## PRISONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

**Roy Walmsley** 

No. 22 2005

### **HEUNI Paper No. 22**

#### PRISONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations
Helsinki, 2005

This document is available electronically from: http://www.heuni.fi

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ISSN 1236-8245

## **Contents**

A. Further Developments in the Prison	7
Systems of Central and Eastern Europe	/
Introduction	
Main findings	8
Conclusions and outstanding tasks	11
B. The Need for the Construction of New Prison	
Buildings in Central and Eastern Europe	14
Introduction	14
The requirements of the international standards (e.g. the UN Standard	
Minimum Rules and the European Prison Rules)	
Conclusion	17
References	17

## A. Further Developments in the Prison Systems of Central and Eastern Europe<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

Following the historic political changes in central and eastern Europe in the period 1989-91, the countries of the region made reform of the criminal justice system a priority requirement in the progress towards democratic institutions. The reform of the prison system is an important part of criminal justice reform and this is the second HEUNI study which focuses on developments in the prison systems and describes the progress made, and the problems faced, in implementing the international standards for the management of prisons and the treatment of prisoners. It considers the situation in the year 2001, seven years after that described in the previous study<sup>2</sup>.

The present study shares with its predecessor the intention not only of describing the progress made towards implementing the international standards and the problems that obstruct such progress, but also of contributing to a better understanding of the successes achieved. This report places particular emphasis on that aspect and on the objectives that each prison administration has identified as of most importance. Suggestions are also made as to outstanding tasks that require attention in order that all prison systems may be as closely as possible in line with the international European standards.

The previous study, which described the situation in sixteen prison systems of central and eastern Europe in 1994, reported progress in a

number of areas but noted that there were many problems, varying in seriousness from one country to another, but most of them applying throughout the region. They included:

- the size of, and continued increase in, the numbers held in penal institutions;
- the conditions of pre-trial detention in particular, overcrowding, the length of such detention and the limited nature of the regimes;
- the state of the buildings and the need for refurbishment, reconstruction and new institutions;
- -the limited resources available for improving these conditions and for dayto-day running of the penal institutions;
- -delays in the passage into law of new penal (criminal) codes, criminal procedural codes and penal executive (punishment enforcement) codes;
- the shortage of non-custodial alternatives to imprisonment;
- recruiting and retaining sufficient staff of good quality, including medical and other specialist staff such as educators/ social workers:
- ensuring that all staff were convinced of the importance of improving prison regimes and were skilled in using positive methods in accordance with international standards:
- finding sufficient suitable employment for prisoners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Summary of HEUNI Publication No. 41, Roy Walmsley: Further Developments in the Prison Systems of Central and Eastern Europe - Achievements, problems and objectives. Helsinki: HEUNI 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> HEUNI Publication No. 29, Roy Walmsley: Prison Systems in Central and Eastern Europe - Progress, problems and the international standards. Helsinki: HEUNI 1996.

In addition, in some countries significant difficulties were being caused by:

- the prevalence of tuberculosis in penal institutions and the shortage of medical equipment and medicines with which to treat it.

The present study reports on the overall situation in 2001 in respect of the main aspects of the management of prisons and the treatment of prisoners, making reference to changes that have occurred in the years since the previous study. In addition, separate sections describe the situation in each of the prison systems in central and eastern Europe, setting out what are regarded by the prison administrations as the most important recent developments, the main problems, the areas in which particular successes were achieved in improving aspects of practice and overcoming difficulties, and the principal current objectives; an assessment is also made of the most important tasks, in addition to the stated objectives, facing each administration individually, if it is to advance still closer to the standards set out in the European Prison Rules and in some cases elaborated further by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the CPT).

#### **Main findings**

New legislation is already in place or at an advanced stage of preparation. New penal executive codes were adopted in the period 1996-2001 in fifteen prison systems and in one more the legislation has been passed since the end of 2001.

Twenty-one of the twenty-four prison systems are now fully under the Ministry of Justice. Of the other three Albania has 70% of prisoners in Ministry of Justice facilities and Ukraine has detached the prison system from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and placed it under an independent State Department. In Belarus alone is the responsibility still with the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The official capacities of most prison systems in the region increased between 1994 and 2001 in order to cope with the growth in prison populations.

A number of countries have changed their legislation or regulations in order to allow more space per prisoner, but in some of them the change is at present only an aspiration since the capacities of the individual institutions have not been reduced accordingly.

In most countries, with the exception of Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Slovakia and those that have emerged from former Yugoslavia, prison populations are well above the levels in the rest of Europe and are growing. The majority of prison administrations in the region define this as the most serious problem that they face, or one of the most serious.

The prison population rate (per 100,000 of the national population) rose during the 1990s in almost all of the prison systems of the region.

Overcrowding, when calculated according to the official capacity of the prison systems, seems to have become significantly worse since 1994. At least ten of the twenty-four systems exceeded their official capacity at some time during 2001.

When calculated according to the amount of space a prisoner actually has in his/her living accommodation it is clear that overcrowding has indeed become worse in a majority of the countries of central and eastern Europe.

The space per prisoner in pre-trial prisons in the capital cities is considerably less than the national average.

The CPT norm of at least 4m<sup>2</sup> per prisoner was only attained in 2001 in five of the nineteen prison systems on which information was available, and only in two of eleven pre-trial prisons in the capital cities.

Most prison systems in central and eastern Europe, apart from those in the countries of former Yugoslavia, have high rates of pre-trial detention compared with the rest of Europe, and three have rates above 100 per 100,000 of the national population - higher than the average total prison population in the rest of Europe.

Pre-trial detainees in all but four countries are given no more than one hour outside their cells each day, despite the CPT recommendation that eight hours should be the minimum.

Untried prisoners are kept apart from sentenced prisoners and males from females, but juveniles are not always separated from adults in at least seven prison systems of the region.

Sanitary arrangements and arrangements for access are reported to be adequate for all prisoners in only thirteen of the twenty-four prison systems. This is nonetheless a slight improvement on the situation in 1994.

In at least four prison systems not all prisoners have their own beds.

Almost all prison administrations report that the quality and quantity of food that prisoners receive is close to average standards in communal catering outside, but in about a third of prison systems prisoners do not receive a balanced diet, including meat, fruit and vegetables.

Prison health care has seen increased integration and co-operation with public health services.

Many prisoners have an alcohol problem in almost three-quarters of the prison systems; in several, alcohol dependency is said to be more prevalent than drug dependency. Less than three-fifths of prison administrations considered that a large number of prisoners have a drugs problem or are addicted to drugs, but the numbers were said to be increasing in almost all systems.

The number of prisoners who are HIV positive is said to be increasing in about half the prison systems. In accordance with the World Health Organisation guidelines and recommendations of the Council of Europe most prison administrations do not test all prisoners for HIV but seven prison administrations continue to do so.

Tuberculosis is the most serious prison health care problem in many countries of central and eastern Europe, although not in those that were formerly republics of Yugoslavia. There is an increased focus on combating the disease in the countries most severely affected by it, using treatment programmes that often benefit from international funding.

There has been progress in recent years in the extent to which prisoners are enabled to be in contact with the outside world. In particular this includes:

- increases in the frequency with which letters may be sent and received, including an apparent increase in the extent to which this is allowed to pre-trial detainees;
- some reduction in the extent to which prisoners' letters are read by prison staff;
- -increases in the frequency with which visits from family members are allowed to sentenced prisoners;
- increases in the duration of visits to pretrial detainees;
- -improved conditions for prisoners' visitors in some prisons;
- -increased access to telephones both for sentenced prisoners and pre-trial detainees.

Nonetheless, there are unnecessary restrictions on communications between pre-trial detainees and their families, and on physical contact between such prisoners and their visitors. In some countries certain categories of sentenced prisoner are allowed visits less than once a month.

Particular attention is paid by many prison administrations to the recruitment of good quality staff and to developing staff training. Some are focusing on boosting staff morale, for example by providing good facilities and benefits for them.

There is increased emphasis on opening the prisons to the media and drawing attention to the valuable work that staff do on behalf of the community.

Several prison administrations now hold regular meetings between staff responsible for each of the different aspects of prison service work, such as security, treatment and health care, and those responsible at prison administration headquarters for each of these aspects, in order to share experiences and insights and contribute to improved policymaking.

There are many examples of prison staff coping with events, such as serious overcrowding and consequent disturbances, in a positive way, calculated to stimulate a good atmosphere in the institutions and minimal tension.

Treatment programmes are being developed that focus on remedying aspects of a prisoner's life that have been associated with his criminality, such as anger control, inter-personal communication, social skills and budgeting.

Particular attention is being paid to providing treatment programmes and other constructive activities for young prisoners in their teens and early twenties, who may be more susceptible to change than older prisoners. In some prison systems there is an increased emphasis on the input of psychologists and social workers and on the use of group work.

Opportunities are increasingly being provided for prisoners to develop their sense of responsibility and self-reliance.

Only a third of prison administrations report having at least 60% of sentenced prisoners working, and more than a third have no more than 30% working. Compared to the situation in 1994, the percentage has fallen in ten countries and risen only in four.

Positive features of prison work in the region include:

- in some of the prison economic units prisoners work alongside civilians from the community outside;
- -good quality work is available in a number of prisons, including contract work, work that results in products that can be sold outside the prison, and public restaurants run by the prisons;
- -in a few countries, at least a small minority of pre-trial detainees are able to have some work;
- arrangements are made by many prison administrations to provide some money for prisoners who, through no fault of their own, are unable to have work at present.

While the best internal inspections are thorough and rigorous and perform a valuable role, there is scope for more structured and comprehensive inspections by independent bodies.

In more than half the prison systems an Ombudsman or a Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights visits the prisons but this often does not involve a systematic inspection of the management of the prison and the treatment of the prisoners.

The state of prison buildings and the need for refurbishment, reconstruction and new institutions has continued to present significant problems. Much refurbishment and reconstruction has been done and new institutions have been opened in several countries. But the low budgets available to the prison administrations have meant that in the poorest countries very little has been done to improve these material conditions and in the least poor it has only been possible to do a fraction of what is perceived to be needed.

Much progress has been made in developing complaints procedures. Concerns about complaints mechanisms centre on confidentiality and the seriousness with which the complaints are treated. The extent to which complaints are in sealed envelopes, which arrive unopened at the desk of the person to whom they are addressed, is variable but seems to be improving steadily.

At least three prison systems deny pre-trial detainees the right to vote in national elections. Eleven of the twenty-one prison systems on which information is available allow sentenced prisoners the right to vote, while ten deny them the right to do so.

NGOs now visit almost all prison systems. They contribute in a variety of ways, including by monitoring the institutions, training staff, assisting with treatment and educational programmes, responding to prisoners' complaints and requests, providing humanitarian assistance and social support, offering religious help and supplying information on human rights. Their work is invariably regarded as positive by the prison administrations, despite occasional friction in connection with monitoring activities.

Most prison administrations have established good contacts with their counterparts in a number of other European countries in the interests of sharing experiences, learning from each other and thus improving practice. The Council of Europe has facilitated the reform process in central and eastern Europe in a number of ways, notably by the commissioning of assessment reports and the sponsoring of steering groups for reform of the prison systems. Its CPT is arguably the most powerful force in the reform of practice in the prison systems of Europe as a whole, including therefore those of central and eastern Europe. The OSCE, the European Union, individual European countries and NGOs are also involved in technical co-operation in prison matters in central and eastern Europe and are making an important contribution.

#### **Conclusions and outstanding tasks**

There have been major developments in all twenty-four prison systems of the region. As has been noted above, further significant progress has been made in a great many aspects, including the development of modern legislation and the transfer, by most countries that had not done so earlier, of responsibility for the prison systems to the Ministry of Justice.

It is unfortunately true, however, that most of the problems that were noted in the previous report are still present in central and eastern European prison systems now. Indeed, the situation with regard to the size of prison populations, overcrowding, the conditions of pre-trial detention, and the availability of employment for prisoners, has become worse in recent years. The effects of tuberculosis remain very serious in some countries. In addition, the increased number of prisoners with a drugs problem is a growing concern, as is the importation of drugs into the prisons. In three countries the prison systems are still recovering from the damage caused by war (Bosnia and Herzegovina) or internal strife (Albania and Macedonia).

Despite such negative factors, prison administrations have been able to draw attention to significant achievements that have occurred in their prison systems in recent years. More than one

hundred are listed in this report and a number of these will be of interest to other prison administrations, which may wish to apply them in their own countries. There have been many successes, and those responsible for them can justly feel proud.

But the problems that persist leave all prison administrations with an extensive list of objectives and outstanding tasks. They themselves have reported a wide range of what are seen in each of their prison systems as the most important current objectives, covering many aspects of the management of prisons and the treatment of prisoners. The report draws attention to a number of outstanding tasks, each of which it suggests requires attention in at least some of the prison systems of the region if they are all to be as closely as possible in line with the international European standards. In particular it lists the following:

- -to take steps to enable all pre-trial detainees and sentenced prisoners to have at least 4m<sup>2</sup> of space in their living accommodation; and to establish for each institution a capacity figure based on the amount of space per prisoner specified in the appropriate legislation, so long as this is at least 4m<sup>2</sup>;
- to ensure that lighting, heating and air quality are adequate in all buildings in which prisoners spend any part of the day;
- to enable every prisoner to have his/her own bed;
- to ensure that all juveniles, including pretrial detainees, are held separately from adults:
- to ensure that sanitary installations and arrangements for access are adequate to enable all prisoners to comply with the needs of nature when necessary and in clean and decent conditions;

- to provide all prisoners with a balanced diet, including meat, fruit and vegetables, and to ensure that the quality and quantity of food reaches at least average standards in communal catering outside;
- to devote sufficient resources to health care, including the appointment of an adequate number of medical staff, and to give full recognition to the principles of equivalence of care (i.e. with that in the community), patients' consent, confidentiality of information, and the professional independence of medical staff;
- to give further consideration (in Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and the Republika Srpska entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina) to abolishing compulsory HIV testing and thus bringing policy into line with the relevant international standards, in particular those established by the World Health Organisation and the Council of Europe;
- to require medical staff in each institution to advise the director on the sanitation, heating, lighting and ventilation of the institutions, and the suitability and cleanliness of prisoners' clothing and bedding, in accordance with Rule 31.1c and d of the European Prison Rules;
- -to ensure that prisoners are heard in person at all disciplinary hearings, and that prisoners in disciplinary isolation are visited daily by a medical officer (in accordance with Rule 38.3 of the European Prison Rules), provided with mattresses and blankets, allowed visits and access to reading matter, and offered at least one hour's exercise daily in the open air;
- to amend the practice whereby pre-trial detainees (remand prisoners) are generally separated from their visitors by a screen. Such a practice is only necessary for exceptional cases;

- to ensure regular visits for pre-trial detainees, so that all are visited at least once a month, and if possible weekly or more often;
- to take steps so that neither legislation nor practice continue to block the introduction of a proper programme of regime activities for pre-trial (remand) prisoners, to enable them to spend a reasonable part of the day out of their cells, engaged in purposeful activities of a varied nature, and to appoint a member of the treatment staff to be responsible for regime activities for pretrial prisoners, and to deal with their social work needs;
- -to give priority attention to staff training, in particular in respect of human rights, inter-personal skills and the humane treatment of prisoners, and to include training for senior managers in the skills needed to undertake their responsibilities imaginatively and effectively;
- to take steps to improve the public image of prison staff and of the work of the prison service;
- to ensure that there are enough staff to keep the staff-prisoner ratio at a satisfactory level and, in particular, that there are sufficient educators/pedagogues/social workers/case managers/heads of detachment to enable no group for which such a specialist is responsible to exceed about 50 prisoners;
- to provide programmes of constructive activities, including work, education and vocational training, to occupy prisoners' time in a positive manner and enable them to develop skills and aptitudes that may improve their prospects of resettlement after release;

- to develop pre-release programmes to assist prisoners in returning to society, family life and employment after release and to develop co-ordination with Centres for Social Work in the community, where such exist;
- -to ensure that senior staff in the prison administration headquarters and the directors of all institutions and their senior managers possess and make full use of copies of the Council of Europe's European Prison Rules. Copies should also be kept prominently in each prison library for the use of all other staff and prisoners;
- -to introduce an independent prisons inspectorate, reporting directly to the Minister of Justice and publishing its reports.

The work of those who run the prison systems of central and eastern Europe has not become any easier in the years since 1994, but the determination to confront the problems and to do everything possible to surmount them is widely evident and worthy of much respect and admiration.

#### B. The Need for the Construction of New Prison Buildings in Central and Eastern Europe<sup>3</sup>

#### Introduction

"One of the most serious problems facing the prison systems of central and eastern Europe is the state of buildings and the need for refurbishment, reconstruction and new institutions"(1). This reflects the view of the many experts who have studied these prison systems in the years since the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991). Socialism was supposed to make crime disappear, and if crime was going to disappear then prisons would not be needed. Consequently, as little money as possible was allocated to maintaining buildings and building new ones. The result is that prison buildings in central and eastern Europe are old and either need substantial refurbishment or. because it would be more economic, need to be demolished and replaced. In some countries, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-5), Albania (1997), Serbia (2000) and Macedonia (2001) serious destruction to prison buildings has occurred more recently. The following extracts give an indication of the situation in parts of seven countries of the region.

Albania "At the time of the events of February/ March 1997 all Albanian prison institutions were emptied of their occupants, ransacked or destroyed" (2).

Czech Republic "In general, detention and imprisonment take place in outdated and inappropriately equipped buildings" (3).

Georgia "The establishment's premises were in a very advanced state of decay..... The cells are generally dark, badly ventilated..... and damp. Their general level of dilapidation beggared description" (4).

Latvia "The state of repair and the level of cleanliness in the vast majority of cells also gave grounds for serious concern: the walls and ceilings were crumbling and were being eaten away by mildew..." (5).

Moldova "The living conditions and execrable hygiene in the cells of buildings 1, 2 and 3....described......in the previous report had not changed..... On the contrary, the acute overcrowding in these buildings had made the situation even worse" (7).

Russia "The penal system was in a very difficult situation at the time of the transfer [of the prisons] to the Ministry of Justice [in 1998]. The material condition of many buildings and installations......had not been appropriately maintained nor updated for many years. This meant that the institutions of the penal system were in a most dilapidated and neglected state" (8).

# The requirements of the international standards (e.g. the UN Standard Minimum Rules and the European Prison Rules)

Rule 1 of the European Prison Rules (EPR) states that the deprivation of liberty shall be effected in material and moral conditions which ensure respect for human dignity. This is not at present achieved in many of the penal institutions of central and eastern Europe. New prison construction is necessary in order to bring the conditions in these prison systems closer to what is required. Specific aspects of prison conditions which require new construction include the following:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Paper commissioned by the Finnish Ministry of Justice (June 2003).

#### a) prison overcrowding

Prison populations in most of the twenty-two countries of the region have increased substantially in recent years. Governments have generally not had the resources to keep pace with these developments by providing more space, and have not been able to adopt policies to reduce the use of imprisonment. In 2001 the prison population exceeded capacity in ten countries and, taking account of the fact that the capacity in more than half the countries is based on a space allowance inferior to that required by the international standards established by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the CPT), overcrowding is present, in actual fact, across the prison systems of almost three quarters of the countries of the region. Although it is desirable that policies be introduced to reduce the use of imprisonment to levels similar to those in the rest of Europe, any such change will be gradual and does not remove the present need for new construction to create additional space and to alleviate the overcrowding that will otherwise continue to blight many of these prison systems for the foreseeable future.

#### b) living accommodation

Many prisons are very old or are designed to hold large numbers of prisoners in dormitories. The old institutions generally have poor heating, lighting and ventilation and new construction is needed, since renovation and the insertion of modern heating systems are often prohibitively expensive. It is now accepted that dormitory accommodation is bad for the safety of prisoners, since staff supervision, especially at night, is invariably inadequate in such circumstances. What is needed is the replacement of old institutions, and old units within other institutions, and the conversion of dormitories into smaller units for no more than three or four prisoners.

#### c) sanitation and hygiene

Sanitary facilities in old and dilapidated buildings frequently make it impossible to ensure, as the international standards require, that they are adequate to enable every prisoner to comply with the needs of nature in clean and decent conditions (EPR Rule 17). Small scale repairs are uneconomic and new construction is needed to ensure the quality of plumbing, sewage disposal and privacy for those using the facilities. The maintenance of satisfactory hygienic standards in some of the old prisons is extremely difficult if not impossible.

#### d) health care

Overcrowding and buildings that are old and badly equipped and maintained constitute a serious threat to health and the provision of health care. And, as stated by the CPT (9), "An inadequate level of health care can lead rapidly to situations falling within the scope of the term 'inhuman and degrading treatment". Prison and health experts have regularly reported on the nature and scale of these problems. For example: in Armenia "the central [prison] hospital was the most depressing establishment visited. The buildings were old, run down and gloomy. We recommend the hospital be given priority in any investment and refurbishment of buildings"(10). In Lithuania "Overcrowding is a major factor in the morbidity of the prison population, contributing as it does both to the injuries inflicted by prisoners on themselves and on others, and to an increase in infectious diseases. The present prison hospital is in such a poor condition that it will soon become uninhabitable and unusable" (11). There are prisons operating as tuberculosis hospitals (e.g. in Moldova and Russia) where buildings are deficient in terms of heating, lighting and ventilation and are damp and dirty and difficult to clean and maintain. There is a need in the prison systems of central and eastern Europe for considerable investment in the construction of buildings appropriate for the provision of effective medical services.

#### e) security

The poor state of many existing buildings renders them inadequate in terms of security. New buildings are needed with better sight-lines for monitoring prisoner movement and with better internal and perimeter security provision. This is an essential requirement in connection with the efficient and safe management of the prisons and the prevention of escapes.

#### f) employment

Work is regarded by most prison systems in central and eastern Europe as an essential part of the treatment process. The explanatory memorandum to the European Prison Rules envisages work in industrial conditions, either in workshops or gardens or farming enterprises. Prior to the social and political changes of 1989-1991 a large number of prisoners in the region were employed in workshops in prison factories; however, with the introduction of the market economy unprofitable factories have closed and the level of unemployment has risen sharply. Less than 50% of sentenced prisoners had work of any kind in 2001 in thirteen of the twentytwo countries (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland and Romania), and in eight of these less than 30% had work. What is needed is the construction of new work premises, many of which need not be large, to provide conditions for prisoners to be engaged in work or vocational training that contributes positively to their future resocialisation and reintegration into the community.

#### g) recreation and exercise

Many prisons, especially (but not only) those for pretrial detainees, do not have adequate space for outdoor recreational activities. The European Prison Rules emphasise the importance to physical and mental health of properly organised activities to ensure physical fitness, adequate exercise and recreational opportunities (Rule 83). The construction of facilities to enable sporting activities is an important requirement. So too is the construction of suitable areas for daily exercise. The international standards require that "every prisoner who is not employed in outdoor work, or located in an open institution, shall be allowed, if the weather permits, at least one hour of walking or suitable exercise in the open air daily, as far as possible sheltered from inclement weather" (Rule 86). The areas used for such exercise are frequently too small, again especially in prisons, or sections of prisons, that are intended for pre-trial detention, to allow groups of prisoners who are required to exercise at the same time to do more than walk around slowly. They need to be able to exert themselves energetically. Attention is frequently drawn to such deficiencies by the CPT. Newly constructed prisons, or sections of prisons, can take account of this requirement.

#### h) atmosphere

Insufficient attention is sometimes paid to the design and ambience of penal institutions. A well-designed well-built modern construction can create a positive atmosphere both for prisoners and staff. The value of this should not be under-estimated. Oppressive and unimaginatively designed structures do not create a suitable climate for a constructive regime in which staff and prisoners treat each other with respect as fellow human beings and every effort is made to assist sentenced prisoners to leave the institution at the end of their sentence prepared mentally for the challenge of resuming life outside. The atmosphere is equally or even more important in institutions for pre-trial detention. The stress associated with uncertainty about the outcome of the case, and often uncertainty as to the length of time that will pass before the case is resolved, can have a particularly deleterious effect on individuals, especially if conditions are overcrowded and there are insufficient staff who are well trained to provide support in such circumstances. New prison construction projects are needed to ensure the most suitable environment for modern, progressive prison management involving best practice in the positive treatment of pre-trial detainees and sentenced prisoners.

#### Conclusion

It is extremely important that new prison buildings are constructed in the prison systems of central and eastern Europe. Progress towards implementation of the international standards in respect of many aspects of the management of prisons and the treatment of prisoners is seriously obstructed by the current deficiencies, most of which are a legacy of the neglect of the prisons during totalitarian socialist rule. There are other important prerequisites for progress in improving the prison systems including, notably, improved staff training. But for all the reasons listed above there is an urgent need across the region for new construction projects in the prisons.

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