The theoretical basis of the tasks of law enforcement organisations in ensuring security

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The main goal of this paper is to analyse main documents and identify pivotal points with the help of which a comprehensive and up-to-date security strategy concept for law enforcement organisations can be developed.

Introduction

The 21 century dawned on the peoples of the Earth with a fundamentally changed security environment. As the two-poled system of conflicts came to an end, new dangers and risks arouse to threaten security. In the absence of a world wide military conflict, fights are braking out and local wars are raging in numerous regions and totally new dimensions of terrorism have appeared. The effects of these crises and conflicts are not limited to smaller regions; they are indirectly or directly present everywhere.

As a result of Hungary’s Euro-Atlantic integration, our role has changed significantly: due to the requirements of NATO and those stemming from our accession to the European Union, we are active participants in peace missions and international operations. We are no longer observing the processes of the world from the background, but our security-related interests, values and tasks appear in our everyday life and in our politics, as well as in our personal feelings.

Guaranteeing security, as opposed to earlier interpretations, has become more complex. This concept, principally analysed from a military point of view earlier, has been extended with numerous aspects: in addition to incorporating the relevant military tasks, a new system-based approach has started to prevail.

In this extended system law enforcement organisations try to identify their changed position and role, and we can certainly see that they have found them in a number of fields. However, developing further is still an unrelenting demand, because in the wake of the Republic of Hungary’s accession to the European Union there is a wider range of alliance where we can play an active role in safeguarding security.
The main aspects of security strategies and the most important relevant tasks

Security as a central issue appears in numerous documents. All states and alliances of states phrase in some form the dangers and threats they face and want to act against. The different state and governmental organizations transform these into effective agendas which form the concrete or possible tasks of law enforcement organizations.

The main tasks phrased by the European Security Strategy

The European Security Strategy\(^1\) describes the guidelines of maintaining security in three large areas for the member states of the European Union:

- Global challenges
- Main threats
- Strategic goals

In all the three areas the document lists those factors which are decisive for Europe and the member states of the European Union. The strategy features conclusions and a concept for solution in every case.

Ranking first among global challenges is poverty and backwardness in the developing world. Epidemics and the spread of AIDS attributed to poverty represent a constant and special threat to developed countries. These diseases may also reach the developed European countries, and since there is no known cure of these diseases, they can spread in an uncontrolled way and a worldwide epidemic may break out.

The unfavourable effects of crises and conflicts, which are present and renew from time to time in many regions of the world, appear everywhere. New masses of refugees turn up on the borders of the Union causing insolvable problems and burden at the time of slow economic development or even recession.

A continuous rivalry for natural resources goes hand in hand with development and the situation is further aggravated by the already conventional energy dependence of Europe, whose rate is currently estimated at about 50\%, and it will be increasing in the next few years.\(^2\)

Among the main threats today terrorism ranks first, which intertwined with organized crime gains huge amounts of money from drug trafficking, illegal arms trade, and trafficking in humans, launder the money and uses it for its destructive purposes. A grave threat to security is represented by the proliferation of weapons of mass

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2 Europe currently acquires 50\% of its energy needs from sources outside Europe. As experts estimate, this value will reach 70\% in the coming 20 years.
destruction and its connection to terrorist organizations is especially dangerous. In certain parts of the world the leaders of underdeveloped countries cooperate with organized crime to maintain their power position and the profit gained in this way is used to keep up their power and to continue financing regional conflicts. It is extremely difficult to fight against these processes because it is almost impossible to influence them in areas far from Europe, whereas their unfavourable effects (influx of refugees, money laundering, violent actions) can appear in an unbelievably short time.

In strategic goals the document tries to give solution alternatives. The very first solution alternative can be the fight against threats, more precisely the prevention of conflicts or, if they already occurred, a mediation leading to a peaceful solution. The most important means of this may be OSCE, which tries to mediate in many conflicts of the world by being present there and trying to invite the parties to the negotiating table. The representatives of the Republic of Hungary have been present in the organization from the very beginning and their activities have been appreciated. Our role in OSCE must be further strengthened and enhanced by the supportive background work of experts and advisors. Many representatives of Hungarian security policy can support the work of the organization by providing useful information, a knowledge base and an intellectual potential not sufficiently utilised yet.

The Hungarian diplomacy is present in several regions and has impartial and acceptable connections which can be relied on in developing and maintaining international order. Our knowledge base pertaining to law enforcement is recognized. We have scientific knowledge in such fields which can prove useful to the new European order. This can be brought to other regions of the world by our diplomacy and due to the above mentioned recognition a favourable reception can be expected.

An outstanding aim of the European Union in establishing security is to persuade countries at the external borders of the Union to participate actively in achieving stability and security in neighbouring third countries and then in continuous spreading this security to other countries, as well. Here we are in an advantageous situation because we have a very strong strategic position towards the Balkans, which plays a decisive role in European security and, through the Ukraine, towards the post-Soviet states. The Republic of Hungary may become the place from where this contribution could start and we could be a base for security export.
Principles of security and defence policy of the Hungarian Republic

Though older than the European Security Strategy, concerning its content, the Decree of the Hungarian Parliament on the Security and Defence Policy of the Republic of Hungary is an up-to-date document. It contains all the risk factors and dangers which our country may face in the near future and against which we must take effective measures.

The documentum lists 15 elements which represent increasing risks. By examining them we can see that most of them are significantly connected to the activities of law enforcement organizations:

- Conflicts between countries or groups may arise from diverse social development. These conflicts can appear as a result of different restraining measures (e.g. stricter measures introduced at border crossing, in border traffic, at customs control, etc.) The unfavourable effects of these measures must be handled by the law enforcement organizations. Based on the experience gained in the region in treating these tensions, it is advantageous to regard their handling as a task of law enforcement to avoid the affected states to get entangled into a conflict.

- Economic, financial and even social crises are typical in a significant part of Europe. These are often associated with unfavourable public security effects or even riots. In this case the task of law enforcement organizations is to keep or restore public order by taking concerted measures.

- The greatest challenge of our time is terrorism. At the time of drawing up the Decree of the Hungarian Parliament terrorism was mentioned as a realistic danger. Since then all the security analyses of the world have attached the highest priority to terrorism, in fact, wars are waged against terrorist organizations. Any country of the world can become a target anytime and anywhere. At state level and with a strict coordination of law enforcement organizations, the Republic of Hungary tries to prevent our country from becoming the scene of such events for any reason. We have to continue our preparation for the prevention of such incidents with tight coordination, effective proactive measures and a high level of preparedness of our system of response.

- Crime has always been present in the world and will always be present. Today organized crime steps over states and borders. Fighting against it demands international coordination and concerted efforts of law enforcement organizations.


4 Examples of this could be seen in Slovakia or in the Ukraine, but similar events may occur in any country, even in those with a developed economy.
Illegal drug and arms trade, smuggling people across borders and, lately, trafficking in humans have a strong relevance. The huge profit gained in these dealings is usually "recycled" to support terrorism and to ensure the financial basis for terrorist actions. Usually corruption is connected to such criminal acts, which may undermine trust in the state or can trigger off a sharp increase in the number of violations of the law. To take steps against these actions and to fight them is the task of the law enforcement organizations, which can be only done effectively with stubborn, coherent and uninterrupted efforts. An effective weapon against the internationality of crime can be the internationality of the concerted efforts of the authorities, which is also an indispensable condition.

Unfavourable events and crises occurring anywhere in the world can cause the appearance of refugees. The economic and social security of Europe is attractive to the citizens of the crisis zones and this is the reason why illegal migration has become a permanent phenomenon. At the same time the demographic changes of the continent make controlled immigration necessary. Certain aspects of this duality must also be solved by the law enforcement organizations.

Mankind tends to mistreat its environment and has only begun to realize the extent of the destruction it caused in the name of development. Most of the countries take firm steps against environmental harms including the Republic of Hungary, which puts a strong emphasis on the prevention of environmental damage. The tasks of our law enforcement organizations include reconnaissance and the control of the compliance with the law.

A number of countries of the world possess weapons of mass destruction or their carrier devices. An important step against their uncontrolled movements and spread is an effective and strict control at the borders of the Union.

In this computerized world an attack against information systems represents a significant risk. A damage never seen earlier can be caused if these systems are injured and this requires the creation of new organizational units and their efficient operation of the low enforcement organizations (e.g. Internet police).

Although to a decreasing degree, tension between countries or the danger of armed conflicts is still present. Similar events have often happened in the vicinity of our country during the past 15 years. Experience proves that the handling of these occurrences as law enforcement issues can prevent the Republic of Hungary from getting involved in certain conflicts developing in its environment and can ensure Hungary’s safeguarding the security and the interests of its state. This security must be provided by the law enforcement organizations.
The national security strategy of the Republic of Hungary

The national security strategy\(^5\) of the Republic of Hungary, which came into existence shortly after the European Security Strategy, describes the most important factors and measures related to security in harmony with this document of the Union.

The preamble of the national security strategy describes the crucial values and interests of the Republic of Hungary. These are similar to those stated by the European Union because they rest on the same foundations for the countries of the continent.

Henceforth the strategy fully lists all those challenges and dangers which decisively influence the security of our country. These risks are grouped into three big chapters and analysed in detail. The discussion starts from a global prospective and through regional challenges it reaches down to the analysis of internal risks. It phrases all the risk factors at every level that we have to reckon with and it also records how we see the chances of their elimination. The individual elements already contain the tasks to be executed and refer to the organizations with leadership and the cooperation of which they can be carried out in the most efficient way.

Chapters III and IV of the strategy describe a detailed version of solution, to which they also assign the aims and the means. Finally, the tasks of preparing sectorial strategies are determined.

The document specified the deadline of finishing sectorial strategies to be 30 September, 2004. In compliance with this the strategic program of the Ministry of the Interior was prepared with a detailed decomposition and specification of the main directions of the activities of the individual organizations.\(^6\)

The sectorial strategies contain all the tasks determined by the national security strategy, but it gives only the main guidelines of the activities of the law enforcement organizations; concrete tasks must be independently worked out by the organizations and executed together with the other organizations of the sector.

The above mentioned legal provisions may sound familiar to many, but We would like to call your attention to a government concept worked out in 2005 with the title of “Security strategy for the sake of the horizontal integration of areas of top priority”, which proves to be very timely today concerning the present situation of the law enforcement organizations.

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\(^6\) After the parliamentary election in 2006 the governmental subordination of certain law enforcement organizations changed, but their system of tasks remained unchanged under the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement.
The strategy has 7 big chapters and begins with an analysis of the situation in the field of security and then carries out a relevant SWOT analysis. After that it draws up the future prospective, specifies strategic directions and objectives, and examines the available means and the opportunities of realization.

The size of this document is too big for as to carry out a detailed analysis, so We try to highlight some interesting parts connected to the issue of security.

We consider it important to quote the introductory thoughts of the concept:

“The demand for security belongs to general human rights and it is also a natural human need. Security as a result, situation, position, value, process and system of relations is an indispensable requirement of social existence. In addition to earlier dangers, threats and challenges, new ones have appeared, whose handling cannot be accomplished with the conventional portfolio-based approach. For this it is necessary to have security actors with competent expertise and flexibility that are ready and apt to renew and meet the expectations of the new information society.

The horizontal approach of security cannot be effective without an integrated security aspect, an integrated institutional framework and a coordinative and cooperative realization. The functions of the national security systems change in an adaptive way due to Euro-Atlantic integration; the “boundaries” between external and internal security are restructured and European values as well as national values and interests converge.

The organizational implementation and adaptation of the regulations and recommendations of the EU concerning security require that development processes should be conceptionally planned for long term.

The system of objectives of “Security Strategy” must be governed by the idea of a liveable and sustainable society and sustainable development, therefore the categories of sustainable and improvable security should become reasonably emphatic. In addition to the horizontal approach, a harmony between vertical and horizontal coordination should be established, as well.

The actors of the security scenario include the security organizations of the EU, the national and state institutions, the authorities, the individuals and their communities, the organizations formed by the citizens and the enterprises.

Besides the coordination of activities, special attention has to be devoted to the transparency of the system of institutions, the traceability of processes and cost effectiveness.
It is reasonable to declare strategic intentions by guaranteeing national and European security, by promoting a broader interpretation and an integrated implementation of security and by the socialization, system-centred development and quality control of security-related activities.”

Let us see what kinds of statements are made by the concept within the context of the general characterisation of security and the introduction to its environment:

- Security has an impact on every area of our lives.
- The new risks and dangers appear disguised.
- Security can be only based on collective interests.
- Security of the individual gains more ground.
- Handling terrorism is a strategic factor.
- International organized crime became sophisticated.
- Our country is gradually becoming a country of destination in drug trafficking.
- Life without fear can be realised by collective efforts.
- Safe environment has a significant influence on our lives.
- Security as a service is an object of demand and supply.
- Hasty legislative work has multiplied the need for statute modifications.
- The provisions of national law are hardly known to the average citizen.
- In spite of some improvements, legal awareness and legal culture are still at a low level.
- Confidence in jurisdiction is on the decline.

Let us single out a few statements from the analysis referring to the security of borders:

- We have become a European gateway to international organized crime.
- In the regions of the country adjacent to the external borders of the EU poverty-driven crime providing one’s basic subsistence is intensive.
- Usually there is organized crime behind foreign crime perpetrators.
- Our membership in the European Union also requires the detention of foreign criminals.
- Mobil Control Teams work effectively in screenings inside the country.
- Reliable border security is an integral part of security.
- With the termination of border traffic control on the internal borders we have to reckon with new challenges and risks.
- The operation of the Schengen filter system opens a new prospective in border security.
- Migration processes have intensified.
- Measures against illegal migration have improved.
- Managing legal migration and refugees is a complex task.

7 “Biztonságstratégia a kis jelentős területek horizontális integrációjára érdekében” (Security strategy for the horizontal integration of top priority fields) (2005) 4. o. www.magyarorszag.hu
The increasing of the migratory movement the inquiry data of the United Nation High Commission for Refugees reinforced.

Then the document deals at length with the institutional environment of security and, in particular, with the systems of institutions of the European Union and Hungary, and analyses international and national regulations affecting security.

The SWOT analysis of border security is based on the following factors:

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<tr>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
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<tr>
<td>○ legal, professional, effective, transparent, traceable, accountable order of operations</td>
<td>○ exaggerated bureaucracy</td>
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<td>○ recognition of the necessity of changes in time</td>
<td>○ effects of budgetary limits</td>
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<tr>
<td>○ initiating the necessary steps</td>
<td>○ moderate effectiveness in searching sources</td>
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<td>○ undertaking implementation relying on own resources</td>
<td>○ postponing or abandoning completion of processes started</td>
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<td>○ high level of professionalism and commitment of staff</td>
<td>○ insufficient enforcement of professional interests</td>
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<td>○ organizational unit, collectiveness</td>
<td>○ discrepancies between legal regulations and the system of conditions</td>
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<td>○ continual development and application of technical-technological level</td>
<td>○ uncertainty because of frequent reorganizations</td>
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<td>○ extending international connections</td>
<td>○ lack of experience and financial problems of young colleagues</td>
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<tr>
<td>○ organized take over and validation of the EU and Schengen acquis at an EU-compatible level</td>
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<tr>
<th>Opportunities</th>
<th>Threats</th>
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<tr>
<td>○ full-fledged Schengen-accession makes a significant operational modernization possible</td>
<td>○ the organizational independence of the border guard can end in the next 8–10 years and with the re-organization of the Police and the Customs and Excise Authority the outflow of well trained experts can not be prevented</td>
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<td>○ a new opportunity will arise during the 2-phase EU-accession to obtain a leading role in regional co-ordination of international frontier security</td>
<td>○ there can be operational problems in certain areas because of deficient sources and the lack of replacement of depreciated equipment</td>
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<td>○ introduction of quality based, creative and innovative management methods based on knowledge management and gradual involvement of non-budgetary sources are expected to result in more efficient public security</td>
<td>○ the technical lag of criminal police organisations increases relative to organized and high-tech criminals</td>
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<td>○ the ever younger staff with the necessary experience and in a foreseeable career system will be the token of the integrated law enforcement system of the future</td>
<td>○ In the European Frontier Guard Agency (FRONTEX) the failure of obtaining professional positions may lead to the loss of professional prestige</td>
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<td>○ a dynamic development in co-operation with actors of security market, support of local governments and NGOs, and socialization of tasks especially in crime prevention and the adjustment of migrants</td>
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With regards to all the above, the document establishes the following target conditions:

- Providing quality oriented security gains priority.
- In addition to the increase of citizen satisfaction, a close and friendly cooperation with the citizens develops.
- An integrated model for planning and managing law enforcement capability is developed.
- Partnership with formal and informal communities improves.
- The operation of law enforcement shifts towards problem solving and service providing.
- The handling of illegal migration is conducted in harmony with national and EU expectations.
- An effective border control system is operational.
- Centralization and decentralization restructure the units which guarantee security.
- Security is guaranteed by a professional public service staff.
- Cross-border cooperation tightens.

In present time the Frontex is accomplish only part task of the aligned measure of the European border control.

We could not make a better summary myself than to quote the concluding thoughts of the security concept:

“In the course of elaborating the strategy we tried to coordinate each chapter with all the others starting from the basic analysis of the situation and build each chapter upon the preceding ones. The analysis of the situation identifies the possible key fields of security which are presented in a logical order based on the analysis by Pillars. The SWOT analysis was made accordingly, in which we focused on the most important interrelated facts relevant to the essential components of security. In setting strategic directions and goals we concluded wide-scope consultations with the planning workshops of the affected ministries in order to correctly identify the points of intervention which can best serve the implementation of target conditions. During the selection of the means to meet the assigned goals we took the system of means developed earlier in the field of security such as regulations, technical-technological and infrastructural investments and the restructuring of the institutional system into consideration.”

Tasks deriving from the Hague Programme

In the wake of the events and security tendencies of the last years, the Council of Europe found it necessary to work out a program for the coming years with the aim of applying the results achieved so far and effectively handling forthcoming challenges. This is the reason of the acceptance of the Hague Programme,\(^9\) which reflects the goals set in the contract about the formation of the European Constitution and contributes to the European Union’s preparation for the contract’s taking effect.

*The main objectives of the Hague Programme can be summarised as follows:*

- improving the common abilities of the member states of the EU to guarantee basic rights, minimum safeguards of procedural law securities and opportunities of legal remedies;
- providing protection to people in need under the Geneva Treaty and other international agreements on refugees;
- controlling the waves of migration and the external frontiers of the European Union;
- fighting against transborder organized crime and eliminating the threat of terrorism by exploiting the opportunities provided by Europol and Eurojust; implementing the mutual recognition of court decisions and certificates both in civil and criminal law;
- eliminating the legal and judicial obstacles in transborder law suits of civil and family cases.

The Program wants to accomplish these goals with the development of the Joint System of Refugees, the improvement of access to law courts and the improvement of the practical co-operation between the police and the Ministry of Justice, the harmonization of legal provisions and the development of common policies.

The document considers the prevention and elimination of terrorism as a key factor and the mutual approach to be developed in this field must be based on the principle that, while safeguarding national security, the member states have to fully take the security of the European Union as a whole into account.

In the opinion of the Council of Europe the joint plan to strengthen freedom, security and lawfulness in the region plays a key role in guaranteeing security for the communities, mutual trust and states governed by the rule of law. For this reason freedom, lawfulness, the control of external borders and the prevention of terrorism must be regarded as inseparable.

For the protection of the region based on freedom, security and lawfulness a multidisciplinary and concerted attitude is required especially by the police, the customs authority and the border police both at national and European levels.

**Tasks to be done for ensuring freedom**

The Programme lists the tasks to be done for ensuring freedom in a separate chapter. These tasks are connected to the following main subjects:

- **Issues of refugees, migration and frontier and policy**: concerted, effective and strong working relations must be developed between the member states. The activities should be based on a joint analysis of all aspects of migration and on a tighter practical cooperation of the member states.

- **Joint European System of Refugees**: the aim is to establish a common process for handling refugees and to develop a unified legal status for those who obtained asylum or received supplementary protection.

- **Fighting for legal migration and against illegal employment**: legal migration will play an important role in strengthening a knowledge-based European economy and help economic development, but informal (black/grey) economy and illegal employment may lead to exploitation and may ruin economic results, thus pushing it back is a central task.

- **External dimension of refugee and migration issues**: it involves the improving the handling of migration and protecting refugees, hindering illegal immigration and fighting against it, promoting the legal methods of migration, finding a more lasting solution to the problems of the refugee situation and improving border guarding capabilities, strengthening the security of documents and handling the problem of expulsion.

- **Border control and fight against illegal immigration**: the aim is an earliest possible termination of the control of the internal borders, whereas on the external frontiers the conditions of control necessary for the security of the whole territory of the European Union must be created. New methods and procedures must be applied to control or stop illegal immigration.

In relation to every field listed above there are relevant tasks to be performed by the law enforcement organizations of member states. In addition to guaranteeing fundamental freedoms, these tasks must be executed to guarantee the security of the European Union as a whole.
Tasks to be done to safeguard security

In a separate chapter the document lists the tasks to be executed in the interest of concrete security. These tasks are focused on the following main areas with regards to the law enforcement organizations of the member states:

- Improving information exchange: the exchange of information must be driven by the principle of accessibility in the whole territory of the EU. If a crime investigation officer needs information to execute his tasks in a member state of the EU, he will receive it from another member country, and the crime investigation agency of the other member state which has the information in question will make it available to the officer who needs the information.

- Terrorism: the effective hindering of terrorism and an effective fight against it, with full respect to basic rights, require the member states not to limit the measures they take to preserving their own security only, but they should also think in terms of the security of the whole EU.

- Police co-operation: an efficient fight against transborder organized crime and other severe criminal actions as well terrorism requires an intensive and practical co-operation of police forces and customs and excise authorities of the member states as well as Europol and a better utilization of the available means.

- Handling transborder crises in the European Union: the aim is to ensure the internal security of the European Union, especially in the case of significant transborder internal crises that affects citizens, vital infrastructures, public order and safety. The effective management of transborder crises in the European Union not only demands the strengthening of the measures related to civil defence and vital infrastructure but also the effective handling of the aspects of the crises affecting public security as well as harmonizing these steps. This system has an impact on the following issues: further evaluation of the capabilities of member states, stockpiling, training, joint manoeuvres and operative plans related to civil crisis management.

- Operative cooperation: the operative cooperation of crime investigation and other organizations must be harmonized in every segment of the region which based on the right to freedom, security and lawfulness.

- Crime prevention: the European Union needs effective means to support the endeavours of the member states to prevent crime. To this end the European crime prevention networks should be professionalized and strengthened.

- Organized crime and corruption: the questions of corruption and its connection to organized crime must be investigated.
European drug strategy: the drug problem should be approached in a comprehensive way through the policy of prevention, assistance and rehabilitation as well through the policy used to combat illegal drug trafficking, the trade of drug raw materials and money laundering and through the strengthening of international co-operation. All of these fields and the tasks of law enforcement listed earlier, with special respect to the activities and cooperation of the police forces, the customs and excise authorities and the border guards, are closely interrelated. Certain elements of these are already operational, or they can be extended to the majority of the member states.

Conclusions

The main goal of the thesis was to analyse main documents and identify pivotal points with the help of which a comprehensive and up-to-date security strategy concept can be developed.

In the last decade the Hungarian law enforcement organizations solved a great number of special tasks to safeguard the security of the Republic of Hungary. Usually practice moved faster than theory, which then presented the main elements of successful activities and built them in the different documents. The mechanism of crisis handling was determined on the basis of successful practices, and possible dangers and the fundamental measures taken against them were phrased from the executed tasks and the experience gathered. The documents of security and defence policy reflect the events of the past years and the responses given to them. Our special geopolitical and geostrategic status allowed us to issue documents on Hungarian security policy which preceded similar documents of the European Union and which practically contained the assertions, assumptions and solution alternatives of the EU documents.

Considering this special situation by means of the documents discussed in the thesis, the elements of security strategy can be identified. A synchronism should be established among the Security Strategy of the EU, the Hague Programme, the Parliamentary Decree on Security and Defence Policy of the Republic of Hungary, and the National Security Strategy prepared by the government. As can be seen from the above, there is a great number of identical elements and similar approaches in every one of them, so they can serve as a good basis for working out a long-term document that will also meet today’s challenges.

10 “Blue Light” and “Joint Operation” actions were successfully organized several times with the cooperation of the law enforcement organizations of the member states.

11 The complex control system (migration net) developed with the coordination of the Hungarian Border Guard is a form of control which can serve as a model to the other member states.
The common tasks of the law enforcement organisation is to provide the complex security.\textsuperscript{12}

In theory and practice as well as in procedures and methods, the Hungarian law enforcement organizations are ahead of many states of the continent. By utilizing this advantage, Hungary can become a centre of law enforcement theory of the EU in the region and can make this knowledge base, this intellectual capital accessible to the whole of the European Union.

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