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8

European space in the face of enlargement
The West to East
European Trajectory Project

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* * *

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The goal of the bulletin is to promote and disseminate the results of research on: spatial aspects of socio-economic processes taking place in Europe, in particular in Central and Eastern Europe, spatial changes resulting from Poland's integration with the EU as well as Poland's interrelations with the neighbouring countries.

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Editorial

The present volume of the Bulletin EUROPA XXI consists of three parts.

The first part is a Memorandum by Professor Antoni Kukliński which postulates the construction of a European Trajectory i.e. a system of linkages joining the East and the West of Europe, extending from London and Paris, via Berlin and Warsaw to Moscow. The emergence of the trajectory would accelerate European integration and influence the shape of European space.

On the ground of Professor Kukliński's Memorandum, which expands and enriches the Author's earlier ideas on the theme, a conference was held in March 2002 in the Institute of Geography (P.A.Sc.) based on the motto: Towards a New European Space.

In the second part of this volume, statements by conference participants are presented, related to the Memorandum, as well as letters directed to its author, written by two state officials, experts in spatial policy at both the national and international level.

The third part consists of articles, two of which refer directly to the idea of the Trajectory, while others discuss broader questions of East-West linkages, mainly in the context of urban systems and inter-urban interaction.

The papers and materials included in the volume allow to conclude that while we are witnessing the emergence of spatial links between Western and East-Central Europe, they fail to represent a developed and continuous system. The intensity of interaction decreases from West to East; in particular East of Vistula; the future main trunk lines are still to be identified.

The concept of a West-East Trajectory linking the capital cities and other major urban centres of Western Europe reaching Moscow via Warsaw so far represents more of a requirement than a reality. Therefore the postulate of Professor Kukliński, which is the need to monitor the development of West-East linkages should definitely be supported. One should promote both the concrete infrastructural investment programmes and the formation of large-scale scientific research programmes.

Towards a New European Space
The Trajectory London – Paris – Moscow
An International Programme for the years 2002 – 2006
A Memorandum

Antoni Kukliński

Introduction

Seven years ago a path breaking Report was published[1]. This Report was jointly sponsored by DATAR and the *Akademie fur Raumforschung und Landesplanung*. This was a major contribution in the explanation of factors and conditions which are transforming the European Space. It was also a contribution related to the development of European terminology in our field, as the report was published parallely in French, German and English. The Polish translation was published in 1997,[2] creating an additional dimension in the linguistics in our field.

In 1999 *The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* in Warsaw has published a volume *"The Changing Map of Europe – The Trajectory Berlin – Poznań – Warsaw"*[3]. This volume has offered new insights both in substantial and conceptual dimensions. In this context let me quote only my remarks concerning the term "trajectory", which may be very useful in our New Program.

"To my mind the term "trajectory" is better and more powerful in cognitive and pragmatic dimensions than the terms – axis, belt or corridor. The term "trajectory" implies the integration of software and hardware approaches and the integration of guided and spontaneous change.

We accept the following definition[4] *– 'Trajectories are self-fulfilling prophesies based on the 'actors', decisions and expectations of the future. Like any institutions they are sustained not by 'naturalness' but by the interest that develop in their continuance and the belief that they will continue'."*

In 1997, two volumes on *European Space – Baltic Space* – Polish Space[5] were published under joint sponsorship of the *Akademie fur Raumforsung und Landesplanung* and the *European Institute for Regional and Local development*. Let me quote only a short fragment of my paper published in Part One[6]:

"The Axis Paris – Berlin – Warsaw – Moscow, supported by the backbone of T.G.V., will create one of the most dynamic development corridors in Europe of the 21st century. The strategic studies related to this corridor will use two approaches:

1) the infrastructural approach that looks at the corridor as a bundle integrating large-scale investment Programs in the field of transportation and communication;

2) the regional approach as a set of strategic studies related to the development of regions located along the corridor."

In 1999 the Polish Academy of Sciences has published a volume[7] *"The competitiveness of regions in the Polish and European perspective"*. From the point of view of this Memorandum three papers from this volume are relevant[8].

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[1] P. Treuner, M. Foucher (eds) *Towards a New European Space*. Report of an Enlarged French-German Working Group. DATAR, ARL, Hannover 1995.

[2] A. Kukliński (ed.) *Problematyka przestrzeni europejskiej*. Euroreg, Warszawa 1997.

[3] R. Domański (ed.) *The Changing Map of Europe. The Trajectory Berlin – Poznań – Warsaw*. F. Ebert Stiftung, Warsaw 1999.

[4] C. Freeman, *Economics of hope. Essays on technology change*. Economic Growth and the Environment, London 1992.

[5] A. Kukliński (ed.) European Space – Baltic Space – Polish Space. Part One and Two, Euroreg, Warsaw-Hannover, 1997.

[6] A. Kukliński, *The New European Space. Experiences and Prospects*. (In:) Part One op.cit., p.325.

[7] R. Domański (ed.) *The competitiveness of regions in the Polish and European perspective*. Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw 1999.

[8] The papers: W.F. Lever, M. Stoll and A. Kukliński.

Last but not least a charming and illuminating publication of DATAR should be mentioned: *"Visages de La France"*[9]. The most important, now already a historical document included in this volume is the map "Air-traffic flows in Europe 1991". I have reproduced this map in my recent paper[10]. I hope, that DATAR will sponsor a similar map for 2001 answering *inter alia* the question – if the trajectory **London – Paris – Randstad Holland – Rhein Ruhr – Hannover – Berlin – Poznań – Duopolis Poland (Warsaw – Łódź) – Minsk – Moscow** is already emerging on the map of Europe or we have to wait until 2020, when traces of the Iron Curtain will evaporate from the map of Europe? (Fig. 1).

* * *

Naturally, this short and preliminary review of seven volumes is not complete and comprehensive. It is only an indication:

1) that our New Program is not starting in "*crudo radice*",

2) that in the last decade about 50 volumes were published which are major contributions related to the transformation of the European Space. The publications of the European Union are very important elements of this theoretical and pragmatic endowment,

3) that we have clearly a leading volume of the Decade. This is the Report mentioned in footnote 1.

This Memorandum is developed along the following lines:

I. The title
II. The infrastructural approach
III. The regional approach
IV. The academic dimension
V. The political dimension
VI. The economic dimension
VII. The cultural dimension
VIII. The feasibility study
IX. The Workshop
X. The final shape of the Program.
XI. The trajectory in the context of the XXI century.

[9] Visages de La France – DATAR. Reclus, Paris 1993.

[10] H. Bünz, A. Kukliński (eds) *Globalization. Experiences and Prospects*. F. Ebert Stiftung, Warsaw 2001.

I. The title

The emerging trajectory London – Paris – Moscow will be interpreted in the broad context of the transformation of the European Space. *Inter alia* a prospective question should be answered, when the transformation of the European Space will be so deep, that we will be able to say: "Now we have a new map of Europe". The temporal framework of the Program should be related to 3 decades – 1990-2020.

I am convinced, that we should follow the suggestion to use the powerful concept of "trajectory" in the already quoted interpretation of C. Freeman[11]. In the application of this concept the skeptical smile of R. Galar should be kept in mind[12]. In the title of the Program the association to the volumes mentioned in footnote 1 and 3 is very firm.

II. The infrastructural approach

This approach is seeing the Trajectory as a "bundle" integrating large scale investments programs in the field of transportation[13] and communication and, more general, in the field of flows of persons, commodities, capital and information.

The concept of investment "bundle" is especially important. The "bundle" should be seen as a vehicle of integration of investment programs generated at the regional, national and European levels by public agencies of different type and by the business community and especially by transnational corporations.

III. The regional approach

This is a comprehensive and imaginative study of the metropolitan regions, which are creating the nodal points of the trajectory. The dynamic development and systemic interaction of the nodal points is the decisive factor of the power of the trajectory as an instrument transforming the map of Europe.

It is an open question, what kind of flows could be analyzed in this way (see Table 1). A most

[11] C. Freeman, op.cit.

[12] R. Galar, *A view point of the adaptive potential of the Europe of regions*. (In:) R. Domański (ed.) *The changing map of Europe*, op.cit.

[13] Compare the papers of E. Judge and H. Platz (In:) R. Domański (ed.) *The changing map of Europe*, op.cit.

striking example are air – traffic flows for the years 1991 and 2001 following the earlier and maybe the new study of DATAR.

The regional approach has two dimensions – the nodal and the structural (see Table 2). Both dimensions should be present in our Program. The scale and dynamics of structural change in the Ten Metropolital Regions[14] is a fascinating field of comparative European studies[15].

IV. The academic dimension

The proposed Program could be transformed into a fascinating laboratory of empirical and methodological studies digging very deeply into the past and the future of the old and New European Space.

The concepts of "trajectory", "bundle", "region" and "space" should get new imaginative interpretations. The Program should be designed and implemented by a consortium of 10-20 academic institutes from Great Britain, Netherlands, France, Germany, Poland and Russia.

We should however avoid the *numerus clausus* approach and keep the Program open for academic institutes from other countries, which might be interested in the Program.

V. The political dimension

The academic dimension will create new knowledge and new information related to the Trajectory and to the ten metropolitan regions seen in comparative and interactive perspective. This new information and new knowledge will in turn create a challenge for the political elites of the ten regions – to see in an interactive way the strategic problems of the years 2010 and 2020.

VI. The economic dimensions

The academic and political dynamics of the Program will create important inducement for the global and European business community, to see in the trajectory stimulating instrument of long term strategic planning developed very efficiently by the transnational corporations.

VII. The cultural dimension

Culture is not only a theleological value, culture is also an instrumental value as a background for processes which create a favorable business climate and a favorable environment for the processes leading to technological, economic and political innovations.

The proposed Program should find new approaches for the development of the cultural dimensions of the trajectory.

VIII. The feasibility study

The proposed Program is a good idea in academic, political, economic and cultural dimensions. We need, however, a comprehensive feasibility study of the Program, which will outline its theoretical, methodological and empirical assumptions. This feasibility study will outline the *modus operandi* of the Program, the financial and institutional assumptions. The feasibility study will also explore the question - how firmly the proposed Program should be incorporated into the *modus operandi* of the European Union.

IX. The Workshop

If the general idea of the Program is accepted then a brainstorming workshop should be organized as a first step in the development of a consortium of 10-20 academic institutions, which would be interested in the design and implementation of the Program and in the creation of the financial background of the Program.

X. The final shape of the Program

This shape will emerge from the feasibility study and from the brainstorming workshop. We can say already now that the innovative spirit of the Program will be derived from the interaction of:

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[14] Compare: P. Korcelli, *Warsaw – The Eastern End of the Trajectory*. (In:) R. Domański (ed.) *The changing map of Europe*. Compare also the Warsaw papers of W. Lever, S. Furman and A. Kukliński (In:) A. Kukliński (ed.) *The Knowledge Based Economy. The European Challenges of the XXI Century*. Warsaw 2000.

[15] As an innovative inspiration for comparative studies of the ten metropolitan regions please see James Simmie et alia, *Innovation in Europe: A Tale of Networks, Knowledge and Trade in Five Cities*. Regional Studies Volume 36,1, 2002. Please see also V. Mamadough, *Territoriality of European Integration*. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geographie, Volume 92, 4, 2001.

1) regional, national, European and global perspectives,

2) historical and prospective approaches - the last decade of the XX century versus the two decades of the XXI century. The ideology of guided and spontaneous change.

3) hardware and software approaches,

4) nodal and structural approaches,

5)academic, political, economic and cultural dimensions.

This dialectic fields of dynamic interactions of different perspectives, approaches and dimensions should create a stimulating intellectual climate of the proposed Program.

XI. The trajectory in the context of the XXI century

In the Old European Space of the XX century – two features were most important:

1) the deep deformation of the European Space by the long duration of the Iron Curtain. This deformation is evidently documented by the map of traffic flow in Europe[16] in 1991 (Fig. 2).

2) the persistence of the center-periphery gap being a feature of the European history in the last two thousand years[17]. The status quo of this gap at the end of the XX century is well presented by H.H. Blotevogel[18] (Fig. 3).

In the context of these two maps four questions can be formulated:

1) Will the XXI century reduce the center-periphery gap in Europe?

2) Will the XXI century expand the domain of the center and reduce the domain of the periphery in Europe?

3) Will the XXI century eliminate the traces of the Iron Curtain not only in political and physical dimension but also in the pattern of European civilization and in the patterns of cultural and mental landscapes?

4) Could we recognize the re-emerging East-West or West – East trajectory outlined in this paper as one of the most important political, economic and cultural instruments – creating vehicles to answer in positive way the three questions presented above.

* * *

The old European Space of the XX century was dominated by the North – West to South – East trajectory as documented in Figure 1. The New European Space of the XXI century will probably create a renaissance of the grand East – West or West – East trajectory, which emerged in the II Millennium and was partially destroyed by the Iron Curtain in the second half of the XX century.

This is not a suggestion to envisage that the North – West to South – East trajectory will loose its original power in the experiences of the XXI century. I think, however, that the renaissance of the East – West or West – East trajectory will be a new countervailing feature on the map of Europe of the XXI century. It is not ruled out, that, by the middle of the XXI century, the East – West or West – East trajectory will be more important than the North – West to South – East trajectory.

The monitoring of the changing relative power of these two trajectories may be a fascinating topic of diagnostic and prognostic studies in the three decades of 1990-2020.

The power of the East – West or West – East trajectory will be determined by the scale and structure of the economic and cultural development of all countries located along the trajectory, and especially the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which should lose the status of the European periphery of the middle in the XXI century[19].

The general discussion on the transformation of the European space, which is a natural framework for our Trajectory Program is enriched by the charming book edited by B. Graham[20]. The absorption of the content of this book will help to build up a most favorable intellectual climate for the design and implementation of our Program[21].

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[16] *Visages de La France*. DATAR. Reclus, Paris 1993.

[17] Compare: N. Davies, *Europe – A History*. Oxford University Press, 1996.

[18] H. H. Blötevogel, *Bevölkerung, Wirtschaft und regionale Restrukturierung in Europa*, (In:) A. Kukliński (ed.), *European Space – Baltic Space – Polish Space*, Part One, ARL – Hannover – Euroreg, Warsaw 1997.

[19] Compare: H. Bünz and A. Kukliński (ed.), *Globalization. Experiences and Prospects*. Warsaw, 2001.

[20] B. Graham (ed.), *Modern Europe. Place, culture and identity*. Arnold, London 1998.

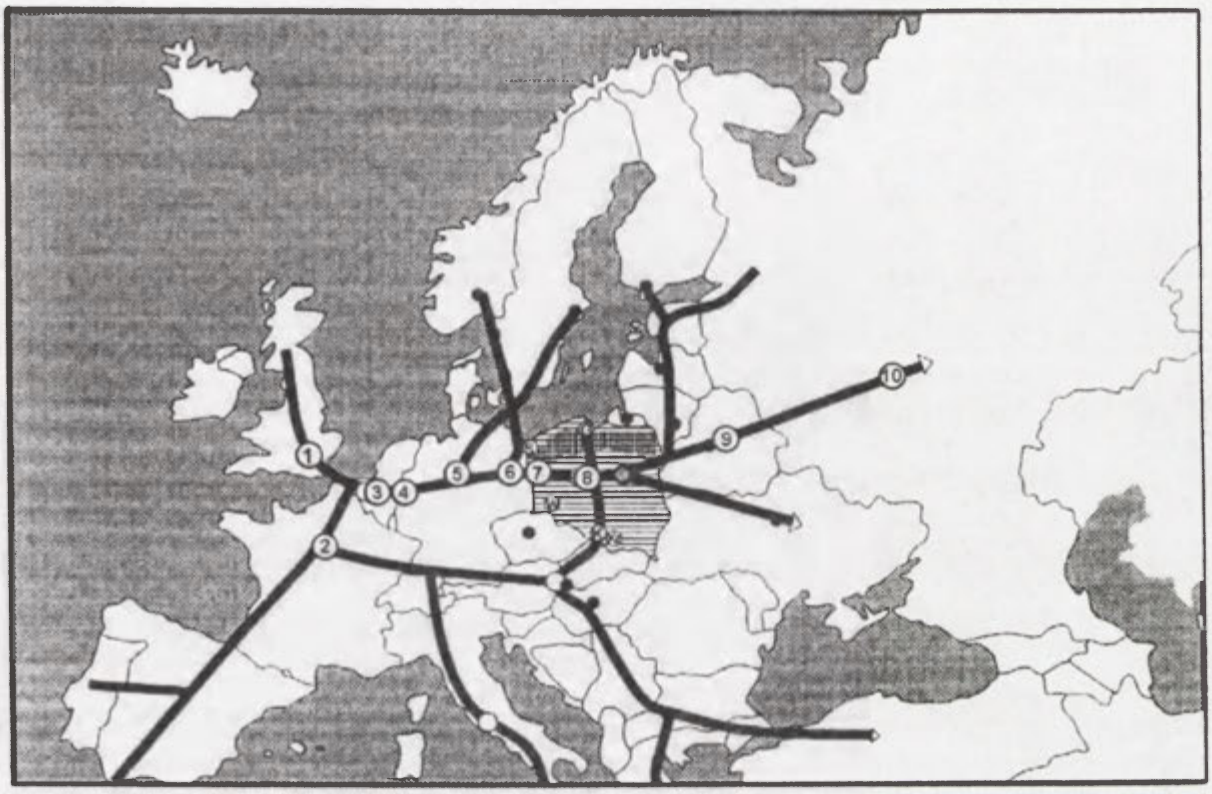
[21] Compare also: D.P. Calleo, *Rethinking Europe's Future*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

Table 1.

Flows from	Flows to									
	London	Paris	Randstad Holland	Rhein Ruhr	Hannover	Berlin	Poznań	Duopolis Poland	Minsk	Moscow
London	×									
Paris		×								
Randstad Holland			×							
Rhein Ruhr				×						
Hannover					×					
Berlin						×				
Poznań							×			
Duopolis Poland								×		
Minsk									×	
Moscow										×

Table 2.

The metropoli –tan regions of	The perspectives				The approaches						The dimensions				
	Regional	National	European	Global	Historical	Prospec– tive	Hardware	Software	Nodal	Structural	Academic	Political	Economic	Cultural	Holistic
London															
Paris															
Randstad Holland															
Rhein Ruhr															
Hannover															
Berlin															
Poznan															
Duopolis Polad															
Minsk															
Moscow															



1 – London, 2 – Paris, 3 – Randstadt Holland, 4 – Rhein Ruhr, 5 – Hannover, 6 – Berlin, 7 – Poznań, 8 – Duopolis Poland, 9 – Minsk, 10 – Moscow

Source: based on J. Kołodziejski – *O miejsce Polski w nowej przestrzeni europejskiej*. (In:) A. Kukliński (ed.) *Problematyka przestrzeni europejskiej*, Euroreg, Warszawa 1997.

Fig. 1. The trajectory London – Paris – Moscow

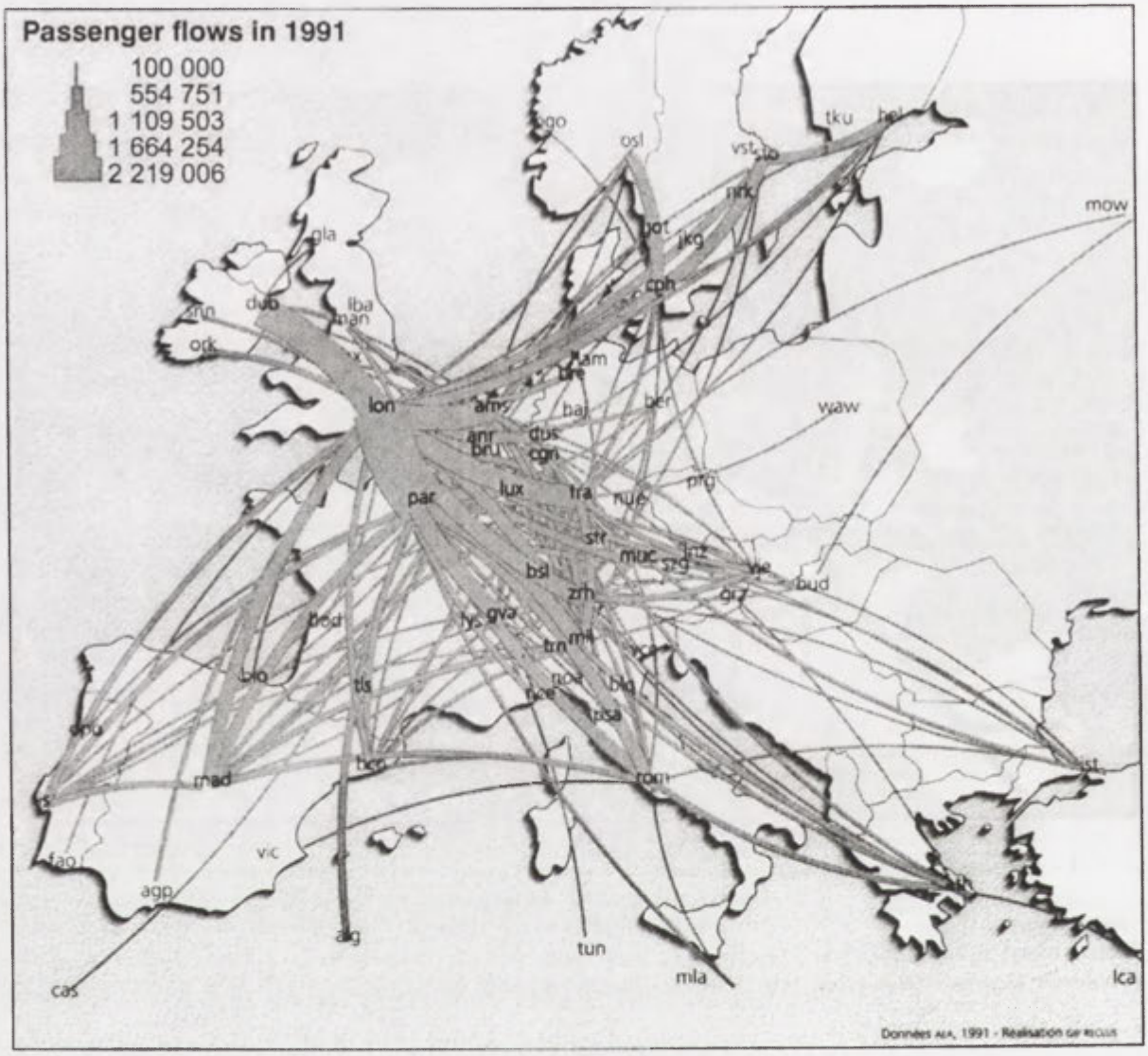
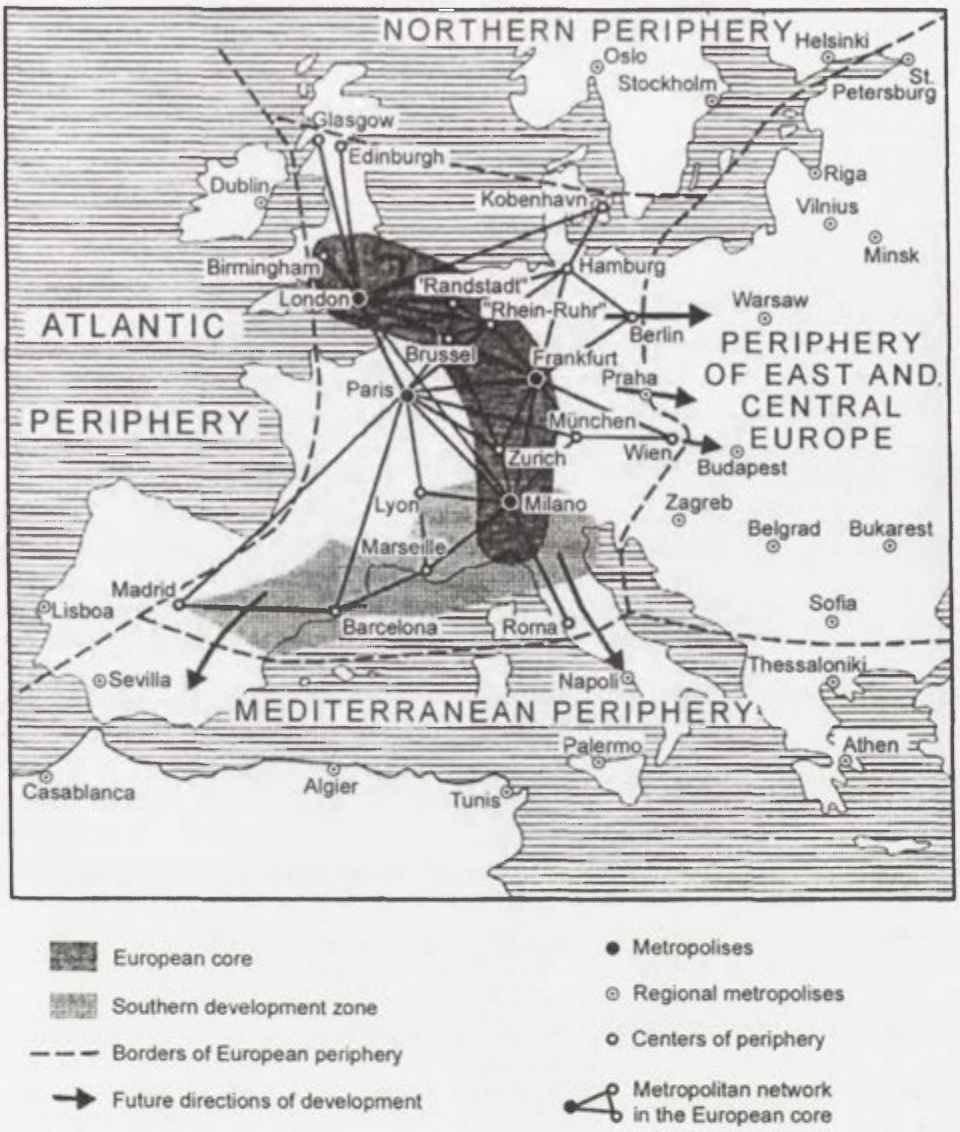


Fig. 2. Passenger flows in 1991



Source: H. H. Blotevogel, *Bevolkerung, Wirtschaft und Regionale Restrukturierung in Europa.* (In:) A. Kukliński (ed.), *European Space: Baltic Space, Polish Space*, Part One, ARL, Hannover, Euroreg, Warszawa, 1997.

Fig. 3. European core and European periphery

Towards a New European Space: The Trajectory Paris – Berlin – Warsaw – Moscow Some comments

Barbara Despiney-Zochowska

The general discussion on the transformation of the European space is becoming more and more important especially in the context of the EU – enlargement to the East. The New European Space of the XXI century will probably create a renaissance of the great East – West or West – East trajectory, which has emerged in the II Millennium and was destroyed by the Iron Curtain in the second half of the XX century (Kukliński 2002). According to Kukliński, it seems possible, that by the middle of the XXI century – the East – West or West – East trajectory will be more important, than the North – West to South – East trajectory. Our own study on growth poles in Central and Eastern Europe in 2015 mentioned the inexistance of a North – South axis in this region (DATAR 1997). In fact, in Poland, the first main routes to be modernised are the A2 and A4 which should liven up the Trans-European links from West to East. The importance of this trajectory will be determined by the scale and structure of the economic and cultural development of all countries located along the trajectory and especially the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which should loose the status of a European periphery in the middle of the XXI century[1]. In the case of Poland, Domański's work indicates a more favourable position of voivodships situated near the two Trans-European axes: A2 and A4 (Domański 1997). The Axis Paris – Berlin – Warsaw – Moscow will certainly create one of the most dynamic development corridors in Europe. The development of Trans-European Networks is seen as a vehicle for promoting the creation of a competitive single market, and ensuring that the peripheral regions within it are well connected to the core regions and able to sustain their competitiveness (Judge 2000).

I totally agree with two of Prof. Kuklinski 's approaches:

1/ the infrastructural approach in which the corridor is seen as a bundle integrating large – scale investment Programmes in the field of transportation and communication ;

2/ the regional approach seen as a set of strategic studies related to the development of regions located along the corridor (Kukliński 2002).

There are two points of view : first: investments in highways and other types of transportation system improvements are widely recognized as important means for achieving economic growth and development at the local, regional and national levels. An adequate government transport policy should facilitate the development of this sector, taking into consideration the positive externalities for the whole economy (e.g. extension of markets accompanied by economies of scale, facilitating division of labour, lowering transaction costs) as well as the negative externalities (e.g. congestion, air pollution, accidents). Secondly, suggestions have been made that transport investments have a limited effect on the regional economy, and may actually harm peripheral regions. Some American studies found very mixed evidence concerning whether or not there is any statistical or causal relationship between regional economic growth and highway improvements (Weisbrod, Beckwith 1992). They generally conclude that many other local factors come into play to affect regional growth. But, the transport scene in Central and Eastern Europe is

[1] Compare: H. Bünz and A. Kukliński (ed.), *Globalization. Experiences and Prospects.* Warsaw, 2001.

changing far more rapidly than it did in Western Europe, and the results extrapolated from this research may be limited. The significant new motorway and railway investments in Central and Eastern Europe caused a » long, sharp shock » in the system, generating a relatively more fundamental economic change (Judge 1999).

This large – scale European investment Programme started with the construction of the French TGV – East in the beginning of 2002. The Great East Project was elaborated in 1994 by DATAR with the scenario about the future development of Eastern Europe in connection to the EU enlargement to the East. Only, the Champagne region is directly concerned by the TGV – East, but three another regions : Alsace, Lorraine and Franche – Compte are involved in the project. The Cupertino with North « Euroregion » is taken in consideration. The TGV project defines the specialisation of the region through Localized Productive Systems (the priority of the DATAR today): equipment for land transport (rail and road). Those industrial districts are typically characterized by technological externalities. Their efficiency is based both on tacit knowledge and 'learning by doing' due to geographical and organisational proximity (Despiney-Zochowska 2002). We have to focus on what consequences the improvement of global accessibility may produce on the location of such industries.

In France the priority is given to the Multimodal Freight and Passenger Transport. The Ministry of Transport sets a target of doubling the amount of freight transported by rail in the next 10 years.

Paris is a Global City with headquarters of 35 Multinational Corporations and 11 million inhabitants. In fact, an imbalance between centre and periphery didn't disappear twenty years after Defferre law (1982). But, measured in 1999 the densities of population are now highest along six major rivers : Garonne, Rhone, Loire, Seine, Rhine and Escaut. With respect to the decentralisation process, in the near future two major changes must be done:

- **decentralization** must continue in favour of regional metropolis like Montpellier, Toulouse, Marseille, Nantes, Lyon. Here we have to mention : the State support for Localized Productive Systems (Districts) and two new Laws : a new Act on Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development Policy adapted June 25, 1999 (Yoynet Law) and Chevenement law from July 12, 1999 on the creation of 15 urban communities (with more then 500 000 inhabitants),
- **solidarity** between Parisian municipalities (towards better equity through financial transfers (Gayssot – Besson law from 2000 on urban solidarity).

For Central and Eastern Europe the TGV – project is very important. At regional level the hub of development will be created around the TGV stations (the struggle between Nancy, Metz and Strasbourg for TGV trajectory is highly instructive).

It is necessary to integrate candidate countries to ESDP (European Spatial Development Perspective) with it's polycentric coherent development. It's three objectives are : 1/ social and economic cohesion, 2/ sustainable development, 3/ better competitiveness of European regions, with the motto: « No, for blue banana, yes for polycentric development of Europe « (SDEC 2000). The ESDP accepts the role of the cities within development and Europe-wide development. There are clearly disparities between cities, and within cities themselves. In EU-member countries, cities have the task of modernising and developing. The Commission views the wide regional disparities in infrastructure both at the national level and between EU-countries as a major impediment to real convergence (Martin, Rogers 1995). The new enlargement to the East has revealed that one important obstacle on the way to the integration of those countries with the European economy is the very poor state of their infrastructure. The resulting infrastructure stock is necessarily in direct relation with the level of economic development of the regions (Quevit et al. 1992). Development processes are potentially cumulative, a distinction however exists between resources (the latent and potential conditions for development) and advantages (the active conditions for development). Furthermore, development does not depend solely on regional resources already in existence, but also on the proportion of new resources that the regions receive to finance their development programmes. The lack of private transfers (capital flows, direct investment) has given rise to a need for State funds, in form of structural funds in the case of UE

intervention. These constitute additional funds which would be added to normal investments. However, a freeze of structural funds was planned for the 2000 – 2006 period, the costs for the Union having become unbearable. If recipient countries were treated strictly in the same manner as those countries receiving Cohesion Funds (Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland), that is to say receiving similar per capita Euro transfers for Structural Funds, the amounts distributed would be considerable: 20,3 billion Euro annually, as opposed to 13,3 billion for the countries receiving Cohesion Funds.

For those reasons, there exists an important task for the European Union if it wants to connect Poland and other candidate countries with the European transport network using the Private – Public Partnership, more a French than a Anglo-Saxon BOT system. The recent Polish experience with the first Motorway Project indicates relevance of this type of financing (Despiney, Pasławski 2001).

But, the most appropriate form of support is not the transfer of financial resources. The EU should rather promote the gradual adoption of the Community regulations and necessary integration with the other EU countries in a technological, financial, social and institutional perspective. Moreover, in the field of regional policy an automatic extention to the new countries of the existing regulations of the European Regional Development Found would determine the collapse of the traditional regional policy of the European Union (Fayolle 1999; Cappellin 2002; Kuklinski 2002).

The last important problem is certainly the Belarus – Poland corridor which is the most important for transit flows between Russia and the EU (especially for eastbound transports) (Laurila 2001). In 1999, the total of $42.3 bn (westbound and eastbound) transit between EU and Russia was distributed between transport corridors as follows : Belarus – Poland $16.1 bn; Latvia $10.6 bn; Ukraine – Slovakia $5.8 bn ; Lithuania $3 .8 bn ; Estonia $3.7 bn and Finland $2.4 bn.

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The Trajectory London – Paris – Moscow
(A Russian View-point*)

Sergei S. Artobolevskiy

EU officials (mainly owing to political reasons connected with Russia) recently proclaimed a slogan of *«Common European Space»*. It has to unite European countries inside and outside EU and solve, as the authors propose, mainly political problems. But this slogan can also initiate big analytical work in regional/geographical sphere: to understand how this common space/territory looks like and to find methods of a practical realisation of the slogan[1]. The idea has to be realised on concrete territory, divided by different types of barriers "preventing" free movement of people, goods, capitals and information. These barriers have to be identified on the territory and levelled – that is the only way to common space. If the levelling is a task of politicians, the identification of barriers and socio-economic spatial processes is "ordinary" academic work.

It is clear that it is too early to speak about really common space – but only about spaces: "west" and "east" or even more. At the moment it is not yet clear how many "spaces" there are in Europe. And a detailed study of "possible" trajectory London – Paris – Warsaw – Moscow can help to clarify the above – mentioned question. Moreover, such a territorial form as trajectory is the best tool for connecting different "spaces" (and of different countries in our case).

The current discussion is initiated by Professor A. Kukliński (Kukliński 2002). His approach – to unite academic, political, economic and cultural dimensions – seems very effective. The same is valid for the proposed "trajectory approach".

This trajectory is, and will be the main (or one of main) axis for EU and non-EU Europe. Importance of this axis can not be "destroyed" by a new oil or gas tube, current political factors, etc. It is predetermined by history and geography (*The changing*... 1999; Chasowsky 1998).

Trajectories, axes and the "same" geometrical forms are usual for spatial/territorial development, especially in recent decades, characterised by fragmentation of socio- economic space. One can take as examples two EU "bananas" or the concept of main European transport (or economic) axes (*Unity*... 2001). So, our aim is to check whether a third European "banana" is under creation and how it really looks like. And this can be done only during simultaneous analytical work in all 6 countries, "crossed" by the trajectory[2].

It is quite natural to pay special attention to the nodes of the trajectory, i.e. to London, Paris, Berlin, Warsaw, Minsk and Moscow. But, at the same time the normal "functioning" of the trajectory can be supported only with the help of medium (for example, Poznan, Brest, Smolensk) and small centres and even non-urbanised areas. It is necessary to construct geographical priorities for the future study. In all cases, internal territorial structure of the trajectory has to be the object of proposed study.

It is also not clear whether the trajectory has to end in Moscow or go further: to Nizni Novgorod or even in several directions, tacking into account Moscow's central position in Russian economic and transport connections. The similar question is connected with London terminal position. It is quite possible to discuss about Birmingham or Liverpool-

* This short article takes into account, first of all, interests of Russia (as the author understands them). But attempts will be done to show that common European interests also exist in the field.

[1] It is very hard to solve this idea of "common space" even in theory. Real common space means territory without barriers, but any integration means new "high" barriers for third countries. The EU countries and Brussels institutions are not ready for such an approach. Kaliningrad case shows this very well.

[2] And in all 6 countries one can find research centres and experts who can do this analytical work. Only in Russia one can find at least seven such centres, and not only in Moscow.

Manchester (or even Glasgow-Edinburgh) as "starting points".

One more geographical (and political) question is Belarus. The trajectory can not avoid it. Moreover, direct isolation of the country means indirect isolation of Russia. Hence, co-operation is unavoidable - in proposed analytical work and in general. The approach taken by the Council of Europe and some other political organizations, i.e. isolation of the country, is not very practical. Any economic or transport map of Europe cannot have holes. An interrupted trajectory cannot form common space.

EU enlargement leads to a great shift to the East of the real European periphery. New EU countries, including Poland, will become the ends of "civilised world". And the only solution of this pure spatial problem is more intensive connections of EU countries with non-EU, "eastern" countries, including Russia. If the real European economic and socio-political space will terminate in Urals (not to tell about Russian Far East) it means that many accession countries will be almost in the centre of Europe, not on its periphery. The proposed trajectory can service both interests of EU countries and Russia (as well as Belarus) as it enlarges the real European space.

The proposed trajectory is not the only possible "way" from West to East. One can see attempts of the new Baltic states and Finland to play the role of a "bridge" between two Europes (*Vision...* 1994). Other newly independent states are also very active in the field. In Russia there are also supporters of Russian Baltic way (i.e. through ports in Leningrad oblast) and even of ideas to use Kola peninsula northern coast for connections with EU countries. Other ideas and directions also exist. So formation of the trajectory will take place in a rather competitive environment. To succeed, the trajectory idea has to be implemented without big delays. And research is a natural start for this type of activities.

Inevitably Moscow city (and its region - Moscow oblast) will play a special role in trajectory functioning, especially on Russian territory, and in proposed analytical work. This is predetermined by the great role of the city in economic, social and political life in Russia (Table 1). Moscow differs from practically all Russian regions not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Moscow (Table 2) and St.Petersburg are the only two post-industrial Russian regions (*Bi-polar...* 1994). The rest are mainly on industrial stage of development.

Moscow is not only the most important but also the most wealthy Russian region. In 2000 personal income in Moscow was more than 4 times higher compared with the country average level, unemployment – almost 3 times lower (*Regions...* 2001). This prosperity makes Moscow the biggest attraction point of the country. From 1994 Moscow has constant positive migration balance.

In spite of its official federal status, Russia is an extremely centralised state. Moreover, during last two years one can see some signs of further centralisation. That is not a return to "Soviet era" centralisation, but an evident change of policy in the field (growth of federal level shares in state budget is good example). Greater power of federal authorities also means spatial concentration of this power in Moscow. Creation of new federal ("presidential") districts is also a step in the direction of centralisation[3]

Moscow is more ready for co-operation with the West than the majority of Russian regions. The city has a long tradition of such co-operation (even in the USSR period), adequate infrastructure and specialists. As the centre of companies headquarters it is a starting point for Western business , even if it moves on to other regions in the future. Even regional authorities have no real monopoly: potential investors can locate in adjacent areas of Moscow oblast, i.e. inside the Moscow agglomeration. For example, "Ikea" used this possibility. An other possibility is offered by a closer orientation towards federal authorities.

At the end let me present some practical considerations.

The idea of the trajectory needs an institutional organiser, one that is able to start and support analytical work and to connect it with interests of politicians and private business. According to the author's view such an organiser/institution can be found in Poland and only in Poland (*European...* 1997).

The first steps in practical work can be building the trajectory data-bank covering all 6 countries (with compatible data). It has to be constantly enlarged by results of detailed field studies.

[3] On Russian territory the trajectory passes through two regions – Smolenskaya and Moscowskaya oblasts. Both are in the Central federal district and the idea can receive some support from this new institution.

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Table 1. Role of Moscow in Russia, 2000

Indicator	5
Population	5.9
Employment	8.4
GRP [1]	16.3
Industrial output	5.5
Wholesale trade turnover	29.6
Investments into main capital	12.9
Foreign investments	36.8
Export	25.6
Import	36.1
Number of small enterprises	20.5
Number of mobile phones	60.1
Federal budget inputs	24.8

[1] 1999, Source: Regions, 2001

Table 2. Structure of Moscow GRP, 1999

Industries	Moscow	Russia
Production industries	19.0	47.9
Industry	11.6	33.3
Agriculture	0.0	7.8
Construction	6.0	6.2
Service industries	67.3	44.1
Transport	4.7	8.2
Communication	4.7	1.8
Trade and public catering	32.2	14.1

Source: Regions, 2001

Dear Professor Kukliński,

After a thorough reading of your Memorandum on the Trajectory London-Paris-Moscow which I received from you attached with letter of May 2002, I would like to express my deepest appreciation for the broad and comprehensive vision of research programs this document presents. The interrelations between metropolitan cities in Europe, which create a European network of metropolitan interrelations and connections, are an important subject of interest of the Governmental Centre for Strategic Studies. The relations between the network of Polish cities and the European metropolitan network are one of the main factors analysed in the studies of the Centre concerning the concept of the spatial organization of Poland.

The concept of studies, concerning comprehensive connections in the "Trajectory London-Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow" in the broad dimension, including the conurbation of Rhein-Ruhr, Hannover, Poznań and Minsk, as well as other cities, as discussed in the Memorandum, should find acknowledgement and support. I can also imagine that such studies may in the future lead to the better understanding of the influence of this European trajectory on the development of Poland. In particular they could find application in the analysis of requirements connected with the development of European transportation corridors crossing Poland (corridors no I, II, III and IV and their branches). The results of your studies, are awaited with notice, as I see the need of their application to the updating of the "Concept of the Policy of the Spatial Organization of Poland", the first edition of which was published in the Monitor Polski No 26, on August 16, 2001. The preparation of the concept, as well as its updating belongs to the basic tasks of the Governmental Centre for Strategic Studies. You can therefore count on our help and support.

Dr. Zbigniew Strzelecki
Under-Secretary of State, Vice-chairman
Governmental Centre for Strategic Studies,
Warsaw

Dear Professor Kukliński,

I have carefully read your Memorandum which traces the main theses of the international research project concerning the role of the trajectory London-Paris-Moscow in the new European space. Due to numerous obligations, however, I am only able to give you my brief reaction.

1. Firstly, I want to express my pleasure that the issue of the trajectory revives. For the Polish space as part of the European space, this issue is of great importance, especially on the eve of the EU Enlargement towards the East.

2. In connection with Poland's and other countries' (like the Baltic states') prospective accession to the European Union and the growing spatial cohesion within the EU due to structural policies for South-Western Europe (Portugal, Spain, Southern France), it could be worth considering whether this trajectory should not run from Lisbon to St. Petersburg and Helsinki, i.e. from the South-West to the North-East. The Interreg III B Project Baltic Rail (Via Baltica Rail) may contribute to the idea about the northern end of the trajectory.

3. Being aware of the fact that the new member countries of the EU receive structural funds, I suggest that one of the research topics of this project could be the investigation whether and to what extent the allocation of structural and cohesion funds have so far influenced the creation of this trajectory in the space of the present members of the EU, especially those situated in the south-western peripheries of the Union. Another task would be to find out how such funds could influence the creation of the trajectory in Poland or in other countries around the Baltic Sea. In this context, another general question arises (to be analysed in a separate paper), namely how and again to what extent the regional policy of the EU, of its present and future members, can influence the changes in the European space along the trajectory , especially in the light of such EU documents as:

- *the European Spatial Development Perspective;*
- *Spatial Perspectives for the Enlargement of the European Union.*

4. Another research topic should present and analyze the benefits and disadvantages (risks) connected with the emergence of the trajectory for the development of regions concerned. The analysis would identify those activities which could help eliminate potential dangers, as well as those which would intensify (consolidate) the benefits of this trajectory.

5. This should be a complex, comprehensive program, including various aspects of this trajectory, it's functioning in the European space, uniting the interests of geographers, economists, historians, political scientists and specialists dealing with environmental protection.

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The Polish segment of the trajectory Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow in the light of foreign trade linkages

Tomasz Komornicki

1. Introduction

Both the magnitude and the structure of exports and imports are characterised by very strong regional differentiation inside Poland. The share in the international commodity exchange is one of the few indicators defining the geographical directions of economic ties of the regions with individual countries of Europe. That is why the turnover of foreign trade, when analysed at the regional, and even local level, may constitute a research instrument allowing an identification in space of strips with increased intensity of international economic links. This kind of instrument was made use of, in particular, in the study of the East-West axis, as carried out in the years 1996-1997 by the *Institut für Länderkunde* in Leipzig, in collaboration with the *Institute of Geography and Spatial Organisation of the Polish Academy of Sciences* (Rössner et al., 1998).

The subject of the present report is constituted by the foreign trade linkages of Polish regions located along the trajectory Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow (referred to further on as the Trajectory or the TPBWM). The objective of the report is, therefore

- to verify the hypothesis of the existence of this Trajectory (within the territory of Poland) in the economic sense,
- to determine the spatial reach of the Polish segment of the Trajectory (in the domain of international trade connections), first of all to provide an answer to the question whether and where the Trajectory forms a belt on the territory of Poland, and where it eventually has an insular character.

In order to achieve the objectives thus formulated, the analysis of intensity of foreign trade, as undertaken in the report, has to concern the entire territory of Poland, and only against this background – also the individual provinces (voivodships) and the counties (poviats) located along the direction of the Trajectory. Spatial differentiation of trade with the European Union and the countries through which the TPBWM passes, i.e. Germany, France, Belarus and Russia, is considered. The report refers primarily to the data for the year 2000. In addition, the results were used of studies from 1997 of foreign trade directions by transport corridors which concentrated on the then separately treated cross-boundary corridors Warsaw-Berlin and Warsaw-Moscow.

The analysis of the trade turnover at the province and county levels is made possible by the data from the Computer Centre of Foreign Trade in Warsaw, aggregated according to the countries of origin (imports) and destination (exports), expressed in US dollars. They are based on the SAD (Single Administrative Document) forms, filled at the state border and collected by the customs service. The analysis of exports on the basis of SAD forms means aggregation according to the locations of exporters and importers, and not of producers and consumers. Thereby, the results obtained do not constitute the spatial image of production for export, nor of the places of consumption of the imported goods. They are, on the other hand, the reflection of the distribution of businesses conducting trade with foreign countries. This, however, is a strong point of the study conducted. It is namely first of all the exporters and importers that establish authentic international ties. They take on the primary tasks of the marketplace, namely the ones of finding the sales market, of promotion and profitable sale of commodities.

2. Regional differentiation of the Polish foreign trade

As mentioned already, Poland is characterised by a very uneven internal distribution of the volume of foreign trade. This unevenness is

already visible in the scale of provinces (two out of 16 such units – the Masovian and Silesian provinces – account for 35.4% of exports and for as much as 52.2% of imports, see Table 1), and becomes, fully expressed in the spatial analysis at the county (poviat) level (see Figs. 1 and 2). Trade with abroad, and first of all exports, concentrate in the broadly understood western part of the country, where virtually all poviats participate in trade. At the same time, in eastern Poland trade is conducted almost uniquely in the large urban centres. At the national level the areas of the biggest concentration of export are:

- the agglomeration of Warsaw (more than 11% of the export value, the seat of numerous trade companies, domination in exports of almost all the manufacturing commodities, as well as of agricultural products),
- the Upper Silesian Industrial Region (along with the area of Bielsko-Biała; export of coal, products of metallurgy, and passenger cars – the plants of Fiat and General Motors corporations),
- Lubin copper basin (copper export),
- the agglomeration of Poznań (similarly as Warsaw – the seat of many trade companies; export of electric machinery industry),
- the remaining large urban-industrial agglomerations, including Gdańsk, Wrocław, Szczecin, Lodz and Cracow agglomerations,
- selected smaller centres, in which modern industrial plants are located (most often with a share of foreign capital), like, for instance, Olsztyn (*Michelin*), Kwidzyn (*American Paper Corp.*), Piła (*Philips*), Gorzów Wielkopolski (*Volkswagen*).

The import flows feature an even higher concentration in space. The position of Warsaw as the seat of the importing companies is here absolutely dominating (30.5% of the total import value). Similarly, the roles of the remaining agglomerations (and especially of Poznań and Gdańsk) are higher than in the case of exports. On the other hand, the significance of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region is relatively lower. The direct import of foreign goods to local centres is marginal almost everywhere in the country, except for the regions of Greater Poland and Lower Silesia. Gigantic import centres are constituted by the towns in which large oil refining plants are located, i.e. Płock and Gdańsk. The previously mentioned centres of modern industry, where export-oriented production is usually accompanied by intensive import of components, and in some cases also machines for modernisation of production technology, play an important role as well.

There are quite distinct belt-like sets of poviats in some regions of the country, which feature an increased significance in the international commodity exchange, most often associated with routes from transport infrastructure. The belts of this type developed, for instance, along the routes from Berlin-Wrocław-Cracow to the border with – Ukraine; from Poznań-Bydgoszcz to Gdańsk-Olsztyn; and, to a lesser degree, also from Warsaw-Lublin to the border with Ukraine. Although the concentration of foreign trade along the Trajectory is very strong, it is largely limited to the Warsaw and Poznań centres. The area between Poznań and Warsaw, and between Warsaw and the eastern border participate to a low degree in exports, and yet less – in imports.

If the value of Polish exports and imports is expressed in per capita terms, the interregional differentiation gets even bigger. In the setting of provinces, in the case of export, the highest value of the indicator is observed in the Pomeranian voivodship (1216 USD per capita, see Table 1). The values exceeding 1000 USD are noted, as well, in western Poland, and in the Masovian voivodship (where, however, virtually entire export originates from Warsaw and its surroundings). In the provinces situated along the eastern border the value of this indicator is lower than 500 USD.

We can also try to relate the trade flows to the demographic potential and thereby identify the potential belts of foreign exchange (see Fig. 3). They are apparent first of all in the western part of the Trajectory - between the border with Germany and Września – a compact area featuring export values per capita exceeding 1000 USD, with distinct branchings towards Bydgoszcz, Kwidzyn and Gdańsk. On the other hand, the region of Warsaw remains an island of high values of the indicator, surrounded by the areas where its value gets close to levels encountered in the countries of the Third World (in numerous counties – 250 USD per capita, for both exports and imports).

A similar spatial pattern appears with respect to the ratio of the value of export to the GDP. The new administrative division does not allow in this case for a sufficiently detailed analysis. If, however, we look at the situation as of 1997 (Komornicki 2000), it turns out that this ratio

exceeded 20% almost exclusively in western Poland (e.g. in the former Gorzów voivodship – as much as 34%). Although in the former Warsaw voivodship the indicator value was 29%, in all the surrounding former administrative units it did not exceed 10% (in Ciechanów, Płock and Siedlce provinces it was merely 7%). This is, on the one hand, an evidence of a low economic potential and of the yet smaller competitiveness of Masovia outside of the agglomeration, while being a proof of the strong position of Warsaw itself, taking over the trade away from the surrounding region.

An important characteristic illustrating the quality of foreign trade is the average price of one exported tonne. The spatial pattern of the values of this indicator has a mosaic character. Yet, we can state that in the case of exports the lowest values are observed in the north-western Poland and along the German border, that is – in areas featuring high exports, both as expressed in absolute and per capita values. Thus, we can assume that these areas are characterised by mass export of less processed goods (the heavy ones, primarily). The area of the Trajectory comes out quite well against this background. The majority of poviats located along this direction feature relatively high value of the exported tonne of goods (more than 2,000 USD).

Table 1. Polish foreign trade in 2000 by voivodships

Provinces	Exports				Imports				Net balance, 10^6 USD
	10^6 USD	% of Polish exports	per capita, USD	% of GDP	10^6 USD	% of Polish imports	per capita, USD	% of GDP	
Lower Silesian	3,386.0	10.7	1139	27.7	3,179.6	6.5	1070	26.0	206.4
Cuiavian-Pomeranian	1,409.1	4.5	671	18.9	1,456.2	3.0	694	19.5	-47.1
Lublin	762.3	2.4	342	12.2	546.7	1.1	245	8.7	215.6
Lubusza	1,092.1	3.5	1066	29.3	861.6	1.8	841	23.1	230.5
Lodz	1,289.6	4.1	488	13.3	2,087.7	4.3	790	21.5	-798.1
Little Polish	1,503.0	4.8	465	13.0	2,403.9	4.9	743	20.8	-900.9
Masovian	5,713.2	18.1	1126	18.8	20,732.2	42.4	4087	68.4	-15,019.0
Opole	554.0	1.8	511	15.2	655.3	1.3	604	17.9	-101.3
Subcarpathian	1,262.0	4.0	593	20.2	832.6	1.7	391	13.3	429.4
Podlasie	413.2	1.3	338	11.6	408.8	0.8	335	11.5	4.4
Pomerania	2,673.3	8.5	1216	30.1	3,140.1	6.4	1428	35.3	-466.8
Silesia	5,474.5	17.3	1129	25.4	4,808.7	9.8	992	22.3	665.7
Holy Cross	315.4	1.0	238	7.6	442.0	0.9	334	10.7	-126.5
Warmian-Masurian	860.3	2.7	586	18.9	593.5	1.2	404	13.0	266.8
Greater Polish	3,353.5	10.6	998	23.7	4,800.0	9.8	1428	33.9	-1,446.5
Western Pomeranian	1,497.5	4.7	864	21.5	1,539.5	3.1	888	22.1	-42.0
Undefined	28.4	0.1	XXX	XXX	413.0	0.8	XXX	XXX	-384.6
Poland	**31,587.3**	**100.0**	**817**	**20.4**	**48,901.4**	**100.0**	**1265**	**31.5**	**-17,314.1**

Over the greater part of Poland trade with the countries of the European Union dominates (Grabowiecki 2001). Large interregional differences appear, however, as to the shares of exports to the Union in the entire export value (Komornicki 2000). In the older administrative setting the highest integration with the Union was observed for the Gorzów voivodship, bordering upon Germany, from where in 1997 as much as 92.6% of exports went to the countries of the Union, while the lowest – for the Przemyśl voivodship, located at the border with Ukraine (only 18.3%). The spatial pattern is in the case of this indicator exceptionally clear. The significance of the Union in exports gradually decreases towards the East (dropping below 50% to the East of Vistula and below 25% within the eastern borderland), making room for the export to the countries of the former USSR. The spatial differentiation of the share of the European Union in the value of

imported goods is much smaller. This share is usually high also in eastern Poland, with exception of poviats directly adjacent to the eastern border.

It is hard to speak of the development of the areas (belts) of increased significance of the European Union in Polish exports. This share is decidedly the highest in the poviats of the north-western Poland, located outside of the urban agglomerations, including the western extreme of the Polish segment of the Trajectory considered (see Fig. 4). At the same time the region of Warsaw is characterised by a relatively low, and the areas located farther East – even very low – shares of the EU countries in exports (in the latter case, characteristically, also in imports).

3. Trade exchange with countries located along the Trajectory

3.1. Trade with Germany

Germany is the biggest Polish trade partner (23.9% of Polish imports and 34.9% of exports in 2000). Trade with this partner dominates in almost all branches and over almost entire territory of Poland. Contrary to almost all other countries of the EU, Germany has only a slightly positive net balance of trade with Poland. Moreover, in the years 1996-2000 the dynamics of exports to Germany was somewhat higher than the dynamics of imports. The list of exported goods opens with furniture (1.1 billion USD in 2000), followed by garments (927 million USD), combustion engines (728 million USD), passenger cars, simple wooden products (pallets), ships, metal structures, and only farther on – raw materials, such as copper (188 million USD) and coal (186 million USD).

The spatial distribution of trade with Germany appears to be a derivative of the economic factor (location of modern industry) and of the historical one (a higher intensity in areas which belonged in the past to Germany). Especially intensive trade is taking place in the south-western Poland, in the region of Poznań and in the coastal belt (see Fig. 5). The position of Warsaw is in this respect relatively weaker (the capital features the most differentiated geographic structure of the trade partners). We can in a way nominally designate three belts of intensive economic contacts with Germany, stretching

- from Berlin and Dresden through Upper Silesia down to the south-eastern Poland;
- from Berlin through Poznań towards Bydgoszcz and Olsztyn, with a much less pronounced branching towards Warsaw;
- from Berlin through Szczecin to Gdańsk.

The least of trade connections with Germany exist in the north-eastern Poland. We can state that the area of concentration of trade with Germany is the segment of the Trajectory stretching between the western border and the city of Września, and then within the confines of the agglomeration of Warsaw. Areas to the East of Warsaw do not display any significant trade connections with the western neighbour.

3.2. Trade with France

France is one of the most important trade partners of Poland. In the recent period it also climbed high on the list of principal foreign investors. The net balance of trade is decidedly disadvantageous for Poland. Thus, in 2000 export to France amounted to 1.6 billion US dollars, while import was almost twice as big (3.1 billion USD). Export is still dominated by the materials and less processed products, first of all copper (115 million USD), steel products, and coal (40 million USD). At the same time, though, France is the largest purchaser of TV sets produced in Poland (131 million USD) and of telecommunication equipment, and ranks third in terms of passenger car purchases (85.9 million USD). Relatively important role is played in export by garments, furniture, paper, and fruit and vegetable products. The most important items among imports are industrial machines, passenger cars (330 million USD, the second most important supplier after Germany), electric devices (including household appliances) and plastic products.

The spatial distribution of trade with France on the territory of Poland is characterised by a relatively high dispersion (in comparison with the other, more distant countries of the European Union, see Fig. 6). The most important concentration of import values occur in Warsaw, Poznań, Wrocław and Cracow, while of export – in the Copper Basin, in the towns, where passenger car plants are located (Gliwice, Bielsko-Biała), in Katowice (coal), Kwidzyn (paper), and Piła (lighting products). The trade activity involves also numerous small centres of Silesia, Greater Poland, Gdańsk Pomerania, and the region of Warsaw. We can speak of a strip-like pattern only in southern

Poland (from Legnica in the West to Tarnów in the East). The trade with France practically does not involve eastern Poland, central Poland (except for the regions of Warsaw and Łódź), and Western Pomerania, along with the German borderland. The concentration of turnover of trade with France within the Trajectory considered is limited to Warsaw, Poznań, and the poviats neighbouring these towns.

3.3. Trade with Belarus

Among all the direct neighbours of Poland, the smallest official foreign trade turnover falls on Belarus. In the year 2000 the value of imports from Belarus was at mere 153 million US dollars, while that of exports – at 244 million USD. Simultaneously, informal trade preserved a very high significance. The branch structure of trade is advantageous for Poland. Thus, officially, Poland supplies Belarus primarily with machines and equipment, and Belarus supplies Poland with chemicals and mineral products. Then, in the informal turnover the TV equipment and home appliances, along with building materials and food products, dominate. On the other hand, in the framework of the "tourist" traffic significant volumes of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products flow into Poland.

The trade with Belarus is concentrated in the region of Warsaw (domination of imports), in the southern part of the Białystok region, and in Upper Silesia (in both these cases – domination of exports). Besides, the centres of trade with Belarus are constituted by Płock (exports), Poznań, Łódź, Lublin, and the poviat of Biłgoraj (see Fig. 7). The trade values observed for the poviats located along the transport corridor Warsaw-Brest'-Minsk are surprisingly low. Yet, they are higher than the values noted for the neighbouring areas (like, in particular, the northern part of the Lublin region – an absolute lack of contacts despite direct neighbourhood). Owing to this, we can speak of a slight concentration of trade turnover on the eastern segment of Trajectory. The concentration would have been much stronger if we accounted for the informal trade value. In the light of the analyses performed by the Central Customs Office, in 2001 the Belarusians coming to do shopping from Brest' mainly head for Terespol, Biała Podlaska, Siedlce, or Warsaw, but virtually never for the cities located to the North or South of this route.

3.4. Trade with Russia

Russia is the biggest Polish trade partner in the East. In view of the domination of import of energy carriers (close to 90% of inward trade is constituted by oil – 3.2 billion USD of value, and natural gas – 0.6 billion USD) the trade balance is very much negative for Poland. Thus, in 2000 Poland exported to Russia goods of only 862 million USD of value, while total exports amounted to 4.6 billion USD. Still in 1996 Polish exports to Russia could to a significant degree offset the payment for the import of raw materials. The collapse of exports took place after the Russian crisis of 1998 (in 2000 the value of exports was at mere 52% of the value from 1996), while both the quantities and prices of the fuels imported have been increasing. Current exports include primarily food products (meat – 73 million USD, coffee), products of chemical industries (pharmaceuticals – 41 million USD, cosmetics – 35 million USD; in both these categories Russia is the largest purchaser; and synthetic rubber), paper and paper products (altogether more than 70 million USD), live animals, glass, and furniture.

Within Poland, trade with Russia is dominated by three centres: Warsaw, Gdańsk and Płock (see Fig. 8). In the two latter centres almost entire trade is constituted by the import of Russian oil, while in the case of Warsaw it is the central bookkeeping of the natural gas import. Contrary, however, to the two towns, in which large refinery plants are located, Warsaw constitutes also a centre of export to the Russian market. Important export centres are constituted also by some of poviats in the vicinity of Warsaw (locations of production plants of international corporations, like Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, Piaseczno or Pruszków). If we omit the previously mentioned centres associated with import of raw materials, trade with Russia turns out relatively balanced and spatially distributed across the entire country. One of the major centres of export to Russia is also the city and the poviat of Poznań. Despite this, we cannot speak of any strip-like concentration of trade along the Trajectory.

4. Foreign trade flows along the transport corridor

Studies were conducted, as well, at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of the Polish Academy of Sciences, based on the data for 1997, on the distribution of flows of Polish foreign trade along individual transport corridors. A special role in the results obtained is played by the Trajectory, which is of primary interest here. From among 18 then delimited main cross-border transport corridors, the highest concentration of foreign trade flows was observed along the following segments: Warsaw-Berlin (12.5 billion USD; 18.4% of trade value in both directions), the ports of Gdańsk-Gdynia (10.9%), and Katowice-Vienna (9.4%). The concentration was also significant along lines Wroclaw-Frankfurt/Oder and Szczecin-Berlin (7.9% each), and, besides, the ports of Szczecin-Świnoujście (5.3%) as well as Wroclaw-Berlin (4.8%). In the group of eastern corridors the largest trade turnover was concentrated on the line Warsaw-Moscow. The value of goods moved there (1.6 billion USD), however, was almost eight times smaller than on the other extreme of the Polish segment of the Trajectory, i.e. in the Warsaw-Berlin corridor. Altogether, the corridors Warsaw-Berlin and Warsaw-Moscow (or, alternatively, the border crossing complexes Świecko-Słubice-Kunowice in the West and Terespol-Kukuryki in the East) accounted in 1997 for 14.1 billion USD of value of Polish trade transport (20.7% of the total turnover at the national level).

The concentration of truck traffic is, of course, also high along the directions mentioned above. In this case, though, a high significance ought also to be attached to transit traffic through Poland. Thus, in 1999 as many as 959,000 vehicles passed the Polish-German border at Świecko (the heaviest traffic in the country), while in Kunowice (the railroad crossing – combined transport mode) – 36,000. This together constituted 20.1% of the entire truck traffic on the territory of Poland. The traffic through the Polish-Belarusian border crossing at Kukuryki amounted to 296,000 vehicles. It is characteristic that for the last couple of years this border crossing features a decreasing dynamics. At the end of the 1990s Kukuryki ceased to host the most intensive (goods) traffic across the eastern border of Poland. Currently, almost twice as big traffic is observed at the Polish-Lithuanian border crossing at Budzisko (473,000 vehicles in 2000), that is – along the Via Baltica route. Likewise, the dynamics of increase of cross-border traffic at the Polish-Ukrainian crossing points is bigger than at the Polish-Belarusian ones.

Contrary to other corridors crossing the Polish-German border (where the net balance of trade is only slightly negative), along the Warsaw-Berlin corridor the value of imports decidedly (by almost factor of two) exceeds the value of exports (in 1997, respectively, 4.2 billion USD and 8.3 billion USD). While Polish exports to countries of Western Europe are distributed quite evenly among all the western corridors, the imports (directed, as mentioned, largely towards Warsaw and Poznań) remain much more concentrated along the Berlin corridor. The primary purchaser of the Polish export goods, moved along this corridor, is Germany (in 1997 – 63%). The share of Germany in imports, though, was relatively small (40%), while at the same time as much as 13.5% of goods transported originated in France. This corridor accounts for close to 1/3 of the Polish-German trade, and has key significance for the transport of Polish exports destined to such countries as Belgium, The Netherlands (some 30% of the respective export values in both these cases), United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Spain (25% each). The share of the corridor in imports from some of the countries mentioned is even higher, and, in particular, for France, in the case of which it amounts to 45% (1997). Besides, this line carries imports from many non-European countries (transit from the ports and cargo airports of Western Europe). The corridor in question plays, as well, a key role in the third-party (mainly Eastern European) transit through Poland. The fact that its share in the cross-border truck traffic is, despite this, not higher than the share in Polish trade value, results from the high unit weight of goods transported along this line.

The Warsaw-Minsk-Moscow corridor remains the most important one for Polish trade among the eastern corridors (the previously mentioned Via Baltica is, first of all, the transit route through Poland). The geographical structure of both exports and imports is characterised by a clear domination of Russia (in 1997 – 71% of exports and 53% of imports) and Belarus (12 and 22%, respectively). This route has the fundamental role for trade with Belarus (44% of both exports and imports), the Central Asian and Transcaucasian

countries (first of all in export), and is important for the trade with Russia (37% of exports and only 8.6% of imports – here the raw materials carried by pipelines dominate). Despite the existing potential (the Trans-Siberian railway) this route is not made use of in Polish trade with China and Japan.

5. Summary

Summing up, we should state that the Trajectory considered does not constitute, in terms of international trade contacts, an homogeneous area. We can divide the Polish segment of the Trajectory from this point of view into five nominal sub-segments:

I. Słubice-Pniewy,
II. Pniewy-Września (the Poznań urban-industrial complex),
III. Września-Sochaczew,
IV. Sochaczew-Warsaw (the Warsaw urban-industrial complex),
V. Warsaw-Terespol.

The segments featuring a complete and strong trade connections are only the ones defined as II (Pniewy-Września) and IV (Sochaczew-Warsaw), that is – the Warsaw and Poznań centres. The roles of segments I and III in international trade are moderate, while segment V almost does not participate in it. While in case of segment I the lower share in foreign trade is explained by a lower population density and a lower economic potential of the region, in case of segments III and V there is no such justification. The role played by these areas in international trade is, namely, even smaller than their demographic potential and significance in the national economy.

Similarly, the role of the Trajectory in trade with the considered European countries (located along its route) is differentiated in terms of its particular segments. A clear concentration of trade with Germany is observed between the border with this country and the city of Września, and to a lesser degree in Warsaw, of trade with France and Russia – only in Warsaw and Poznań, with Belarus (having taken into account informal trade) – between Warsaw and Terespol.

Simultaneously, despite the mentioned lack of homogeneity, the significance of the Trajectory as the proper transport corridor is very high along the entire length of its Polish part. This is due to the already indicated concentration of trade turnover in Warsaw and Poznań, and the very intensive transit traffic. In this context one should also pay attention to the strong position taken in the Polish trade (and especially in trade with Germany) by urban centres located along the line Poznań-Bydgoszcz-Gdańsk/Olsztyn, as well as along the route Warsaw-Lublin-Zamość, and, though to a lesser degree, Warsaw-Bialystok. Besides, there is a clear tendency in the transit traffic towards an increase in importance of the Baltic (Via Baltica) and Ukrainian (especially Warsaw-Kiev) directions, with simultaneous drop of significance of the Belarusian direction. This shift can to a definite degree only be explained by the economic and political situation of Belarus. Hence, one could dare the proposition that also with respect to the pure transport function the role of the Polish part of the Trajectory in the international movement of goods decreases from West to East. At the same time Warsaw, as well as Poznań, become the increasingly important nodes collecting traffic from tangent directions.

In conclusion, one should state that the analysis conducted partly confirmed the existence of the Trajectory analysed on the territory of Poland in the economic sense. By no means, though, it is a homogeneous belt featuring an increased intensity of international linkages (similar to that, which developed in southern Poland along the line of Berlin/Dresden-Wrocław-Cracow-Rzeszów, see Rossner et al., 1998). The presence of the Trajectory is, namely, mainly justified nowadays by:

- the very strong position of Warsaw and Poznań in Polish foreign trade,
- the key significance of this route in international transport, and in particular – in transit traffic from the countries of the former USSR to Western Europe.

Simultaneously, some areas, through which the Trajectory passes, take advantage of their privileged position to a minimal degree only. Thus, when responding to the second of the issues formulated at the beginning, we must therefore acknowledge that the Trajectory has a primarily insular character, and the initial stage of formation of a belt-like pattern can eventually be proved only for the segment between the German border and the city of Września.

Taking into account the demographic and economic situation in some areas of the former German Democratic Republic, as well as in Belarus

and provincial Russia, we can forward the proposition that at least to the East of Elbe we deal nowadays with the Trajectory of Dynamic Cities (Berlin, Poznań, Warsaw, Moscow, and, with all reservations, and after acceptance of appropriate proportions, also Brest' and Minsk), interconnected by a very heavily charged with traffic and technically outdated transport infrastructure. The cities mentioned are, at the same time, the nodes of tangential transport-and-trade patterns, gaining in importance.

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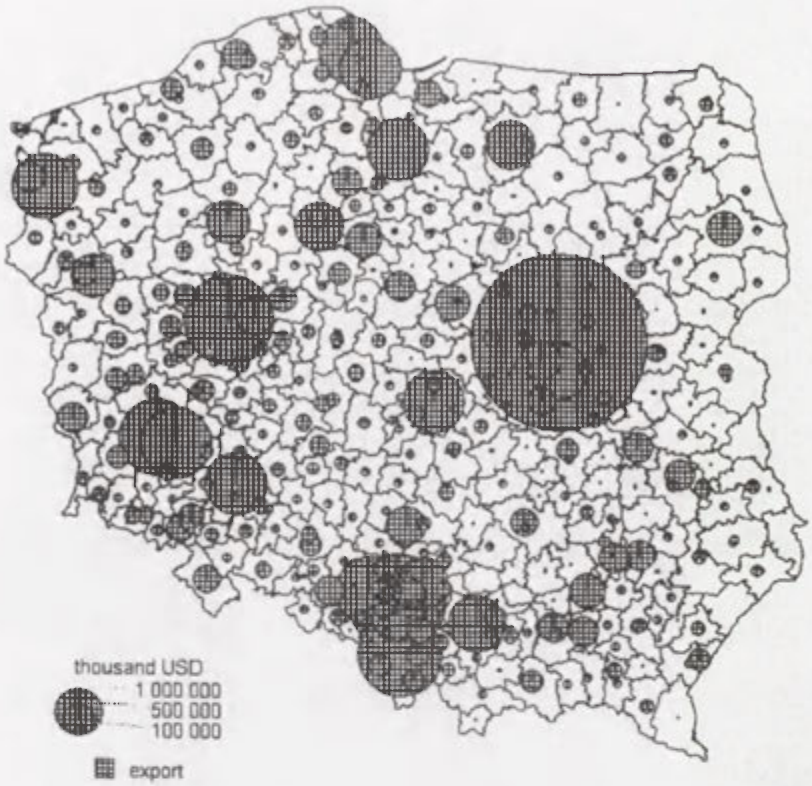

Fig. 1. Export from Poland in 2000, according to poviats

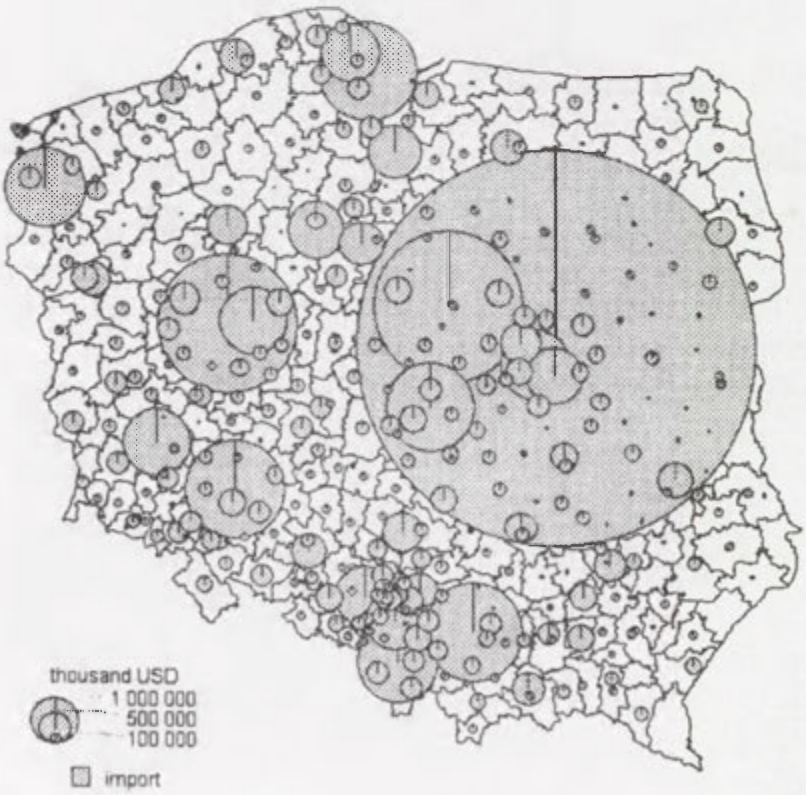

Fig. 2. Import to Poland in 2000, according to poviats

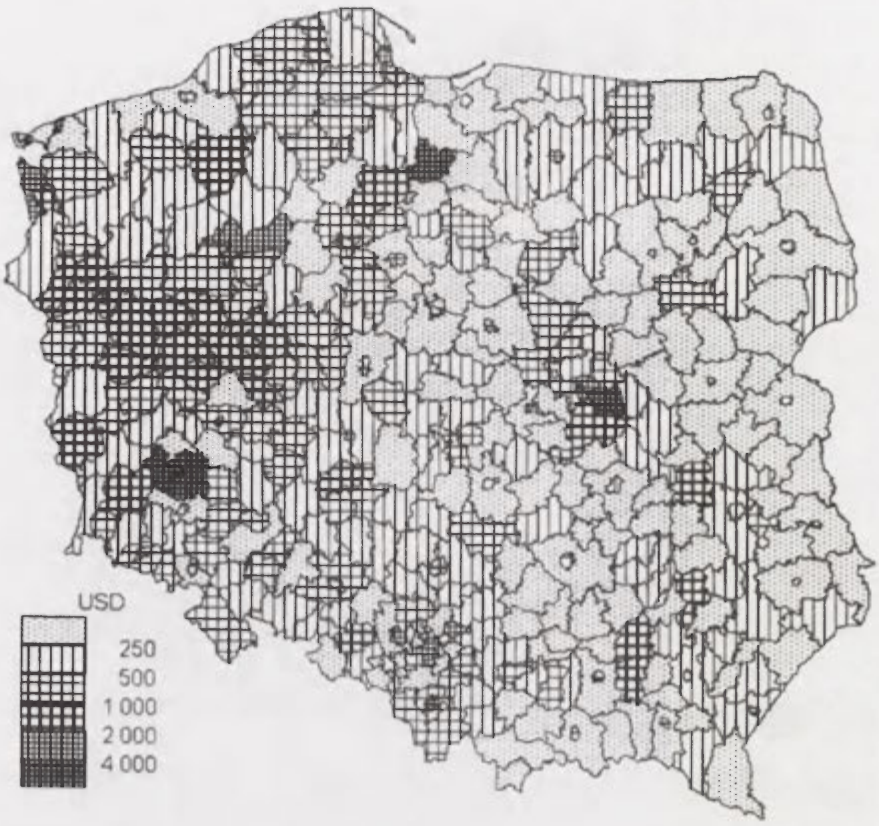

Fig. 3. Export from Poland in 2000 per inhabitant, according to poviats

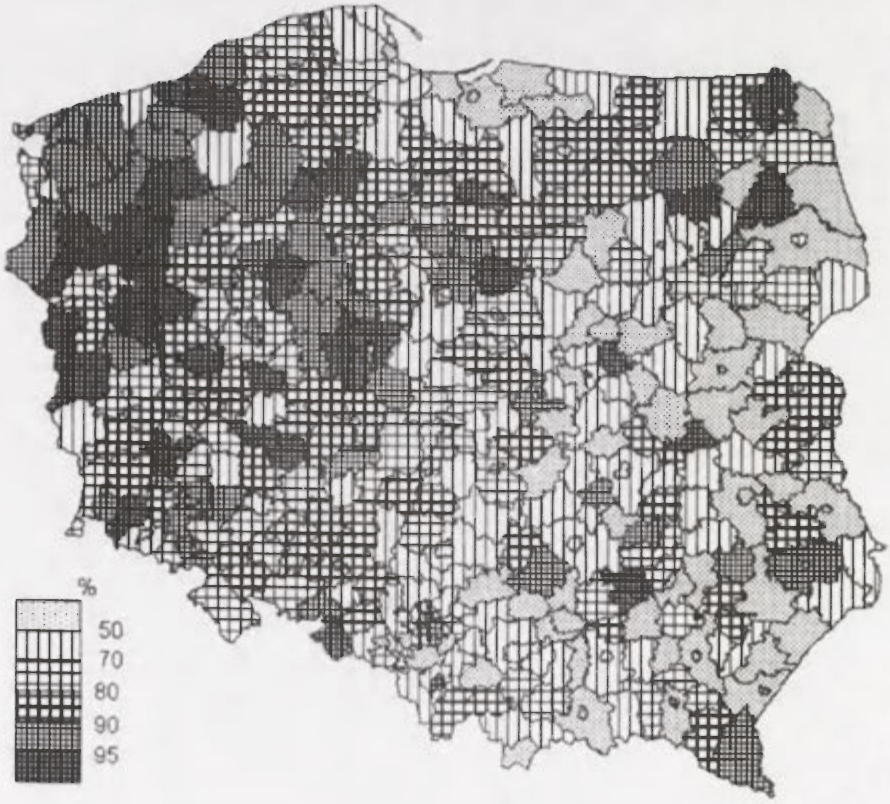

Fig. 4. EU's share in Polish export in 2000, according to poviats

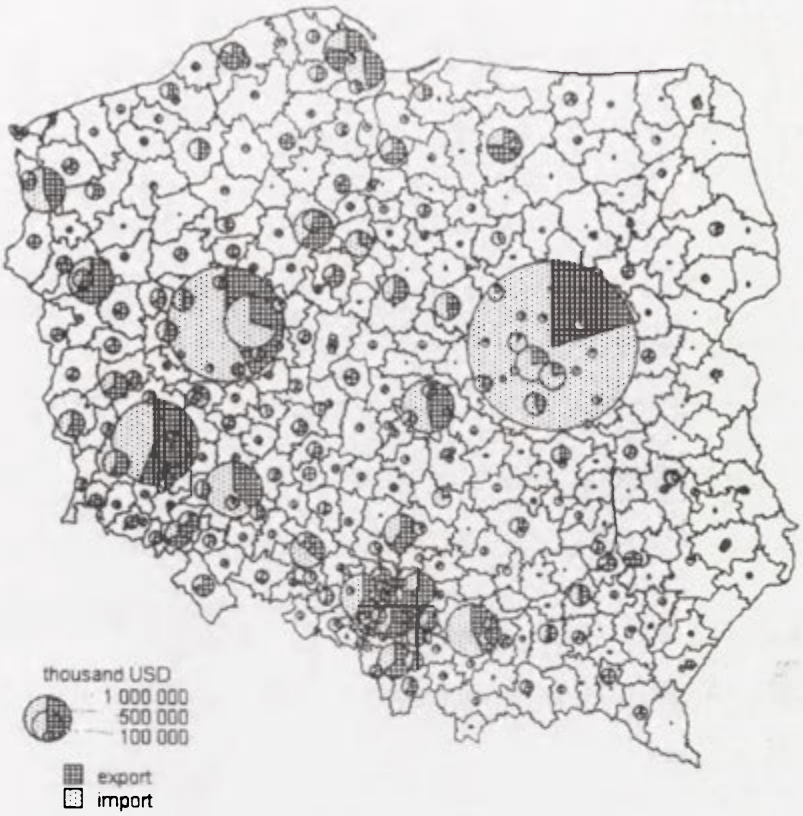

Fig. 5. Trade turnover with Germany in 2000, according to poviats

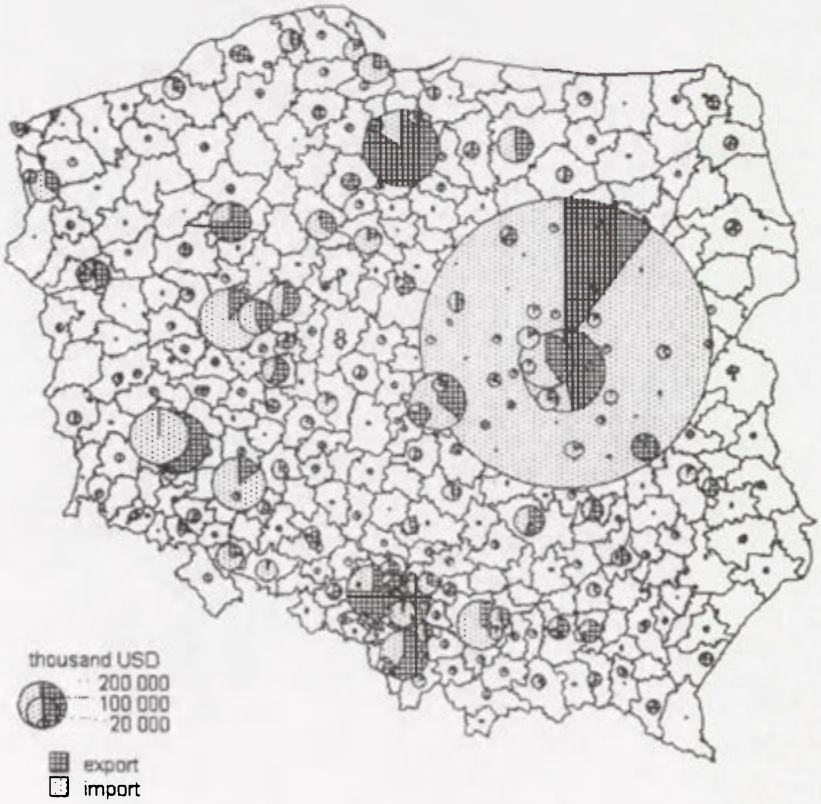

Fig. 6. Trade turnover with France in 2000, according to poviats

Fig. 7. Trade turnover with Belarus in 2000, according to poviats

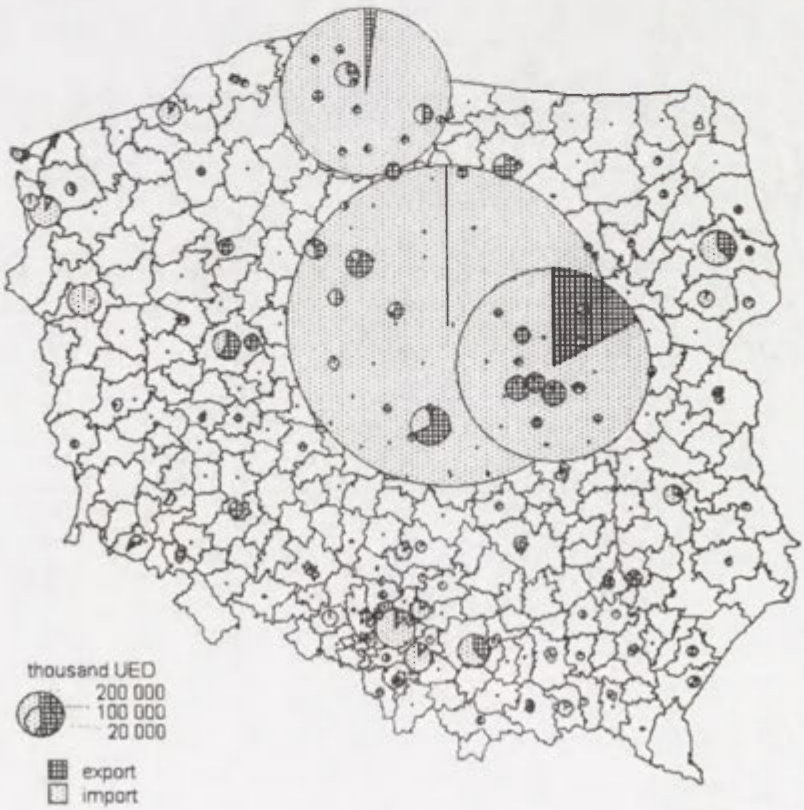

Fig. 8. Trade turnover with Russia in 2000, according to poviats

The environmental dimension of European space according to the concept of the trajectory

Bożena Degórska, Marek Degórski

1. Introduction

The term "trajectory" is understood as a line or corridor of an especially strong flow of impulses integrating European space, which is meant to lead to the emergence of a chain of strong economic, social and cultural ties among the centres located along the corridor, and consequently to cohesion. In other words, trajectory implies the integration of software and hardware approaches, and the integration of guided and spontaneous change (Freeman 1992; Kukliński 2001). This cohesion is hardly attainable without consideration of the natural conditions, which are among the most important elements contributing to the multifunctionality of landscape. The latter, in turn, conform to the prerequisites of ecological policy of the countries of the European Union, is the basis for the determination of activities aiming at the development of the particular regions of Europe (ESDP 1999). This concept is in accordance with the foundations of the realistic definition of the region, in which it is conceived as a functional territorial system encompassing the naturally conditioned social and economic elements (Chojnicki 1996, 1999).

The formation of a coherent socio-economic system in accordance with the objectives of the spatial policy of the European Union must also account for the preservation and strengthening of the identity of regions. The solutions adopted must account for the natural and cultural differentiation within the area of Europe in the period of intensification of the globalisation processes (ESDP 1999). Thus, when we consifer the strengthening of economic ties, we must remember about the preservation of the separate identity of regions, both in view of the differentiated cultural heritage, and of the potential of natural environment. The general principles of regional development, accounting for the multifunctionality of landscape on our continent are included, in particular, in several documents of the European Union, such as: the Pan European Landscape and Biodiversity Strategy (1995), the European Landscape Convention (2000), and the European Spatial Development Perspective (1999). In addition, relative to the habitat protection, the countries of the Union are obliged to follow the Council Directive on the Conservation of Natural Habitats of Wild Fauna and Flora of 1992, whose stipulations must also be accounted for in the work on spatial and physical planning, as well as regional development (Degórski 2001).

Side by side with the regulations in force inside the EU, each country is obliged to observe the regulations resulting from the international conventions and agreements in the domain of environmental management. Agenda 21 is one of such documents. The fundamental recommendations of this document include the preference for the so-called BAT (the best available technology) in the economic development of the states. This priority direction of action inclined the countries of the EU to an intensive effort in the integration of the issues of the modern environmental management with the policies of all the sectors of economy, directed towards

- elaboration of practical guidelines for the sustainable development policy,
- consideration of market mechanisms in the pro-ecological policy,
- critical assessment of the existing taxation systems and economic incentives,
- the overview of legal, institutional and information questions associated with the notion of sustainable development (Niewada 2000).

The complexity of problems related to ecological and regional policy of the member countries of the EU implies that, when adopting the concept of the Paris-Berlin-Warsaw trajectory, in which we aim at the strengthening of the economic ties between the centres of the system, we must

remember the environmental and cultural conditions. As we adopt such an approach, environmental protection and preservation of cultural heritage must take place with a simultaneous rational inclusion of environmental assets and resources into the socio-economic and spatial development (Degórska 2002). This is not just a gesture of good will from our side, related to the preference of behaviour patterns that conform to the concept of sustainable growth, but first of all a stipulation from the legal regulations adopted by the EU countries, the organisation, which we have proclaimed the will of joining. Currently, there are more than 300 legal acts concerning natural environment, making up an integral instrument of the economic and spatial policy of the EU, with the new setting of the socio-economic linkages accounting in the spatial dimension for:

- the potential of natural environment in Europe and the ways of utilising it,
- the quality of the environment as a function of the degree of its transformation due to human impact,
- the activities aimed at the improvement of environmental quality in accordance with the directives of the European Union,
- the cross-border collaboration in the domain of environmental protection (Degórski 2002).

The respective activities will in the future encompass also the countries of Eastern Europe, which will become an integral element of the Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow trajectory, irrespective of the direction of further connections towards the East. Shall the spontaneous flow of impulses be directed towards Moscow, or shall it be more dispersed to the North- and South-East, will depend upon the future political and socio-economic conditions.

The purpose of the present report is to show the possibility of directing the activities meant to strengthen the economic ties within the trajectory Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow in accordance with the potential of the natural environment and the cultural heritage assets of individual regions, special attention being paid to Poland.

2. Directions of development of European regions and the multifunctionality of natural environment

In the prerequisites of the regional development of the countries of the European Union natural environment is accounted for in connection with the social component, giving rise to the mutifunctional character of space (Handley 2000; Degórski 2001). The alternative solutions applied in the spatial development are, besides the economic, environmental and social conditioning, also a consequence of the legal conditions, constitutive for the assumptions behind the ecological and spatial policy of the Union. If, however, we just focus on the natural and cultural dimensions of geographical space, then, conforming to the proposals of the Union (Handley 2000), the primary directions of our activity ought to consist in:

- strengthening of environmental quality in the areas which are characterised by a significant improvement of its properties, achieved through restitution,
- protection of the continent's regions that are most valuable in terms of nature and landscape,
- creation of the new spatial solutions for the post-industrial environment, destroyed due to human activity,
- restoration of the most valuable fragments of landscape, in view of its specific intrinsic value associated with the cultural heritage.

Main directions in line with Handley's conception based on the alternative courses of action in planning and managing landscape, depending upon the state of the environment are shown in Figure 1.

Little room is left in the concept of the trajectory, as the instrument of strengthening the economic cohesion between the primary centres, for the consideration of the peripheral areas, stretching between the centres. Yet, the flow of goods and capital takes place in a real space, which ought to be made use of in accordance with the principles of sustainable development, whereby environment is treated as one of the elements decisive for the adoption of the main directions of development.

Conforming to the here presented prerequisites for the main directions of action for the development of individual areas of the member countries of the European Union (Handley 2000), and to the multifunctionality of landscape, understood as a complex system of mutually connected natural, social, cultural and economic elements (Degórski 2000, 2001), the following undertakings can be proposed for the hypothetical trajectory considered here:

- strengthening of the definite elements of the environment, e.g. quality of the already purified rivers in France or in Germany,
- protection of the most valuable fragments of nature, like the marshy areas of Biebrza River Swamps or Polesie, and the primeval forest, Białowieża Forest,
- restoration of the most valuable culture objects, e.g. the historical cities of France, Germany, or Poland,
- creation of new landscape on the post-industrial areas, destroyed by the wasteful raw material extraction economy, and strongly polluted, like the areas of Western Ukraine (Fig. 2).

3. The environmental dimension of the trajectory on the territory of Poland

The increase of investment-wise (locational) attractiveness of space within the belt associated with the course of the trajectory causes the necessity of elaborating the development strategy, in which economic activation will be brought to harmony with the requirements of natural environment. Reconciliation of the growth needs with the environmental protection requirements is, however, very difficult. On the one hand, we have areas featuring very high nature, leisure and farming value, and on the other hand the areas and objects representing environmental hazard.

In the analysis of the course of the trajectory through Poland, the belt between the western border and Warsaw was taken into consideration, which then gets divided in three geographical directions the north-eastern, eastern, and south-eastern. These directions of interconnections are very important for geopolitical reasons. It can be expected that the keystone character of the Warsaw node will at the same time provide for the buffer zone with respect to intensive growth impulses flowing from the West of Europe. Thereby, the corridor will get divided into the western and the intermediate parts, both displaying high absorption of the new growth impulses, and thus also an increased pressure on the environment, and the eastern part, characterised by a much smaller pressure of this kind. The strength of the pressure on the environment brought about by the socio-economic impulses will primarily depend upon:

- location of Poland between the wealthy West and the poor East, which will be connected with the emergence of the belt of intensive socio-economic and spatial transformations in the West and the limited transformations in the East,
- location of three agglomerations: Warsaw, Łódź, and Poznań in the central portion of this corridor, with which one might associate the increase of the investment-wise attractiveness of the agglomerations and their surroundings, giving rise, in particular, to the process of chaotic spread of urbanisation, highly dangerous for the environment and human life quality.

The present directions of economic development of the belt associated with the course of the trajectory, outside of the main settlement nodes, are characterised by a close connection with the natural dispositions. In the western part, crossing the Lubusza Lake District, featuring high forest share, and the young, late glacial relief, presence of lakes, and the dominating share of soils of medium and good quality for farming, the primary directions of development nowadays are agriculture, forestry, and tourism.

In this part, under the influence of strong economic impulses, the transformation process will be continued and at the same time intensified. This process will primarily consist in the abandonment of agricultural production. The question arises, though, whether the development of entrepreneurship and the associated passing of land from agricultural use to non-agricultural and forest uses would not cause a decrease in the value of environment for the deployment of tourist function. This would amount, therefore, to an increase of weight of the problem of avoiding the decline in the quality of life and leisure given the simultaneous intensive transformation of the functional-spatial structure. The second essential problem is connected with the preservation of the natural and ecological functions of the environment. Within this segment of the trajectory the highly valuable aquatic and wetland ecosystems, as well as forest complexes exist. The most valuable ecosystems, being at the same time bird sanctuaries exist in the lower Warta river valley (Warta River Mouth National Park). The nature protection system of the European Union pays special attention exactly to the areas, within which the non-degraded ecosystems have been preserved, particularly the

aquatic and the swampy ones (the Ramsar Convention), and those, on which the animal and plant species exist threatened with extinction, as well as the locations of bird nesting and refuge (the so-called Bird Directive). The Community considered these areas to be of priority importance in nature protection.

The central segment of the trajectory, crossing the region of Greater Poland, the southern part of Cuiavia, and Masovia, is characterised by a high share of fertile soils (Greater Poland), fit for farming; hence, the dominating direction of economic development in rural areas is agriculture. Preservation of these soils for the agricultural function will require a special policy in the domain of agriculture. One should expect the biggest pressure on the environment within the zones of influence of the agglomerations of Warsaw, Łódź, and Poznań. The increased investment-wise attractiveness of space with respect to the development of enterprise, in connection with the process of urban spread, will contribute to further increase of the rate of transformation of the functional-spatial structures. Concerning the impact on the environment, we should point out such spatial processes as: shrinking of the natural surfaces of the open spaces, interruption of the continuity of the ecological corridors, leading to the disappearance of compactness and then altogether of the natural systems, as well as covering with structures the aerating channels and the air regeneration zones. Strong human impact resulting from the neighbourhood of a large town and the locational attractiveness of the surrounding areas, constitutes an increasing threat for the protected areas, and especially for the Kampinos Forest National Park, which in 1999 was granted the status of a biosphere reserve, and for the Greater Poland's National Park, as well as the landscape parks and other areas protected in diverse manners.

Other essential, and until now not resolved problems, linked with environmental protection on the areas featuring high concentration of population, are related to solid and liquid waste management, and to the gaps in construction of thruways and circumventing motorways, and other ecologically minded transport solutions. In view of the spread of urbanisation the areas of ecological threat will get importantly extended. In the development of the middle part of the trajectory a special attention will have to be paid to the issues related to water economy, since this part of the area under analysis is located in the zone of water deficit. Besides, in the belt of the bi-polar settlement system Warsaw-Lodz, there is a watershed area (between the basins of Vistula and Odra rivers). The existing and the developing metropolitan areas will therefore feature the highest pressure on the environment, requiring additional instruments in the domain of sustainable development, like, in particular, the strategies of sustainable development and the structural spatial development plans for the entire functional area.

The eastern segments, as mentioned already, are the areas where the pressure on natural environment will still be much smaller than in the western and the middle segments of the trajectory. The value of the natural environment, and especially of the areas of the so-colled *Green Lungs of Poland*, the regions of Roztocze, Polesie, the valley of Bug, can be perceived as significant economic assets of the territory considered. It is within this part of the territory under consideration that we find the areas classified by UNESCO as the world nature heritage (the Biosphere Reserve of Białowieża Forest, and the Polish part of the International Biosphere Reserve of Western Polesie). The National Park of the Biebrza River Valley is listed in the framework of the Ramsar Convention as a wild life refuge. The belt associated with the eastern parts of the trajectory includes also the National Parks of Polesie and Roztocze, as well as numerous landscape parks and other objects of protected nature. The majority of the most valuable habitats and animal refuges were designated to enter the ecological network NATURA 2000, whose actual implementation, that conforms to the stipulations of the European Union, must take place already in the pre-accession period. The economic development ought therefore to take place on the basis of all these resources. Yet, in view of their exhaustibility and the degradation of assets due to non-rational management and excessive exploitation, this basis of economic development is under a real threat. That is why the protection of the natural environment of the region, while being very important, must be oriented at supporting the development, and not hampering it. The form of protection of the resources of natural environment, and of the cultural heritage, based primarily on the interdictions, would not contribute to the improvement of the currently very low standard of living of the population over the main part of eastern Poland. In view of the fact that the main wealth of the north-eastern part of Poland is

the landscape, the development within this part of the belt of the trajectory ought to be based upon the rational use of this resource primarily for the development of tourism, agriculture and forestry. The development of tourism should continue to constitute the basis for the economic development especially in the north-eastern segment of the trajectory.

Thus, within the eastern segments of the trajectory one of the more important objectives of the multifunctional development is to strengthen and protect landscape values, and so reconciliation of the socio-economic development with the precepts of the rational use of the environmental assets, requires an adequate strategy of sustainable development, as well as ecologically minded spatial economy.

A potential threat to the environment is also constituted by the further fragmentation of the natural systems, and especially interruption of the continuity of river valleys and breaking up of the forest complexes. Preservation of the natural links is one of the most important environmental objectives in the sustainable spatial economy.

The Polish segment of the trajectory does not require nowadays any significant repair undertakings in the natural sphere, under the condition that the development of this area will continue according to the principles of sustainable development, in which the most important, and at the same time most difficult objective will be the maintenance of the high value of natural environment, in connection with the economic activation of this region. Hence, achievement of the environmental objectives is essential for the spatial belt associated with the course of the trajectory on the territory of Poland.

4. Summary

As we proceed with our analysis of the environmental dimension of the trajectory from the West to the East, we note an important change in the strategic goals in planning and management of landscape. This is in direct connection with the transformations that humans introduced into landscape, wishing to improve its economic disposition, including regulation of the rivers, drying of the wetlands, deforestation, or the excessive exploitation of resources, resulting in degradation of the environment.

While in France and in Germany a significant part of the effort should go into the strengthening and reconstruction of landscape systems (Fig. 1), the most important strategic goal in Poland is to preserve the natural assets of the landscape and the strengthening of the environment, involving, for instance, protection of biological and landscape diversity, enhancement of quality of surface and underground waters, preservation of ecological corridors, and the increase of forest areas on the deforested surfaces. The strengthening and protection of landscape are also the main environmental objectives in the north-eastern belt. The situation is somewhat different in the belt turning towards the south-east of the border of Poland, where areas exist of both very high natural value, requiring strengthening and protection, and of the deeply degraded landscapes, the effect of the robbing exploitation of the resources, as well as high degree of environmental pollution (mainly Western Ukraine), where the majority of undertakings must be oriented at the reclamation and decrease of pollution. Achievement of the environmental goals will therefore be decisive not only for the performance and efficiency of the ecosystems, but also for the standard of living, and for the safety of the economy. Hence, the multifunctional development of the area linked with the course of the trajectory cannot be planned without due consideration of the environmental goals.

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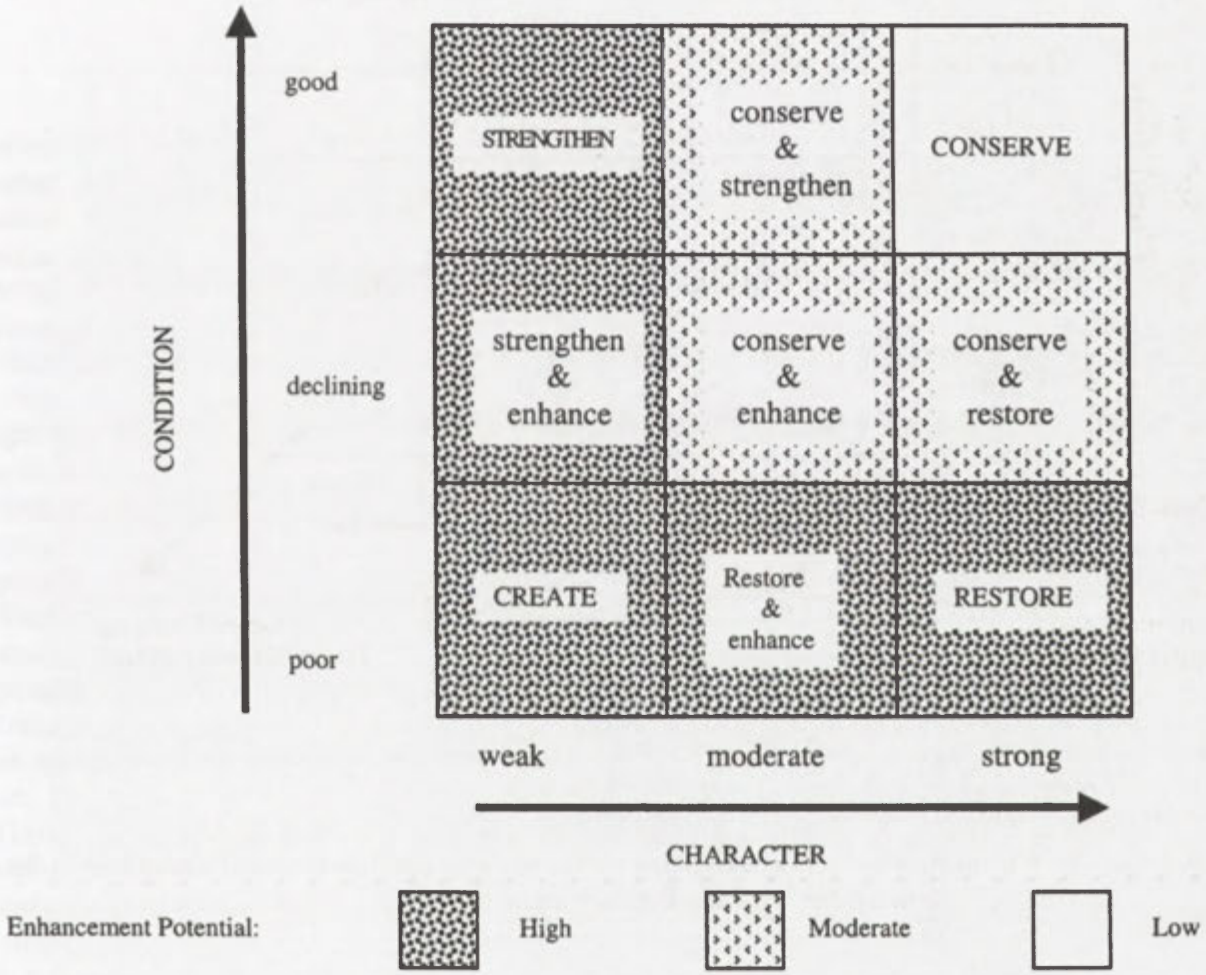

Fig. 1. Alternative courses of action in planning and managing landscape, depending upon the state of the environment (after Handley, 2000)

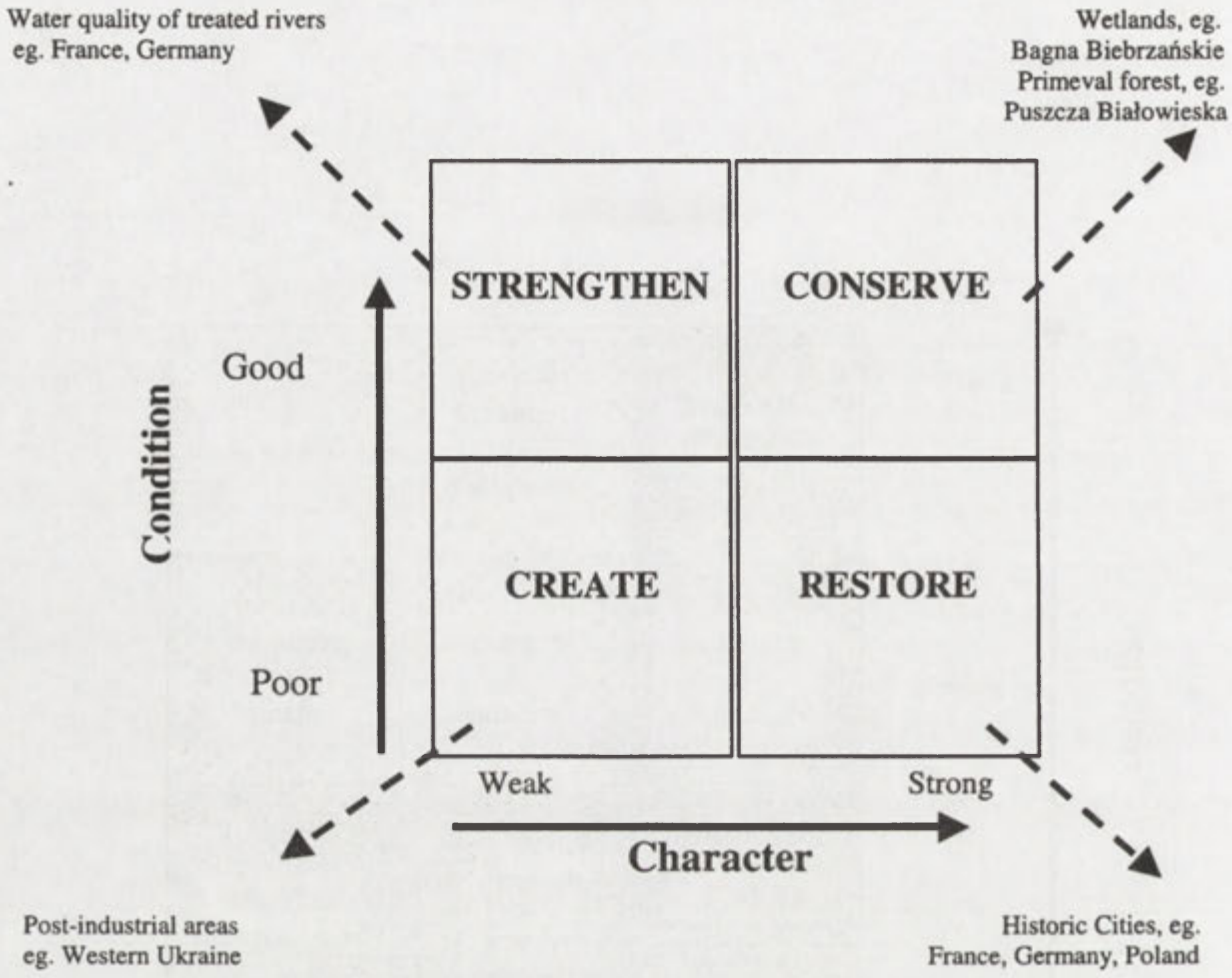

Fig. 2. Proposals for the directions of action accounting for the environmental and cultural dimensions in the design for the Paris-Berlin-Warsaw trajectory

European urban system and its West-East dimension

Piotr Korcelli

Like many terms used in interdisciplinary, scientific and planning literature, the notion of the urban system has a dual nature. In a more popular sense, it denotes the totality of urban settlements situated in a given territory, displaying variations in terms of origin, size, distribution, density, as well as demographie and functional characteristics. Those variations are systematised and explained by what is often referred to as traditional urban theory. More specific, and more recent definitions of the urban system make reference, at least implicitly, to the formal systems theory. In a simple version, the urban system is defined as a set of interdependent urban places comprising a region or nation (Bourne, Simmons 1978). Thus the focus is upon linkages among urban settlements, involving the movement of people, goods, information and capital, and the transmission of stimuli of growth and change. Such an approach was already present in the classical study on: Metropolis and Region, by O.D. Duncan et al. (1960) who based their description of national space economy in the United States upon an analysis of interdependence among the major cities and metropolitan areas. In fact, as pointed out by L.S.Bourne, J.R.Sinclair and K. Dziewoński (1984), in all highly urbanizad societies the inter-urban linkages provide the basic framework for the spatial organisation of national territory - both the national economy and the territorial structure of power.

The organisation of urban systems has evolved over time, reflecting economic and technological change. Each urban system, nevertheless, can be depicted in terms of three main components (J.W. Simmons, 1978), namely: (a) the attribute matrix which gives the structural properties such as size, economic, social and demographie characteristics of individual urban centres, (b) the behavioural matrix which lists interactions among urban centres, and, (c) the interdependency matrix which indicates how a particular urban centre responds to a change in any or all other centres. Hence, an urban system is explicitly interpreted as a dynamic spatial system.

With regard to their content, or substance, urban systems are usually considered to be complex social systems, although, as a prominent economist noted early, they also include important environmental components (see: Perloff 1967). As social systems, they have internal self-regulating, or self-organising mechanisms that shape their forms and guide their evolution (Bourne, Simmons 1978). They have been therefore considered to be "cumulative learning systems". According to P.M. Allen (1981), urban systems can react to a change in external demand and decisions not simply by the expansion of their existing components, but through structural evolution and reorganisation, which involves new relationships and changes of old ones in on often unexpected way.

Delineation of urban systems has to be based on the criterion of the system's degree of closure. Consequently, in empirical analyses a lot of attention has been devoted to national urban systems, as in most parts of the world the national borders still represent effective barriers to inter-urban interaction.

This leads us to the question of classification of national settlement systems. The schemes proposed by L.S. Bourne, R. Sinclair and K. Dziewoński (1984) and K. Dziewoński (1986) introduce a differentiation along three axes measuring the level of economic development (including the role of planning and control), the overall density of population and land use intensity, and the historical origins of the systems. While settlement systems characterised by high land-use intensity display a strong, central-place related, hierarchical component, the systems found in sparsely inhabited countries tend to be founded upon networks of urban centres

situated at brake-in-transportation points. Historical transformations of settlement systems owing to shifts in political power represent another explanation of their present patterns. The existing national systems have emerged either through integration of older regional and local systems or through disintegration of earlier systems. In the former case the outcome is pronounced policentricity and a balanced hierarchical structure; in the latter case a strong dominance of the main urban centre, i.e. high city primacy tends to be observed. A number of contemporary national urban systems were once carved out of much larger systems, i.e. imperial systems or those formed by coalitions of trading centres. In such cases the present characteristics may include an excentric location of the capital city, or the existence of pairs of major urban centres (an old and a new capital, or a political and an economic capital) competing with each other for the dominant position in the system.

The notion of the European Urban System which has been present in the professional literature for some two decades (Hall, Hay 1980), was initially used as an anticipatory concept, a counterpart to the concept of the American Urban System (Berry 1973). At that relatively early stage of the European integration there was only limited justification for the study of inter – urban linkages and interaction across national boundaries. Therefore, such studies were rare and of a rather restricted territorial extent (a notable exception was the study by G. Tornquist, (1984). The bulk of research on urban and settlement systems dealt with a regional and, in particular, a national scale.

Still, several international comparative study projects were carried out in the early 1980s, based upon data for large sets of European cities, and yielding their classifications and typologies. One should in particular refer to the well – known CURB (Cost of Urban Growth) project in which cities and urban regions in Europe were analysed within the framework of the concept of stages of urban development (van den Berg et al. 1982): ranging from absolute and then relative centralisation, to relative and then absolute decentralisation, leading to desurbanisation and, subsequently, reurbanisation.

From what was initially a study of shifts in population distribution between cores and rings of metropolitan areas, the focus of comparative studies of European cities moved towards an analysis of their economic structure and performance. For a set of West European cities P. Cheshire and D. Hay (1989) identified a link between population decentralisation and desurbanisation on the one hand and deindustrialization on the other. They portrayed this as a trend spreading from cities of northern to cities of southern Europe during the 1970s and the 1980s. (In the 1990s, as well know, it became an even more visible trend, and in fact a critical issue in cities and urban regions of Central and Eastern Europe). In the light of the analysis, specialisation in industry was positively correlated with poor economic performance, as well as population decline. The successful urban regions have been generally those with strong traditions in the service sector, once it is enhanced by a growth of modern, high – rank service activities.

This pattern, however, may not be totally stable. The economic recession of the early 1990s was concentrated on financial and business services. In effect, unemployment rates in cities such as London and Stockholm went up to match the respective national rates (Cheshire 1996). In fact, the interdependence between economic structure and growth trajectories of cities tends to be even more complex. P. Bonavero and S. Conti (1996) have shown that in "pure" cities, which include London or Rotterdam, the highly developed, sophisticated tertiary and quaternary functions of international range, coexist with deteriorating local industrial functions and the ageing of the built-up environment. The "complete" cities, on the other hand, such as Paris, Frankfurt or Milan, are lacking strong dualism, as they match advanced economic functions with a sound "territorial" potential. The most successful, however, are those cities (such as Munich and Turin) in which the dominant role, performed by technologically advanced industries is coupled with the high overall quality of the human capital and the strong local sense of identity.

The political and economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe have led to a renewed interest in European-wide classifications and typologies of cities, as new trade routes have been opened and plans drawn for the extension eastwards of the main European transportation corridors. Hence, some of these classification schemes were based

upon current statistical indicators, while others present projected or even desired future patterns.

According to R. Brunet (1989), who based his classification mainly on the role of economic functions of international range, the biggest urban centres of the region are represented in categories III-V. The highly disputed map of the European Urban Network (Federal Ministry 1994) presents basically a similar picture with some notable exceptions, however. One of these is relegation of Warsaw down to the VIth category of "urban regions of potential European importance" which she shares with several other, mostly smaller capital cities of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as with some of Poland's major regional centres. Another important difference is the elevation of the position of Budapest to the IVth category (same as in the case of St. Petersburg). This scheme, which is a spatial policy related document, reflects outlooks widely held in the early 1990s, according to which Hungary was the sole "leader of transformation", and Budapest had strong chances to become a major financial and commercial hub of Central Europe, clearly dominating over the other capital cities in the region.

A different concept, when compared to the European Urban Network, was followed in the study by P. Treuner and M. Foucher (1994): Towards a New European Space. The authors identified three basic categories of urban centres (or urban regions), each divided into sub-categories. The latter correspond to a large extent to anticipated stages of future enlargement of the European Union. The study was aimed to provide a point of departure for discussions concerning spatial development targets and a possible allocation of EU structural funds.

Yet another typology of urban centres, this time restricted to Central and Eastern Europe, is given in a recently published chart of the Atlas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The allocation criteria in this case are rather straightforward. Cities are divided into the following categories: national capitals, macro-regional centres and mesoregional centres and, within each of these classes, into cities with well-developed international or interregional functions and others (usually smaller), with less developed functions of a long range.

The city classifications and typologies, referred to above (their list is far from complete) present qualitative assessments of the spatial structure of the European urban system (or more exactly, the European urban network) and of the positions of individual cities in the system. One deals, alternatively, with the present structure, a possible future structure, or with a desired future structure. In all the classification schemes presented, at least four common allocation criteria were applied, namely: the city population size, national capital functions, international functions and, the location of cities in the sense of their accessibility in the European urban system.

The above listed, selected classifications and typologies of European cities, offer only limited insights into the functioning of the European urban system, its spatial morphology, its cohesion, and its possible transformation as a consequence of the enlargement of the European Union.

Studies on spatial accessibility patterns in Europe, which were pioneered by G. Tornquist (1984) have yielded quantitative estimates of travel time and of the values of contact potential in the urban system. Following this approach the system is conventionally divided into its core, i.e. the London-Milan axis, an intermediate zone, and a peripheral zone (see: Dematteis 1996). This division reflects not only the general pattern of accessibility, but also variations in the density of urban places and spatial clustering of the large cities and metropolitan areas. An alternative desegregation is into regional subsystems, such as those of the Baltic Sea Region (see: *Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea* 2010), and the Mediterranean Region which in fact implies a re-emergence of medieval patterns of inter-urban linkages in Europe. Some authors anticipate the development of a secondary core of the system in Central Europe. Possible effects of the EU extension to the east are also portrayed in the following way (see R. Cappellin, 1997): "There is a danger that according to a "highway affect" (i.e. the role of the East-West traffic in Europe) the peripheral regions both in the North and in the South of the European Union may be bypassed by the tighter relations between the most developed regions of Western Europe and the capital cities of Eastern Europe". Such a concern, however, seems only partly justified. Firstly, the accessibility pattern is changing owing to new major infrastructural investments. Secondly, the

development of Berlin into a new gravity centre on the map of Europe may result in a shift of economic potentials towards a more decentralised patterns (Korcelli 1997). Also, the notion of spatial accessibility is constantly evolving. Improvements in global telecommunication systems may further reduce the importance of such "hard" location factors as the size of consumer market and the agglomeration economies, while enhancing the attracting power of the environmental quality and the availability of open space.

A specific characteristic of the European urban system, notably absent in the American urban system, is the major role of national capital cities which, irrespective of large divergences in their population size and that of their respective tributary regions, perform more or less comparable sets of political, cultural, as well as associated economic functions.

Author question that needs to be posed here concerns cohesive forces in the European urban system. Any attempt to address this question in a systematic manner requires new research. In the context of the urban systems studies one should search for interactions among cities (and trends and prospects in this domain) which are at least as intense astride international boundaries, as within territorial confines of the national urban systems.

From this perspective, the integration of the European urban system, or in other words, its real unfolding, has to be interpreted as a long – term process. As of today, the system, even when its extent is restricted to the Single Economic Space, still fails to function as a single labour market due to the existence and persistence of various barriers - legal, cultural and linguistic. These barriers still hamper the operation of spatial adjustment mechanisms and an effective convergence of unemployment rates or the GDP per capita levels (Cheshire 1996). Such a situation, however, will not persist forever. An integrated European urban system, even though spatially differentiated and polarised, emerges from virtually all prospective spatial development studies. Though alternative spatial forms of integration may be conceivable, the extension of the system will bring major changes in its basic structural properties.

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Die deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen als Chance für die Region Berlin

Perspektiven eines regionalen Kompetenzzentrums für Ost-West-Kooperation im Rahmen der EU-Osterweiterung

Stefan Krätke

1. Strategische Ansätze und Leitbilder

Berlin ist bekanntlich durch eine sehr problematische Wirtschafts- und Beschäftigungsentwicklung charakterisiert, was der Erarbeitung von Konzepten für eine regionale wirtschaftliche Entwicklungspolitik, die über reaktive Konzepte der Haushaltskonsolidierung des Landes hinausreicht, große Bedeutung verleiht. Berlin's veränderte "geostrategische" Lagesituation in einem nach Osten erweiterten europäischen Wirtschaftsraum hat seit Anfang der 90er Jahre immer wieder die Vision beflügelt, daß Berlin als "Drehscheibe" der neuen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen dem westlichen und dem östlichen Europa fungieren und mit dieser Positionierung seine wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsaussichten verbessern könne. Diese Vision hat im Kontext der bevorstehenden EU-Osterweiterung, insondere des EU-Beitritts des an die Hauptstadtregion unmittelbar angrenzenden Nachbarlandes Polen, aufs Neue an Aktualität gewonnen. Die Drehscheiben-Metapher ist allerdings eine inhaltsleere und tautologische Formel, da wir allein in Deutschland eine Vielzahl von regionalen Wirtschaftszentren haben, die als "Ost-West-Drehscheiben" fungieren. Im praktischen Sinne war die Vision, daß Berlin von der wirtschaftlichen Öffnung der Länder Ostmitteleuropas und der EU-Osterweiterung profitieren könne, bisher nur von neoliberalen Küchenrezepten wie z.B. der Nutzung des Nachbarlandes Polen als Billiglohnstandort und der westpolnischen Grenzregion als Satellitenstandort Berlins unterlegt – wobei diese Rezepte erstens an den wirtschaftlichen Realitäten in Polen ebenso wie in Berlin vorbeigehen und zweitens keine zukunftsfähige strategische Ausrichtung einer Politik der Entwicklung von West-Ost-Wirtschaftskooperationen darstellen. Von Seiten des Landes Berlin und der IHK ist die Vision der Stärkung Berlins durch intensivierte Wirtschaftsbeziehungen nach Ostmitteleuropa bereits mit institutionellen Unterstützungsmaßnahmen untersetzt worden. Es mangelt jedoch in der Wirtschaft wie auch in der Politik der Hauptstadtregion an Konzepten, wie Berlins potentielle Rolle in den neuen west-östlichen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen weiter ausgebaut und aktiv unterstützt werden könnte.

Seit Anfang der 90er Jahre haben sich Handel und wirtschaftliche Verflechtung zwischen den EU-Ländern und ihren Nachbarn in Ostmitteleuropa deutlich intensiviert, und von der EU-Osterweiterung wird allgemein eine weitere Vertiefung der wirtschaftlichen Integration Europas erwartet. Dies wird u.a. eine weitere Intensivierung inter-regionaler Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Polen mit sich bringen. Aber die verbreitete Annahme, daß die Osterweiterung in erster Linie die Grenzregionen an der derzeitigen östlichen EU-Außengrenze betreffe, ist problematisch, da die transnationalen Beziehungen der Regionen keineswegs einer Logik der „geographischen Nähe" folgen. Die bedeutenden geographischen Knotenpunkte transnationaler Wirtschaftsbeziehungen in einer erweiterten EU sind nicht die Grenzregionen, sondern bestimmte regionale Entwicklungszentren im Innern des europäischen Wirtschaftsraumes. Positive Entwicklungsimpulse von der EU-Osterweiterung werden vor allem strukturstarke Regionen und insbesondere Metropolregionen der heutigen EU erhalten, d.h. Wirtschaftszentren mit starken ökonomischen, technologischen und institutionellen Ressourcen, mit spezifischen Kompetenzen und Innovationskapazitäten. Für die Perspektiven der Wirtschaftsentwicklung in Berlin ist hier die Frage zu stellen, ob diese Metropolregion in der Lage ist, die möglichen positiven Impulse der EU-Osterweiterung für sich zu

nutzen, und mit welchen Strategien und Maßnahmen dies unterstützt werden könnte.

Diesbezüglich möchte ich einen strategischen Entwicklungsfaktor herausstellen: Von der EU-Osterweiterung werden vor allem jene Regionen profitieren, die über eine „europäische Kompetenz" verfügen, d.h. fähig sind, die europäische Integration als ein Feld transnationalen Lernens zu nutzen, um die regions-interne Entwicklung durch externe Kooperation zu fördern. Im wirtschaftlichen Bereich wird die europäische Kompetenz der Regionen vor allem durch neue inter-regionale Organisationsnetze gestärkt: Für den Wissens- und Technologietransfer zwischen Deutschland und Polen, den Zugang zu einem erweiterten europäischen Marktraum und die damit verbundenen (auch beschäftigungsrelevanten) Entwicklungsimpulse sind vor allem die grenzüberschreitenden Organisationsnetze von Unternehmen bedeutsam. Diese Art von Wirtschaftsverflechtungen ist dauerhafter und damit von größerem Einfluß als die inter-regionalen Exportströme. Die Aufgabe der Anbahnung, des „Organisations-Managements" und der Pflege von transnationalen Organisationsnetzen der Wirtschaft zwischen Deutschland und Polen umschreibt ein wirtschaftspolitisches Handlungsfeld, in dem bestimmte Regionen wie z.B. Berlin in besonderem Maße eine „europäische Kompetenz" entwickeln und für die Region selbst nutzbar machen können.

In der Debatte um die regionalen Wirkungen der EU-Osterweiterung sind Ansätze verbreitet, die von gegebenen administrativen Regionen z.B. an der heutigen EU-Außengrenze ausgehen und deren Wirtschaft im Blick auf ihre „Betroffenheit" durch die Osterweiterung bewerten, wobei dies im Sinne "passiver Anpassungsfähigkeit" verstanden wird, und nicht im Sinne von Möglichkeiten einer pro-aktiven, Beziehungen und Strukturen gestaltenden regionalwirtschaftlichen Entwicklungspolitik. Diesbezüglich benötigt man ein relationales Verständnis der Regionalentwicklung, das die zum Teil sehr weiträumig ausgreifenden Verbindungen zwischen Regionen in der heutigen EU und in den Beitrittsländern thematisiert, da die Osterweiterung ja vor allem inter-regionale Beziehungen (wie z.B. Wanderungsverflechtungen und Wirtschaftsverflechtungen) neugestaltet oder intensiviert. Da die Regionen auch hinsichtlich der Nutzung neuer West-Ost-Wirtschaftsverbindungen miteinander konkurrieren, ist die verbreitete insulare Betrachtung der Chancenstruktur konkreter Regionen irreführend: D.h. Berlin ist keine Insel, und es kann sich insbesondere in den neuen deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen nur im Wettbewerb mit anderen Regionen und Metropolen in Deutschland positionieren. Daher setzt eine Bewertung der Chancen Berlins auch den Vergleich mit anderen Regionen voraus, insbesondere mit jenen Metropolregionen in Deutschland, die die Chancen der EU-Osterweiterung bereits heute aktiv zu nutzen wissen.

Bei den regionalen Auswirkungen der bevorstehenden EU-Osterweiterung muß zwischen den Wirtschaftszentren "im Inneren" der EU sowie der Beitrittsländer und den Grenzregionen an der bisherigen östlichen EU-Außengrenze unterschieden werden. Die Bedingungen und Effekte erleichterter Wirtschaftskooperation ebenso wie die Fragen der Zuwanderung und Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit nach einer EU-Osterweiterung unterscheiden sich für die regionalen Wirtschaftszentren der heutigen EU und für die Grenzregionen (speziell die Gebiete Ostbrandenburgs als Teil der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion). Die Hauptstadtregion befindet sich zwar in grenznaher Lage zu Polen, doch wäre es irreführend, Berlin in regionalökonomischer Perspektive als "Grenzstadt" zu behandeln und einfach als Teil der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion zu betrachten, weil Berlin eher dem regionalen Entwicklungstyp von Metropolregionen zugehört als dem Entwicklungstyp peripherer Grenzgebiete (wie die ostbrandenburgischen Kreise und Grenzstädte), d.h. eine ganz andere Chancenstruktur aufweist als die Grenzregionen im engeren Sinne. Als "Grenzstadt" stellt sich Berlin nur aus einer ganz bestimmten Perspektive dar, und diese betrifft die informellen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Polen. Es ist bekannt, daß sich in der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion nach 1990 auf polnischer Seite so eine Art "Basar-Ökonomie" entfaltet hat, die vom informellen Sektor geprägt ist, und daß in Berlin eine erhebliche Zahl polnischer Arbeitsmigranten "informell" beschäftigt sind. Allerdings ist die Basar-Ökonomie der Grenzregion heute bereits ein schrumpfender Wirtschaftszweig, und es ist sehr umstritten, ob im Zuge der Osterweiterung mehr Arbeitsmigranten nach Berlin kommen würden als eh schon da sind. Diese Aspekte der Osterweiterung möchte ich hier nicht weiter behandeln. Auf jeden Fall ist davor zu warnen, das Nachbarland Polen vorrangig als Ba-

sarökonomie, als Billiglohnland und als Reservoir für informelle Arbeitskräfte zu betrachten. Tatsächlich repräsentiert Polen in erster Linie eine der besonders wachstumsstarken Wirtschaften Ostmitteleuropas, und verfügt heute über regionale Wirtschaftszentren, die sich höchst dynamisch entwickeln und häufig als Standorte strategischer West-Ost-Partnerschaften aufgewertet werden. Von solchen Entwicklungsbedingungen kann man z.B. in der ostbrandenburgischen Grenzregion nur träumen.

2. Berlin's Position im Rahmen deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftsverbindungen

Für Berlin's Position im Rahmen deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftsverbindungen sind weniger die informellen Beziehungen als vielmehr die formellen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen relevant, d.h. die transnationale Vernetzung deutscher Unternehmen mit der polnischen Wirtschaft. Hier vor allem liegen untergenutzte Potentiale für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Berlin.

Im Zuge der EU-Osterweiterung werden die regionalen Entwicklungs- und Innovationszentren der bisherigen EU-Länder die bereits angebahnten Kooperationen und Verflechtungsbeziehungen mit den regionalen Wirtschaftszentren der Beitrittsländer weiter intensivieren. Daraus erwachsen zugleich positive Entwicklungsimpulse für die regionalen Wirtschaftszentren Ostmitteleuropas, d.h. insbesondere für die Hauptstadt-Regionen, und im Falle Polens mit seinem polyzentrischen Regionalsystem auch positive Wirkungen für weitere strukturstarke Regionen wie z.B. Poznan und Wroclaw. Entgegen den verbreiteten Illusionen über eine lineare geographische Ausbreitung internationaler Wirtschaftsverflechtungen – wonach zuerst die Grenzregionen an der derzeitigen östlichen EU-Außengrenze von der EU-Osterweiterung profitieren würden – sind bei den neuen Verflechtungsbeziehungen geographische "Übersprungeffekte" das empirisch vorherrschende Muster: so ist z.B. die strukturstarke polnische Region Poznan (Wielkopolska) heute eher mit der Region Mailand (Lombardei) oder mit der Region Baden-Württemberg verbunden als mit dem geographisch näher gelegenen östlichen Teil Brandenburgs. Die bevorzugten Zielregionen ausländischer Wirtschaftsverbindungen in Polen sind die großen Städte und Wirtschaftszentren des Nachbarlandes – hier konzentrieren sich dementsprechend auch die ausländischen Direktinvestitionen. Mit deutlichem Abstand hierzu gibt es auch in den westpolnischen Grenzregionen eine gewisse Häufung ausländischer Direktinvestitionen. Man kann von diesem Faktum aber keineswegs auf eine zunehmende wirtschaftliche Verflechtung innerhalb der deutsch-polnischen Grenzregion schließen, denn die im westpolnischen Grenzraum investierenden Firmen sind zum größten Teil in Westdeutschland und Westeuropa angesiedelt. Auch die Zielregionen deutscher Investitionsaktivitäten sind in erster Linie die polnischen Ballungszentren und nicht die westpolnische Grenzregion.

Hier möchte ich nun auch den qualitativen Aspekt deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen ansprechen: Die positiven Entwicklungsimpulse der Osterweiterung werden vor allem aus einer qualitativ hochwertigen Wirtschaftsverflechtung zwischen Regionen in West und Ost hervorgehen: Im Gegensatz zu dem von neoklassischen Wirtschaftsideologen verbreiteten Konzept einer funktionalen Arbeitsteilung zwischen westlichen und östlichen Wirtschaftsstandorten, in der die Standorte in den Beitrittsländern vor allem arbeitsintensive Funktionen übernehmen und als Niedriglohnstandorte genutzt werden sollen, im Gegensatz hierzu verfolgen weitsichtige westeuropäische Unternehmen längst ein anderes Konzept: sie bauen strategische Wertschöpfungspartnerschaften zwischen Unternehmen in West- und Ostmitteleuropa auf, über welche eine qualifizierte Einbindung ostmitteleuropäischer Standorte in die transnationalen Produktionsnetze europäischer Unternehmen erfolgt. Unternehmen in Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn agieren heute zunehmend als Produzenten von Gütern mit mittlerem und hohem Technologiegehalt, und sind bestrebt, längerfristig nicht einfach als billige Lohnfertiger für Westfirmen zu agieren, sondern durch die Zusammenarbeit eigene technologische und organisatorische Kompetenzen weiterzuentwickeln. Strategien, die einseitig auf Lohnkostenvorteile setzen, sind in den Beitrittsländern Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn kaum zukunftsfähig, und schon heute ist angesichts der Entwicklung des Lohnniveaus in Polen ein "border hopping" der sog. Lohnveredelungsindustrie zu beobachten, d.h. die Verlagerung aus Polen z.B. nach Rumänien. Demgegenüber geht es bei Wertschöpfungspartnerschaften nicht primär um Kostenminimierung in westlichen Unternehmen, sondern um beiderseitige

Wettbewerbsvorteile durch Transfer- und Lernprozesse sowie Marktausdehnung. Dabei werden die einbezogenen Unternehmen der Beitrittsländer innerhalb eines transnationalen Produktionsnetzes zu „Ko-Produzenten“ und "Systemlieferanten", die über eigene Entwicklungskompetenz verfügen. So ist die Vermittlung und Unterstützung von transnationalen Wertschöpfungs-Partnerschaften eine „qualitäts-orientierte“ Strategie der wirtschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit im neuen Europa.

Zur Beurteilung der „Ausgangsposition“ Berlins für eine Entwicklung zum Kompetenzzentrum deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftszusammenarbeit ist es wichtig zu wissen, welche Regionen in Deutschland intensive Verbindungen nach Polen haben. Hier ist festzustellen, daß die neuen wirtschaftlichen Verflechtungsbeziehungen zum größten Teil weiträumiger Art sind – es sind vor allem Verbindungen zwischen Unternehmen aus westdeutschen Standortzentren und polnischen Wirtschaftszentren wie Poznan.

Die Dominanz weiträumiger Verflechtungsbeziehungen zwischen deutschen und polnischen Wirtschaftsregionen läßt sich empirisch zeigen anhand der Standorte von deutschen Unternehmen, die mit Beteiligungen und Niederlassungen in Polen engagiert sind:

Unter den in der größten kommerziellen Firmendatenbank im Jahre 2001 erfassten 153000 deutschen Unternehmen (darunter mehr als 30000 Firmen in den neuen Bundesländern) konnten 833 Unternehmen mit Beteiligungen und/oder Niederlassungen in Polen identifziert werden. 95 % davon hatten ihren Sitz in den alten Bundesländern, und nur 40 Firmen (5 %) in den neuen Bundesländern, davon die Mehrzahl in Berlin. So ist Berlin die einzige ostdeutsche Region mit relativ starken Wirtschaftsverbindungen nach Polen.

Diese Ausgangslage läßt es sinnvoll erscheinen, Berlin als West-Ost-Kooperationszentrum weiter zu stärken, insbesondere als Kompetenzzentrum der Zusammenarbeit mit dem Nachbarland Polen. Nicht nur von in Berlin ansässigen Unternehmen werden Verbindungen nach Polen aufgebaut, sondern auch eine ganze Reihe polnischer Firmen hat bereits eine Niederlassung in Berlin. Aus polnischer Perspektive wird Berlin im Wettbewerb mit anderen deutschen Metropolregionen als ein Standort mit großer „psychologischer Nähe“ wahrgenommen. Darüberhinaus bietet die Stadt Dienstleistungen und spezifische Unterstützungseinrichtungen für die deutsch-polnische Wirtschaftszusammenarbeit (wie z.B. das Ost-West-Kooperationszentrum, die Berlin Außenhandelsorganisation und die Beteiligung an der deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsförderungsgesellschaft).

Während in Ostdeutschland nur Berlin als Zentrum für deutsch-polnische Wirtschaftsverbindungen hervortritt, sind die ostdeutschen Grenz-Regionen im engeren Sinne von denen einige Teile zugleich die äußere Randzone der Berliner Metropolregion bilden – im Windschatten der Entwicklung verblieben, d.h. weitgehend übersprungen worden. So sind auch die der Grenzregion unter Verweis auf das Beispiel USA/Mexico anempfohlenen Küchenrezepte der Etablierung einer sog. "Maquiladora-Industrie" zur Ausbeutung von Lohndifferenzen erstens an der realen Entwicklung deutsch-polnischer Unternehmensbeziehungen vorbeigegangen, und zweitens gar keine wünschenswerte Perspektive, weil ein solches Konzept auf die Verfestigung regionaler Differenzen setzt und mit „europäischer Kompetenz“ oder zukunftsfähiger Regionalentwicklung überhaupt nichts zu tun hat. Faktum ist jedenfalls, daß grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit und organisatorische Vernetzung zwischen regionalen Unternehmen im deutsch-polnischen Grenzgebiet trotz der Bemühungen vieler Akteure wie z.B. der IHKs, der Handwerkskammern und der deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsförderungsgesellschaft sich immer noch auf ganz wenige Einzelfälle beschränkt. Auf deutscher Seite sind dafür mehrere Blockaden verantwortlich: Als größte Blockade ist die regionalwirtschaftliche Strukturschwäche zu nennen, d.h. die in der Transformationsphase erfolgte Erosion, Ausdünnung und Fragmentierung der regionalen Produktionspotentiale. So haben die ostdeutschen Grenz-Regionen im Vergleich zu den Regionen der alten Bundesländer im industriellen Bereich insgesamt wenig Potentiale zum Aufbau von grenzüberschreitenden Produktionsnetzen mit Polen, und damit ist auch der Hintergrund für die geringe Präsenz ostdeutscher Regionen in deutsch-polnischen Unternehmensverbindungen umschrieben. Darüberhinaus sind viele Unternehmen in Ostbrandenburg immer noch so stark mit Problemen des wirtschaftlichen Überlebens konfrontiert, daß für weitsichtige strategische Initiativen im Bereich grenzüberschreitender Kooperation kein Spielraum gesehen wird. Im Gegenteil: Abschottung gegenüber

dem Nachbarn und Angst vor der polnischen Konkurrenz dominiert. Die Konkurrenzängste haben in der Region gerade angesichts des bevorstehenden EU-Beitritts Polens wieder deutlich zugenommen. Hier hilft aber keine Abschottung gegenüber Polen, sondern nur die offensive Nutzung der Chancen eines grenzüberschreitenden regionalen Wirtschaftsraumes.

Für Brandenburger (wie auch für Berliner) Wirtschaftsunternehmen würde die Nutzung von Chancen der Osterweiterung bedeuten, mit polnischen Unternehmen regionale Wertschöpfungspartnerschaften zu etablieren und auf dem Wege grenzüberschreitender Wirtschaftskooperation Zugang zum polnischen Marktgebiet (d.h. einem wachstumsstarken Nachbarland mit relativ hohem Nachfragepotential) zu gewinnen.

Berlins mögliche Positionierung als Ost-West-Kooperationszentrum ist wie gesagt nicht von den ostdeutschen Grenzregionen in Frage gestellt – dagegen ist die Wettbewerbsposition mehrerer westdeutscher Zentren als Knotenpunkte deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen stark und eine ernstzunehmende Herausforderung für die Hauptstadtregion. So müßte in regional vergleichender Perspektive geprüft werden, welcher Art die in Berlin verankerten deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen im Vergleich zu anderen konkurrierenden Wirtschaftszentren (wie München, Stuttgart, Frankfurt-Main, Düsseldorf/Köln, Hamburg) sind, und worin die Spezifik der Berliner Verbindungen nach Polen im Vergleich zu den westdeutschen Zentren liegt.

Ich habe die Region Berlin-Brandenburg mit ausgewählten westdeutschen Wirtschaftszentren verglichen, und die mit Polen vernetzten Unternehmen nach Aktivitätszweigen gruppiert. Ergebnis: Berlin ist im Metropolenvergleich zwar nicht das "stärkste" Zentrum deutsch-polnischer Wirtschaftsverbindungen, kann aber bereits mit München mithalten, wenn man z.B. die Zahl der deutsch-polnisch vernetzten Unternehmen aus dem Bereich forschungs- und entwicklungsintensiver Industrien (wie Kommunikationstechnik, Medizintechnik, Pharmazeutik, Maschinen- und Fahrzeugbau) und aus dem Bereich der Unternehmensdienste vergleicht.

Nach den relativen Anteilen der Aktivitätszweige sind die Berliner Unternehmen mit Verbindungen nach Polen sogar durch eine recht "zukunftsträchtige" Struktur gekennzeichnet: im Metropolenvergleich haben die mit Polen vernetzten Unternehmensdienste in Berlin den höchsten Anteil, und bei den mit Polen verbundenen forschungs- und entwicklungsintensiven Industrien erreicht Berlin ebenfalls einen hohen Anteil, der nur von der Region Stuttgart übertroffen wird. Ich möchte diese Detailbetrachtungen hier nicht weiter vertiefen, sondern nur darauf hinweisen, daß es in dieser Richtung noch einigen Untersuchungsbedarf gibt. Aber das bisher Gesagte sollte bereits deutlich gemacht haben, daß die Anbahnung, Pflege und Erweiterung von transnationalen Organisationsnetzen der Wirtschaft zwischen Deutschland und Polen ein wirtschaftspolitisches Handlungsfeld darstellt, in dem Berlin seine „europäische Kompetenz" ausbauen und für die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Hauptstadtregion nutzbar machen kann.

Diese Perspektive für Berlin korrespondiert auch mit dem von der deutsch-polnischen Regierungskommission erarbeiteten neuen Leitbild der deutsch-polnischen Zusammenarbeit in der Raumentwicklung, das ein „deutsch-polnisches Haus" im Sinne des Fünfecks Berlin-Dresden-Wroclaw-Poznan-Szczecin als hervorgehobenen Kooperationsraum im Zuge der EU-Osterweiterung ausbauen möchte.

Dieser Kooperationsraum würde den engeren Rahmen der strukturschwachen Grenzgebiete überschreiten und mehrere bedeutende regionale Entwicklungszentren im Osten Deutschlands und im westlichen Teil Polens einschließen, unter denen Berlin zunächst nach seiner Bevölkerungszahl das herausragende Zentrum darstellt. Der Kooperationsraum des "deutsch-polnischen Hauses" verbindet mehrere regionale Wirtschaftszentren, die aus regionalökonomischer Sicht eine weit bessere Chancenstruktur für grenzüberschreitende Wirtschaftsverbindungen aufweisen als das schmale "Band" der strukturschwachen Räume des engeren Grenzgebiets.

Zuletzt möchte ich darauf verweisen, daß der Ausbau und die Pflege von deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsverbindungen von Seiten der Politik mit bestimmten "institutionellen Infrastrukturen" ganz wesentlich unterstützt und befördert werden kann. Berlin verfügt diesbezüglich bereits über das Ost-West-Kooperationszentrum in Adlershof, die von der IHK getragene Berlin Außenhandelsorganisation, und die Berliner Beteiligung an der deutsch-polnischen Wirtschaftsförderungsgesellschaft. Man kann nun diskutieren, ob solche institutionellen

Infrastrukturen durch organisatorische Bündelung, bessere Koordination und weitere Qualifizierung "wirkungsvoller" gestaltet werden könnten. Darüberhinaus wäre Berlin aber gut beraten, seine diesbezüglichen Aktivitäten insgesamt zu intensivieren und die personellen Kapazitäten dieser institutionellen Infrastruktur für Ost-West-Kooperation deutlich auszubauen. Die Chancen Berlin's auf diesem Feld sollten jedenfalls nicht vertan werden durch eine bloß symbolische Politik z.B. in der Art, einen "Ost-Beauftragten" einzusetzen. Vielmehr müßten Berlin's Chancen durch wirklich leistungsfähige Unterstützungseinrichtungen des Landes gestärkt werden.

Fazit: Berlin hat durchaus Chancen, die kommende EU-Osterweiterung und insbesondere die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen für die Verbesserung seiner regionalen Wirtschaftsentwicklung zu nutzen. Relevant scheint hier vor allem die Perspektive, die Hauptstadtregion als Kompetenzzentrum für Ost-West-Kooperation im Rahmen der EU-Osterweiterung und der nach Ostmitteleuropa ausgedehnten Organisationsnetze der Wirtschaft zu qualifizieren. Diesbezüglich braucht Berlin vertiefende Analysen und ein darauf gegründetes wirtschaftspolitisches Konzept. Natürlich kann man nicht erwarten, daß die neuen Ost-West-Verbindungen die schwierige Wirtschaftslage Berlins insgesamt bereinigen könnten – die Qualifizierung Berlins als Kompetenzzentrum für Ost-West-Kooperation würde aber einen nicht zu unterschätzenden positiven Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Hauptstadtregion leisten.

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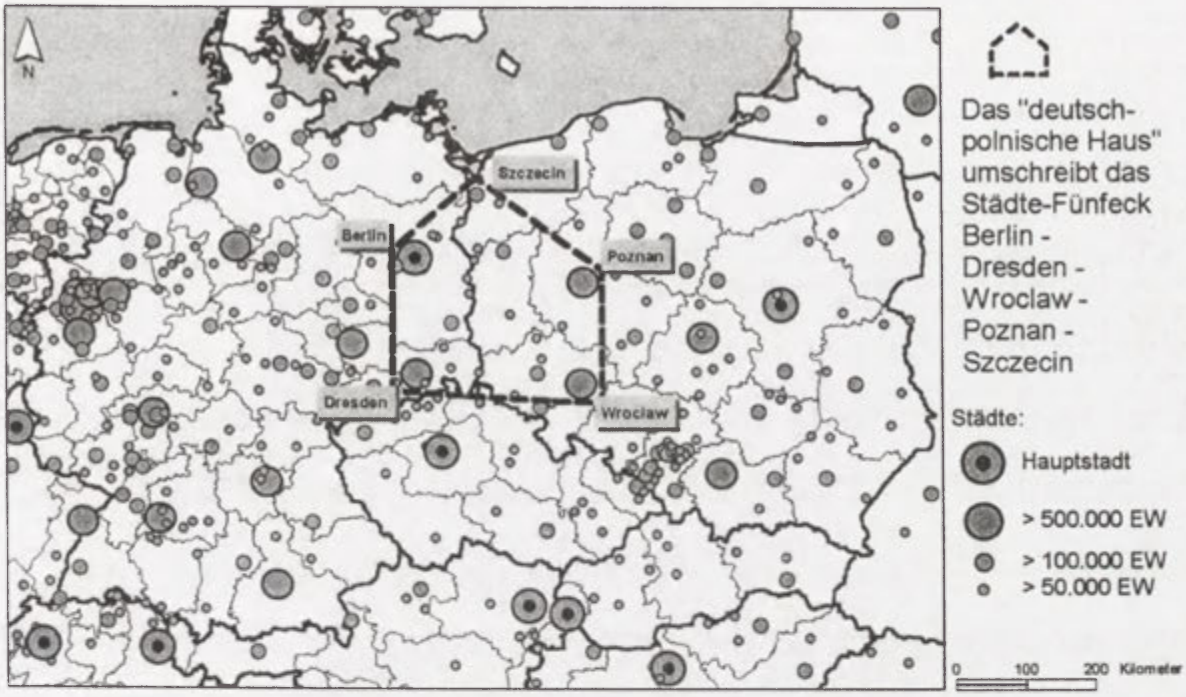
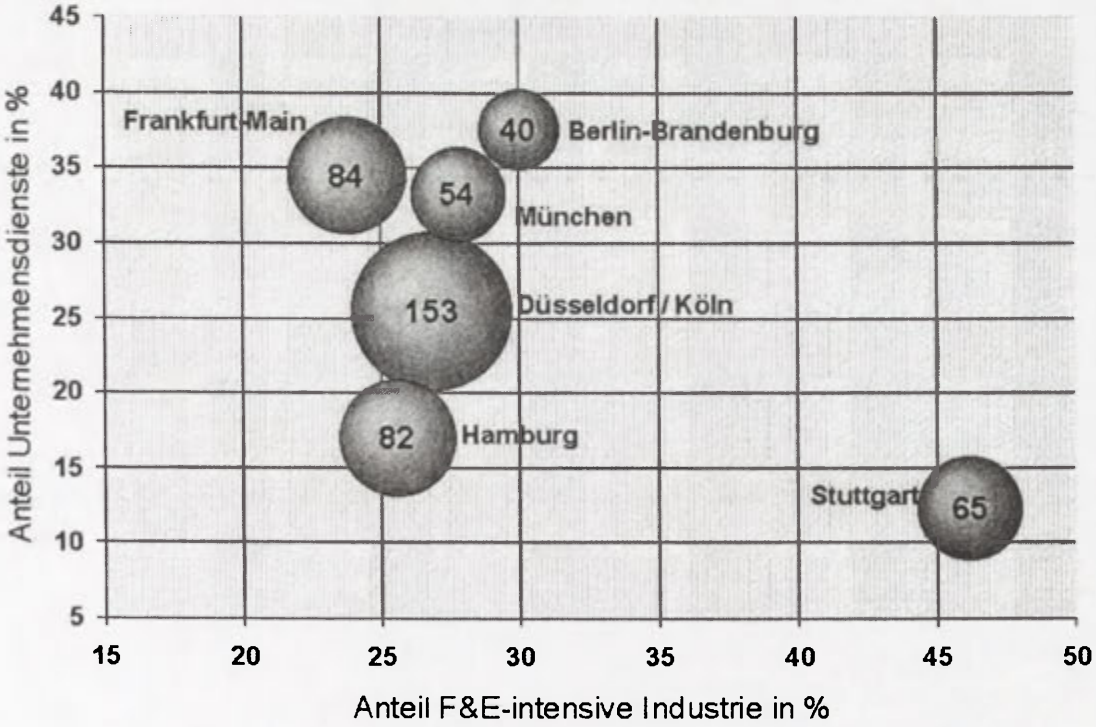
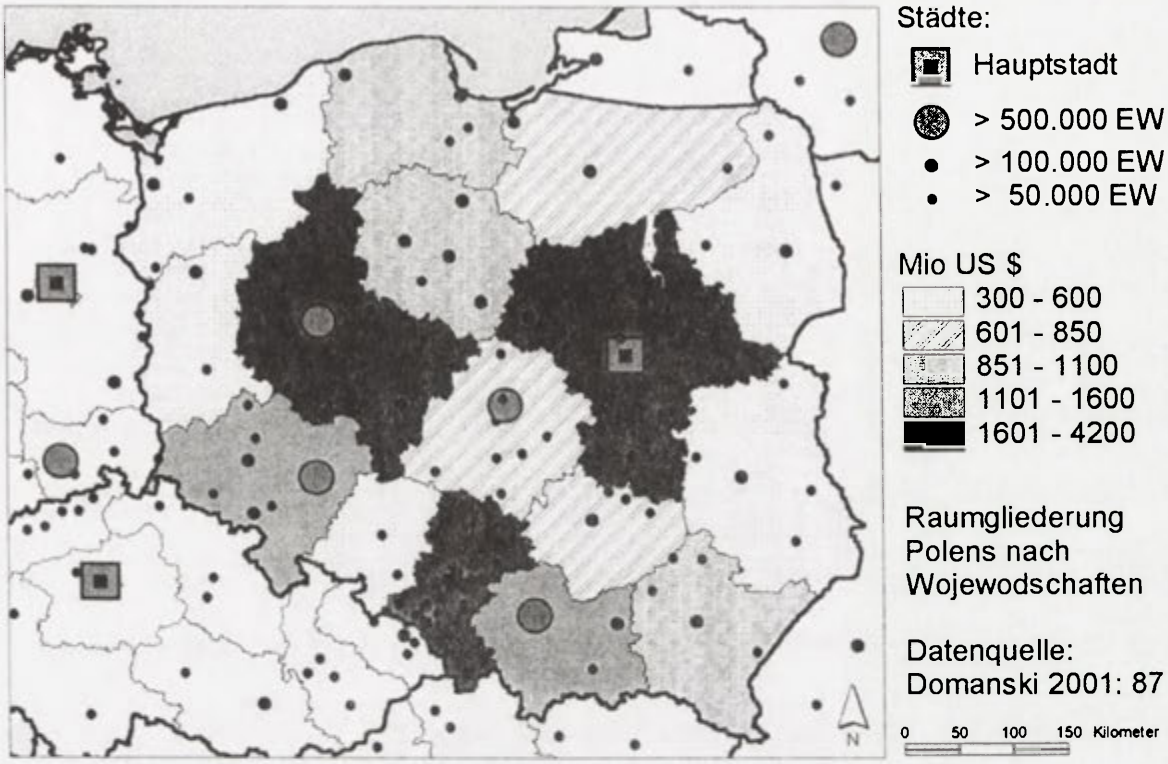
Das "deutsch-polnische Haus" als neues Leitbild grenzüberschreitender Raumentwicklung



Unternehmen mit Niederlassungen / Beteiligungsfirmen in Polen (2002)
Anzahl und Anteile ausgewählter Aktivitäts-Schwerpunkte
in den Metropolregionen



Regionale Verteilung von ausländischen Direktinvestitionen in Polen (Stand 1998)



Regionale Aspekte der EU-Osterweiterung :

Standorte von deutschen Unternehmen mit Firmenbeteiligungen oder Niederlasungen in Polen im Jahre 2001

Anzahl erfasster Unternehmen zus.: 833
davon 40 in Ostdeutschland
Klassifizierungsmethode: "Nat. Breaks"

Anzahl Unternehmen:

- **1 - 2**
- **3 - 6**
- **7 - 19**
- **20 - 53**

Ländergrenzen

0 100 200 Kilometer

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