarian delegation. As a result of the Congress, the Vienna International Registry Office was given a broader remit, including the international registration of dangerous persons, drug abuse, lost and found objects and unidentified corpses.²⁷

²⁶ Nemzetközi konferencia Párizsban [International Police Conference in Paris]. Ibid.

²⁷ A Magyar Detektív, 1930/9 3

In 1931, a meeting of the International Office for Refugees and a conference of representatives of the central police authorities were held in the framework of the League of Nations (the predecessor of the United Nations). The main task of the police conference was to improve cooperation between the police authorities of the various states, particularly with regard to counterfeiting.

The 1932 Rome Congress on Crime elected Dr. Henrik Dorning, a Hungarian criminal expert of international reputation, as vice-president of the organisation. *"Lithuanian delegate Jones Statkus reported on the plans and preparations for the International Day of Criminal Police. The interesting plan is that on a certain day of the year, the fifty-six states belonging to the International Criminal Police Commission would all organise an International Day of Criminal Police, with a parade of police officers, theatre and cinema performances, readings, pageants on the streets, etc., to promote the work of the criminal police."*²⁸

In 1934, the International Central Office in Vienna was expanded by four departments to deal with the counterfeiting of money, cheques, passports and securities, the sharing of fingerprints and photographs of international criminals and the registration of internationally wanted criminals and persons dangerous to society.²⁹

In 1938, just before the outbreak of the Second World War, 23 member states sent their forensic representatives to Bucharest. In elegant surroundings, on a vessel on the Black Sea, the International Congress of Criminal Police adopted the following conclusions. The Congress:

"I takes note of the report of the leadership of the Commission on its annual activities.

²⁸ A bűnüldözés nemzetközi szervezete. [The international organisation of law enforcement]. A Magyar Detektív 1932/23-24

²⁹ Tóth, V. (1938): Egységes nyelv a közbiztonság nemzetközi vonatkozásában. [A single language for the international aspects of public security].

. Magyar Rendőr, 1938/3 56

- 2 takes note of the report of the rapporteur on the preliminary negotiations on the simplification of the "portrait parlé".*
- 3 will appoint committee to study possibility of transmitting fingerprint images by telegraph.*
- 4 proposes various measures to prevent passport forgeries.*
- 5 adopts the report on the functioning of the International Centres in Vienna.*
- 6 makes appropriate recommendations to prevent trafficking in narcotics.*
- 7 takes note of and makes recommendations concerning the statements of various states on the refusal to issue passports.*
- 8 orders the further collection of data relating to the punishment of activities or conduct showing an intention to commit a criminal offence.*
- 9 orders further discussion with a view to a uniform listing of the data in the notices on wanted persons.*
- 10 accepts the arrangements made for the issuance of international notices on wanted persons and orders the cost of publishing such a notice in a new language to be determined.*
- 11 establishes the ways of cooperation with the international "Academies of Criminalistics".*
- 12 decides to devote one day at each forthcoming session to the discussion of problems of practical criminology. (The Practitioners' Day.)*
- 13 takes note of the annual report of the Radio Sub-Committee.*
- 14 takes note of the final accounts of the Committee." ³⁰*

Subsequently, with the outbreak of the Second World War, international historical events accelerated, which brought the prosperous period of international law enforcement cooperation to an end. Previously cooperative states became enemies, and Europe and later the world, became a theatre of war.

³⁰ Ibid.

Evaluation of the topic in today's English-language literature

Foreign experts on the subject also agree that the historical roots of international law enforcement cooperation go back to the expansion of nation-states in the 19th century. As Deflem argues in several of his works,³¹ there was a general historical tendency for police institutions to gradually abandon political policing tasks in favour of a clear focus on criminal objectives, and to move from temporary and limited forms of cooperation to more permanent and comprehensive ones. International police bodies with a broad international presence were only established when police institutions had sufficient autonomy, could be independent of the political centres of their nation-states and thus, were able to function as relatively autonomous professional organisations.

Jäger points out³² that in the 19th century, the police forces of different states could not respond to requests from foreign police forces, could not establish direct channels of communication between themselves without the consent of their superiors and the relevant ministries. Also, extradition procedures, which required diplomatic involvement, were extremely lengthy. In his view, the debate on international police cooperation was triggered by various factors, such as:

- the growth and modernisation of transport networks and the increase in international travel opportunities;
- the constant expansion of the police and in particular of criminal and political police organisations;

³¹ Deflem, M. (2002a): *Policing World Society, Historical foundations of International Police Cooperation*. Oxford University Press Inc; Deflem, M. (2005): *History of the International Police Cooperation*. In: Miller, M. & Wright, R. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Criminology*, Routledge, 795-798

³² Jäger, J. (2019): *The Making of International Police Cooperation, 1880–1923*. In: Härter, K. et al. (eds.) *The Transnationalisation of Criminal Law in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, Vittorio Klostermann, 176

- the increase in crime (as a statistically tangible and measurable phenomenon) and the growing threat to public safety;
- a general trend towards international cooperation;
- major developments in the sciences, including criminology.

From the mid-19th century onwards, most European police cooperation in the states concerned was concerned with the political tasks of defending conservative rule. Perhaps the best example of this is the alliance of (secret) police forces from seven German-speaking states including Prussia and Austria (Geheimer Polizeiverein, Police Union of German States) that worked to suppress political opposition (made up of democrats, anarchists and socialists) between 1851 and 1866. The cooperation mainly took the form of exchange of information based on printed material, and then ceased with the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866.³³

Jäger mentions³⁴ the International Penal and Prison Congress of 1878 as an important event, which, in addition to extradition procedures, also raised the need to set up an international police bureau to register internationally known criminals, national criminal records offices, to allow for the exchange and sharing of this data, and to publish an international police journal. There was also a proposal to harmonise police training. In the end, however, more than half of the delegates only accepted the proposal to harmonise extradition laws, so the issue of police cooperation was not included in the congress resolutions.

Although there was a noticeable shift towards criminal policing in international police cooperation in the second half of the 19th century, political goals, including the fight against anarchism, continued to play the main role.³⁵ In this spirit, an international conference was held in Rome in 1898

³³ Deflem, M. (2002): Policing World Society, Historical foundations of International Police Cooperation Ibid., 79; Calcara, G. (2020): A transnational police network co-operating up to the limits of the law: examination of the origin of INTERPOL, Transnational Legal Theory, 11:4, 524

³⁴ Jäger, J. (2019): The Making of International Police Cooperation, Ibid. 183

³⁵ Deflem, M. (2005): History of the International Police Cooperation, Ibid. 795-796; Jäger, J. (2019), Ibid., 186-187

with 54 delegates from 21 European countries, the minutes of which proposed the establishment of an international system through which the would-be national anti-anarchist agencies could exchange information. The conference also reached agreement on modern methods of identifying criminals and extraditing those who commit assassinations of heads of state. However, at the national government level, where international treaties had to be ratified, anarchism was not approached from a purely criminal perspective. Ideological differences in international politics also played a role in the fact that the Rome conference against anarchism and the subsequent St Petersburg conference in 1904 (which attracted much less interest) ended without any practical policing outcomes, and the planned information centre was not established, either.³⁶

English-language literature on the topic also highlights another area of international police cooperation in the early 20th century, namely the fight against white slavery. To coordinate this internationally, meetings were convened in Paris in 1902, 1904 and 1910. Twelve European countries signed the conventions of the last two congresses, but these too, although not political in nature, were only intergovernmental decisions formulated in the language of international law and resulted in changes in the activities of national police forces rather than in international police cooperation. Deflem and Jäger, however, note³⁷ that these conventions already indicate the growing influence of a European, expertise-based police culture, which was already striving towards international policing activities.

Looking at the Americas, the Latin American efforts similar to those in Europe are worth mentioning. International police conferences were convened in Buenos Aires in 1905 and 1920, and in Sao Paulo in 1912, but their primary aim was not to curb international crime but to strengthen relations between the police forces of the participating countries, and they ended without any major professional results. In 1922, the International

³⁶ Deflem, M. (2005), *Ibid.*

³⁷ Deflem, M. (2005), *Ibid.* 796; Jäger, J. (2019), *Ibid.* 189

Police Conference (IPC) was founded in New York, which, although intended to promote international cooperation, was mainly concerned with the professional development of local law enforcement organisations in the United States of America.³⁸ Deflem sees the reason for this, apart from the geographical distances separating the US from Europe and other continents, in the fact that at that time the US had not yet experienced a large-scale internationalisation of crime and the federal police had not yet been established.

The structural changes in national police forces made in the direction of institutional autonomy and their independence from national governments led to real international cooperation on a professional basis, which started in the first few decades of the 20th century. Indeed, the first step towards the establishment of an international police organisation was the first International Congress of Criminal Police, held in Monaco in 1914, which focused exclusively on police work. Deflem claims³⁹ that the Congress did not produce any significant results. It was still not organised by police officers but by politicians and lawyers (it was initiated by Prince Albert I of Monaco!) and the negotiations were still about the legal framework. Discussions were on international legal issues, such as extradition problems, and police action was only discussed in the context of legal principles. The International Police Organisation had still not been established at that time, and did not come into being until 1923.

The creation of the International Criminal Police Commission (ICPC, hereinafter: Commission), the direct predecessor of Interpol, was no longer the result of diplomatic initiatives, but of the independent efforts of police forces in different countries (mainly in Europe). The delegates did not attend the Vienna Congress, which led to the establishment of the Commission, as representatives of their governments, but as individuals or observers, and did not sign any international conventions or instruments. The or-

³⁸ Deflem, M. (2005), *Ibid.* 796

³⁹ *Ibid.* 797

ganisation, whose activities were organised by police officers through deliberations and correspondence, independently of their respective governments, long lacked internationally recognised legal status. Even police forces were admitted as members without a legal process. Jäger and others highlight⁴⁰ the significant role played by Johannes Schober, who was the then Chief Constable of Vienna, and also an influential politician. By providing premises (and even initially police staff, databases and funding) for the international bureau with the support of his government,⁴¹ he managed to institutionalise international police cooperation without extensive political negotiations.

The operation of the Commission was motivated by the proliferation and internationalisation of cross-border forms of crime after the First World War. New types of crime emerged in countries that had also experienced rapid social and technological development. Above all, the Commission set up a modern technical system for international police communication and called for direct contacts between police forces in the countries concerned, rather than the cumbersome extradition procedures.⁴² Deflem also notes that the significance of the organisation, among other things, was that it was not run by 'external experts' but by practitioners involved in police work. Serious crime against property was no longer treated as a threat to local, internal safety, but as an international problem that emerged as professional crime became operational, which, however, was manifested in thefts, fraud, etc., in individual countries. International police cooperation was a logical consequence of several processes. Firstly, criminal investigation departments were set up within the police forces of the various countries, independent of the political police. Also, crime statistics showed that

⁴⁰ Jäger, J. (2019), *Ibid.*, 191; See also Deflem, M (2002a) *Ibid.* 125-129; General History of Policing, In: Kurian, G (ed.) *World Encyclopedia of Police Forces and Correctional Systems*, Second Edition, Thomson Gale, 2006, 9

⁴¹ Calcara, G. (2020): A transnational police network co-operating up to the limits of the law: examination of the origin of INTERPOL, *Ibid.* 533

⁴² Deflem, M. (2005), *Ibid.* 798, Deflem, M (2002a) *Ibid.* 150-152

criminals fleeing to other countries to escape prosecution were able to operate unhindered. The problem could only be solved by international sharing of data on criminal convictions, suspects and wanted persons. However, cooperation was possible only provided that the criminal records and identification techniques were identical or at least comparable. Thus, international police cooperation also contributed to the spread of fingerprinting and Bertillon's then popular anthropometric method (*portrait parlé*) in many countries.⁴³ The Commission, too, put indirect pressure on national police organisations to centralise, modernise and standardise. The foreign authors mentioned above also note that by 1934 the Vienna headquarters had already had specialised departments dealing with fingerprints and photographs, the counterfeiting of currency and other valuable documents, and the sharing of various information on international criminals and suspects. In addition to printed publications distributed to member states, the Commission also established systems of advanced technical means of international communication, such as the telegraph code and radio communication systems, which were effective tools for direct international cooperation between police forces.⁴⁴

The English-language literature also highlights the Commission's apolitical nature and its functioning as a transnational network.⁴⁵ This enabled police forces from states with different political orientations, legal systems and cultural traditions to cooperate effectively on the basis of their knowledge of international crime and the requirements for effective policing. Paradoxically, it was this apolitical nature that led to National Socialist Germany monopolising the organisation.

⁴³ Deflem, M. (2002b): Technology and the Internationalization of Policing: A Comparative-Historical Perspective. *Justice Quarterly*, 19(3), 460

⁴⁴ Deflem, M. (2002b), *Ibid.* 464; Jäger, J. (2019), *Ibid.* 195-196

⁴⁵ Calcara, G. (2020), *Ibid.* 530

Conclusion

Instead of a summary, we conclude with the thoughts of Henrik Dorning, vice president of the Commission between 1932 and 1934, who was recognised by and made a lasting contribution to both Hungarian and international police science. *"For the police of every country, international relations are important. They are the roots to which common threads run from all sides and this has made necessary and possible the need to build a foundation for international relations. The police protect public order everywhere, guarding the safety of persons and property. Even though each state organises its police force in a different way, there are many similarities and some of the tasks are the same. Frequent international communications make it impossible for police measures taken by the states to be confined to their own territory. In the modern world of technology, criminals travel at a high speed and become international in the shortest possible time. Theft, fraud or even more serious criminal offences are often planned in one distant country, then committed in another, but the loot is taken to a third country, while the perpetrators and their accomplices flee to a fourth or fifth country. That is why the modern police, especially the criminal police, try to establish direct contacts with the police of other states as far as possible and make a concerted effort to prevent the spread of international crime and to pursue fugitives."*⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Dorning, H. (1942): A bűnözés nemzetközi hálózata. [The international network of crime]. In: Borbély Z. & Kapy R. (eds.) A 60 éves magyar rendőrség 1881-1941. Halász irodalmi és könyvkiadó vállalat. 167-168