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CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE EUROPEAN UNION - AN OPENING BALANCE

PAN IGiPZ

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edited by

Jerzy Kitowski

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Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization
Polish Academy of Sciences
Twarda 51/55, 00-818 Warszawa, Poland

Reviewer
Prof. dr Zbigniew ZIOŁO

Translation from English
by Authors and Krzysztof TUCHOLSKI

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by Barbara KAŁAT

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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES

THE OPENING BALANCE AND SCENARIOS FOR THE ENLARGED EU: ECONOMY, SOCIETY, POLITICS

Roman SZUL

University of Warsaw
Centre for European Regional and Local Studies

The aim of this paper is to present an opening balance of the enlarged European Union: problems to be solved, the main challenges and, finally, scenarios for the future. The paper is concentrated on strategic issues faced by the European Union of 25, rather than on detailed data. Although the paper presents the whole Union, it is specifically focused on issues important for Poland.

1. The opening balance of the EU – problems to be solved

The enlarged European Union in 2004 is faced by a number of problems. Solving of these problems is going to determine the future identity and action ability of the Union. Among these problems the following deserve special attention:

- The EU – US relations.

This problem has at least two aspects: „external" and „internal". The external aspect consists in the attitude the EU has, or has not, to present towards the USA. It implies, among other things, the question whether the EU („Europe") and the USA have enough diverging identities, values and interests so that Europe should part company with America. Although this question became especially acute under specific conditions of the present political developments (particularly the Iraqi crisis and other elements of what is called the „American unilateralism") and controversies between the USA and the main EU countries, the issue has its deeper roots[1]. The attitude towards the USA will

[1] A very symptomatic for this kind of reasoning is the paper issued by a prestigious German think-tank, see: Biermann Frank, Sohn Hans-Dieter „Europe and a Multipolar Global Governance" *Development and Peace Foundation Policy Paper 21*, Bonn, April 2003. This paper presents, among other things, a long list of international treaties signed by European countries and not signed by the USA which results, according to the authors, from deep differences in values between America and Europe. See also an

determine Europe's identity in several dimensions: political, military, cultural, mental, economic. The internal aspect of this problem for the EU consists in disputes within the EU undermining the EU action ability. The stance towards the USA and its current international policy divides not only national governments but also societies within individual nations adding to internal splits in some EU countries, such as Spain, Italy and the UK. In other words, controversies about the EU-US relations divide and weaken the EU, but at the same time enforce the EU to define its identity. The problem is especially delicate for Poland for whom good relations with the USA, the European integration and NATO membership have been components of the same strategic concept. Poland's active engagement on the US side in the Iraqi crisis deteriorated Poland's political relations with its main European partners, Germany and France, as well as with many governments and societies in the EU. Improving of those relations, and, in general, the image of Poland in Europe, while keeping the trans-Atlantic community alive, is one of Poland's problems.

- The EU Constitution.

The Constitution meant to enhance action ability of the EU by streamlining its law and its decision-making system, has become another source of contention. The draft constitution prepared by the Constitutional Convention in 2001-2003 was criticized by Poland both for its content and the way of working of the Convention. The working of the Convention considered by some observers as undemocratic, manipulated by the biggest UE states[2] (notably by France

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analysis of the „American exceptionalism" by the Economist, which underlines differences between (western) Europe and the USA: A Nation Apart. „The Economist" November 6th, 2003. America versus the world. Greatest danger, or greatest hope" „The Economist" November 6th 2003.

[2] Compare the opinion by the Economist describing circumstances and ways of the working of the Constitutional Convention: *European federalists have long feared that enlargement might utterly destroy their dream of an EU that evolves into a political union, with a genuine economic government and a unified foreign policy, particularly since many central Europeans are suspected of harbouring an outmoded attachment to national sovereignty. (...) An accelerated timetable was also pushed through. At Nice it had been agreed that the IGC* [intergovernmental conference to approve the constitution] *would take place in 2004. That date was brought forward to 2003, largely so that the work on the constitution could be completed before the newcomers joined the Union. Consistent with this, at the constitutional convention, every effort was made to limit the influence of the newcomers. Their representatives were present on the convention floor, but not on the 12-person presidium that did the crucial work of drafting the text. It is no coincidence that some of Europe's most prominent federalists (...) are now pushing hardest for the convention's draft constitution to be adopted swiftly and without alteration. (...) Whatever the intellectual merits of their position, it is entirely understandable that the Poles are in no mood to roll over and accept a constitution that has*

and Germany and other representatives of the „federalist" option in the EU), was met with dissatisfaction in Poland. Even more criticized was the content of the draft constitution, first of all the reducing of the voting power of Poland in relation to what was envisaged by the outcome of the EU Nice summit in December 2000 (results of the Nice summit were important arguments in the pro-EU campaign in Poland before the June 2003 referendum on accession to the Union), and the rejection to mention the role of Christianity in the history of Europe in the preamble to the Constitution. Polish opposition to the draft constitution promoted by France and Germany further deteriorated Poland's relation with the core countries of the EU. Adoption of the slightly revised version of the Constitution by governments of the EU members in June 2004 is not a final solution to the problem. The Constitution is to be ratified by all the 25 member states by parliaments or referenda. The final outcome is uncertain. Even if the Constitution is accepted by all the EU Member States, it will generate a potential source of conflicts as it strengthens the power of the biggest ones on the expense of the smaller and poorer ones which may cause the risk of marginalisation of the latter. Regardless of the outcome of the constitutional process, the preparation and adoption of the Constitution has revealed or catalyzed divergent interests, views and even interpretations of the history among EU countries. This is another problem to be solved if the EU is to function.

- The future of the cohesion policy, the stabilization and development pact, the Lisbon strategy and other current economic issues.

The current economic slowdown in the EU, especially in its largest economy which used to be the EU engine – Germany; the non-compliance of Germany, France and some other countries with the Euro establishing Stabilization and Development Pact (keeping budget deficit under 3% of the GDP) enforcing those countries to cut their budget expenditures; the growing unwillingness of the EU budget net contributors to „pay for the enlargement" (resulting in the idea to extend the British rebate to all net contributors and to reduce the amount of the next EU budget to 1% of the GDP instead of 1,27 proposed by the EC); the still more visible failure of the Lisbon strategy from 2000 (to make the EU the most competitive knowledge-based economy by 2010) and the resulting idea to change the economic policy of the EU, notably to put more emphasis on innovation and R&D; accusation of some central-eastern European countries for „tax dumping" (too low corporate taxes) and a lot of other issues put at risk the idea of cohesion. One of concepts to reform the Union is the re-nationalisation of the regional policy which, in fact, would mean liquidation of the EU-wide regional policy and a considerable reduction of inflow of financial resources to

been drawn up with such scant regard for their views. Why is this happening, „the Economist" October 11-17, 2003.

the poorer countries, the main loser of which would be Poland. Liquidation (or substantial reduction) of the EU regional policy (and of other elements of the cohesion policy) combined with „tax harmonization" and generalization of social and ecological standards would badly undermine Poland's economic competitiveness while depriving it from EU assistance.

- Definition of „frontiers of Europe" and the accession of Turkey.

The European Union has to define whether its potential territory is unlimited or limited and, if limited – where are its limits. This is not a theoretical question but a very practical one, connected with the problem of accession of Turkey, and, maybe, of Ukraine. The question of determining concrete terms and time of Turkey's accession is „on the table" in the EU. Accession of Turkey, with its 60 million inhabitants (with a rapid natural increase) and enormous needs, would make the present model of functioning of the EU (especially regional policy and cohesion fund) untenable. Turkey would be the second largest country in terms of population which would dramatically change the political geography of the Union. In such a situation diminishing the scope of the cohesion policy and emergence of a „union within the Union" made up by „old" Europe's core countries, seem to be almost unavoidable solution.

- Cultural identity of Europe.

Connected with the above mentioned questions of Europe's frontiers, attitudes towards the USA and the Constitution as well as with the question of immigration (especially from Muslim countries) compounded by the ageing of the EU population (the enlargement doesn't change the trend) and the need for young working force, is the problem of cultural identity of Europe (the EU). The until now exercised model of „economic uniformity and cultural diversity"[3] is showing signs of crisis and limits. Cultural diversity in the European Union (and other pan-European institutions like the Council of Europe and OSCE) based on the principle of multiculturalism is being challenged by the need to defend Europe from illegal migration, terrorists, etc. and by the re-discovered necessity to „integrate" (=assimilate?) immigrants. The emphasis on host country language acquisition by immigrants and the generalized refusal to grant immigrants ethnic minority rights in Europe is the case in point.[4] The growing Muslim population whose radical part doesn't accept the idea of lay state and privacy of religion, and the perceived „islamisation" of some countries (notably France) combined with activity of extreme anti-immigration movements put the question of limits of freedom of expression of religious and political believes. In such circumstances the idea of Europe's identity re-emerges. If the European

[3] On the issue of „economic uniformity and cultural diversity" in the EU and worldwide, see e.g. my paper: Szul R. 2002

[4] See e.g. a critical analysis of linguistic discrimination of immigrants in Europe in Extra G., Yagmur K. 2002

Union is to be something more than the coalition of current economic interests, it has to be founded on solid values. Are anti-Americanism (not shared to the same extent by all EU nations), separation of state from religion, declared respect for (selected) human rights, protection of natural environment, equality of (selected) cultures and languages and the fear of immigrants and terrorists enough to create Europe's cultural identity?

Some of the above problems require a clear-cut solution in the near future, other ones (e.g. those related to Europe's cultural identity) at the first glance don't require any specific decision, nevertheless decisions concerning elements of cultural identity will be taken day by day by authorities and other institutions at the EU, national and regional levels. The problem then is whether these decisions are going to be convergent – leading to a compact corpus of values, enhancing mutual understanding and action ability of the Union, or divergent – multiplying misunderstandings, mistrust, and conflicts.

The present eastern enlargement, the next „south-eastern" enlargement (accession of Romania, Bulgaria, and, maybe Croatia and other Balkan countries) and, even more the „Turkish" enlargement, while enriching the cultural diversity of the EU will inevitably complicate the problem of searching of cultural identity of the EU. In this context the recent sad experience of Yugoslavia, disintegrated by conflicts largely based on cultural differences and the weakness of a common Yugoslav identity, comes to observer's mind.

2. Crisis of the „main mechanism" of the European Integration

A factor behind the current problems of the European Union is the crisis of what could be termed as the „main mechanism" of the European integration. This mechanism is the „plus sum game" within the EU which made that all the participants of the game (members of the European integration process) were winners. This mechanism confirmed usefulness of the integration to its participants and attracted new candidates.

The central role in this mechanism was played by Germany. Germany consented to be the greatest net contributor to the community budget and accepted its under-representation (in relation to its population, economic potential and budget contribution) in the decision making system in the community. This has been, in fact, the price Germany has paid for being accepted as a member of the international community after the Second World War. In exchange Germany did obtain a place in the international (European) community and acceptance in 1990 of the German unification, and German firms got access to Western European markets. This access has been one of factors of the German economic success after the war.

The small rich countries (earlier the Benelux countries, and later also Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Austria) also contributed to the budget in order to get access to the large European Community market, which was vitally important given limited size of their economies. On the other hand, poorer countries – net beneficiaries of the EC/EU budget – benefited from the community cohesion policy while opening up their markets to firms from the richer countries. France benefited from the common agricultural policy (CAP) and from its political position in the integration. Political gains of France consisted in the „settling" of the German problem and in its role as the „leader of Europe".

Only the UK didn't fit to this plus sum game. In the economic field it was too large to want to pay for the access to the common market, too rich too benefit from the structural funds and too little agricultural to benefit from the CAP. From the political point of view it didn't see the reason to pay for being accepted as a member of the international community, and was too little „European" to aspire to be a leader of Europe. It is why the UK (under Margaret Thatcher) demanded and received a rebate in its contribution to the EC/EU budget, amounting to 2/3 of its contribution.

Another element in this mechanism was the fear of the USSR and the „communist threat". In the early 1990s the fear of communism was substituted for a time by the fear of „chaos in the East".

Decades of peace in Europe, successful stopping of the communism and constant economic growth and improvement of living standards of all societies of the EC/EU Member States confirmed usefulness of the mechanism of the European integration.

Since the late 1990s the mechanism doesn't work perfectly, despite the achievement of the common currency. The „East" (Russia and the Eastern Europe) is no longer a mobilizing factor. Unlike the „communist threat" which used to consolidate Western democracies during the cold war, present external political events quite often divide Europe. Germany's economy – the engine of the integration – is faltering (one of reasons thereof being the costs of the German re-unification). The German society, sixty years after the war, no longer feels the need to pay for being accepted in the international (Western) community, especially when Germany is undergoing economic troubles (high budget deficit, high unemployment, cuts in social policy, widespread feeling of uncertainty, etc.). Instead, a new mood in Germany has emerged – a mood to look at Germans as victims of the second world war. In such a situation Germany's ability and willingness to pay to the EU budget (to be the „milky cow") while consenting to the artificially reduced political power of Germany in the EU is diminishing. Together with Germany also other rich countries reveal their desire to reduce their contribution to the EU budget. Probably they consider that the common market is already a fact and there is no need to pay for its creation.

In such a situation the idea: „British rebate for all" becomes popular[5]. If this idea comes true, it will be a blow to the concept of the cohesion – a cornerstone of the European integration.

3. External determinants

The future of the European Union will also depend on external factors on which the EU has little or no influence. Some of them deserve special mentioning:

- United States. The question is if the USA will accept the EU as a serious economic and political player and partner or if it will try to divide Europe into „old" and „new" Europe. Another question is whether the USA will continue to disregard what is perceived as European values and thus push Europe to defend them by further integration.
- Russia. It seems that Russia is not delighted by the perspectives of the European integration and will try to use its influence to stop this process[6]. The question is, again, whether Russia will accept the European integration and, if not, whether it will manage to stop it and to divide Europe. It should be noted that there are some possible direct contact points that can provoke or can serve as pretexts to deterioration of EU-Russia relations, such as the situation of the Kaliningrad enclave[7], Russian population in Latvia and Estonia[8], etc.

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[5] The French „le Monde" analysing the generalised desire of the net contributors to the EU budget to reduce their contribution, comes to the conclusion: *Cette généralisation comporte cependant un double risque: le pauvres recevront moins; mais il y aurait aussi une augmentation au nombre de pays contributeurs nets, et donc de mécontents. Résultat, la pression pour réduire le budget européen, et donc la solidarité, n'en sera que plus fort* [This generalisation implies a double risk: the poor will receive less, but it will also be an increase in the number of net contributors and thus of the dissatisfied. As the result, the pressure to reduce the European budget, and consequently the solidarity, will be stronger – my translation, R.Sz.] L'élargissement mettra fin au privilège budgétaire français. „Le Monde", November 6, 2003.

[6] In this context it is interesting to note Russian comments on results of EP elections in June 2004. According to comments in a popular, government-near on-line newspaper strana.ru, results were advantageous for Russia because the politically divided and weakened by presence of eurosceptics Europarliament will be too weak to promote the European integration and transformation of the EU into a supra-national state. Later on the paper points with satisfaction to increased possibilities for Russian companies to lobby in the EU due to their subsidiaries and friends in the Baltic states, Czechia and Slovakia. Кто верит в Единую Европу? www.strana.ru/stories/01/12/04/2157/218589.html (June 17th, 2004).

[7] On this issue see e.g. Palmowski T, Fedorov G, Korneevets V (eds.) 2003.

[8] See e.g. De Rauglaudre P 1999, Järve P 2003.

• Economic situation in China, India and other developing countries. If those countries continue to attract high amounts of foreign (first of all the EU) investments and compete by low costs of labour, this will considerably affect the EU economies and societies (outflow of jobs, reduced wages and social benefits, increased social insecurity and political instability). The question is whether the EU will be able to join efforts to face the competition or the deteriorated socio-economic situation of the EU Member States will strengthen internal conflicts (among countries, among social groups, etc) leading to disintegration of the Union.

• Rules of the international trade. The possible liberalization of the international trade, especially in agricultural produce, would affect the EU in this way that it would be disadvantageous for some countries, including Poland, and advantageous for other ones. This would lead to emergence of intensification of internal conflicts of interests.

4. Scenarios for the future

Having the above internal and external determinants in mind, it can be said that the European Union now is facing tremendous challenges. If the EU is to succeed, it will have to demonstrate both a high degree of efficiency in decision-making mechanisms, and a strong sense of unity of the European people - a sense of unity and common European identity that would deter individual societies and governments from solving their problems at the expense of the others.

Depending on the evolution of the aforementioned factors, four scenarios for the enlarged European Union can be presented:

1. Europe of solidarity, efficiency and wealth. According to this scenario the EU economy grows due to enhanced efficiency and competitiveness. All its countries, regions and social groups benefit from the growth due to their access to growth factors and due to the cohesion policy. Solidarity is possible thanks to the sense of the common European identity. In such a situation Poland as a whole and its regions are among the major beneficiaries.
2. The EU as a free trade area. Funds for the cohesion policy diminish to negligible amounts, regional policy has been re-nationalized. Situation of firms, countries, regions and social groups is a result of market play and of socio-economic policy carried out at national and regional levels. Disparities between rich poor countries and regions increase, eastern peripheral regions (including Polish ones) being in the worst position.
3. Europe of national egoisms. The EU is the area of open conflicts of interests of firms, governments, trade unions and other pressure groups. The real power is in hands of coalitions of interest groups and governments of the richest and largest countries. Interests of poorer countries are ignores. Those

countries' competitiveness is reduced by common regulations concerning social policy, taxes, environmental and production quality norms, budget policy norms, etc, imposed by the EU. The EU becomes divided into political and economic core and periphery, Poland being among the latter. Polish eastern regions are particularly hit – by the competition from better developed regions and countries in the EU, by the competition from the cheaper countries within and outside the EU, and by the closed border effect. Poorer countries, including Poland, are faced with the dilemma: what is worse? - to remain or to leave the EU?

4. Disintegration of the European Union. Conflicts of national interests and ineffectiveness of decision-making mechanism paralyze the European Union, or the decision-making mechanism ignores interests of poorer countries. Some or all countries realize that remaining in the Union is detrimental for their national interests. Anti-Union sentiments grow, especially among peripheral countries. (The situation resembles that of the USSR and the SFR Yugoslavia in the late 1980s). Eventually the EU disaggregates into smaller pieces.

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Streszczenie

BILANS OTWARCIA I SCENARIUSZE ROZSZERZONEJ UE – GOSPODARKA, SPOŁECZEŃSTWO, POLITYKA

W r. 2004 rozszerzona UE stoi przed problemami, których rozwiązanie ukształtuje jej przyszłość. Problemami tymi są: 1. stosunek do USA (sojusznik czy przeciwnik?), 2. Konstytucja UE (czy zostanie ratyfikowana?, czy ułatwi funkcjonowanie UE?, czy wzmocni dominację silniejszych i pogłębi antagonizmy?), 3. przyszłość polityki spójności (kontynuacja czy odrzucenie), paktu stabilizacji i rozwoju, strategii lizbońskiej i inne bieżące problemy gospodarcze, 4. określenie „granic Europy", w tym kwestia członkostwa Turcji i stosunek do Ukrainy, 5. tożsamość kulturowa UE. Nowa sytuacja UE wynika w dużym stopniu z kryzysu dotychczasowego mechanizmu integracji, którego głównym elementem była rola Niemiec jako głównego netto płatnika do budżetu UE (wcześniej EWG, WE) przy nieproporcjonalnie małej instytucjonalnej roli Niemiec w systemie podejmowania decyzji. Taka postawa Niemiec wynikała z przyczyn historycznych. Obecnie Niemcy nie mogą i nie chcą pełnić tej roli. Również inne bogate kraje chcą zmniejszyć swój wkład do Unii. Przyszłość UE będzie też zależeć od czynników zewnętrznych, jak: stosunek USA i Rosji do UE (ewentualne próby rozbijania Unii), konkurencja gospodarcza ze strony Chin, Indii, i zasady handlu międzynarodowego. Możliwe scenariusze na 10-20 lat: 1. Europa solidarna, sprawna i zamożna, 2. UE jako strefa wolnego handlu, 3. Europa egoizmów narodowych, 4. Rozpad Unii Europejskiej.

THE EUROPEAN UNION: POLAND AS BENEFICIARY

Stanisław CIOK

University of Wrocław

On May 1, 2004, when new countries joined the Union, the disproportions between member countries, and between regions, grew in regards with social and economic development, and aerial growth. There are significant differences between regions within so called „European Banana", and the poorest regions within the Union new member countries (they are a few times poorer). The GNP per one citizen living in the poorest regions only is 30 to 40% of the Union average. For a long period of time, regional differences and their negative consequences have been the subject of thorough research conducted by union authorities. The main political goal of regional policy is to cooperate for harmonious development within all regions. The problems of existing and new disproportions must be solved. The European Communities are particularly interested in harmonious development in all regions, they must implement proper structural policies, and properly distribute financial resources within the regions. The most important tools, which are at their disposal, are the Structural Funds, including the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), established in 1975. It is aimed at the neutralisation of regional disproportions, which are the result of agricultural domination, changes in industry, structural unemployment. Also, there are other funds, which can be used for those purposes. They include such structural funds as European Agricultural Orientation and Guarantee Fund, and European Social Fund. They include important territorial elements. Significant amount of money is transferred to agricultural sector, and to sectors connected with agriculture. Also, the money is used to solve the problems of high unemployment. As the EU member, Poland can use those funds.

Structural Funds and the Union Budget

The problems of regional policy can be solved, based on certain economic solidarity among the member countries who finance regional development and help the poorest regions. What amounts come from structural funds? The situation is illustrated in Fig. 1. The data include the EU budget plans for

2004. The biggest transfers are to Common Agricultural Policy (42,7%). The second biggest transfer is to cover structural projects (35,5%, including 30,6% from Structural Funds, and 4,9% from Cohesion Fund). Also, the money is used to support internal policy (7,6%, including, mostly, the cost of the 6th Framework Program for research and development, technology, power plants and power distribution, transportation, education, cultural development, law and internal affairs), external policy (4,4%, including humanitarian actions, such as food supplies, democratic and social development in member countries). Other funds are used to support different development projects, which include administration, pre-accession assistance, the Union enlargement on May 1, 2004, etc.

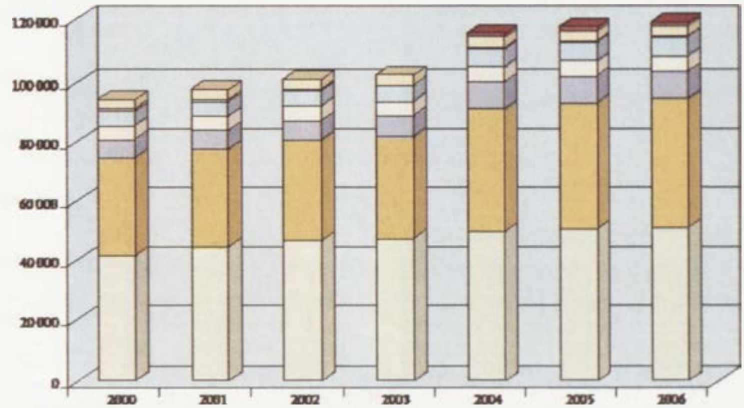
In 2004, 41,035 million Euro will be used to support structural policy. In 1997, in order for the policy to be effective, the European Commission started a reform. It included the growth of Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund. In order to meet they objecttives, they limited the number of projects and concentrated on fewer regions. Currently, their plans from 2000 to 2006 only include three priority objectives (Fig. 2):

Objective 1. includes the support in underdeveloped regions (where GNP per one citizen is 75% or lower of the Union average, for example, the regions in Greece, Southern Italy, Portugal, former East Germany, and almost all regions in new member countries), in the regions with no dense population, below 8 people per 1 square kilometre (Sweden, Finland), and peripheral regions (overseas French territories, Canary Islands, the Azores), and other regions. Sixty two percent of structural funds goes to those regions. The programs concentrate on endogenic developmental elements, such as infrastructure, the human resources, and production.

Objective 2. includes regressive and stagnant regions. The policy is to support economic and social restructuring. In those regions, there are changes in industrial and service sectors. People leave agricultural sector in order to find employment in different sectors. In overpopulated towns, there are crisis situations which require special planning. Also, there are regions, which, traditionally, depended on fishing. The regions include parts of Catalonia in Spain, the Massif Central and western territories in France, Midlands in England, central Italy, Austria, southern Sweden and Finland, the regions near former German-German and current German-Czech borders (Fig. 3). About 8,8% of structural funds are used to support plans designed to reach objective 2.

Objective 3. includes modernisation of educational and employment systems. It is different from the two other goals, because it doesn't include particular regions, but, rather, it includes vast territories of the EU (excluding regions listed in objective 1 plans). The goal is to be reached based on 9,3% of Structural Funds.

Fig. 1. Financial perspectives 2000-2006



(EUR million)

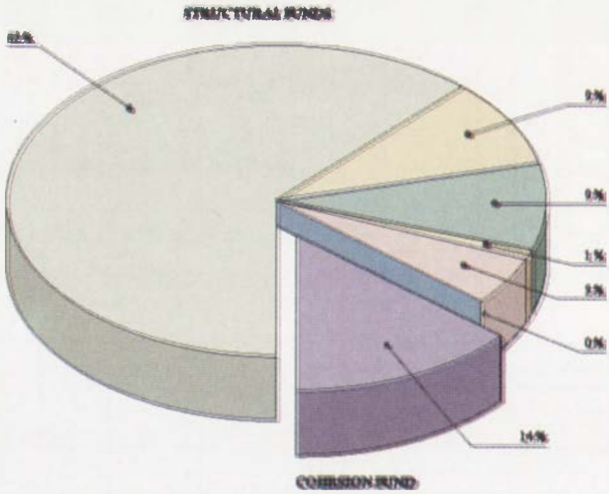
APPROPRIATIONS FOR COMMITMENTS	Current prices					2004 prices	
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
1. AGRICULTURE	41 738	44 530	46 587	47 378	49 305	50 431	50 575
Agricultural expenditure (net of rural development)	37 352	40 035	41 992	42 680	42 769	43 724	43 735
Rural development and supporting measures	4 386	4 495	4 595	4 698	6 536	6 707	6 840
2. STRUCTURAL OPERATIONS	32 678	32 720	33 638	33 968	41 035	41 685	42 932
Structural Funds	30 019	30 005	30 849	31 129	35 353	36 517	37 028
Cohesion Fund	2 659	2 715	2 789	2 839	5 682	5 168	5 904
3. INTERNAL POLICIES	6 031	6 272	6 558	6 796	8 722	8 967	9 093
4. EXTERNAL ACTION	4 627	4 735	4 873	4 972	5 082	5 093	5 104
5. ADMINISTRATION (*)	4 638	4 776	5 012	5 211	5 983	6 154	6 325
6. RESERVES	906	916	676	434	442	442	442
Monetary reserve	500	500	250	0	0	0	0
Reserve for guarantees	203	208	213	217	221	221	221
Reserve for emergency aid	203	208	213	217	221	221	221
7. PRE-ACCESSION STRATEGY	3 174	3 240	3 328	3 386	3 455	3 455	3 455
Agriculture	529	540	553	564			
Pre-accession structural instrument	1 058	1 080	1 109	1 129			
PHARE (applicant countries)	1 587	1 620	1 664	1 693			
8. COMPENSATION					1 410	1 299	1 041
TOTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR COMMITMENTS	93 792	97 189	100 672	102 145	115 434	117 526	118 967
TOTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR PAYMENTS	91 322	94 730	100 078	102 767	111 380	112 260	114 740
Ceiling appropriations for payments as % of GNI (ESA 95)	1.07 %	1.08 %	1.11 %	1.09 %	1.08 %	1.06 %	1.06 %
Margin for unforeseen expenditure	0.17 %	0.16 %	0.13 %	0.15 %	0.16 %	0.18 %	0.18 %
Own resources ceiling	1.24 %	1.24 %	1.24 %	1.24 %	1.24 %	1.24 %	1.24 %

(*) The expenditure on pensions included under the ceiling for this heading is calculated net of staff contributions to the pension scheme, up to a maximum of EUR 1 100 million at 1999 prices for the period 2000 to 2006.

Source: General budget of the European Union for the financial year 2004, European Commission, April 2004

Also, structural funds are used to support the Community Initiatives. They are designed to supplement objectives 1,2, and 3, and include the entire territory of the EU. They are designed by the European Commission. Currently, there are four initiatives, including: INTERREG III (cross-border co-operation between cities, agglomerations and countries), URBAN II (designed to support city and agglomeration development), EQUAL (designed to fight discrimination and inequalities on employment and labour market), LEADER+ (designed to assist poor regions and agricultural areas).

Fig. 2. Structural operations



[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Objective 1	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Community initiatives	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

Source: General budget of the European Union for the financial year 2004, European Commission, April 2004

Poland's Participation in the Union Structural Funds

From 2004 to 2006, as the member of the EU, Poland will receive 11,4 billion Euro to support its structural policy. It is about 50% of all resources granted to ten member countries, which joined the Union on May1, 2004 (Tab. 1). Also, it is 76% of all public resources, which will be used to implement the National Development Plan. 76% of 11,4 billion Euro comes from Structural Funds, and 33% from Cohesion Fund. Among Structural Funds, the most important is the ERDF found (61% participation). The participation of resources from Structural Fund is illustrated in Fig. 4. The Integrated Operational Regional Development Program receives 39% of the resources from Structural Funds. The Cohesion Fund contributes 3,7 billion Euro to structural policy. Transportation and environment protection sectors receive fifty percent of that amount.

Table 1. The distribution of Structural and Cohesion Funds among 10 new members of the UE.

Countries	Cohesion Fund	Structural Funds					Total
		objective			Community Initiative		
	% total	1	2	3	Interreg	Equal	
CY	0,43-0,84	0	25	20	4	2	53
CZ	9,76-12,28	1 286	63	52	61	28	1 491
EE	2,88-4,39	329	0	0	9	4	342
HU	11,58-14,61	1 765	0	0	61	27	1 853
LT	6,15-8,17	792	0	0	20	11	823
LV	5,07-7,08	554	0	0	14	7	575
MT	0,16-0,36	56	0	0	2	1	59
PL	45,65-52,72	7 321	0	0	196	119	7 635
SI	1,72-273	210	0	0	21	6	237
SK	5,71-7,72	921	33	40	37	20	1 050
Total (MEUR)	7 591	13 234	121	112	424	223	14 118

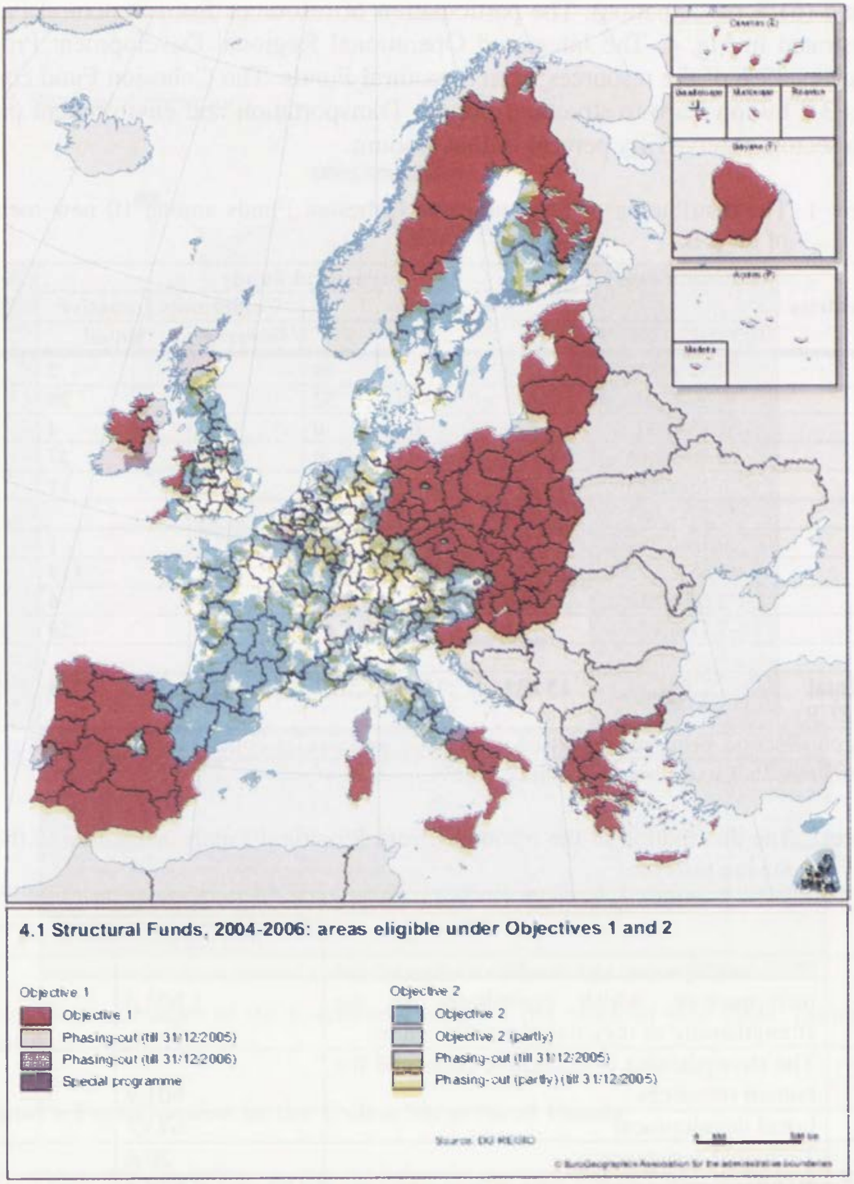
Source: Second progress report on economic and social cohesion, European Commission, Brussels Luxembourg, January 2003

Table 2. The distribution of the resources from Structural Funds, according to the following priorities

Lp.	Priorities	Structural Funds	
		mln euro	%
1.	The development and modernisation of the infrastructure, which contributes to the strengthening of regional competitiveness	1 603,3	55,9
2.	The strengthening of economic basis and the human resources	601,9	21,0
3.	Local development	643,7	22,4
4.	Technical assistance	20,6	0,7
	Total	**2 869,5**	**100,0**

Source: Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego 2004-2006. Ministerstwo Gospodarki, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, Warszawa.

Fig.3. Structural Funds, 2004-2006: areas eligible under Objectives 1 and 2



Source: Third report on economic and social cohesion, European Commission, February 2004

Fig. 4. The participation of the UE funds in the implementation of structural policy in Poland (based on the National Development Plan 2004-2006)

11,4 bln euro

Structural Funds 7,7 bln – (67,2%)

Cohesion Fund 3,7 bln – (32,8%)

ERDF	**60,9%**
ESF	**22,9%**
EAGGF	**13,8%**
FIFG	**2,4%**

Transportation	**1 867** mln
Environment	**1 867** mln

	mln	**%**
SPO The growth of economic competitiveness	**1 300**	**17,8**
SPO The development of the human resources	**1 270**	**17,3**
SPO The restructuring and modernisation of food industry sector and agricultural area development	**1 055**	**14,4**
SPO Fishing and fishing industry	**179**	**2,4**
SPO Transportation, sea-industry	**627**	**8,6**
ZPO Regional development	**2 870**	**39,2**
PO Technical assistance	**20**	**0,3**

Structural Funds includes 315 million Euro (4,1%) of the INTERREG and EQUAL Initiatives. Programming and implementation of the INTERREG III has already started (Ciok, 2003). Poland will receive 196,1 million Euro, and 80% of that amount will be used to support the A sector (cross-border co-operation), 14% will go to the B sector (international co-operation), 6% will be used within the C sector (interregional co-operation). Cross-border co-operation will be the most important beneficiary (sector A: over 149 million Euro).

The most important tool used by a state to implementing regional policy is the Integrated Operational Regional Development Program. There are many priority, trends, limits and goals in that program. From 2004 to 2006, they will use 4,4 billion Euro to implement the program. 2, 867.5 million Euro from that amount (almost 72%) will come from the Cohesion Fund. Tab. 2 illustrates estimated distribution of the money. The resources included in the Integrated Operational Regional Development Program are distributed in different voivodships. The biggest resources will be transferred to the following voivodships:

Mazovia (290 million Euro), Silesia (270,6 million Euro). The least amount will go to Opole (74,2 million Euro, and Lubusha (79,8 million Euro).

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Streszczenie

UNIA EUROPEJSKA - BENEFICJENT POLSKA

Wraz z przyłączeniem 1 maja 2004 r nowych członków Unii Europejskiej zwiększyły się dysproporcje pomiędzy poszczególnymi krajami a zwłaszcza pomiędzy poszczególnymi regionami w zakresie poziomu rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego i zagospodarowania przestrzennego. Wyrazem szczególnego zainteresowania Wspólnot Europejskich problematyką nierównomierności rozwoju i konieczności prowadzenia odpowiedniej polityki strukturalnej jest wielkość środków jaką w budżecie Unii przeznacza się właśnie na tą działalność (w 2004 r na politykę strukturalną w UE przeznaczono ponad 41 mld euro).

Polska już jako członek Unii Europejskiej w latach 2004-2006 na realizację celów polityki strukturalnej otrzyma do dyspozycji ponad 11,4 mld euro, jest to około 50% wszystkich środków przyznanych 10 krajom, które weszły do UE 1 maja 2004 r .

Przyznane Polsce 11,4 mld euro, stanowi ponad 76% wszystkich środków publicznych zapisanych na realizację Narodowego Planu Rozwoju. Na sumę tą składają się środki w ponad 67% pochodzące z zasobów Funduszy Strukturalnych i blisko 33% z Funduszu Spójności. Wśród Funduszy Strukturalnych największe znaczenie posiada ERDF z blisko 61% udziałem. Natomiast podział środków z Funduszy Strukturalnych na poszczególne sektorowe programy operacyjne przedstawia ryc.4. Zdecydowanie najwięcej środków przeznaczono na Zintegrowany Program Operacyjny Rozwoju Regionalnego (ponad 39% środków z zasobów Funduszy Strukturalnych). Na realizację celów polityki strukturalnej złożą się także, środki pochodzące z Funduszu Spójności w wysokości ponad 3,7 mld euro, które podzielone zostaną po 50% na projekty związane z transportem i ochroną środowiska.

Środki zapisane w Zintegrowanym Programie Operacyjnym Rozwoju Regionalnego rozpisano także na województwa. Największe środki otrzymają województwa: mazowieckie (290 mln euro), śląskie (270,6) i dolnośląskie (216,3); najmniejsze: opolskie (74,2) oraz lubuskie (79,8)

ROLE OF STATE IN CREATION OF EUROPEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

Jacek BRDULAK
Ewa LATOSZEK
Andrzej MUSZYŃSKI

Warsaw School of Economics

Introduction

No characteristics of the contemporary role of the State in creation of socio-economic infrastructure can be full without an analysis of new theoretical approaches to the perspective concept of the State, law, politics, economy and security in the epoch of information civilisation. Especially that in provisions of the Constitutional Treaty of the European Union does return the demand to make endeavours to create the social market economy in the enlarged European socio-economic space (ESES).

We initially assume that it is the economy that is primarily featured in material terms by the idea of „infrastructure". If so, we can assume a structural simplification where the general structure of the economy specifies both the strategy of development and the system (the mechanism of economy operation and development – MEO&D). The State in this concept, organised on the basis of security, democracy, respect for civic rights and freedoms, self-government, subsidiarity and justice, takes an ancillary role in relation to economy and citizens, with the reservation that:

1) The State authorities – play primarily the role of the host of households, being responsible mainly for peaceful conditions of operation and development of all the participants of the social process of management – e.g. for strategic planning, division of the national income and the quality of systems (especially for passing and abiding the generally binding law);
2) The self-government authorities (local government) – play the role of a spokesman and interest representative of citizens who make up communities in specific local and regional spaces – e.g. by social planning, programming

and budgeting projects and execution of entrusted (ordered) laws and passing the local law[1].

Responsibility of the State for the condition of infrastructure is obvious, but it has a differentiated character depending on the preferred model of the economy.

Traditionally infrastructure used to mean the base of the national economy structure, historically and statistically defined as the thing and material structure, as different from the social, and professional structure, specifying mainly the so-called non-material and legal values in balance sheets and value of a company's image.

In the approach to the State strategy, it was to guarantee stability of operation and development, and thus to minimise the economic risk and to enhance investment attractiveness of the national economy. In the contemporary times – in the epoch of information civilisation – it is hard to imagine that development, even very narrowly conceived (e.g. as an increase in competitiveness or profitability of the economy), has any lasting opportunities of success if separated from the series of social, material and technical factors that occur within the socio-economic infrastructure.

1. The socio-economic infrastructure and the infrastructure

Contemporarily, within the concept of the open, knowledge-based economy it is assumed that the socio-economic infrastructure is a wider and broader concept than the traditionally defined infrastructure. Traditionally, dominating was such a technical concept of it where reliability and effectiveness were evaluated mainly from the technical or operational viewpoint.

Science and people of knowledge change this approach and reverse the basic meaning of the socio-economic layer as an organic creator of effectiveness growth and infrastructure reliability. **Accordingly, it is worth showing that the contemporary concepts of the problem of operation and development of technical infrastructure are not sufficiently innovative if the social dimension is not considered parallel to the technical and economic ones.**

From this viewpoint, planning of development, co-ordinated with the plan of spatial organisation, is a task based on the concept of the learning society and the knowledge-based economy. A synthetic expression of such an approach is the model of the market economy, strongly oriented at social goals. In this ap-

[1] A good example of importance of the local law act is the plan of spatial organisation. On the other hand, however, in many Polish communes it is hardly possible to build anything without regulating legal relations and a repeated technical audit, e.g. in mining communes. The Ombudsman is even planning to intervene in the matter of lack of spatial organisation plans in mining communes (Cf. R. Krupa-Dąbrowska. Przepisy blokują inwestycje. Rzeczpospolita daily No. 101/2004 of 29th April 2004).

proach – systemic and spatial at the same time – it is thus important both to build a Polish model of the social market economy and to teach the future builders the social and economic sense of the socio-economic development strategy.

If assuming that the national or State strategic plan is the basic collection of information on development priorities for all participants of the social process of economy, it is possible to undertake works on a model of community co-ordination that will be open to entrepreneurship and support of it with assistance of organic social processes.

Organization of real processes depends in this concept, on the one hand, on an approach to the analysis of „space" and the quality of modelling process for regulation processes, and on the other hand, on the infrastructure. It is also possible at these concepts to model in the traditional „environment", based on one discipline, or to learn the interdisciplinary approach, characteristic for the model of an intellectual entrepreneur. The interdisciplinary approach requires at the same time a consensus of the structure and the infrastructure based on knowledge – thus it requires a new organic work in co-ordination of educational and production processes in a full „cycle of life and work" of man working in a creative and productive way (MWIC&PW).

In a two-dimension model, this means that the Polish and European reform of education, training, and professional specialisation should meet the quality criteria of the entrepreneurial education and development process. Optimising with „two criteria", we will be able to obtain then, and only then, the dominating solutions if a graduate from a higher school meets requirements of education quality and professional standards of future employers, including intellectual entrepreneurs.

Thus, it is possible to assume that in „the future" economy of each organised community – not only at higher schools – **the main condition of the economic success will be a scientific success supported by a didactic and educational success.**

The demand to link pedagogy with education and training is not new, but it finds newer and newer applications. It has also increasing importance in creation of the socio-economic infrastructure from the point of the State[2].

Implementation of the idea of scientific and didactic, and educational leadership is the prerequisite in this concept, but not sufficient yet for optimiza-

[2] Both the EU Lisbon Strategy and the Bologna Strategy include didactic and educational stress for the concept of building the knowledge-based economy. Yet, the research of change bases of the education system was carried out earlier, e.g. at the Warsaw School of Economics as early as at the beginning of the Polish economy transformation. Cf.
A. Muszyński, *O koncepcji kształcenia ekonomistów w Polsce.* In: Projekcja zmian w systemie kształcenia ekonomistów w Polsce, COMSE SGH Warszawa 1991, p. 56.

tion – especially if the many-criteria model has been applied, in this case consisting of the following criteria:

- **the quality of the education process;**
- **the appropriateness of professional standards.**

2. Dynamism of educational processes and its influence on effectiveness of the education and professional specialisation processes

Dynamism of educational processes depends in Poland on both dynamism of financing science development by the State and approach of businessmen to taking risk and financing infrastructural investments.

Reorientation of expectations and behaviour is mainly a reaction to the goals of the EU Lisbon Strategy that are connected with regulations of public assistance for businessmen. There is an increasing conviction that the main condition of economic development dynamism is reinforcement of the State's role in co-ordination of the Government's and the self-government's roles according to recommendations by the science.

In this concept, the ancillary role of the State in relation to the society and the economy is concentrated on transformation of the creative role of the science to the concept of the Polish model of the market economy as the social market economy based on knowledge, skills, and trust.

Reversely or dually does change the influence of feedback on goals of education. In particular – if we assume that effectiveness of training and education mainly depends on organisation and co-ordination of educational capitals, collected in various institutions and persons, then centralisation of programming of national educations gives place to personalisation of investment in knowledge as the base of entrepreneurial capital.

In this concept, well visible is such reacting of finance markets where instruments of public assistance are adapted to requirements of the banking nature, and not – as it has been the case quite recently – fiscal one. Direct subsidies give place to preferential credits, and grounds for crediting are based on credit petitions supplemented by the concept of operation on the market – including the labour market.

Appraisals of preparation of Polish educational circles and centres of professional trainings are not too optimistic – financing of talent development and national research and development projects is in a very poor condition and has not been improving in recent years. It also results from the social policy research that in Poland it is the youth, especially up to 24 years old, who are suffering the most from unemployment. This is the problem that sharply occurred after the transformation of the political system and its scale threatens the socio-economic stability. In our appraisal of ways to counteract unemployment, on the one hand, we often refer to economic analyses that consider problems of structural modernisation, restructuring and privatisation[3], and on the other hand – education by entrepreneurship, by good practice is still of a marginal importance in our country[4].

It is true that development of investments not always allows creating an increase in employment, establishing work and creation places. However, planning of it should not waste the young human capital on such a scale[5]. There cannot be any doubt that such high unemployment is followed by series of both negative economic effects, as well as social and motivational ones. This may lead to irreversible health and psychological changes. They are especially painful for the youth who at the threshold of their adult professional life are bereft of the basic opportunity for testing their knowledge and skills that they have acquired at school.

Criticism indicating that the special Government programme „The First Job" disregards the essence of the privilege problem – concentrating on a closely unspecified creation of new jobs, and not, e.g. on rationalisation of employment and limiting the zone of poverty and economic backwardness[6] - thus confirms that as yet the State has not properly increased its ability to make use of achievements of science and its creative role in development planning.

In such conditions, one should not forget that in Poland the socio-economic infrastructure plunges into social contradictions and does not increase the State's ability to minimise the risk of the strategy for the socio-economic development. The higher risk means the relatively higher cost of acquiring foreign capitals, creation of barriers for an increase in competitiveness of the national economy and an increase in social costs. It is also marked by a barrier in achieving common European profits from investments.

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[3] That is probably why so many activists of the Polish Economic Society are engaged in the social economic movement in favour of the youth, stimulating entrepreneurship in various ways and propagating the idea of organic work in various social circles, especially at schools, universities and in self-governments.

[4] By the end of 2003, the problems of education in this concept were the discussion subject of the council for Socio-Economic Strategy at the Ministers' Council. Cf. Materials from the meeting of 14th November 2003.

[5] It is worth reminding that the unemployment rate of the youth up to 24 years old was 43.6% as of the end of 2002 according to the Research on the Economic Activity of the Population (REAP).

[6] Cf.: *Strategia gospodarcza Rządu RP* pt. „Przedsiębiorczość – Rozwój – Praca," KPRM 2000, website www.kprm.gov.pl.

3. Science and economic role of the State in planning of the socio-economic development

Planning of the socio-economic development that does not cause activation of social capitals and consequently reduction of unemployment does not meet the basic demand of activity efficiency. It also leads to increasing and not neutralising threats to security. In consequence, it moves away the model of the social market economy of Poland (SMEP) from the pattern of the knowledge-based economy. It also results from the appraisal that the socio-economic system does not achieve its goals that the demand of co-ordination of development goals has not been met.

To sum up, the strategic planning is not efficient if it is based on the traditional structural and infrastructural approach, and not on the holistic approach – systemic and spatial. A change requires dynamising of works aiming at working out an approved concept of co-ordinating goals of economic development and security increase in a comprehensive meaning.

This statement leads to the next hypothesis of necessity to undertake scientific works on the secure, social, knowledge-based market economy on the scale of all enlarged space of the European Union's countries and regions.

The present status of the „systemic" knowledge does not allow for acknowledging that co-ordination of defence goals with the socio-economic development complies with the SMEP concept as the knowledge-based economy, since knowledge about unemployment and threats does not help improve the socio-economic situation and conditions of the society life. In such conditions, the society loses the feeling of security and trust for the authorities, and consequently there is further deterioration of the systemic knowledge condition and effectiveness of development planning. The decrease of effectiveness is transformed direct into decrease of management effectiveness and economy competitiveness.

This consequence is the most painful for small and medium-size companies. The epoch of the information civilisation (EIC) introduces to the foreground the creatively and productively working man (C&PWM). Personalisation links his/her abilities with universality of access opportunities to information, knowledge, and skills. For businessmen a synthetic concept of security is minimising of risk and, in consequence, of the cost of investment (development) capital acquisition.

Modelling of the integrated approach requires new transfers of knowledge in the circles of science and education. For example – creation of possibilities for new transfers within offset contracts is not universally used in modelling of the SMEP, and it may be limited from the position of the market and competence protection in the EU. The circle of public higher schools is presently concentrated – traditionally – on quality of education at the higher level, but it invests into the primary and secondary levels[7].

Not always either, does it dispose of means indispensable for carrying out research in the European and global dimension.

Experience of regional circles is strongly differentiated, similarly as is differentiated distribution of the scientific potential of Poland[8]. Creation of a new model of education for entrepreneurship and „by entrepreneurship" in the EU cannot be optimal without a national strategy, if it is not consistent „personally" and spatially with the system of education and professional specialisation. The demand of spatial organisation of the human capital cannot be met without a mechanism of Community co-ordination – and this means new requirements both for the science structure and the socio-economic infrastructure for the country's development planning.

It is not effective under such conditions either co-ordination of the creative role of science, the economic role of the State and the law-making role of self-government – especially with „excess" of sham strategies or bureaucratic co-ordination of development programmes at the regional level. Considering such observations one should not forget either that the SMEP modelling is multidimensionally conditioned by such global organisations with various abilities to regulate relations in the world as the UNO, the EU, the NATO, the OECD, or the WTO. Thus the epoch of the information civilisation may – e.g. by geopolitical changes and scientific transfers – change the socio-economic infrastructure of whole regions.

That is why additionally – for visualisation – the role of science surrounded by international organisations – within the SMEP model – has been presented in figure 1.

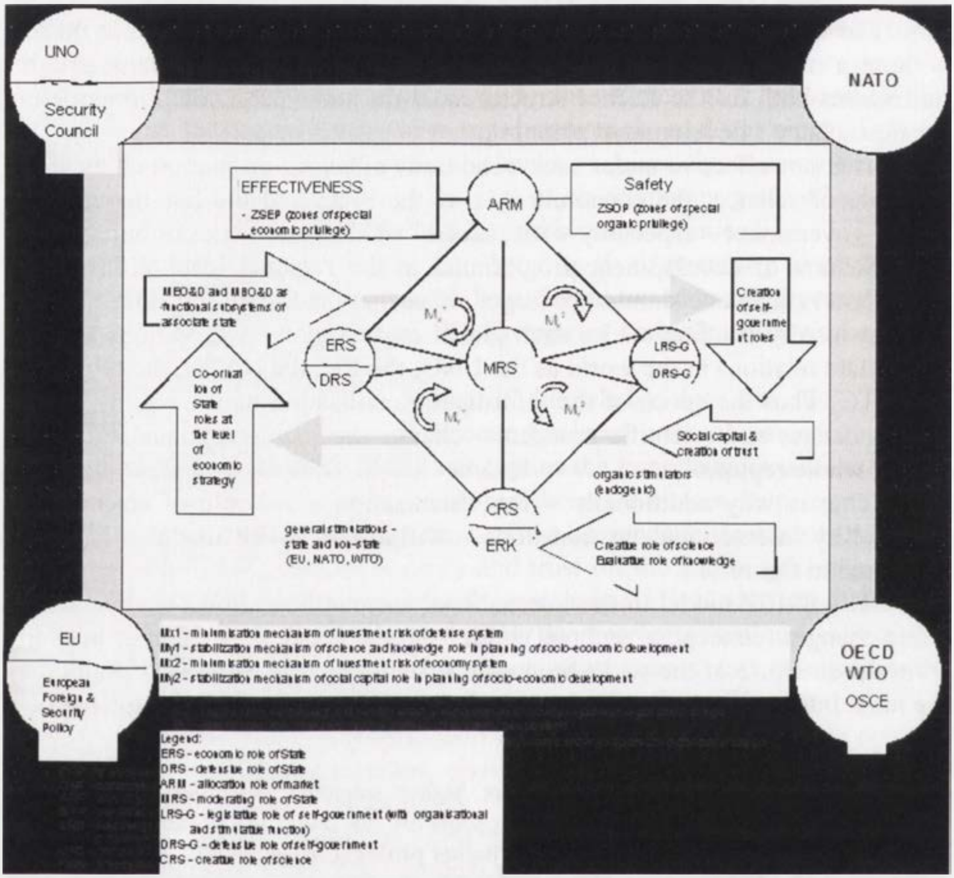
The SMEP model in the international surrounding allows analysing systemic changes (conceptual and real) both from the personal position of man and from the structure of the socio-economic system (e.g. the SMEP surrounded by the main international organisations, including those responsible for the national

[7] Few secondary schools are created at higher schools, but in essence transfers of knowledge from higher to secondary schools are not co-ordinated, and curricula are not accredited (e.g. similarly as in case of higher professional schools).

[8] For example – in Mazowsze (Mazovia) it has recently been assumed among persons interested in the programme „The Euroeconomist of the 21st Century" that rationalisation of employment requires understanding of changes on the contemporary European labour market and on this basis, of supporting the elementary outcome mechanism of operation and development of the Polish economy, based on the three-part balance, i.e. the economic role of the State, the allocating role of the market and the law-making role of self-government. In this way, a demand has been formulated to the address of science in the process of building the knowledge-based economy out of suggesting the further described four-part model.

and international security). These organisations both regulate structural and integration changes and finance specific programmes connected with the socio-economic infrastructure of contemporary development processes.

Figure 1. The new balance model of subsystems of socio-economic development creation – an example of modelling the social market economy in Poland in the global surrounding.



In the developed four-part model of the mechanism of economy operation and development[9], presented visually in figure 1 in the square of SMEP, pur-

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[9] In this model, there appear science, the State, market and self-government – with the reservation that the State has been purposefully presented in two roles, i.e. economic and moderating, as it helps better understand the contemporary role of the State in the process of strategic planning and planning of spatial organization of the country.

poseful programming is possible with use of moderating role of the State (before „the economic role") and only after building the European programme to strive for governmental guarantees. Each time several stabilizers appear here requiring specialist knowledge and mutual information linking. It is recommended very much to use in the „starting" phase mechanisms of expert support, as understanding of context evaluations is often much more difficult than information processing.

Because knowledge is becoming the most important factor of production, „complex" and „process" stabilisation is required from science. This means interactive modelling of „space" and this leads to development planning with „threat counteracting" and programming that keeps pace with or follows systemic changes in the concept of the central development (strategy) plan. Under such conditions, the intelligent socio-economic infrastructure learns widely conceived security – starting from teleinformative to anti-crisis and war inclusively. Informative examples of such statements are best visible in systems of artificial intelligence and simulations of real processes.

Against the background of the presented scheme it is also possible to state that in practice there are no more any important doubts concerning correctness of the general, directional thesis that learning, thinking and social communicating in the coming new epoch of information civilisation face a new challenge that directly results from the dynamic personalisation of production process of „knowledge" and its exchange in the economy of the 21st century – the intelligent economy, i.e. such one whose development is to be safe, based on knowledge of „the learners' community", often the international one. Learning of such development planning that is concentrated on the link between creativity and productivity of man (the MWIC&PW model) in the innovative environment **sets a new direction of seeing man and the system as a new integrated entity and a subsystem of entrepreneurship, enterprise, and security in the epoch of information civilisation.**

The socio-economic infrastructure is multidimensional in this concept.

It is undoubtedly a foundation of the organisational culture, and culture – of compliance of new technical and technological solutions with development expectations of the SMEP as the knowledge-based economy. Probably pretty soon it will become a regulating subsystem of real processes – already visible are qualitative changes in educational systems by means of Internet networks, and further development of network industries is ahead of us. In the next dimension – the one of finances, the dominance of banks' direct contacts with customers will probably disappear and dominance of multidimensional indirect services in banking and insurance will be established.

If the structure of economy and its system forget about the MWIC&PW, the role of the State in creating the socio-economic infrastructure will become marginal.

The suggestion of personalisation of economic relations, combined with computerisation leads to an increase in demand for "good information" – and in consequence to „reversing" the present tendencies to multiplying interpretations, guide-books and handbooks.

Security and economic growth are so important, integrated, and equivalent features of the infrastructure that development in the SMEP is becoming a more and more explicit function of knowledge and understanding of it by leaders of States and international organisations. It is equally dependent of science – both by the MWIC&PW and by communities covered by international market systems and security guarantees (e.g. by such systems of the international security that are known under the names of the UN Security Council or the NATO).

Does it mean necessity to build a new model of education and training for the MWIC&PW as a Euroeconomist and a Euroentrepreneur of the 21st century? If so, it is necessary to establish a new approach to a system motivating development of education „for entrepreneurship", of additional training „by entrepreneurship" or innovativeness, similarly as it is suggested in the new solutions of the EU Lisbon and Bologna Strategies. It is even more important that more and more often graduates from higher studies do not know much about information systems in education[10], and science and research centres – about EU development priorities.

Personalisation of entrepreneurship means that man working in a creative and productive way (MWIC&PW) is becoming the central chain of potential in each enterprise, and his/her knowledge and skills – a factor of value and profitability creation.

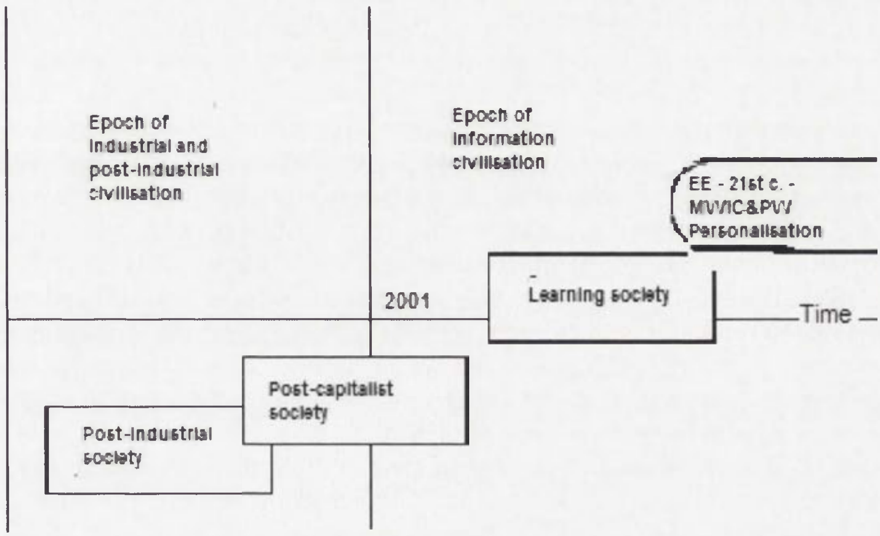
Whereas education for development of it indicates new endogenic mechanisms and new market developments – especially of the labour market in connection with financial markets. The MWIC&PW must feel being secure man if he/she is to create new values. In the EU that has no own military structures, the concept of the trans-Atlantic integration may be applied then, and not only because of political reasons – but also because of civilisation and economic reasons.

According to fig. 2, it is a change to the character of civilisation that enforces a new approach of economic policy to „personalisation" of education – at least in the dimension of own investments of households (consumers' investments). Education in favour of secure development becomes in this approach an equally important civilisation challenge, as its other kinds – including education in favour of entrepreneurship and by entrepreneurship. At the level of higher

[10] The problem is seen more clearly if necessity of co-ordination of the concept of the „learning" society (OECD) and the information society (EU, RP) is considered. Cf.: *Zarządzanie wiedzą w społeczeństwie uczącym się*, Report by OECD 2000.

studies education passes correctly into training then and only then, when training covers management theory and practice jointly.

Figure 2. Personalisation as a social product



It is rightly assumed that the highest ability to build so developed economy have societies preferring knowledge and personalisation of the economic policy and having direct or indirect access to e.g.:

- active, organised and socially supported forms of education for entrepreneurship (knowledge contests, rankings on the basis of contests, competitions for entrepreneurs, rankings of higher schools and education centres);
- centres advising how to use information systems in development planning;
- universal, including multimedia, systems of knowledge reproduction;
- functional subsystems, connected with implementation of global, regional and national strategy priorities (UNO, EU, NATO, RP);
- private corporate funds, sponsoring and stimulating research and development of science as well as invention implementations into the economy.

Under conditions of integration with EU and NATO, it is worth thinking then about the optimization problem of development abilities in the situation when there is scarcity of private capitals but there are social reserves and potential capacities of extra-economic „privileging" of the best, including winners of contests, competitions, and rankings[11].

The initial picture of approach to modelling the MWIC&PW in concepts of economic and management sciences is concentrated on economists or „intellectual entrepreneurs" as participants of the qualification and remuneration game on the labour market that is becoming more and more visibly the market of labour and entrepreneurship, associated with the innovation market. This conclusion and the collected experience are at the same time the next attempt to introduce the modelling problem of professional competitiveness acquisition process by Polish economists on the European market, including creation by the system of education and professional specialisation of creative and productive man (the MWIC&PW) as a Euroeconomist of the 21st century. Similar models are not too popular, however, in higher schools and with other disciplines of knowledge, except for polytechnic higher schools on such faculties as e.g. cybernetics, engineering of systems and system analysis[12]. In addition, problems of spatial organisation are not „systemically" connected with economic geography and essentials of the socio-economic infrastructure creation for planning of spatial organisation of the country in the main transformation trend of the European socio-economic space (ESES).

Thus, there are no prerequisites yet, so that the State could optimise its role in creation of the socio-economic infrastructure according to recommendations and the creative role of science.

For this purpose higher studies should increase skills of teachers and students to acquire, as early as during the studies, the skill of connecting theory achievements and management practice, and not only economics theory and economic policy. A good example are management sciences where more and more frequently the subject of learning are, e.g. practical experience from evaluation of entrepreneurs' operation, evaluation of regulation results and work skills in an interdisciplinary managing or designing team.

Thus, this purpose is becoming the priority for the State strategy in creating the modern European socio-economic infrastructure. Of course – its implementation will require updating „Koncepcja Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju" („The Concept of Spatial Organisation of the Country"), announced

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[11] In particular, there is no research and discussion on models of professional specialisations that are effective from the viewpoint of both the Polish and European labour market. An important beginning of the discussion, going out towards realisation of the EU Bologna Strategy, is the reform concept for economic higher education as presented in the Warsaw School of Economics in March 2004.

[12] Additionally in many polytechnic higher schools, modern economy is taught by specialists in management sciences, and connecting economy with law belongs to specific cases.

by the President of the Ministers' Council of the Republic of Poland, dated 26th July 2001.

4. Connections between the structure of the national economy and the social and technical infrastructure in the spatial approach

4.1. Character of contemporary connections between science and technology and space

The character of contemporary connections between science and technology and space depends on the approach to solving contemporary and perspective structural and infrastructural problems. The concept of the self-government role is particularly new. In the context of the traditionally defined economic role of the State self-government used to be seen chiefly as „a performer" of the State tasks, and not as creator of them.

Consequently, science used to be the State task, and the ancillary role of the State with consideration of science was periodically forgotten.

In the contemporary planning approaches the problems of spatial organisation is not always connected „systemically" with the strategy of the socio-economic development of the country, economic geography and scientific fundamentals of creating new concepts of the State, law and economic policy. Controversies concern in particular mutual relations concerning economic and moderating role of the State against the constituting role of self-government in the creation process of the modern socio-economic infrastructure.

Controversies concerning the role of science in development processes have the basic meaning for planning of the spatial organisation of the country according to the main transformation trend of the European socio-economic space (ESES).

Simplifying, it may be assumed that there are no prerequisites yet to enable the State to optimise its economic role in creation of the socio-economic infrastructure by means of the creative role of science. Optimising conditions remain in the direct connection with evaluation of character and systemic typologies of the national economy infrastructure.

Vital importance in the discussion on the future of the European socio-economic space has the thesis that the character and typology of contemporary technical and spatial connections are determined by dynamism of changes in the world of organisation and management that has been actively joined by „the world of finances" and of intellectual entrepreneurship.

From this point of view, it is worth noting that in our country the condition of subsystems, objects, and elements of the State or regional organisation is still decided by a group of subsystems, referred to as „the technical infrastructure".

In general, this infrastructure is understood as "the basic equipment and institutions with indispensable object and personal equipment, serving for providing material and social conditions of any activity within the whole national economy or its individual fields, branches or elementary units"[13].

In this definition, it is worth noting a distinction, as infrastructure elements, of object and personal factors and seeing the infrastructure from the angle of the range of its operation within fields, branches, and elementary units of the national economy. The infrastructure plays here specified functions, out of which the function of relocation is considered the most important one. Because of this, e.g. A. Piskozub has limited the range of the definition of the national economy technical infrastructure, suggested by D. Węgierow and S. Chaskielewicz[14], to four systems that are connected with the relocation function:
1) of transport,
2) of communication,
3) of energy management,
4) of water management.

In the officially published Policy Concept of Spatial Organization of the Country from 2001[15] is „The National System of the Technical Infrastructure" – as one of the basic spatial systems, stabilising the policy of spatial organisation of the country and the system includes:
1) Transport – with pan-European corridors and the national transport networks;
2) Telecommunication;
3) Energy Management;
4) Water Management.

The typology of the next functional subsystems, especially after accepting the enlarging definition of the contemporary role of science may lead to new controversies and interpretations. Especially that knowledge is practically becoming the only factor of enterprise competitiveness growth as an organisation of the learning.

Undoubtedly, it should be considered how to include a financial system or subsystem into those infrastructural subsystems. The former should ensure

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[13] W. Grzywacz, *Infrastruktura transportu.* WKiŁ, Warszawa 1982, p. 34, and also the approach presented in the work: *Rozwój infrastruktury transportu* (scientific ed. K. Wojewódzka-Król). Wyd. UG, Gdańsk 2002, pp. 16-17.

[14] The Authors suggested inclusion into the technical infrastructure of the national economy, beside the four systems accepted by A. Piskozub, the system of informatics and the spatial economy as well (D. Węgierow and S. Chaskielewicz). Similarly functions of development goals of the national economy technical infrastructure and valuing methods of this development results. KPZK PAN, Warszawa 1976, (a typescript).

[15] Cf. The announcement by the President of the Ministers' Council of 26th July 2001 on publication of the Policy Concept of Spatial Organization of the Country (Journal of Law – Monitor Polski No. 26 of 2001, item 423).

translocation – transformation, circulation – of such goods as money that has become in the market economy a specific omnipresent medium enabling – irrespective of its form – its operation and efficient development.

This viewpoint not always allows expressing correctly the essence of contemporary processes of creating local innovative circles.

In presentation of infrastructural problems, one can also see simplifications, according to which the infrastructure may include **only objects of public use.** Such an interpretation is complying with the viewpoint of many authors discussing the problems of the spatial economy – what may result from using many synonyms of the concept of infrastructure[16].

In the literature it is possible to meet a viewpoint that it is enough to limit the number of applied terms to two: technical infrastructure, in order to name groups of objects realising translocation functions, i.e. the concept covering elements included in the definition of the functional infrastructure, suggested by A. Piskozub, with extensions by other authors, and social infrastructure covering entities from the systems of education, health service, judiciary, science, culture, administration and others. Such an approach refers to economic statistics, but it does not always favour planning of the infrastructural role of the State in building the knowledge-based economy.

Thus, a wider and ordering reminder of the „contents" of the concept of „technical infrastructure" seems indispensable to clarify any misunderstandings that – unfortunately – have crept even into the publicly promoted and – what is worse – implemented, economic policy of several last Governments in Poland. We mean here both the attitude of the Government to self-government, and looking for financing sources for some infrastructural systems, for example that of transport, without consideration of their specific features and properties.

It is universally assumed that first of all the following belong to them:

a) the ancillary character of the infrastructure that must provide services within servicing production, consumption and the social sphere;

b) indivisibility (bulkiness) of infrastructural objects, which determines necessity to create at once whole objects (e.g. motorways) without costly and often „provisional" limiting of their scale and range[17];

c) an irregular way of creating infrastructure costs – they grow abruptly from time to time due to indivisibility of infrastructural equipment;

d) longevity, reaching in some cases up to one hundred years (e.g. railways) and determining treatment of technical infrastructure as a constant element of the country or regional organisation;

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[16] More on this subject in: J. Brdulak, *Infrastruktura techniczna jako element przestrzennego zagospodarowania regionu suwalskiego,* (in:) Biuletyn IGS SGH, Warszawa 1991, No. 2, p. 277 et seq.

[17] This feature requires a different interpretation for telecommunication systems in dispersed networks – it is not necessary, however, in the presently presented explanations.

e) high capital consumption connected with necessity to incur high investment expenditures with a very long period of freezing.

The last feature causes that the classically defined organic capital element as a ratio between the constant capital and the variable one in the infrastructural fields of economic performance is usually very high.

This is so in railway transport, container navigation or car transport – with consideration of civil engineering as well. As the result the investing into technical infrastructure of the national economy usually, e.g. in transport, do not obtain the average profit.

The effect is monopolisation of infrastructural sectors and involvement in development of infrastructure of the State that must also realise specified social goals.

In such a situation encouraging private investors to spend money, e.g. on motorways, expresses lack of understanding by representatives of the Government and economic circles. From the viewpoint of private investors is meaningful the question why to wait 30-40 years for return of incurred expenditures, if in many fields of advanced technologies the capital return time begins to be counted in months. In Poland, which does not belong to technological titans, it is possible to locate money in food processing, trade services, municipal real estate, and to recover the engaged means after 7-15 years.

Of course there are always some persons willing to „reprocess" funds allocated to development of infrastructure, but it usually takes place at the cost of the State, as for example on the turn of the 1950s in Italy.

The above, general observations make us formulate a thesis that creation of the infrastructural base of socio-economic development in Poland is not presently possible without involvement of the State in the processes and full use of the support, offered by the European Union.

Independence or autonomy of infrastructure development will mean in this case a dramatic increase in development differences. In the discussed field of the national economy, technical infrastructure will be a process connected with negative consequences for the quality of socio-economic life. Unless we acknowledge that, we do not have to integrate infrastructurally with the EU countries that are better developed than we are. Even then, our country will face increasing development and modernisation challenges in the field of meeting infrastructural needs.

This does not mean that there is no problem of controversies between social and economic interests. On the contrary, it has existed for a long time and is even increasing. A new approach to establishing mixed companies – public and private ones, with contributions in kind by public authorities, does not help much in solution of it. For practice shows that even such intellectually strong centres as Warsaw have not been satisfied with progress in modernisation of the municipal infrastructure and at the same time the metropolitan one.

Good examples are here car roads as subsystems of the technical infrastructure in the Mazowieckie Province. Especially in the context of new metropolitan spaces.

4.2. Metropolitan spaces – the Warsaw study

Metropolitan spaces are an increasingly important object of interest by geopoliticians and planners – both strategic and spatial ones.

Geopoliticians appreciate the meaning of metropolises as centres of economic growth in a narrow, profitable meaning; whereas planners and urban planners see many infrastructural threats, connected with changes to social and socio-economic relations. A question about the change to the role of the State in creation of the socio-economic infrastructure meets in this place a barrier of endogenic processes that on the wave of globalisation concentrate headquarters of financial institutions in cities.

To simplify, one may assume that the Warsaw Agglomeration is the unquestioned growth centre on the economic map of Poland.

Influx of direct foreign investments (e.g. hotel industry, trade networks, financial services) and the lowest unemployment rate, social functions and the highest rate of NGP per capita, undoubtedly require an efficient base of infrastructure. It is already known today that in the years 2004-2006 the authorities of the City and the Province will implement five large road projects, what will not be possible without subsidies from the EU funds. Construction of three sections of the Sierakowska Route on the right bank of the Vistula will consume, e.g. 600 m zl. Construction of the northern bridge between Tarchomin and Bielany - 260 m zl, and modernisation of the Starzyński Roundabout will cost 310 m zl.

The total length of provincial roads that must be modernised immediately, as they are often threats to traffic safety, is 593 km. Additionally 460 m zl is required for those investments[18].

On purpose, we do not list the Warsaw underground, the Warsaw southern bridge, a new international terminal at the „Okęcie" airport, as well as such national programmes as, e.g.:
- construction of motorways – € 8 b;
- modernisation of trunk railways;
- modernisation of main sea ports at the mouths of the Vistula and the Oder (it is worth reminding that still the greatest spatial barrier in Poland is the Vistula with bridge crossings every 40-50km).

[18] *Budownictwo. Drogi w województwie mazowieckim. Rzeczpospolita* daily of 28th May 2003.

Under these object and material conditions, it is obvious that boosting of the Polish economy will not be possible without solving the most urgent infrastructural problems of the country.

After Poland's accession to the Union the process of modernisation and eliminating development loop, dividing us from present member-countries, may run much faster. Yet, very much will depend on the State itself. It will be necessary to keep up the endeavour to create stabile frameworks for the economic performance, to encourage to increasing national savings and to replacing consumption by investment demand.

In the dimension of relations between politics and economy there will appear assumptions that politicians should try to limit the role of the State in management of the economy, to increase operational effectiveness of public administration at the central and self-government levels – especially in reference to realisation of public investments, largely co-financed from the Community means – but there are no explicit suggestions concerning the EU co-ordination.

At the same time recommendations in the dimension of economy and security relations, despite announcements resulting from the NATO security investment programme (NSIP – ca. USD 2 b) are disregarded.

It is worth reminding that on 30th June 2002 the European Commission presented a modified financial perspective for the years 2004-2006 that considered the fact that in the first enlargement ten states would participate and indispensable means allocated in the new countries concerned only three not five years[19].

The budget of cohesion policy was additionally limited in comparison with the original plans, as means for direct payments in agriculture were separated, and they simply had not been included in decisions of the Berlin Summit.

Allocations of structural funds and the Cohesion Fund for the new member-states, suggested by the European Commission, amount to € 7,067 m in 2004, € 8, 150 m in 2005, € 10, 350 m in 2006, i.e. € 25;567 m in total. Additionally, under the title of agriculture there appeared means allocated to supporting development of rural areas in the amount of ca. € 5,000 m. As the result of this enlargement, the population of the EU will be increased by almost 75 m persons, out of whom 38.6 m are inhabitants of Poland. The size of Poland in comparison with other candidate states was considered by the European Commission in its proposal, as the estimated allocation for Poland amounts to over 53% of the total means of structural funds and the Cohesion Fund.

This means that structural funds and the Cohesion Fund for Poland may amount to ca. 3,800 m in 2004, 4,350 m in 2005, € 5,500 m in 2006, giving in total ca. € 13,650 m. Such a scale of transfers in favour of Poland is an equiva-

[19] J. Brdulak, E. Latoszek, *Infrastruktura techniczna jako instrument dynamizacji polskiej gospodarki.* SGH, Warszawa, March 2004, (a typescript).

lent of ca. 2.8% of NGP. Additionally, the means allocated to development of agriculture will amount to ca. € 2,493 m.

The time that remains for indispensable preparation for effective absorption of financial means being transferred by the European Union to Poland after it became the member, is relatively short to have the above amounts managed, so some fears connected with inability to manage them effectively are becoming more and more real.

That is why it is indispensable to take immediately some effective steps leading to co-ordination of preparatory activities carried out by the Government and self-government institutions and to increase cohesiveness and effectiveness of the involved means.

The scale of financing from the EU means that first it will be necessary to identify and then to prepare in the European format a large number of projects that – in comparison with the years 2000-2003 will be increased 5-6 times. Building of an efficient creation system of projects that will qualitatively meet the EU requirements is today a very urgent matter.

4.3 Planning, programming and financing – efficiency of the creation system for projects and programmes

Building of an efficient system of project creation (called in the literature - project pipeline) is already a very urgent matter at present.

Another barrier is the cost of project preparation that only partly may be later refunded by the European Union – this means that the basic part of expenses in this respect must be financed from national means. A new challenge is necessity to prepare documents that are difficult in merits and complex, such as feasibility studies for investment projects, an analysis of investment effect upon the environment.

In the EU member-countries, there are funds financing preparation of projects adapted to the EU norms and standards. A fund of this type should be created in Poland, specifying precisely mechanisms of its operation, and it should result in a database for investment projects. Then projects that are to be co-financed from structural funds and the Cohesion Fund must be ready for realisation.

This may be a special problem in case of infrastructural investment, where social protests and not buying out of lands make impossible realisation of many enterprises, important for the community and the economy.

A threat is lack of possibilities to use European means due to insufficient number and quality of projects. Another problem may be undertaking in Poland of projects that can be financed (they have been prepared on time and in the proper format) and not those that are more effective from the viewpoint of regional development. The expected problems are evidenced by difficulties in preparing the proper number of projects for pre-accession programmes, where the average yearly support for Poland increased from € 200 m in the 1990s to ca. € 900 m in the years 2002-2003.

After 2004, European funds will be the second largest, after the Social Insurance Institution, budgeted segment of public finances.

Control numbers, which will appear unofficially, amount to 1 person employed in public administration indispensable to launch from € 2 m to € 5 m of European funds. Assuming that the initial efficiency of public administration in Poland will not be the highest, one may suspect that efficient launching of structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in Poland requires employing in state administration itself over one thousand persons and in sum probably almost two thousand. Due to logistic reasons (most structures should begin to function in some advance) they should undertake their duties as early as in 2004. That is why it should be precisely specified where such persons should be employed and what their employment plan should be.

It should be, for example, specified what part of them should perform payment, managing, programming and monitoring functions, etc.

Because structural funds will have important multiplying values they should be equipped with indispensable human capital. It is indispensable to create control mechanisms disabling „dispersion" on the way of work posts allocated to servicing structural funds and the Cohesion Fund.

Of course, it should be remembered that one of the basic assumptions of structural funds and the Cohesion Fund is financial assembling, i.e. supplementing the EU means with Polish ones. In reference to the structural funds the EU requires co-financing by the beneficiary's country at the level of 25%, although in particular cases it is possible to lower such requirements to 20%. In reference to the Cohesion Fund, the required level is 15%. The scale of possible fund resources of the European Union's programmes in the years 2004-2006 in Poland will amount to ca. € 13,650 b, out of which 2/3 are structural funds, and 1/3 is the Cohesion Fund. This means that in Poland ca. € 4.5 b of public means should be allocated to co-financing of European funds what will be an enormous effort for the State budget.

It requires specifying in which way ca. € 4.5 b of Polish means will be collected. That is why relocating techniques within the State budget of such enormous means for co-financing of European funds should be specified. European funds should create a possibility of expense rationalisation (re-allocation) in individual ministries using the EU means, as besides the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Health, all remaining ministries will be the beneficiaries to smaller or larger extent. They may become allies of the process, as thanks to European funds the scale of feasible activities may be substantially extended, (the ministries themselves will rationalise their expenses).

Such funds may be used to decentralise the system of public finances in cases of regional operational programmes. The primary organiser of financial assembling of Polish means should become provincial self-governments.

It is important to use possibilities of public and private partnership (PPP); co-financing of the infrastructure by units of territorial self-government and private sector in all cases when they are their beneficiaries. The PPP is a form of co-operation between public and private entities, undertaken to realise certain public tasks with participation of a private entity.

Private capital participates in such projects and enterprises that belong to the domain of public authorities. As the result, private capital substitutes public means, but it does not relieve public authorities from responsibility for realisation of public needs.

It should be stressed, however, that acquisition of private capital for co-financing realisation of infrastructural needs is possible only in modern fields of technical and social infrastructure (e.g. telecommunication networks, production and supply of thermal energy, construction of schools and hospitals). The greatest opportunities for success have tasks then, when as the result of realisation of them we have to do with rendering paid services. Such services are bought by a consumer or a user (e.g. water supply and sewage system, sewage treatment plants, waste utilisation plants).

No each enterprise is suitable for public and private partnership. It depends on legal and economic conditions, and qualifications of the personnel.

Preparation of a transparent PPP model[20] is, however, of substantial importance to solve a technical problem of the way to „mix" European and Polish funds allocated to development of the socio-economic infrastructure.

An attempt to sum up

The most important threat would be inability to launch structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in Poland due to lack of indispensable national means. It is the State, or more precisely – its governing elites, that would be burdened with responsibility for bringing the technical and social infrastructure to such a condition.

Such an evaluation leads to the critical evaluation of the total SMEP model, and not only of its socio-economic infrastructure. Such an evaluation did not appear suddenly or because of an extraordinary event – especially in co-ordination, investment, and education dimension.

It should not be expected under such conditions that trust, security, and effectiveness will be improved automatically, in a self-acting way, without any

[20] The Bill on private and public partnership should be introduced to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland by the end of 2004. Cf.: *12 lat Partnerstwa Publiczno-Prywatnego.* Rzeczpospolita daily of 16th March 2004.

additional intellectual and organisational effort. There are no guarantees either that additional „public outlays" will solve problems of qualitative nature, if their quantitative activity will meet the „system" or „model of economy" of low effectiveness of community co-ordination in local communities, professional circles and territorial self-governments.

Maybe introduction of new possibilities of co-financing public utility organisations will contribute to a better use of various competitions concerning innovativeness and entrepreneurship. There are many proofs that young entrepreneurs are willing to invest family savings – if they find professional support and guarantees for limiting investment risk in their communities.[21]

Streszczenie

ROLA PAŃSTWA W TWORZENIU EUROPEJSKIEJ INFRASTRUKTURY SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARCZEJ

Charakterystyka współczesnej roli państwa w tworzeniu infrastruktury społeczno-gospodarczej nie może być pełna bez analizy nowych, teoretycznych ujęć perspektywicznej koncepcji państwa, prawa, polityki, gospodarki i bezpieczeństwa w epoce cywilizacji informacyjnej. Zamierzenie to jest tym bardziej uzasadnione, że w rozwiązaniach Traktatu Konstytucyjnego Unii Europejskiej powraca postulat dążenia do gospodarki rynkowej w rozszerzonej europejskiej przestrzeni społeczno-gospodarczej (EPSG).

Zawarte w artykule rozważania koncentrują się na następujących wątkach analitycznych: infrastruktura społeczno-gospodarcza a infrastruktura, dynamika procesów edukacyjnych oraz jej wpływ na efektywność procesu kształcenia i specjalizacji zawodowej, nauka i ekonomiczna rola państwa w planowaniu rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego oraz związki struktury gospodarki narodowej z infrastrukturą społeczną i techniczną w ujęciu przestrzennym.

[21] Only in the recently organised edition of the competition „Młodzi Sobie" („The Young for Themselves"), organised by the Institute of Labour and Social Matters under auspices of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the Polish Economic Society, authors of youth projects declare investment of several hundred thousand zlotys.

ПРОБЛЕМА СНИЖЕНИЯ БЕДНОСТИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ЕВРОПЕЙСКИХ ИНТЕГРАЦИОННЫХ ПРОЦЕССОВ

Алла МЕЛЬНИК, Виктория МЕЛЬНИК

Тернопольская академия народного хозяйства

1. Введение

Развитие мировой экономики в начале XXI века характеризуется изменением стандартов жизни и углублением экономического неравенства как на национальном, так и на международном уровне. В связи с этим проблема экономического неравенства и снижения бедности становится ключевой в социально-экономической политики какого-либо государства и важнейшей предметной экономической международной сферой политики. Это актуализирует проблему поиска причин углубления неравенства и поиска инструментов его преодоления.

2. Теоретические предпосылки

Большинство подходов исследования причин бедности и механизмов её уменьшения базируются на макроэкономических моделях экономического роста (теории Солоу, экзогенного и эндогенного роста), учитывающих такие факторы, как потребление, накопление, инвестиции, амортизация, научно-технический прогресс, производительность труда. Страны с высоким уровнем потребления, недостаточным инвестированием, усугублёнными значительными темпами роста населения, бедны. Тесная кореляция между уровнем інвестирования та доходом на душу населения объясняет причини бедности, однако не даёт возможности понять, почему в разных странах такие неодинаковые уровни инвестиций и накопления. Более того, высокие темпы экономического роста далеко не всегда приводят к повышению общего благосостояния граждан, поскольку обеспечиваются наиболее активными слоями населения, в то время, как доходы остальных граждан остаются без изменений и даже уменьшаются в связи с повышением цен и др. Разрыв в уровнях жизни увеличивается, проблема бедности усугубляется.

Проблему бедности можно исследовать также в контексте изучения явления так называемого «дуализма экономики», в частности с точки зрения регионального распределения ресурсов. Диспропорция в экономическом и социальном развитии регионов имеет место не только в малоразвитых странах, но и в экономически сильных, однако, в отличии от последних, первые не в состоянии найти достаточно внутренних источников для преодоления депрессивности отдельных территорий.

3. Постановка и решение проблемы в Европейском Союзе

Решение проблемы бедности в Европейском Союзе относится к одной из важнейших задач, реализуемых поэтапно. К концу 90-х гг. сформировалась определённая политика, которая предусматривает:

а) координацию в гармонизации социальной политики, осуществляемой государствами-членами [1];

б) использование и перераспределение ограниченных финансовых ресурсов для выравнивания уровней жизни.

Несмотря на сформировавшуюся структуру наднациональных институтов, призванных реализовать элементы этой политики, проблема остаётся дискуссионной и касается двух уровней принятия решений: наднационального и национальных.

Так, в частности в Договоре об учреждении ЕЭС (раздел «Социальная политика») были определены рамки компетенции, задачи органов Сообщности в данной области (содействие сотрудничеству между государствами-членами в вопросах занятости, условий труда, профессиональной деятельности и др.). В то же время, согласно Маастрихтского договора, компетенции институтов разного уровня (от местного до наднационального) в решении проблем уровня жизни распределяются на основе принципа субсидиарности [2].

Это обусловлено тем, что страны ЕС по-прежнему находятся на разных уровнях экономического развития. Особенно это ощутимо по отношению к странам, которые в настоящее время вступили в ЕС.

В контексте отмеченного важно проанализировать:

- измерение уровня бедности в системе социального измерения в процессе европейской интеграции;
- институциональное обеспечение проблемы снижения бедности в ЕС;
- функциональные подходы в решении проблемы бедности;
- факторы, которые могут повлиять на проблему бедности в будущем.

1). Измерение уровня бедности. Измерение уровня бедности является одной из важнейших составных социального измерения, на фоне которого развёртывается интеграция. В теории отработано несколько групп индикаторов для оценки уровня бедности.

Наиболее универсальными из них являются:

- цена труда (минимальный размер оплаты труда, средняя номинальная и реальная заработная плата);
- уровень доходов (доходы на одного жителя, соотношение доходов и минимального потребительского бюджета, прожиточного минимума и бюджета социального достатка);
- уровень потребления (доля издержек на питание в совокупных издержках семьи, уровень потребления в день, выраженный в денежных единицах);
- индекс человеческого развития (индекс развития человеческого потенциала). Рассчитывается на основе трёх компонентов: продолжительности жизни, уровня образования и дохода) и отражает качество жизни людей.

Ориентиром для определения бедности в ЕС служит дефиниция Совета Европейского сообщества от 1984 г. В соответствии с ней «бедными считаются лица, семьи и группы, располагающими настолько незначительными (материальными, культурными и социальными) средствами, что не могут позволить себе образ жизни, считающийся минимально приемлемым в той, входящей в ЕС стране, где они живут». Согласно этому подходу, бедным считается тот, кто имеет в своём распоряжении менее половины от средних доходов. В отличии от развивающихся стран, бедность в промышленно развитых странах проявляется не в форме явного обнищания населения, а в отсутствии достаточных шансов для участия в общественной жизни.

Анализ, проведённый по этим показателям свидетельствует:

- во-первых, что проблема бедности в странах ЕС не снята. В первой половине 90-х гг. количество бедных граждан в ЕС выросло с 511 млн. чел. до 570 млн. чел., с которых 31 млн. существует лишь на социальную помощь, 18 млн. получают помощь по безработице, 15 млн. живут в перенаселённых квартирах. Это касается и богатых стран, например, Германии. Согласно данных, приведенных в Первом докладе Федерального правительства о бедности и богатстве (апрель 2001 р.), 1,5 млн. немцев имеют миллионные состояния, и в то же время более 1 млн. детей в Германии считаются бедными [4];
- во-вторых, что социальное расслоение общества в странах, входящих в ЕС, усиливается;
- в третьих, что, несмотря на принятые меры по выравниванию уровня жизни, сохраняется существенная разница среди стран ЕС и даже внутри отдельных стран, свидетельствующая о фактах дуализма. Так, например, В Германии, которая столкнулась с проблемой нехватки бюджетных средств при решении задач выравнивания жизненных

условий бывших и новых федеральных земель, существуют резкие различия в доходах и распределении частного имущества (табл.1).

Таблица 1. Доходы и потребители в старых и новых землях Германии (1998 г.)

В среднем расчёте на домашнее хозяйство	Старые федеральные земли (тыс. немецких марок)	Новые федеральные земли (тыс. немецких марок)	Соотношение между востоком и западом
Все домашние хозяйства	254	88	35%
Наёмные работники	237	103	43%
Лица, имеющие собственное дело	560	192	34%
Неработающие лица	228	62	27%
Моложе 35 лет	100	52	52%
От 35 до 45 лет	213	101	48%
От 45 до 55 лет	332	124	37%
От 55 до 65 лет	385	109	28%
От 65 лет и старше	257	59	23%

Источник: Выборочная проверка доходов и потребителей. Специальное исследование Федерального министерства труда и социальных дел. – http://www.bma.de/

Средний размер имущества западногерманских домашних хозяйств в 1998 г. оценивался в 254 тыс. марок, а восточногерманских – лишь в 88 тыс. марок [4]. По оценкам Федерального рабочего сообщества помощи бездомным, в 1998 г. в Германии насчитывалось 680 тыс. людей, не имеющих крыши над головой. Главными причинами, вызывающими повышенный риск бедности в ЕС являются ситуация с работой, уровень образования и семейное положение.

2). Институциональное обеспечение. Решение проблемы бедности в ЕС институционально обеспечивают структуры, занимающиеся социальной политикой – Европейская комиссия, Экономический и социальный комитет, специализированные структуры в области социальной политики (Европейский центр развития профессиональной подготовки, Фонд улучшения условий жизни и труда, сеть комитетов). Для решения конкретных задач, связанных с социальной политикой и снижением бедности Европейский союз создал ряд Структурных фондов. В настоящее время функционирует 5 структурных фондов, из которых 3 – Европейский фонд регионального развития (ЕФРР), Европейский социальный фонд (ЕСФ), Фонд сплочения – имеют непосредственное отношение к рассматриваемой проблеме. Структурные фонды обеспечивают финансовую базу социальной политики и политики преодоления бедности.

Социальная политика ЕС в настоящее время в целом обеспечена социальным законодательством на европейском уровне: минимальные социальные стандарты, гармонизация систем социальной защиты, установление общеевропейских норм, сбалансирование национальных законодательств. Вместе с тем, наличие общих проблем, связанных с проблемой бедности в ЕС и присоединением к ЕС стран с более низким уровнем жизни требует решения новых проблем. Так, введение с 1.01.2002 г. единой валюты евро даёт возможность сопоставить уровень заработной платы и накладных доходов и обостряет проблему политики социальных отчислений в странах ЕС.

3). Функциональные подходы в решении проблемы бедности в Европейском Союзе. Деятельность Европейской комиссии и других указанных выше институтов в области социальной политики в целом и политики преодоления бедности в частности включает в себя три основных элемента:

– внедрение в жизнь документов социальной политики;
– управление структурными фондами;
– управление социальным диалогом.

Социальная политика рассматривается как часть системы Европейского Союза. Как известно, социальная политика на национальном уровне состоит из следующих полей: социальное страхование, социальная помощь, защита труда, трудовые отношения (между работниками и работодателями, профсоюзами и союзами работодателей) и обеспечение свободного доступа к рынку труда [5]. Некоторые из них нашли применение в Европейском Союзе, некоторые остались на национальном уровне. М. Минаева указывает, что реализация принципов мобильности рабочей силы и свободы предоставления услуг по всему Европейскому Союзу поставили под вопрос 6 положений классического социального государства [6, С.2]. Процессы, функциональные для ЕС в целом, оказались дисфункциональными для отдельных социальных государств.

Если в рынкообразующих областях социальной политики в ЕС выработана успешная социальная политика, то в рынкокоррегирующих отраслях политики (социальное страхование, социальная помощь) единая модель не отработана. Государства ЭС, в том числе только что вошедшие в Союз, имеют здесь различные модели, которые по разному могут отреагировать на интеграционные процессы в Европе. Генеральная дирекция Европейской комиссии различает скандинавскую, англосаксонскую, континентально-европейскую и южноевропейскую модели, которые отличаются: правом доступа и страхования рисков; структурой социального обеспечения; видом финансирования; организационным оформлением. Фритц Шарпф различает 3 модели социальной политики в Европе: англосакскую, скандинавскую и континентально-европейскую [7]. По его оценкам в конце 20 века налоговые и социальные отчисления составляли в англосаксонских странах 34% от ВВП, а в континентальных государствах – 44%. В Швеции и Дании этот показатель составлял 53% ВВП.

Отмечая различия в системе налогообложения и социальных отчислений, следует отметить, что больнично-страховые кассы, пособия по безработице и по бедности, играющие важную роль в европейской экономике, являются частью неупорядоченной Европы. По данным Европейской комиссии, отчисления на эти цели составляют по данным ЕС 28,7% ВВП. Более трети семей в ЕС получают свой основной доход из социального страхования. Если отменить эти отчисления на социальные нужды во всех государствах ЕС, то почти 40% семей будут жить в относительной бедности. Благодаря существующим системам таких семей насчитывается лишь 27% [8].

Государства-члены Евросоюза взяли на себя в договорах обязательство не вмешиваться в национальные системы социального обеспечения, обеспечить высокую степень социальной защищенности. В частности с помощью Фонда сплочения решаются задачи ликвидации отставания в социальной среде (Греция, Португалия, Ирландия). Европейский фонд нацелил свою деятельность на региональное выравнивание. В ЕС решается комплекс задач в отношении помощи молодежи и долгосрочным безработным в процессе реинтеграции в рынок труда во избежение социального отторжения. На это тратится 8% финансовых ресурсов структурных доходов.

Реализуется инициативная программа ЕС, предусматривающая деятельность по содействию профессиональной интеграции женщин, молодежи, инвалидов, престарелых слоев; усилия по решению проблемы занятости.

Таким образом, если коммуниторные инструменты социальной политики (в т.ч. политики преодоления бедности) развиваются эффективно, то в области гармонизации национальных систем социального обеспечения, решения проблем бедности, труда существует много проблем, обусловленных в первую очередь различными стандартами жизни.

4). Факторы, которые могут повлиять. Факторы, которые могут повлиять на проблему бедности в будущем можно подразделить на 2 группы: а) глобальные; б) решональные (европейские). К глобальным факторам следует отнести:

– несправедливость национальных и международной структур распределения доходов;

- проблемы управления в государственном и частном секторах на уровнях от местного до глобального, одним из следствий которых является наличие в ряде стран весомого теневого сектора;
- мировая глобализация экономики, сопровождающаяся углублением деления строк на лидеров и периферийных, контролем транснациональными компаниями 55% мирового рынка, снижением роли национальных правительств в решении проблем распределения создаваемого ВВП).

К региональным (европейским) факторам следует отнести тенденции в европейском сообществе, касающиеся размеров домашнего хозяйства, структуры семей, ситуации на рынке труда и миграционных процессов, и в частности:

- сокращение числа молодых людей, что вызовет сокращение рабочих мест в социальной инфраструктуре (детских учреждений, школьных учреждений).
- старение трудоспособного населения (увеличение периода обучения и увеличение численности работающих, старше 50 лет);
- более ранний уход на пенсию мужчин, что не всегда является добровольным решением;
- увеличение контингента лиц старшей возрастной категории (свыше 75 лет) (по прогнозу 2010г. с 9 до 11 млн. чел.);
- сохранение дисбаланса между полами, который не удалось преодолеть.

Указанные тенденции вызовут дополнительные нагрузки на социальные системы стран-членов ЭС.

Проведенный анализ позволяет константировать, что не смотря на принятые меры, Европейскому Союзу придется сталкиваться и в дальнейшем с рядом проблем, повязанных с решением проблемы бедности:

- во-первых, необходимостью расширения компетенции и увеличения роли социальных институтов коммунитарного уровня ЕС в сфере политики преодоления бедности;
- во-вторых, необходимостью реализации принципов конвергенции (экономического и социального выравнивания стран-членов ЕС) и гармонизации (сближения национальных систем преодоления бедности).

В будущем возможны два прогнозных сценария:

а) выравнивание уровней жизни и показателей бедности (при условии возрастании политики перераспределения дохода в ЕС);

б) углубление неравности и разрыва в показателях бедности (при реализации принципа субсидиарности и неспособности стран, особенно вновь вступивших в ЕС, самостоятельно обеспечить решение этой проблемы).

4. Расширение Европы и решение проблемы снижения бедности в странах-соседях (пример Украины)

Проблема преодоления бедности на фоне расширения ЕС в 2004 г. на Восток приобретает особую актуальность. При этом для стран Центральной и Восточной Европы и для стран бывшего СССР она является одинаково острой.

Средний ВНП Центрально – и Восточно-Европейских стран в 2002-2003г.г. существенно уступал ВНП членов ЕС. Из 105 млн. жителей этих стран более 98 млн. проживали в регионах, где ВНП на душу населения составлял 75% от средних показателей Союза. Учитывая это, Европейская комиссия разработала инструментарий структурной политики для подготовки страны в ЕС (IPSA). Он имеет бюджет 1040 млн. евро в год (в ценах 1999г.).

Страны постсоветского пространства Украина, Россия не вошли в сферу влияния указанного инструментария, однако мониторинг проблем бедности и разработка мер по ее преодолению находятся в поле зрения ученых и правительственных кругов.

Т. Шульц определяет 3 показателя бедности:

а) расходование половины индивидуального дохода на продукты питания; б) средний уровень жизни ниже 40 лет; в) низкий уровень умений и знаний [9, с.6]. тенденции экономического и социального развития, имевшие место в Украине, обусловили ее переход в ранг бедных стран и обусловили необходимость выработки Стратегии преодоления бедности [Указ Президента Украины от 15.08.2001г. № 637/2001].

Бедность в Украине имеет ряд специфических особенностей: низкий уровень жизни населения в целом: психологическое невосприятие экономического неравенства; высокий удельный вес населения, считающего себя бедным, распространение бедности среди работающего населения. Бедность населения Украины подтверждается: низким качеством рациона питания, постоянным оттоком граждан за приделы страны, низкой рождаемостью, высокой заболеваемостью и смертностью, низкой прослойкой «среднего класса» (25% за оценками Института социальных исследований [10, с. 1-10]).

В последние годы происходит усиление региональной дифференциации доходов и уровня жизни населения, причем специфика феномена дуализма экономики проявляется в том, что отличия между областями в объемах доходов их жителей углубляется быстрее, чем разрыв в экономическом потенциале.

Стратегией преодоления бедности определены следующие направления работы: 1) создание экономико-правовых основ для увеличения доходов и возрастания экономической активности трудоспособных граждан; 2) повышение эффективности социальной поддержки наиболее незащищенных групп населения путем реформирования системы социальной защиты; 3) политика преодоления бедности должна сочетаться с политикой становления среднего класса.

Определены этапы реализации Стратегии: I-ый (2001-2002 годы), II-ой (2003-2004 годы),

III-ий (2005-2009 годы). Предполагается, что прогнозные показатели бедности будут характеризоваться следующими данными (табл.2).

Таблица 2. Прогнозные показатели бедности в Украине (по Стратегии)., %

	2000 г.	2001 г.	2002 г.	2003 г.	2004 г.	2010 г.
Уровень бедности	25,7	26,2	26,0	25,5	25,0	21,5
Уровень крайней бедности	14,7	13,0	12,0	10,0	8,0	3,0
Глубина бедности	22,9	22,5	21,5	20,5	19,0	18,0

Четко определены меры по: а) увеличению доходов от трудовой деятельности; б) развитию социального страхования; в) внедрению консолидованной системы адресной социальной помощи и социальных услуг; г) социальной поддержки людей с ограниченными физическими возможностями; д) социальная поддержка семей с детьми и детей без родителей; е) улучшению жилищных условий незащищенных слоев населения.

Эффективность имплементации этой стратегии – вопрос времени. Необходима координация разноплановых целей, определения приоритетов на кратко-средне- и долгосрочную перспективу с учетом международных инициатив.

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Summary

PROBLEM OF REDUCTION OF PRIVATION ZONE IN CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES

The Authors have researched the problem of privation zone reduction within the European integration. They have generalised in examining reasons for privation and mechanisms of its reduction from the position of macroeconomic models of economic growth and from the viewpoint of disproportion in the regional division of means, applying the theoretical approach.

They have also studied experiences of solving poverty problems in the European Union, both at the national and supranational level. Then they have shown that in the EU there is a purposeful policy providing for coordination of social policy by the EU member-states and redistribution of some limited financial means to even out the life level.

Considering the fact that EU countries are at different stages of the economic development, the Authors have analysed changes to the privation level, in the system

of social measurement, in the process of the European integration. Then they have researched the question of the institutionalised base for reducing poverty in the EU, the functional approach to solving the problem, and factors that may affect the privation problem in the future.

A special attention has been turned to researching the problem of privation zone reduction in the countries neighbouring the EU in the context of its enlargement, on the example of Ukraine.

GROUPING THE COUNTRIES OF EXPANDED EUROPEAN UNION BY MEANS OF CLUSTER ANALYSIS AND NEURAL NETWORKS OF SOM TYPE

Agata JANAS

University of Rzeszów

1. Introduction

The historic moment of expanding European Union inclines to ask questions about its new shape, structure, way of functioning etc. It also inclines to make a kind of „opening balances" at various research levels, which can in future contitute a point of reference for the effects analyses of EU expansion. Among many matters discussed now concerning EU issues, the author focused her attention on the existance of inner uniform systems created by 25 EU countries from the point of view of selected economic, demographic and social characteristics. The issue of clustering multi-feature objects can be dealt with by using various methods of which the following were chosen: the Ward's Amalgamation Method (Tree Clustering), the method of K-means Clustering and Neural Networks of SOM type[1]. The last method is more and more used nowadays for the sake of classification.

2. Methodological assumptions

The goal of the Joining or Tree Clustering algorithm is to join objects together into successively larger clusters, using some measure of similarity or distance. The most straightforward way of computing distances between objects in a multi-dimensional space is to compute Euclidean distances. This is probably the most commonly chosen type of distance. It simply is the geometric distance in the multidimensional space. It is computed as:

$$Distance\ (x_{rk}, x_{sk}) = \sqrt{\sum_{k=1}^{n} (x_{rk} - x_{sk})^2}$$

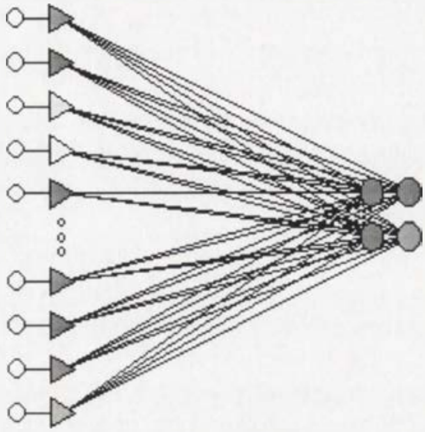
[1] In the present analysis was used computer programme *STATISTICA 6,0* and *STATISTICA NEURAL NETWORKS*

The other issue of some ambiguity in tree clustering is how to determine the distances between clusters. **The Ward's amalgamation method** uses an analysis of variance approach to evaluate the distances between clusters and attempts to minimize the Sum of Squares (SS) of any two (hypothetical) clusters that can be formed at each step. In general, this method is regarded as very efficient. A typical result of each type of Tree Clustering is the hierarchical tree. Interpreting clustering results achieved in the form of Hierarchical Tree Plot we will begin with each object in a class by itself. Then in very small steps we will lower our threshold regarding the decision when to declare two or more objects to be members of the same cluster. Finally, in the last step, all objects will be joined together. For each node in the graph (where a new cluster is formed) we would read off the criterion distance at which the respective elements were linked together into a new single cluster. If the data contain a clear structure in terms of clusters of objects that are similar to each other, then this structure should be reflected in the hierarchical tree as distinct branches.

The method of **K-means Clustering** is very different from the Joining (Tree Clustering). It needs formulating some hypotheses concerning the number of clusters in the cases being considered. The k-means algorithm starts with k random clusters, and then move objects between those clusters with the goal to minimize variability within clusters and maximize variability between clusters. In general, the k-means method will produce exactly k different clusters of greatest possible distinction. As the result of the analysis, the means for each cluster on each dimension will be examined to assess how distinct k clusters are. Ideally, there should be obtained very different means for most, if not all dimensions, used in the analysis. The magnitude of the F values from the analysis of variance performed on each dimension will be another indication of how well the respective dimension discriminates between clusters. In order to start the analysis it is essential to define the initial cluster centers which the effects of clustering depend on. In the analysis will be used number of k=2 (with option of sorting distances and taking observations at constant intervals) and k=4 (with option of choosing for initial cluster centers 4 defined objects - France, Luxembourg, Spain and Latvia - for the sake of effectiveness of the analysis).

The popularity of **neural network** methodology is rapidly growing in a wide variety of areas from basic research, to business forecasting and risk management, engineering and others. Haykin [1] defines neural network as: „a massively parallel distributed processor that has a natural propensity for storing experiential knowledge and making it available for use. It resembles the brain in two respects: (1) Knowledge is acquired by the network through a learning process, and (2) Interneuron connection strengths known as synaptic weights are used to store the knowledge." **Kohonen Networks (also known as self-organizing maps - SOMs)** are neural networks based on the topological properties of the human brain. Kohonen training is an algorithm which assigns cluster centers to a radial layer by iteratively submitting training patterns to the network, and adjusting the winning (nearest) radial unit center, and its neighbors, towards the training pattern [2]. A typical Kohonen network is illustrated in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. Kohonen network mapping onto a 2x2 output field



Kohonen Networks provide an objective way of clustering data by utilizing a self-organizing network of artificial neurons. Each neuron stores a weight vector (an array of weights), each of which corresponds to one of the inputs in the data. When presented with a new input pattern, each neuron calculates its activation level based on the following by the definition :

$$q = \sqrt{\sum_{k=0}^{n} (w_{ik} - x_{ik})^2}$$

Where w_{ik} the kth element of the ith weight vector and x_{ik} is the kth element of the ith input pattern. The neuron with the weight closest in Euclidian space to the new input pattern is allowed to adjust its weights so that it is closer to the shown pattern (as are some of the nodes near it).

The learning process is as roughly as follows:

- initialise the weights for each output unit,
- present the input pattern
- find the winning output unit
- find all units in the neighbourhood of the winner
- update the weight vectors for all those units
- loop until weight changes are negligible

The results of network developed in the process of learning are shown as topological maps, which represent a pattern detected in the data. In the current analysis more than ten Kohonon's networks of different output field sizes were used – from 2x1 to 10x10. Finally, work effects of two network types will be presented (with 2 and 4 neurons in the output layer), because it makes the results of all analyses being comparable.

3. Selection and standarization of variables

While choosing variables to characterize social, demographic and economic situation the author took the following criteria into account:

- usefulness of the discussed issues,
- satisfactory variables differentiation (variable rate higher than 0,20),
- low mutual correlation of variables (Pearson correlation coefficient lower than 0,8),
- access to statistical information.

Variables showing little differentiation would not contribute much to the examined overall picture and neither would highly correlated variables.

Eventually to conduct the analysis a set of fourteen indicators was choosen characterizing macroeconomic and demogrphic factors, labour market, agriculture, social and technological infrastructure:

X_1 – Gross Domestic Product at purchasing power parity per capita - current prices in USD (2002),
X_2 – Inflation rate in % (2002),
X_3 – Relation of goods and services exports to GDP in % (2001),
X_4 – Foreign direct investment to GDP in % (2002),
X_5 – Unemployment in % of economically active population (2002),
X_6 – Inhabitants per 1 km^2 (2001),
X_7 – Birthrate per 1000 population (2001),
X_8 – Infant mortality per 1000 live births (2001),
X_9 – Students of higher education institutions per 10 thous. population (2000/2001),
X_{10}– Population per 1 doctor (1998[2]),
X_{11}– Economically active population in agriculture in % of total population (2001),
X_{12}– Arable land per 1 tractor in ha (2000),
X_{13}– Percentage of households who have internet access at home (2001),
X_{14}– Telephone subscribers per 1000 population (1999).

[2] For Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland – 1999, for Cyprus, France, Netherlands, Sweden, Italy – 1997, for Spain – 1996, for Denmark, Greece – 1995.

Table 1. Statistical features defining social and economic development of EU countries

Countries	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}	X_{14}
Austria	28070	1,3	52,5	1,7	4,0	96	0,1	4,0	326	240	2,3	10,3	46,2	472
Belgium	26392	1,5	85,4	1,2	7,5	336	1,1	5,0	350	259	0,7	14,4	34,7	502
Cyprus	20780	4,0	-	6,9	3,3	85	4,7	4,9	157	486	4,1	8,5	20,0	630
Czech Republic	13806	-0,1	71,3	6,5	7,3	130	-1,6	4,0	253	265	4,5	44,3	11,0	371
Denmark	29127	2,0	45,6	3,0	4,6	124	1,3	4,9	357	345	2,0	21,5	58,9	685
Estonia	9340	1,4	85,1	3,2	10,3	30	-4,3	8,8	423	336	6,1	28,3	9,8	357
Finland	25534	1,3	40,1	5,9	9,1	15	1,4	3,2	540	334	2,6	11,4	48,1	552
France	24835	2,2	27,9	4,0	8,7	107	4,2	4,6	344	330	1,4	23,5	26,2	582
Germany	26139	1,0	35,1	1,5	8,5	231	-1,1	4,3	253	-	1,2	16,6	37,9	590
Greece	15885	3,4	22,7	0,3	9,9	76	-0,2	5,9	477	240	7,1	35,1	11,7	528
Hungary	12204	4,7	60,7	0,9	5,8	110	-3,5	8,1	324	279	4,9	51,8	11,14[3]	371
Ireland	28284	4,0	98,2	11,3	4,3	55	7,3	5,8	435	254	4,2	26,4	46,2	478
Italy	25056	2,8	28,3	1,3	9,0	192	-0,1	4,8	313	180	2,2	8,7	32,9	462
Latvia	7070	2,9	44,4	2,4	12,0	36	-5,7	11,0	435	383	6,4	44,5	2,3	300
Lithuania	6980	-1,1	50,9	2,7	13,8	53	-2,5	7,8	391	368	6,2	34,2	3,2	312
Luxembourg	48239	2,5	152,4	1,2	2,6	171	4,0	5,9	-	355	0,7	14,4	43,6	724
Malta	16530	2,5	87,6	-5,2	6,5	1250	2,3	4,8	190	286	0,5	18,0	11,14[3]	512
Netherlands	27316	2,2	65,3	7,4	2,8	386	3,9	5,3	315	457	1,5	13,0	58,5	607
Poland	**9837**	**0,7**	**28,1**	**1,1**	**19,9**	**124**	**0,1**	**7,7**	**459**	**432**	**11,0**	**13,6**	**7,7**	**261**
Portugal	17077	3,3	71,3	3,2	5,1	109	0,7	5,0	378	403	6,3	24,5	23,4	423
Slovakia	11278	8,5	74,0	8,2	18,5	110	-0,2	6,2	266	371	4,8	104	11,14[3]	307
Slovenia	17310	5,7	57,9	2,4	6,4	98	-0,5	4,2	460	440	0,9	4,5	24,0	378
Spain	20195	3,1	29,9	3,0	11,4	80	1,3	3,9	457	462	3,1	33,5	23,4	410
Sweden	26161	2,3	45,2	3,1	5,1	20	-0,2	3,2	403	322	1,7	19,1	64,3	665
United Kingdom	25107	1,4	27,1	2,1	5,1	245	-1,2	5,5	345	716	0,9	33,9	46,5	567

Source: based on Yearbook of Republic of Poland 2003, GUS (variables: X_1, X_3, X_5, X_9, X_{10}, X_{11}, X_{12}, X_{14}), EUROSTAT (variables: X_2, X_4, X_{13}), Yearbook of International Statistics 2003, GUS (variables: X_6, X_7, X_8)

[3] Mean for new EU member countries.

Because the different measures included here use entirely different types of scales the data were standardized via the following formula [5]:

$$z_{ik} = \frac{x_{ik} - \overline{x}_k}{S_k}$$

where: (i=1,...,w), (k=1,...,n),

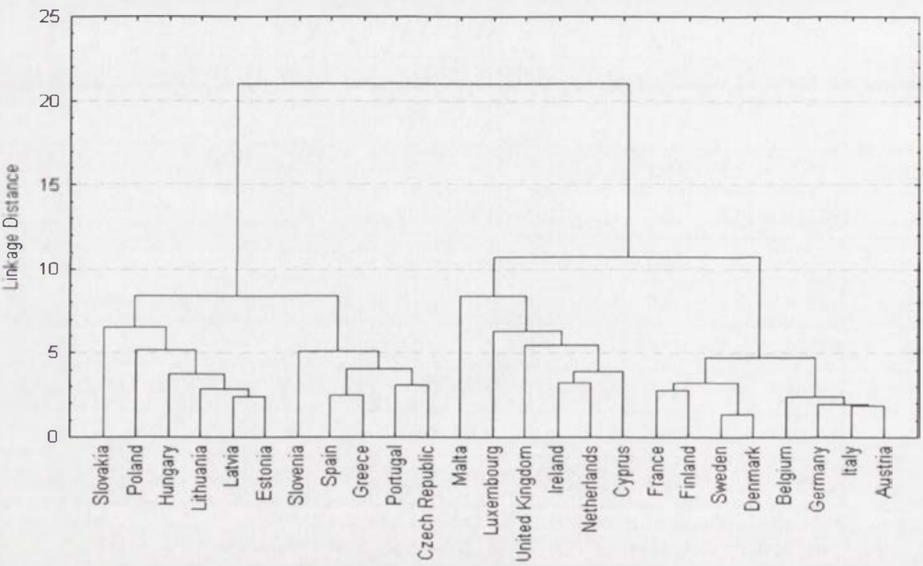
$$\overline{x}_k = \frac{1}{w}\sum_{i=1}^{w} x_{ik}, \quad S_k = \sqrt{\frac{1}{w}\sum_{i=1}^{w}\left(x_{ik} - \overline{x}_k\right)^2}$$

Given these data we will develope the taxonomy for the countries included in the study and answer the question, whether these countries do form "natural" clusters that can be labeled in a meaningful manner.

4. Identifying clusters

First, a joining analysis (tree clustering, hierarchical clustering) will be performed on this data. The examined data containe a clear structure, which is reflected in the hierarchical tree as distinct branches.

Fig. 2. Tree Diagram for Ward's Amalgamation Method (Euclidean distance)



The diagram of **Hierarchical Tree** (Fig. 2) begins on the bottom with each countrie in its own cluster. Apparently, first there is a cluster consisting of Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Next there is a group of five countries: Slovenia, Spain, Greece, Portugal and Czech Republic and another one of six objects: Malta, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands and Cyprus. Finally, eight last cases: France, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Austria, are joined at the approximate linkage distance of 11. As we move up the plot and relax our criterion as to what is and is not unique, we aggregate larger clusters of increasingly dissimilar elements. As a result, 25 objects form two clusters: the first one starts with Slovakia and extends to Czech Republic, the second one starts with Malta and extends to Austria. Finally, all objects are joined together at the linkage distance of approximately 21.

Now the work effects of two Kohonen Networks will be presented. Work results of the topological maps with the dimensions 2x1 and 2x2 (namely with 2 and 4 neurons in the output layer), were regarded as most representative for the present cluster analysis. Such topology in the output fields allows for the countries to be clearly categorized to 2 and 4 clusters which have dominated the structure of 25 UE countries examined by the method of Tree Clustering. Topological maps above (Fig. 3) present the results of clustering by Kohonen Networks.

Fig. 3. Effects of Kohonen Networks clustering as topological maps with the dimensions: 2x2 and 2x1

Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain,	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, United Kingdom
Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia	Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Malta, United Kingdom

Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France,Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Slovenia Sweden, United Kingdom

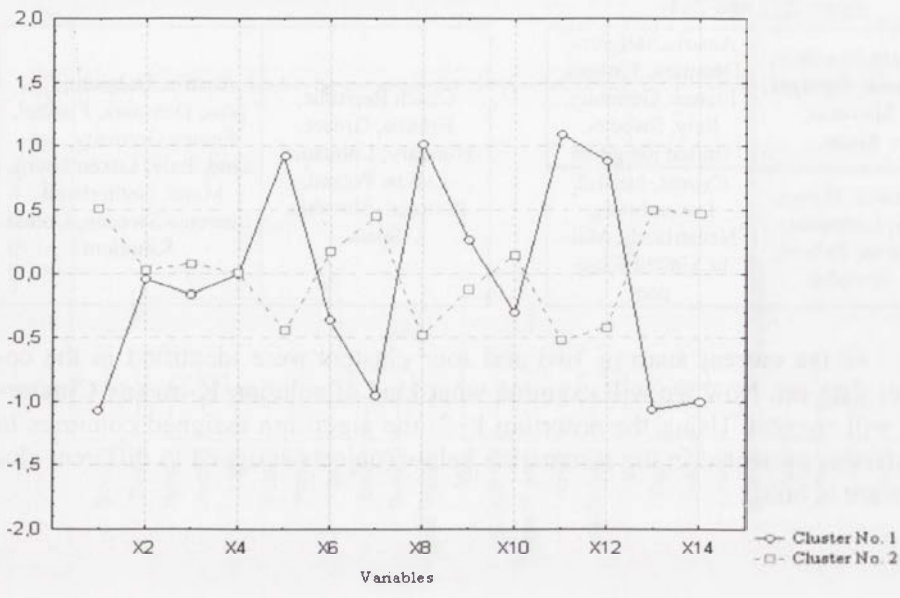
In the current analysis two and four clusters were identified in the coutries data set. Now we will examine what kind of solution **K-means Clustering** will suggest. Using the criterium k=2, the algorithm assigned countries to clusters as presented in the summarize below (objects assigned to different clusters are in bold).

Table 2. Identyfying two clusters by particular methods.

	K-means Clustering (k=2)	Ward's Amalgamation	Kohonon's SOM (2x1)
1	Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia	Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, **Portugal,** Slovakia, **Slovenia, Spain**	Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, **Portugal,** Slovakia, **Spain**
2	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France,Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, **Portugal, Spain, Slovenia,** Sweden, United Kingdom	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France,Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France,Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxemboburg, Malta, Netherlands, **Slovenia** Sweden, United Kingdom

Interpreting the division of the countries into two groups it can be seen that it roughly reflects the geopolitical division into the „previous" and „new" EU members. To identyfy the nature of each cluster we will examine the means for each cluster for each dimension. The best summary is provided by the plot of means for each cluster (Fig 4).

Fig. 4. Plot of means for each of two clusters



Looking at the lines for the Cluster No. 1 as compared to the Cluster No. 2 in the graph below, it is found that, the coutries in the latter cluster have:

– higher GDP per capita (X1),

- lower level of unemployment (X_5),
- more inhabitants per 1 km^2 (X_6),
- higher birthrate per 1000 population (X_7),
- lower infant mortality per 1000 live births (X_8),
- less economically active people in agriculture (X_{11}),
- better equipment with agriculture machines (X_{12}) and I.T. infrastructure (X_{13}, X_{14}).

Judging from the magnitude (and significance levels) of the F values, variables X_1, X_5, X_7, X_8, X_{11},X_{12}, X_{13} and X_{14} are the major criteria for assigning objects to clusters (Table 3).

Table 3. Test F values and significance levels (K-means Clustering)

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}	X_{14}
k=2														
F	30,12	0,024	0,289	0,000	16,49	1,547	18,60	23,43	0,821	1.086	32,73	14,46	28,41	22,32
Sign.p	0,000	0,878	0,596	0,992	0,000	0,226	0,000	0,000	0,374	0,308	0,000	0,001	0,000	0,000
k=4														
F	17,83	4,271	5,425	2,675	17,55	0,906	13,99	11,29	1,888	1,225	11,80	3,184	11,38	20,38
Sign.p	0,000	0,017	0,006	0,073	0,000	0,455	0,000	0,000	0,163	0,325	0,000	0,045	0,000	0,000

Interpreting the division into four clusters, particular methods allowed for achieving the following results:

Table 4. Identyfying four clusters by particular methods.

	K-means Clustering (k=4)	**Ward's Amalgamation**	**Kohonon's SOM (2x2)**
1	Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, **Slovakia**	Estonia, **Hungary**, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, **Slovakia**	Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, **Slovakia**
2	Czech Republic, Greece, **Hungary**, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain,	Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain,	Czech Republic, Greece, **Hungary**, **Malta,** Portugal, Slovenia, Spain,
3	Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands	Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, **Malta, United Kingdom**	Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands
4	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, **Malta,** Sweden, **United Kingdom**	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden,	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, **United Kingdom**

We receive the following characteristics for each of four clusters:

- **Cluster No. 1:** the highest level of: X_5-unemployment, X_8- infant mortality, X_{11}- economically active population in agriculture and X_{12}- arable land per 1 tractor; high level of X_9 - students of higher education institutions; low level of X_2- Inflation rate, the lowest level of: X_1- GDP per capita, X_6- population density, X_7 - birthrate, X_{13}, X_{14}- equipment with I.T. infrastructure.

- **Cluster No. 2**: the highest level of: X_2- inflation rate, X_9 - students of higher education institutions, high level of: X_{11}- economically active population in agriculture and X_{12}- arable land per 1 tractor; low level of: X_1- GDP per capita, X_3 - relation of goods and services exports to GDP, X_4 - relation of foreign direct investment to GDP, X_6- population density, X_8- infant mortality, X_{10}- population per 1 doctor, X_{13}, X_{14}- equipment with I.T. infrastructure.
- **Cluster No. 3:** the highest level of: X_1- GDP per capita, X_3 - relation of exports to GDP, X_4- relation of foreign direct investment to GDP, X_7 - birthrate, X_{10}– population per 1 doctor, X_{13}, X_{14}- equipment with I.T. infrastructure; high level of X_2 - inflation rate; low level of X_{12}- arable land per 1 tractor; the lowest level of: X_5-unemployment, X_9 - students of higher education institutions, X_{12}- arable land per 1 tractor.
- **Cluster No. 4:** the highest level of X_6 – population density; high level of: X_1- GDP per capita, X_7 - birthrate, X_{13}, X_{14} - equipment with I.T. infrastructure; not very high level of X_5-unemployment; the lowest level of: X_2 - inflation rate, X_3 - relation of exports to GDP, X_4- relation of foreign direct investment to GDP, X_8- infant mortality, X_{11}- economically active population in agriculture and X_{12}- arable land per 1 tractor.

5. Summary

From the point of view of the employed methods, it seems that the most explicit division is the one into two clusters of countries, which is in majority of cases about the same as political division of the countries of „previous" and „new" members. The cluster labeled „previous members" constitute the countries with higher GPD per capita (X_1) and birthrate (X_7), better equipment with I.T. infrastructure (X_{13}, X_{14}), better situation in the agriculture (X_{11}, X_{12}), lower unemployment (X_5) and infant mortality (X_8). These differences determine a distance in development of the countries belonging to each cluster. Next, the division into four groups seems to result mainly from the further division within the two large clusters. Therefore, in class one we distinguish a group of worse and better position with regard to the range of suggested variables. The latter comprises some new EU members like: Czech Republic, Slovenia or Hungary and some countries of a worse position within „previous 15" (like Spain or Portugal). Division within cluster of „previous members" results from differences mainly due to the following variables: X_2- inflation rate, X_3 - relation of goods and services exports to GDP, X_4 - relation of foreign direct investment to GDP, X_5-unemployment and X_7 - birthrate. In relation to the conducted analysis, as interesting question is, whether the divisions based on a distance in development have a chance of being blurred, and is that change is going to be favourable for EU members in the economic, demographic and social dimension.

As to the conclusion of methodological nature, what is worth emphasizing is the high effectiveness of employing Kohonen Networks and large conformity between the results reached with SOMs and statistical clustering.

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Streszczenie

GRUPOWANIE KRAJÓW ROZSZERZONEJ UNII EROPEJSKIEJ ZA POMOCĄ ANALIZY SKUPIEŃ I SZTUCZNYCH SIECI NEURONOWYCH TYPU SOM

Historyczny moment rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej skłania do zadawania sobie pytań o jej nowy kształt, strukturę, sposób funkcjonowania itp. Wśród rozlicznych kwestii dyskutowanych obecnie na gruncie „problematyki unijnej" autorka zwróciła uwagę na zagadnienie występowania wewnętrznych jednorodnych układów, jakie tworzy 25 państw rozszerzonej Unii Europejskiej, z punktu widzenia wybranych charakterystyk ekonomicznych, demograficznych i społecznych. Problematyka grupowania obiektów

została zgłębiona za pomocą statystycznych metod analizy skupień, tj. za pomocą metody aglomeracji Warda oraz metody k-średnich, jak również za pomocą narzędzia sieci neuronowych Kohonena (SOMs - *Self-Organizing Maps)*, które są obecnie coraz częściej stosowane dla potrzeb klasyfikacji bezwzorcowej. W wyniku zastosowania wymienionych metod uzyskano wyraźny podział na dwa większe oraz cztery mniejsze skupienia państw. W podziale państw UE na dwie grupy zauważalny jest wpływ geopolitycznego podziału na „dotychczasowych" i „nowych" członków UE. Z kolei podział 25 krajów na cztery skupienia zdaje się być w dużej mierze efektem dalszej dyskryminacji dwóch dużych skupień. I tak w ramach skupienia zdominowanego przez „nowych" członków wyróżnić można podgrupy państw o gorszej i lepszej pozycji ze względu na zestaw zaproponowanych zmiennych. W ramach drugiego dużego skupienia składającego się przede wszystkim z krajów-członków dawnej „piętnastki" wyróżniamy dwa podzbiory państw, powstałe w oparciu o różnice z tytułu inflacji, bezrobocia, przyrostu naturalnego, relacji eksportu do PKB oraz relacji bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych do PKB. Wobec uzyskanych efektów analizy nasuwa się pytanie, czy podziały oparte na dystansie w rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznym (głównie na linii podziału geopolitycznego na „dotychczasowych" i „nowych" członków UE) mają szansę z czasem ulec zatarciu oraz czy będzie to zmiana korzystna dla wszystkich członków UE.

CHOSEN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION ACCESSION OF THE NEW MEMBER COUNTRIES

Tomasz ŚPIEWAK

Uniwersity of Rzeszów

Foreword

Poland is one of the 10 countries which became new members of European Union on 1. May 2004. It is a consequence of this step, that Poland is obliged to observe the legal regulations valid in the Community and entitled to make use of the chances resulting from the inclusion of our country into the West-European structures. Therefore, a field for discussions on the advantages and costs of the social and economic integration is opened, especially of its form and speed.

The Maastricht Treaty, establishing the European Union, includes a provision, that the introduction of common currency is a goal of the establishment if the Economic and Monetary Union. From the beginning of the pre-accession process Poland declared to be interested in participation in the Euro area. This declaration was presented for the first time in a Government document in January 1997 by the ministry of finances in „Program Euro-2006". It assumed, that Poland's Monetary Union accession will take place in 2006, provided that it becomes a member of the European Union in 2002.

During the pre-accession negotiations in the scope „Economic and Monetary union" focusing on coordination of the fiscal, monetary and exchange rate politics, Poland undertaken to execute adaptation measures binding for the future participation in the Economic and Monetary Union. At the same time the declaration was agreed that the fulfillment of the Maastricht convergence criteria will be treated as a long-term aim of the economic politics.[1]

Analysis of the grade of the fulfillment of the economic convergence conditions by the new European Union members and a comparison thereof with the old members of the Community is the subject of this paper.

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[1] Comp.. K. Szeląg, *Proces etapowego dochodzenia Polski do euro*, „Bank i Kredyt", No 11-12/2001, pg 80

1. The essence features of the Economic and Monetary Union and its importance for the European integration

Signing of the treaty in Maastricht on the 7th February 1992 was a very important step in the European Union establishing process. On the strength of this Treaty, the European Economic Community (1957) has been transformed into European Community which is the foundation of the European Union together with the European Community for Coal and Steel (1951) and European Community for Atomic Energy (1957).

On the strength of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union is based on three pillars:

- Economic cooperation
- Foreign and security politics
- Interior affairs and justice

The economic integration is based on:

- Economic and monetary union
- Customs Union
- Interior market
- Common agricultural politics
- Structural politics

Within the first pillar the member countries decided to give up some national powers and transfer them onto the EU institution level. This is an example for the cooperation on the base of the so-called community method providing that national competence shall be transferred to the EU overnational institutions. The union realizes also the industrial, transportation, structural and regional, consumer protection, science and research and other politics. The integration extension caused that the integration includes more and more extraeconomic aspects.

The accession of the member countries to the Economic Monetary Union (EMU) is the final event of the European economic integration.

The idea of the establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union within the European Economic Community occurred during Hague Summit in 1969. In consequence, a detailed, three-stage plan was established and presented in Werner's Report in 1970, which assumed an establishment of the EMU within 10 years, that is to the end of 1980. The failure of that schedule resulted, among others, form the economic situation in the earlier part of the 70-ies (economic crisis, collapse of Bretton Woods system).

The conception of the monetary union and common currency was assumed on the turn of the 80-ies and the 90-ies. The report of Delors Board, which assumed a three-stages system for achievement of the common currency, but without specifying any exact realization dates, was of great importance.

These dates was defined later:

- for the first stage during the European Council summit in June 1989.
- for the second and third stage in Maastricht in December 1991.

The EMU establishing process consists of three stages:

First stage - from 1st July 1990 to 31st December 1993, creation of a uniform interior market, based on the so-called four freedoms: freedom of free flow of goods, services, person and capital within the EU.

Second stage - from 1st January 1994 to 31st December 1998. The most important task of the countries in this stage was to meet the EMU accession convergence criteria as well as to establish the European Monetary Institute - the predecessor of the European Central Bank.

Third stage - from 1st January 1999 to 31st December 2001 - gradual introduction of the common currency into circulation.

Within the above mentioned stages, more detailed periods may be distinguished. The following periods were of greatest importance:

- preparation period (1. May 1998 - 31. December 1998) – agreement of Euro area members, definition of irrevocable exchange rates and establishment of EBC.
- transition period (1. January 1999 - 31. December 2001) – introduction of Euro in non-monetary form and starting of the activity by European Central Bank and European System of Central Banks.
- final period (1. January 2002 - 28. February 1998) – Period with double currency circulation, after that Euro is the only valid currency.

The EMU consisted of 11 countries and Greece joined this group on the 1. January 2001. The following countries are not member of the monetary union: Sweden, Great Britain and Denmark.

Theoretically, a candidate country may become a member of Euro area using three ways:

The classical way with fulfillment of all convergence criteria, including participation in MR2 currency corridor. Only the moment when a country shall become a participant of the corridor and the currency exchange level are controversial.

Implementation of the currency board system.

Euroization, consisting in replacement of national currency with Euro before EMU accession.

Currency board means translated into Polish language a currency management, but in the literature we may find the phrase „urząd emisji pieniądza" (money issue office) and this term reflects the essence of this system in the most exact level.

Essence of the currency board system:

- close connection of the national currency issue with the exchangeable currency and gold resources at disposal of monetary authorities. The principle of 1:1 is used most frequently and its meaning is, that the money issue is fully covered by monetary reserves.

- establishing of a rigid national currency exchange rate in relation to the chosen international currency.
- the money supply is defined almost automatically by the changes of monetary reserves level.

There are two variants of currency board system:

- orthodox – no influence of the monetary authorities on the monetary politics,
- modern – the monetary authorities keep an influence on the formation of the money supply, which can be greater in individual cases.

Disadvantages of the implementation of the currency board system:[2]

The basic objection of this solution is, that a fluctuating exchange rate system has been replaced with a rigid one. The monetary crisis in the world - first in Mexico in 1994 and last in Turkey at the beginning of 2001, supply irrefutable evidences, that the politics of let fluctuating exchange rate is the best way to adapt the economy system to interior and exterior economic and political shocks.

Secondly, we may state on the base of the experience of countries which introduced such a system (Eastland, Mexico, Argentina) that it causes - at least at the beginning - a reduction of the economic growth rate.

Thirdly, the bank crisis risk would increase.

Fourthly, this system does not ensure a maintenance of a low inflation, although it supports a hard fiscal politics.

Fifthly, this system would not be able to support a restructuring and privatization of the obsolete branches of industry.

The acceptation of this system could give positive results in situation of total crisis of public finances, after a war, recovering of independence, inability to lead a monetary politics unaided.

The practical example of Eastland shows, that the accession of Euro area through the currency board is unrealizable now, because the EU will not approve it, if the convergence conditions are not met. Therefore, the implementation of this system in Poland is useless.

The **Euroization,** that is a unilateral introduction of Euro by a given country is the second Euro area accession way.

If such a way would be chosen, the prices would be converted on the euroization day to the fixed exchange rate. The PLN currency would be in circu-

[2] Comp. E. Pietrzak, *Kiedy euro zastąpi złotego?,* „Bank i Kredyt", No 11-12/2001, pg.71

lation until it is naturally withdrawn by Polish central bank NBP, as in the case of the denomination.

Monetary stabilization of the country (no danger of monetary crisis because no currency speculations take place) as well as low inflation rate and long-term interest rates on a level similar to the are the advantages of the Euroization. Compared to the currency board system, this solution were cheaper.

However, it must be noted, that the Euro area accession in the way of unilateral introduction of this currency may not take place in Poland, because it would be in contrary to the European treaties.

In practice, the fulfillment of the convergence criteria by the candidate countries is the only way to the Euro area accession. They are as follows:

1. Inflation rate not exceeding 1,5 percent point above the average inflation rate in three EU countries with the lowest inflation rate. **This is an inflation criterion.**
2. Long-term interest rates not exceeding 2 percent points above the average interest rates of three EU countries with the lowest rates. **This is a interest rate criterion.**
3. Budget deficit not exceeding 3 % of Gross Domestic Product, **fiscal criterion**
4. Public debt not exceeding 60 % of Gross Domestic Product, **fiscal criterion**
5. Stable currency exchange rate during last 2 years, **exchange rate criterion**

2. Comparison of economic conditions in European Union countries regarding the fulfillment of the convergence criteria.

Inflation criterion: Inflation not exceeding 1,5 percent point above the average inflation rate in three EU countries with the lowest inflation rate

The price stability is a necessary condition for a long-term economic growth. A high inflation level strengthens the insecurity of the business activity because the business units acting on the market must still adapt themselves to the changing conditions. Owing the to disinflation programs realized at the beginning the nineties the most economic systems of candidate countries have no problems with the significant price increase now. The fulfillment of the inflation convergence criterion by the new EU members makes still many problems.

The inflation criterion was met in March 2004 by Czech Republic, Eastland, Lithuania, Malta and Poland. The lowest inflation rate was noted in Lithuania (- 0,9%), and the highest one in Slovakia (8,6%). Problems with fulfillment of this requirement occurred also in Economic and Monetary Union: in Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy and Portugal, where the inflation level was higher that provided in the Maastricht Treaty. The inflation level in European Union countries related to the convergence criterion is shown in the following table.

Table 1.Inflation level in EU (percentage change - 12 months average)

	2003									2004		
	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	I	II	III
Euro zone	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	1,9
EU (15)	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1,8
Belgium	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4
Denmark	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.4
Germany	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0
Greece	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.2
Spain	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7
France	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2,1
Ireland	4.7	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.8	3.5	3.3
Italy	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
Luxembourg	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.3
Netherlands	3.3	3.1	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.0	1,9
Austria	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1,2
Portugal	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.8
Finland	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.9
Sweden	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.2	1.9	1.7
United Kingdom	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3
Czech Republic	0.2	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.1	0.2	0.4	0.6
Estonia	2.8	2.5	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.0
Cyprus	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.1	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.7	3.4	2.9
Latvia	1.6	1.6	1.8	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.6
Lithuania	-0,8	-0,9	-0,9	-1,0	-1,0	-1,0	-1,0	-1,0	-1,1	-1.0	-0.9	-0.9
Hungary	4.7	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.2
Malta	3,3	3,3	3,3	3,3	3,4	3,4	3,4	2,9	2,5	2,3	2,1	1,8
Poland	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0
Slovenia	6.9	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.3	6.2	6.0	5.9	5.7	5.5	5.2	5.0
Slovakia	4.5	4.9	5.4	5.9	6.4	6.9	7.4	8.0	8.5	8.5	8.6	8.6
Convergence criterion	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,8	2,8	2,8	2,8	2,7	2,7	2,7	2,6	2,5

Source: Eurostat

Poland meets the inflation criterion today, but the inflation prognosis for year 2004 are not optimistic. As early as April, the inflation rate reached 2,2 %, mostly owing to the food price increase. The prognosis for the end of the year are rather differentiated: from 2,5% to 3,9%, however, in general, the economists foresee that it shall be somewhat less than 3 %. It is commonly meant, that the increasing inflation rate is caused by the high budget deficit level and increase of the demand as result of the boom.

Interest rate criterion: long-term interest rates not exceeding 2 percent points above average interest rates of three EU countries with the lowest interest rates.

Table 2. Long term interest rates

	2003									2004	
	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	I	II
Euro-zone	4.23	3.92	3.72	4.06	4.20	4.23	4.31	4.44	4.36	4.26	4.18
EU (15 countries)	4.29	3.99	3.80	4.12	4.28	4.33	4.41	4.55	4.47	4.34	4.31
EU (25 countries)	4.38	4.08	3.90	4.22	4.39	4.45	4.54	4.70	4.62	4.50	4.49
Belgium	4,29	3,95	3,74	4,06	4,22	4,25	4,31	4.43	4.38	4.26	4.26
Denmark	4.41	4.09	3.85	4.17	4.35	4.40	4.44	4.57	4.52	4.35	4.30
Germany	4,15	3,82	3,62	3,97	4,13	4,17	4,22	4,35	4,29	4,17	4,11
Greece	4.38	4.02	3.80	4.13	4.29	4.32	4.38	4.51	4.45	4.37	4.35
Spain	4.19	3.88	3.69	4.03	4.19	4.21	4.27	4.40	4.34	4.19	4.14
France	4.22	3.89	3.69	4.01	4.16	4.23	4.28	4.41	4.34	4.20	4.14
Ireland	4.22	3.89	3.69	4.01	4.17	4.19	4.25	4.39	4.36	4.20	4.15
Italy	4.31	4.04	3.82	4.13	4.29	4.31	4.38	4.51	4.46	4.32	4.34
Luxembourg	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Netherlands	4.23	3.91	3.72	4.04	4.18	4.21	4.27	4.41	4.33	4.18	4.12
Austria	4.17	3.85	3.74	4.05	4,22	4,29	4,3	4,46	4,4	4,24	4,27
Portugal	4.18	3.91	3.77	4.10	4.26	4.29	4.36	4.48	4.40	4.25	4.19
Finland	4.23	3.91	3.70	4.01	4.18	4.20	4,26	4,39	4,33	4,16	4,11
Sweden	4.72	4.37	4.20	4.51	4.70	4.73	4.85	4.98	4.86	4.65	4.55
Uniteg Kingdom	4,56	4,31	4,19	4,47	4,64	4,76	4,96	5.10	4.94	4.84	4.88
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Czech Republic	3.92	3.73	3.49	4.06	4.23	4.26	4.47	4.75	4.82	4.68	4.80
Estonia	5.36	5.03	4.97	5.04	4.84	4.79	4.90	4.86	4.75	4.69	4.77
Cyprus	4.80	4.63	4.63	4.59	4.59	4.59	4.64	4.75	4.75	4.75	4.79
Latvia	4.99	4.95	4.89	4.78	4.80	4.96	4.98	5.01	5.07	5.06	5.05
Lithuenia	5.65	5.63	5.50	5.38	5.04	5.04	4.82	4.81	4.81	4.81	4.81
Hungary	6.33	5.97	6.33	6.86	7.11	7.06	7.08	7.82	8.24	8.36	8.65
Malta	5.25	5.14	5.11	4.95	4.78	4.73	4.68	4.70	4.71	4.71	4.70
Poland	5.41	5.12	5.03	5.37	5.61	5.93	6.36	6.90	6.76	6.67	6.82
Slovenia	6.65	6.65	6.65	6.65	6.65	6.65	6.16	5.54	5.27	5.14	5.01
Slovakia	4.90	4.72	4.70	4.80	4.92	5.02	5.08	5.36	5.42	5.16	5.11
Convergance criterion	6,33	6,03	5,85	6,17	6,19	6,24	6,26	6,40	6,34	6,19	6,16

SouSource: Eurostat

The long-term interest rates expresses the expectations of the market participants in relation to the formation of the economic situation in the particular countries in next years, in particular the economic growth rate, permanence of the reached price stability and balancing of the public finances. The lower the interest rates differences between the members of one currency area, the higher the economic convergence of the economic systems.

The criterion of the long-term interest rates is met in all European Union countries excepting Hungary and Poland.

A comparison between the long-term interest rate in Poland and the convergence criterion shows an unfavorable tendency. In opinion of economists, the current macroeconomic situation of Poland supports the increasing of the interest rates by the Monetary Politics Board (Rada Polityki Pieniężnej), what may deepen the existing differences. The high budget deficit and increasing inflation are factors, which do not provide conditions for a reduction of the interest rates in the next future.

Fiscal criterion:

– **budget deficit nor exceeding 3 % of Gross Domestic Product**
– **public debt not exceeding 60 % of Gross Domestic Product**

Balanced public finances are the base for a long-term growth. To avoid a situation, that the indebtedness of the public finance sector causes a currency diminution with the possible consequence of increasing of the interest rates on the financial markets, criteria on maximum available public finances deficit and public debt (accordingly 3% and 60% of the Gross Domestic Product) have been formulated. However, the choice of even these reference values is not accepted by many public finance experts, because the thesis, that e.g. the deficit of public finances under 3% of Gross Domestic Product is under unchanged other factors better for the economic system than a deficit of for 3,2%, is difficult to defend. Similar conclusions are applicable in relation to the public debt criterion. Establishing of such strict criteria under a good economic conjuncture is supported by the fact, that they are mobilization factors for such fiscal politics, which ensures budget balance and does not allow politic programs oriented to excessive increase of expenditures. Excessive deficit of public finances causes the increasing of the public debt and this is accomplished by debt handling costs and may cause the necessity of higher fiscal loadings to be borne by the community of the country.

Table 3. Government budgetary position - debt ratio (%)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Luxembourg	6.3	5.9	5.5	5.5	5.7	4,9
Ireland	53.8	48.6	38.4	36.1	32.3	32
United Kingdom	47.6	45.0	42.1	38.9	38.5	39,8
Denmark	59.2	55.8	50.1	47.8	47.2	45
Finland	48.6	47.0	44.6	43.9	42.6	45,3
Spain	64.6	63.1	61.2	57.5	54.6	50,8
Sweden	68.1	62.7	52.8	54.4	52.6	51,8
Netherlands	66.8	63.1	55.9	52.9	52.6	54,8
Portugal	55.0	54.3	53.3	55.6	58.1	59,4
France	59.5	58.5	57.2	56.8	58.6	63
Germany	60.9	61.2	60.2	59.4	60.8	64,2
Austria	63.7	67.5	67.0	67.1	66.6	65
Belgium	119.6	114.8	109.1	108.1	105.8	100,5
Greece	105.8	105.2	106.2	106.9	104.7	102,4
Italy	116.7	115.5	111.2	110.6	108.0	106,2
euro-zone	74.1	72.8	70.4	69.4	69.2	70,4
EU (15 countries)	68.8	67.9	64.0	63.2	62.5	64
EU (25 countries)	67.5	66.7	62.9	62.1	61.5	63

Source: Eurostat

Table 4. Government budgetary position - debt ratio (%)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Estonia	6.0	6.5	5.0	4.7	5.7	5,8
Latvia	10.6	13.7	13.9	16.2	15.5	15,6
Lithuenia	16.8	23.4	24.3	23.4	22.8	21,9
Slovenia	23.9	25.1	26.7	26.9	27.8	27,1
Czech Republic	13.7	14.3	18.2	25.2	28.9	37,6
Slovakia	28.6	43.8	49.9	48.7	43.3	42,8
Poland	39.1	40.3	36.6	36.7	41.2	45,4
Hungary	61.9	61.2	55.4	53.5	57.1	59,0
Malta	64.9	56.2	57.1	61.8	61.7	72,0
Cyprus	61.6	62.0	61.7	64.4	67.1	72,2
New members of EU	34.3	38.0	36.4	38.5	39.4	42.2

Source: Eurostat

On the base of macroeconomic data we may state, that this is the only convergence criterion the level thereof is better in the new member countries that in the old ones. The following countries have the lowest public debt in relation to the GDP: Luxemburg (4,9%) and Eastland (5,8%). The limit level for the public debt is exceeded in case of 8 European Union countries: two new: (Malta and Cyprus) and 6 „old" members:: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Greece. At the verification of the EMU accession convergence criterion fulfillment level in 1998, the Commission stated, that the tendency of the public level formation of the candidate countries is sufficient.

Table 5. Budgetary position - deficit (%GDP)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Finland	1,5	2.2	7.1	5.2	4,3	2,3
Denmark	1,1	3.2	2.6	3.1	1.7	1,5
Sweden	1,8	2.5	5.1	2.8	0,0	0,7
Spain	-2,7	-1.2	-0,9	-0,4	0,0	0,3
Belgium	-0,7	-0.4	0.2	0.5	0.1	0,2
Ireland	2,4	2.4	4.4	1.1	-0,2	0,2
Luxembourg	3,1	3.5	6.3	6.3	2.7	-0,1
Austria	-2,4	-2.3	-1,5	0.2	-0,2	-1,1
Greece	-2,5	-1.8	-2,0	-1,4	-1,4	-1,7
Italy	-2,8	-1.7	-0.6	-2,6	-2,3	-2,4
Portugal	-2,6	-2.8	-2.8	-4,4	-2,7	-2,8
Netherlands	-0,8	0.7	2.2	-0.0	-1,9	-3,0
United Kingdom	0,2	1.0	3.8	0.7	-1,6	-3,2
Germany	-2,2	-1.5	1.3	-2,8	-3,5	-3,9
France	-2,7	-1.8	-1.4	-1.5	-3,2	-4,1

Source: Eurostat

On the base of the analysis of the second fiscal criterion - maximum budget deficit level: 3 % of GDP – we come to the conclusion, that it will be one of the most difficult problems of the Euro area widening, In the most countries which entered the European Union on 1. May 2004 the budget deficit is higher than the convergence level. In the common opinion the fulfillment of this criterion in Poland shall create most problems and slow down the EMU accession process. Realization of the public finance reform is the necessary condition that must be met to reach the required budget deficit level. And this is not a simply task in the present social and economic situation. The changes in the public finance sector are necessary to meet the convergence criteria in a long-term perspective, especially form the fiscal criteria viewpoint.

Table 5. Government budgetary position - deficit (%GDP)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Estonia	-0.4	-4.0	-0.3	0.3	1.8	2,6
Lithuenia	-3.0	-5.7	-2.6	-2.1	-1.4	-1,7
Latvia	-0.7	-5.3	-2.7	-1.6	-2.7	-1,8
Slovenia	-2.2	-2.1	-3.0	-2.7	-1.9	-1,8
Slovakia	-4.7	-6.4	-12.3	-6.0	-5.7	-3,6
Poland	-2.1	-1.4	-1.8	-3.5	-3.6	-4,1
Hungary	-8.0	-5.6	-3.0	-4.4	-9.3	-5,9
Cyprus	-4.9	-4.5	-2.4	-2.4	-4,6	-6,3
Malta	-10.8	-7.6	-6.5	-6.4	-5.7	-9,7
Czech Republic	-4.5	-3.7	-4.5	-6.4	-6,4	-12,9

Source: Eurostat

The average budget deficit level for all Euro area members in 2003 amounted to 2,7% of GDP and was explicitly lower than the average level of the budget deficit in the new EU members, which was 5,7%.[3] In addition, a negative tendency could be observes in the period 1998-2003 in the formation of this relation.

Tab.6. Government budgetary position - deficit (%GDP)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Euro-zone	-2.2	-1.3	0,1	-1,6	-2,3	-2,7
New members of EU	-3,6	-3,1	-3,2	-4,1	-4,9	-5,7

Source: Eurostat

Exchange rate criterion: stable currency exchange rate in the last 2 years.

Exchange rate convergence criterion requires, among others, an implementation of the domestic currency in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism 2. The necessary keeping of the exchange rate in the Euro area candidate country within the fluctuation range of +/-15% in relation to the parity let us evalu-

[3] Eurostat data

ate, if the country is prepared for a stable stiffening of the own currency in relation to Euro.

„Średniookresowa strategia polityki pieniężnej na lata 1999-2003" (Medium-term strategy for the monetary politics for 1999-2003) states, that the introduction of fluctuating exchange rate is the best way to bring the PLN exchange rate closer to the balance level (very important before she stiffening in the ERM 2 system). The introduction of the fluctuating exchange rate system (12.04.2000) was preceded by a period of gradual widening of the allowed exchange rate fluctuation range and slowing down the rolling devaluation rate.

In present, four exchange rate formation forms occur in the candidate countries. The free float in Poland, established in consequence of interrelations between supply and demand for domestic currency. In Cyprus, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia the managed float system applies, where the central bank may interfere in the monetary market. In Lithuania, Hungary and Malta crawling peg systems apply in relation to SDR, Euro and currency basket valuated with the participation of currencies in foreign trade of Malta (Euro, US-Dollar and GB-Pound). In addition, a fluctuation range of +/-15% in relation to the parity is applied in Hungary from May 2001. The currencies of Eastland and Lithuania are in a strict relation to Euro (currency board).

Establishing of a optimal PLN exchange rate in the moment of EMU accession is of great importance for Polish economy. As this rate may not be changed in the future, it will have significant consequences for the business of the entities.

The exchange rate for any country included to ERM-2 is established in the way of negotiations between the European Commission and European Central Bank as one party and government and central bank of this country as the another party.[4] This exchange rate is fixed, first of all, on the base of exchange rate quotation from the last months before the ERM –2 accession, but also on the bade of the trade deficit, monetary reserves, unemployment rate and competitiveness of the economic system.

According to the discussed convergence criterion, the EUR/PLN exchange rate after the ERM 2 system accession would have to fluctuate in a maximal range of +/- 15% in a period of two years.

Unfortunately, the EUR/PLN exchange rate fluctuated in a wider range in the last 2 years. Though on 20 V 2002 it was 3,7766, on 20 V 2004 it reached a level of 4,6921, and that means a exchange rate increase of 24,24%. A record-breaking change took place in the period 1 III 2002 – 1 III 2004 - an increase of 38,26 %.

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[4] Comp. J. Bielecki, H. Bińczak, *Wybrać najlepszy moment*, Rzeczpospolita, No. 110(6490), pg. B1

In addition - in opinion of international investment groups - the Polish and Hungarian currencies are especially subject to attacks by speculators. This fact contributes to the high budget deficit and unstable political situation.

3. Analysis of the convergence condition fulfillment by European Union countries

In 1997 an estimation of the EMU candidate countries regarding the fulfillment of the convergence criteria took place. The analysis showed, that only four countries met all conditions of Maastricht Treaty: Denmark, Ireland, Luxemburg and Holland. However, the opinion of the Commission was positive for all estimated countries excepting Greece and they shall enter the Euro area.

Greece met in 1997 none of the economic convergence criteria and was accepted in the Euro area not before 1. January 2001.

The Commission was of the opinion that in case of the countries which did not meet the public debt criterion (1) the positive tendency of the level thereof in relation to the GDP shall be taken into account.

The currencies of Italy (3) and Finland (4) did not participate in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism 2 during 2 years. They joined it accordingly in November 1996 and October 1996, but in opinion of the Commission they showed a sufficient exchange rate stability.

An estimation of the convergence criteria met by the countries joined the European Union on 1. May 2004 does not involve the exchange rate criterion, as none of them joined the currency corridor

As per XII 2003, only 2 countries met all convergence criteria, apart from the currency criterion: Lithuania and Eastland. In opinion of the most specialists, even those countries will be the first countries which introduce the new currency. In opinion of the representatives of the European Union, Lithuania and Eastland may join the EMR2 even this year. The common opinion is, that Poland belongs to that group of countries which joint the Economic and Monetary Union latest of all.

Poland has difficult tasks to reduce the budget deficit and the increasing inflation pressure and that may cause an increasing of the valid interest rates. Owing the present macroeconomic situation of our country it will be impossible to join the EMU as planned in 2007. According to present prognoses it will be possible not earlier than in 2009-2011.

Table 7. The convergence condition fulfillment by EU countries

	Price stability	Government budgetary position	Exchange rate	Interest rates
Belgium	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
Denmark	yes	yes	yes	yes
Germany	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
Greece	no	nie	no(2)	no
Spain	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
France	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
Ireland	yes	yes	yes	yes
Italy	yes	yes(1)	yes(3)	yes
Luxembourg	yes	yes	yes	yes
Netherlands	yes	yes	yes	yes
Austria	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
Portugal	yes	yes(1)	yes	yes
Finland	yes	yes	yes(4)	yes
Sweden	yes	yes(1)	no	yes
United Kingdom	yes	yes(1)	no	yes

Source:

Table 8. The convergence condition fulfillment by EU countries (XII 2003r.)

	interest rates	price stability	deficit	debt ratio	MR2
Czech Republic	yes	yes	no	yes	-
Estonia	yes	yes	yes	yes	-
Cyprus	yes	no	no	no	-
Latvia	yes	no	yes	yes	-
Lithuenia	yes	yes	yes	yes	-
Hungary	no	no	no	yes	-
Malta	yes	yes	no	no	-
Poland	no	yes	no	yes	-
Slovenia	yes	no	yes	yes	-
Slovakia	yes	no	no	yes	-

Source: own elaboration

However, we must put the question about the time and conditions of Poland's Euro area accession.

A scenario of early Euro area accession by Poland should be supported since it is very advantageous for functioning of domestic entities in future.

A prompt Economic and Monetary Union accession let us avoid speculative attacking of national currencies during the ERM 2. The significant difference between the interest rates in new member countries and interest rates in Euro area may incline many financial market subjects to achieve profits from that fact in a short time, what may cause significant fluctuations of exchange rates of the currencies of the new countries in relation to Euro.

For determination of the date for Poland's Economic and Monetary Union accession we must take into account that economic conditions must be assured for secure functioning of the national economic system within the EMU, that is, conditions enabling the economic system to achieve the necessary convergence of stable nature.[5]

The problem is, that the basis indicators of the monetary politics will be no longer adopted to the needs by the local monetary authorities after the EU accession. The monetary politics will focus on the needs of the Union as a whole. If any country is not able after the European Monetary Union is not able to keep its monetary factors evolution in accordance with the union evolution, inflation pressure or recession may occur. If additionally structural competitiveness non-adaptation of that country occurs, it may cause a deeper collapse.

Especially, because the Amsterdam Treaty and the approved stabilization and growth packet provides - apart from the restrictive monetary politics also the prohibition of counteract the recessions using the traditionally applied expansive fiscal politics.

Owing to Poland's economic situation - especially the missing elasticity of the labor market, restrictions of the competition mechanisms on goods markets, excessive bureaucracy or structural state budget errors (structure of expenditures, taxation system, problem of debt repayment etc.) this problem becomes very real.

Achievement of the convergence criteria and introduction of the common currency without analysis of the consequences of negative scenarios may have a negative impact on the future economic development of Poland. apart from the „nominal convergence" consisting in fulfillment of the conditions of Maastricht, a „real convergence" shall take place as prompt as possible".[6] It may be defined as a state, where the long-term growth of GDP stays in accordance with

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[5] Comp.. K. Lutkowski, *Data przejścia na euro jest sprawą drugorzędną*, Gazeta Bankowa, pg.28, 31.03.2003

[6] Comp.. K. Lutkowski, *Data przejścia na euro jest sprawą drugorzędną*, Gazeta Bankowa, pg.28, 31.03.2003

the production potential of the country, employment rate is high and the trade and payment balance do not cause neither deflation pressure nor excessive increasing of the indebtedness. And this depends, first of all, on the competitiveness of the economic system.

Final conclusions

The expansion of the European Union and, as a consequence thereof, of the Economic and Monetary Union shall contribute to worldwide strengthening of the importance of Euro currency and improvement of the economic growth rate. The participation of Polish enterprises in this process is an enormous chance for them provided that the micro- and macroeconomic conditions for the entrance to the common market is appropriately prepared.

In the discussions of Poland's Economic and Monetary Union accession the necessary fulfillment of the nominal convergence conditions is stressed. It is meant, that the EU and Euro area accession will probably strengthen the achieved macroeconomic stabilization and leads in consequence to the real convergence. This situation is advantageous in every respect, but if it does not occur, the consequences for Polish economy will be difficult to foresee. In present, the special stress shall be laid on the reform of public finances, which is the necessary condition for the economic stabilization of our country.

The activities of Poland shall focus on providing as prompt as possible of conditions , necessary for formal - but also secure and advantageous for the economy - Euro area accession. Poland's Euro area accession may not be the superior goal, but a tool for the economic development.

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Streszczenie

WYBRANE ASPEKTY PRZYSTĄPIENIA NOWYCH PAŃSTW CZŁONKOWSKICH DO UNII GOSPODARCZEJ I WALUTOWEJ

Polska znalazła się w grupie 10 państw, które z dniem 1 maja 2004r. stały się nowymi członkami Unii Europejskiej. Konsekwencją tego kroku jest zobowiązanie Polski do przestrzegania obowiązujących na terenie wspólnoty aktów prawnych oraz możliwość wykorzystania szans wynikających z trwałego włączenia naszego kraju w struktury gospodarcze Europy Zachodniej. Otwiera to pole do dyskusji dotyczącej korzyści i kosztów związanych z procesem integracji społecznej i gospodarczej, a w szczególności jej kształtu oraz tempa.

Przedmiotem artykułu jest analiza stopnia wypełnienia warunków zbieżności gospodarczej przez nowe kraje Unii Europejskiej oraz ich porównanie z dotychczasowymi członkami wspólnoty. W artykule zawarte zostały również uwagi dotyczące warunków, które powinny być spełnione przed przystąpieniem Polski do strefy euro.

W dyskusjach na temat przystąpienia Polski do Unii Gospodarczej i Walutowej kładzie się nacisk na konieczność spełnienia nominalnych warunków konwergencji, uznając, że wejście do UE oraz strefy euro umocni osiągniętą stabilizacji makroekonomicznej, a w konsekwencji doprowadzi do konwergencji realnej. Jest to sytuacja ze wszech miar pożądana, jeśli jednak to nie nastąpi, skutki dla polskiej gospodarki mogą być trudne do przewidzenia.

Działania ze strony Polski powinny skupiać się na tym, aby możliwie szybko zaistniały okoliczności niezbędne do tego, żeby wejście euro stało się formalnie możliwie, ale przede wszystkim bezpieczne i korzystne dla samej gospodarki. Obecnie szczególny nacisk powinien być położony na reformę finansów publicznych, która jest koniecznym warunkiem osiągnięcia stabilizacji gospodarczej kraju. Wejście Polski do strefy euro nie może być celem nadrzędnym, ale katalizatorem rozwoju gospodarczego.

PART II

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE FACE OF EUROPEAN INEGRATION PROCESSES

ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ В РЕГИОНАЛЬНОМ РАСПРЕДЕЛЕНИИ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ РОССИИ В 1989-2002 гг. (ПО МАТЕРИАЛАМ ПЕРЕПИСИ НАСЕЛЕНИЯ 2002 ГОДА)

С.А. ТАРХОВ

Институт географии РАН
Москва

Работа выполнена при поддержке Российского Фонда Фундаментальных исследований (РФФИ), проект 04-06-80458

В работе проанализированы изменения распределения населения по регионам за 1989-2002гг. с использованием предварительных материалов переписи России 2002г. (www.gks.ru/Perepis/predv.htm).

Изменение численности населения регионов России

Анализировались предварительные материалы переписей 1989г. и 2002г. Регионы-«матрёшки», которые включают в себя автономные округа, брались без населения этих округов. Так, под Тюменской областью в тексте значится только ее южная часть (без обоих северных округов); под Красноярским краем – только его юг (без северных округов, но с Норильском) и т.д. Исключены из списка Москва и Санкт-Петербург (анализ динамики людности городов см. во второй части этой статьи), а Чечня и Ингушетия объединены в один регион, так как данные за 1989г. нельзя расчленить из-за отсутствия детальной информации по отдельным низовым районам. Таким образом, анализом были охвачены 86 регионов.

Главный результат переписи давно известен: численность населения России уменьшилась в 1989-2002гг. на 2204 тыс. чел. (с 147.386 тыс. до 145.182 тыс. человек), т.е. на 1,5%. Региональный анализ динамики численности населения (см. табл. 1) показывает, что эта депопуляция почти повсеместна: численность населения сократилась в 64 регионах из 86. Особенно сильно обезлюдели северные регионы: Чукотский округ потерял 65,8% своего населения, Магаданская область – 52,5%, Корякский округ – 35,9%, Таймырский округ – 27,3%, Эвенкийский – 25%, Ненецкий – 23,6%, Мурманская область – 22,0%, Камчатская – 21,8%, республика

Коми – 19,3%, Архангельская область – 14,6%, Коми-Пермяцкий округ – 14,5%, Якутия – 12,3%, Карелия – 9,3%. Сильно депопулировали регионы юга Дальнего Востока и Восточной Сибири: Сахалинская область потеряла 22,8% своего населения, Читинская – 16,7%, Амурская – 14,7%, Еврейская АО – 11,6%, Хабаровский край – 10,8%, Иркутская область – 9,2%, Приморский край – 8,5%. Третью обширную группу депопулянтов составляют почти все области Европейского Центра, Черноземья и Нечерноземья: относительная убыль населения здесь варьирует от 13% («лидерами» являются Ивановская, Тверская, Кировская, Тамбовская, Тульская, Псковская, Смоленская, Костромская и Рязанская области с 13-9%%) до 3%. К слабо депопулировавшим (от 3% до 0,6%) относятся, главным образом, некоторые области Нечерноземья, Поволжья, Сибири, Урала.

Впечатляют размеры абсолютной убыли населения в таких регионах, как Кемеровская область (-275 тыс. чел.), Мурманская (-253 тыс.), Пермская (-252 тыс.), Иркутская (-249 тыс.), Коми (-244 тыс.), Свердловская (-231 тыс.), Архангельская (-221 тыс.), Читинская (-217 тыс.), Магаданская (-202 тыс.), Тверская (-197 тыс.), Тульская (-192 тыс.), Приморский край (-192 тыс.), Кировская область (-190 тыс. чел.), Нижегородская (-189 тыс.), Хабаровский край (-173 тыс.), Ивановская (-168 тыс.), Сахалинская (-162 тыс.), Амурская (-155 тыс.), Тамбовская (-140 тыс.), Якутия (-133 тыс.). Иначе говоря, каждый такой регион в 1990-е годы потерял по 1-2 средних города.

Всеобщая депопуляция большинства российских регионов связана с низким уровнем естественного прироста (за счет повышенной смертности), который чаще всего отрицателен, и большим отрицательным сальдо миграций. Особенно большой отток населения был характерен для северных и восточных регионов. В период 1989-2002гг. суммарная численность населения регионов, лежащих к северу от 60° с.ш. и к востоку от 90° в.д., сократилась с 24.977 тыс. до 22.400 тыс. чел. (т.е. на 2577 тыс.). Особенно велики потери населения на Дальнем Востоке (-1120 тыс. чел.), на Европейском Севере (-890 тыс. чел.), в Северной и Восточной Сибири (-567 тыс. чел.). Во всех регионах-депопулянтах вместе она уменьшилась на 8853 тыс. чел. В Центральном экономическом районе (без Москвы) численность населения сократилась с 21.412 тыс. до 20.116 тыс. (т.е. на 1296 тыс. чел.), в Черноземье – с 7741 тыс. до 7520 тыс. (на 221 тыс. чел.), на Урале – с 16.335 тыс. до 15.690 тыс. (на 645 тыс. чел.).

Таблица 1. Изменение численности населения регионов России в 1989-2002гг. По регионам, включающим автономные округа, численность населения указана без учета этих округов (Архангельская, Пермская, Камчатская, Тюменская, Иркутская и Читинская области, Красноярский край). Москва и Санкт-Петербург см. в разделе о городах. Чечня и Ингушетия объединены вместе. Регионы упорядочены по рангам на 2002г.

Регионы	**Численность населения (тыс. чел.)**		**Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.**	**Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)**	**Ранги численности населения**		**Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.**
	2002г.	**1989г.**			**2002г.**	**1989г.**	
Московская область	6627	6686	-59	-0,9	1	1	0
Краснодарский край	5124	4683	+441	+9,44	2	3	+1
Свердловская область	4490	4721	-231	-4,9	3	2	-1
Ростовская область	4407	4304	+163	+2,4	4	4	0
Башкирия	4103	3952	+151	+3,8	5	5	0
Татария	3780	3640	+140	+3,8	6	7	+1
Челябинская область	3606	3626	-20	-0,6	7	8	+1
Нижегородская область	3524	3713	-189	-5,1	8	6	-2
Самарская область	3240	3266	-26	-0,8	9	9	0
Красноярский край (без АО)	2909	2947	-38	-1,3	10	11	+1
Кемеровская область	2900	3175	-275	-8,7	11	10	-1
Ставропольский край	2731	2437	+294	+12,1	12	19	+7
Волгоградская область	2703	2593	+110	+4,2	13	17	+4
Новосибирская область	2692	2782	-90	-3,2	14	13	-1
Пермская область (без АО)	2689	2941	-252	-8,6	15	12	-3
Саратовская область	2669	2690	-21	-0,8	16	15	-1
Алтайский край	2607	2630	-23	-0,9	17	16	-1
Дагестан	2584	1792	+792	+44,2	18	24	+6
Иркутская область (без АО)	2446	2695	-249	-9,2	19	14	-5
Воронежская область	2379	2470	-91	-3,7	20	18	-2
Оренбургская область	2178	2174	+4	+0,1	21	21	0
Омская область	2079	2140	-61	-2,9	22	22	0
Приморский край	2068	2260	-192	-8,5	23	20	-3

Регионы	Численность населения (тыс. чел.)	Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги численно-сти н-аселения	Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.	Регионы	Численно-сть населения (тыс. чел.)
Тульская область	1676	1868	-192	-10,3	24	23	-1
Ленинградская область	1671	1659	+12	+0,7	25	27	+2
Удмуртия	1571	1609	-38	-2,4	26	29	+3
Чечено-Ингушетия	1569	1277	+292	+22,9	27	45	+18
Владимирская область	1525	1654	-129	-7,8	28	28	0
Белгородская область	1512	1381	+131	+9,5	29	36	+7
Кировская область	1504	1694	-190	-11,2	30	25	-5
Тверская область	1473	1670	-197	-11,8	31	26	-5
Пензенская область	1453	1502	-49	-3,3	32	32	0
Хабаровский край	1435	1608	-173	-10,8	33	30	-3
Ханты-Мансийский округ	1433	1269	+164	+12,9	34	46	+12
Ульяновская область	1382	1400	-18	-1,3	35	35	0
Брянская область	1379	1475	-96	-6,5	36	33	-3
Ярославская область	1368	1471	-103	-7,0	37	34	-3
Тюменская область (без АО)	1325	1324	+1	+0,1	38	41	+3
Чувашия	1314	1336	-22	-1,6	39	40	+1
Архангельская область (без АО)	1294	1515	-221	-14,6	40	31	-9
Вологодская область	1270	1354	-84	-6,2	41	37	-4
Курская о-бласть	1236	1339	-103	-7,7	42	39	-3
Рязанская область	1228	1346	-118	-8,8	43	38	-5
Липецкая область	1213	1231	-18	-1,5	44	48	+4
Тамбовская область	1180	1320	-140	-10,6	45	42	-3
Ивановская область	1149	1317	-168	-12,8	46	43	-3
Читинская область	1084	1301	-217	-16,7	47	44	-3
Смоленская область	1051	1158	-107	-9,2	48	49	+1

Регионы	Численность населения (тыс. чел.)	Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги численности населения	Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.	Регионы	Численность населения (тыс. чел.)
Томская область	1046	1001	+45	+4,5	49	54	+5
Калужская область	1041	1067	-26	-2,4	50	53	+3
Курганская область	1020	1105	-85	-7,7	51	51	0
Коми	1019	1263	-244	-19,3	52	47	-5
Астраханская область	1007	998	+9	+0,9	53	57	+4
Бурятия	981	1042	-61	-5,9	54	56	+2
Калининградская область	955	871	+84	+9,6	55	60	+5
Саха (Якутия)	948	1081	-133	-12,3	56	52	-4
Амурская область	903	1058	-155	-14,7	57	55	-2
Кабардино-Балкария	901	760	+141	+18,6	58	64	+6
Мурманская область	893	1146	-253	-22,0	59	50	-9
Мордовия	889	964	-75	-7,8	60	58	-2
Орловская область	861	891	-30	-3,4	61	59	-2
Псковская область	761	847	-86	-10,2	62	61	-1
Костромская область	738	809	-71	-8,8	63	62	-1
Марий Эл	728	750	-22	-2,9	64	66	+2
Карелия	717	792	-75	-9,5	65	63	-2
Северная Осетия	710	634	+76	+12,0	66	68	+2
Новгородская область	695	753	-58	-7,9	67	65	-2
Сахалинская область	547	709	-162	-22,8	68	67	-1
Хакасия	546	569	-23	-4,0	69	69	0
Ямало-Ненецкий округ	507	487	+20	+4,1	70	70	0
Адыгея	447	432	+15	+3,5	71	71	0
Карачаево-Черкессия	440	418	+22	+5,3	72	73	+1
Камчатская обл. (без АО)	334	427	-93	-21,8	73	72	-1

Регионы	Численность населения (тыс. чел.)	Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги численности населения	Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.	Ре-гионы	Численность населения (тыс. чел.)
Тува	306	309	-3	-1,0	74	76	+2
Калмыкия	292	322	-30	-9,3	75	75	0
Республика Алтай	203	192	+11	+5,7	76	78	+2
Еврейская АО	191	216	-25	-11,6	77	77	0
Магаданская область	183	385	-202	-52,5	78	74	-4
Коми-Пермяцкий округ	136	159	-23	-14,5	79	79	0
Усть-Ордынский округ	135	136	-1	-0,7	80	81	+1
Агинский Бурятский округ	72	77	-5	-6,5	81	82	+1
Чукотский округ	54	158	-104	-65,8	82	80	-2
Ненецкий округ	42	55	-13	-23,6	83	83-84	0
Таймырский округ	40	55	-15	-27,3	84	83-84	0
Корякский округ	25	39	-14	-35,9	85	85	0
Эвенкийский округ	18	24	-6	-25,0	86	86	0

На фоне доминирующего обезлюдивания «процветающе» выглядят почти все регионы юга России и часть регионов Поволжья, где численность населения, несмотря на все социально-экономические катаклизмы 1990-х гг. (и даже вопреки им), увеличивалась. Этот рост вызван двумя причинами – высоким естественным и механическим приростом. Последний связан с большим притоком мигрантов из стран СНГ и беженцев из восточных районов Кавказа. Лидерами в этой «положительной» группе с быстро растущим населением стали в 1990-е гг. Дагестан (относительный прирост составил +44,2%), Чечено-Ингушетия (+22,9%), Кабардино-Балкария (+18,6%), Ставропольский край (+12,1%), Северная Осетия (+12,0%), Краснодарский край (+9,4%). Крупными аккумуляторами мигрантов стали оба северных округа Западной Сибири (Ханты-Мансийский с +12,9% и Ямало-Ненецкий с +4,1%), а также Калининградская (+9,6%), Белгородская (+9,5%), Волгоградская (+4,2%) и Ростовская области (+2,4%). Относительно высокий естественный прирост населения был характерен для Башкирии (ее население увеличилось на 3,8%) и Татарии (+3,8%). Слабую положительную динамику (менее +3,5%) имели Адыгея, Астраханская, Ленинградская, Оренбургская и Тюменская области. Во всех регионах, где население увеличилось, их общая численность возросла на 3058 тыс. чел., в т.ч. на Северном Кавказе – с 17.059 тыс. до 19.205 тыс. (на 2146 тыс. чел.).

Наибольший абсолютный прирост населения в 1990-е гг. имели Дагестан (+792 тыс. чел.), Краснодарский (+441 тыс.) и Ставропольский края (+294 тыс.), Чечено-Ингушетия (+292 тыс.; несмотря на две войны и массовый отток русского и местного населения), Ханты-Мансийский округ (+164 тыс.), Башкирия (+151 тыс.), Кабардино-Балкария (+141 тыс.), Татария (+140 тыс.), Белгородская область (+131 тыс.), Волгоградская (+110 тыс.), Ростовская (+103 тыс.) и Калининградская (+84 тыс. чел.) области.

Чтобы выяснить, какие регионы были более динамичными и подвижными, мы проранжировали их по убыванию численности населения по двум последним переписям (см. правую часть табл.1). Оказалось, что из 86 регионов 29 повысили свой ранговый статус (см. табл.2), 37 понизили его, а у 20 регионов он не изменился вовсе. Таким образом, иерархия регионов в целом была мало устойчивой и достаточно подвижной. Обращает на себя внимание повышенная иерархическая устойчивость в первой «десятке» регионов: Московская область сохранила свое 1-е место, Ростовская – 4-е, Башкирия – 5-е, Самарская – 9-е, не изменив своего первоначального ранга. Свердловская область уступила свое 2-е место Краснодарскому краю, тогда как Татария опередила Нижегородскую область, которая к тому же пропустила вперед Челябинскую область. Лидерами по увеличению своего ранга, естественно, стали северо-кавказские высоко фертильные регионы (на 18 пунктов повысился ранг Чечено-Ингушетии, на 6 – Кабардино-Балкарии и Дагестана). Далеко наверх «по иерархической лестнице» ушли Ханты-Мансийский округ (передвинулся на 12 пунктов с 46-го на 34-е место), Ставропольский край (на 7 пунктов – с 19-го на 12-е место), Белгородская область (на 7 пунктов – с 36-го на 29-е место), Калининградская область (на 5 пунктов – с 60-го на 55-е место).

Таблица 2. Устойчивость рангов регионов России в 1989-2002гг. Ранги определялись по убыванию численности населения региона.

Ранги	Число регионов, повысивших свой ранг в 1989-2002гг. (А)	Число регионов, понизивших свой ранг в 1989-2002гг. (В)	Число регионов, не изменивших свой ранг (С)	Всего регионов (Σ)	Доля р-егионов, повысивших свой ранг А/ Σ	Доля регионов, понизивших свой ранг В/ Σ	Доля регионов с устойчивым рангом С/ Σ
1-10	4	2	4	10	0,4	0,2	0,4
11-20	3	7	-	10	0,3	0,7	-
21-30	4	3	3	10	0,4	0,3	0,3
31-40	3	5	2	10	0,3	0,5	0,2
41-50	4	6	-	10	0,4	0,6	-
1-50	**18**	**23**	**9**	**50**	**0,36**	**0,46**	**0,18**
51-60	4	5	1	10	0,4	0,5	0,1
61-70	2	6	2	10	0,2	0,6	0,2
71-80	4	2	4	10	0,4	0,2	0,4
81-86	1	1	4	6	0,17	0,67	0,66
1-86	**29**	**37**	**20**	**86**	**0,34**	**0,43**	**0,23**

В то же время из-за депопуляции многие регионы Севера, Центра и Востока страны значительно понизили свой прежний ранг 1989 года: на 9 пунктов – Архангельская (передвинулась с 31-го на 40-е место) и Мурманская области (с 50-го на 59-е), на 5 пунктов – Иркутская, Кировская, Тверская, Рязанская области и республика Коми. Несмотря на большую абсолютную убыль населения, ранг Магаданской области понизился только на 4 пункта (с74 до 78), а Чукотского округа – на 2 (с 80 на 82). В целом, преобладало повышение или понижение ранга иерархии на 1-2 пункта. Регионы чаще понижали свой ранг иерархии.

Тенденция депопуляции четко просматривается и на уровне макроэкономических районов. Так как все существующие сетки экономических районов не учитывают особенности расселения, нами была произведена небольшая перегруппировка регионов в новые макроэкономические районы (см. табл.3). Центральный экономический район рассматривался нами без Москвы, которая являет собой иной демографический феномен, чем окружающая ее территория. Башкирия была зачислена в Поволжье. Волго-Вятский, Уральский, Центральный, Цетрально-Черноземный, Северо-Кавказский, Северный, Северо-Западный районы брались в традиционных границах. Западную Сибирь мы разделили на северную (два северных округа Тюменской области с положительной демографической динамикой) и южную части, а к Восточной Сибири была добавлена Якутия.

Таблица 3. Изменение численности населения макроэкономических регионов России в 1989-2002гг.

Макрорайоны	Численность населения, тыс. чел.		Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Доля районов во всем населении страны (%%)	
	1989г.	2002г.		1989г.	2002г.
Центр (без Москвы)	21.412	20.116	-1296	14,5	13,86
Черноземье	7.741	7.520	-221	5,25	5,18
Северо-Запад	8.279	7.796	-483	5,62	5,37
Европейский Север	6.125	5.235	-890	4,16	3,61
Урал	16.335	15.690	-645	11,08	10,81
Волго-Вятка	8.457	7.959	-498	5,74	5,48
Поволжье	20.041	20.336	+295	13,6	14,01
Северный Кавказ	17.059	19.205	+2146	11,57	13,23
Север Западной Сибири	1.756	1.940	+187	1,19	1,34
Юг Западной Сибири	13.244	12.852	-392	8,99	8,85
Восток и Северо-Восток Сибири	10.236	9.485	-754	6,95	6,53
Дальний Восток	6.860	5.740	-1120	4,65	3,95
Москва	8.967	10.358	+1391	6,08	7,13
Калининградская область	871	955	+84	0,59	0,66
Европейская Россия	**115.287**	**115.170**	**-117**	**78,22**	**79,33**
Азиатская Россия	**32.096**	**30.017**	**-2079**	**21,78**	**20,67**
Главная полоса расселения	**123.760**	**124.057**	**+297**	**83,97**	**85,45**
РОССИЯ	**147.383**	**145.187**	**-2196**	**100**	**100**

Беглый взгляд на цифры табл. 3 показывает, что почти во всех макроэкономических районах страны (в 9 из 12) была налицо депопуляция. Особенно сильно обезлюдили в 1990-е годы Центр (-1296 тыс. чел.) и Дальний Восток (-1120 тыс. чел.), Европейский Север (-890 тыс. чел.), Восток и Северо-Восток Сибири (-754 тыс.), Урал (-645 тыс.). Эту повсеместную депопуляцию частично скомпенсировали районы Юга (Северный Кавказ +2146 тыс., Поволжье +295 тыс.), газонефтедобывН-ющий север Тюменской области (+187 тыс.), а также главный «магнит» новейшего российского капитализма – Москва (+1391 тыс. чел.), который притягивает к себе наиболее активное население российской и пост-советской периферии.

Доля населения, проживающего в большинстве макроэкономических районов России, уменьшилась: в ЦЭРе – на 0,6%, ЦЧР – на 0,07%, Северо-Западном районе – на 0,15%, Европейском Севере – на 0,55%, Урале – на 0,27%, Волго-Вятке – на 0,26%, на юге Западной Сибири – на 0,14%, в Восточной и Северо-Восточной Сибири – на 0,42%, на Дальнем Востоке – на 0,7%. Она увеличилась, естественно, на Северном Кавказе (на 1,66%), в Поволжье (на 0,41%), на севере Западной Сибири (на 0,15%) и в Москве (на 1,05%).

Население Европейской России (только благодаря Северному Кавказу и Поволжью) уменьшилось, но не столь значительно: с 115.287 тыс. до 115.170 тыс. чел., тогда как Азиатской России – значительно (более чем на 2 млн. чел.): с 32.096 тыс. до 30.017 тыс. чел. Данные переписи подтверждают факт большого оттока населения из Азиатской части страны в Европейскую, где теперь концентрируется 79% всего ее населения. В главной полосе расселения (треугольник Выборг – Кемерово – Сочи) в 1989г. проживало 123.760 тыс. чел. (т.е. 84% всего населения страны), а в 2002г. – 124.057 тыс. (85,5%).

Таким образом, в межпереписной период 1989-2002гг. в России выявлены следующие геодемографические тенденции: 1)депопуляция ¾ всех регионов; 2)продолжающийся рост населения в регионах с мусульманскими демографическими традициями (Северный Кавказ и Среднее Поволжье); 3)сильная депопуляция северных, северо-восточных и дальне-восточных регионов; 4)рост населения в ряде очагов, принимающих мигрантов СНГ и внутренних (г.Москва, Ставропольский и Краснодарский края, Белгородская и Калининградская области); 5)сосредоточение более ¾ всего населения в Европейской части; 6)продолжающийся интенсивный отток населения из азиатских в европейские районы страны; 7)почти 86% населения сосредоточено в главной полосе расселения.

Изменение людности больших городов России

В течение межпереписного периода 1989-2002гг. процесс урбанизации в стране впервые приостановился. Доля городского населения после эпохи индустриализации и массовой урбанизации 1920-80-х годов стабилизировалась и составляла в 2002г. те же 73%, что и в 1989г., хотя абсолютная численность городского населения даже незначительно сократилась (с 107.959 тыс. до 106.470 тыс. чел.).

По сравнению с 1989г. число больших городов (с населением более 100 тыс. чел.; см. табл. 4) почти не увеличилось. Эту группу «покинули» 7 сильно депопулировавших в 1989-2002гг. городов (Анжеро-Судженск, Мичуринск, Кинешма, Воркута, Воткинск, Магадан, Усолье-Сибирское) и город Колпино, включенный в состав Санкт-Петербурга. Вместо 8 выбывших в группу больших городов вошли 10 новых: Назрань и Хасавюрт (за счет большого числа беженцев), Северск (крупнейшее в России ЗАТО), а также 7 городов, где прирост населения (естественный или механический) был достаточно велик (Нефтеюганск, Батайск, Элиста, Железнодорожный, Кызыл, Дербент, Зеленодольск; см. табл.5).

Таблица 4. Число больших городов России в 1979-2002гг.

Людность городов, чел.	**1979г.**	**1989г.**	**2002г.**
Более 2 млн.	2	2	2
1-2 млн.	6	10	11
750-999 тыс.	8	4	3
500-749 тыс.	10	18	17
250-499 тыс.	41	42	42
150-249 тыс.	35	43	39
100-149 тыс.	50	47	54
Итого	**152**	**166**	**168**

В течение межпереписного периода людность увеличилась в 64 больших городах и уменьшилась в 91, а в одном не изменилась (Красноярск). В эту группу городов прибыло 10 и выбыло 8 городов.

Максимальный относительный прирост людности отмечен в 18 городах (более 10%; см. табл. 5): Хасавюрте (+71,8%), Назрани (+605%), Махачкале (+48,5%), Зеленограде (+36,7%), Дербенте (+29,5%), Новороссийске (+24,7%), Старом Осколе (+24,1%), Кызыле (+23,8%), Армавире (+20,5%), Нижнекамске (+18,3%), Нальчике (+16,6%), Волжском (+16,6%), Батайске (+16,3%), Элисте (+15,5%), Сургуте (+15,3%), Нефтеюганске (+14,9%), Нефтекамске (+14,0%), Кисловодске (+14,0%), Москве (+12,7%), Белгороде (+12,7%), Липецке (+12,4%), Якутске (+12,3%), Ставрополе (+11,6%), Южно-Сахалинске (+11,5%), Тольятти (+11,4%). Лидерами абсолютного прироста людности стали Москва (+1135 тыс. чел.), Махачкала (+152 тыс.), Назрань (+109 тыс.), Тольятти (+72 тыс.), Зеленоград (+58 тыс.), Липецк (+56 тыс.), Хасавюрт (+51 тыс.), Ростов-на-Дону (+50 тыс.), Новороссийск (+46 тыс.), Волжский (+42 тыс.), Старый Оскол (+42 тыс.), Нальчик (+39 тыс.), Тюмень (+34 тыс. чел.). Еще в 22 городах относительный прирост людности составил от 10% до 5% (Новочебоксарск, Альметьевск, Невинномысск, Балашиха, Майкоп, Пятигорск, Сызрань, Одинцово, Калуга, Калининград, Абакан, Тюмень, Энгельс, Стерлитамак, Благовещенск, Йошкар-Ола, Салават, Химки, Обнинск, Димитровград, Чебоксары, Владикавказ).

Уже из этого перечня видно, что это, главным образом, города среднего и небольшого размера (за исключением Москвы), расположенные преимущественно на Юге России (Северном Кавказе, Белгородской области), в нерусском Поволжье, а также ряд крупнейших лидирующих экономических центров, быстро растущих за счет высокого механического прироста населения (благодаря большому числу рабочих вакансий либо относительно высокому уровню жизни населения).

Все быстро растущие города можно разделить на следующие подтипы:

1) с одновременно высоким естественным и механическим приростом (за счет беженцев), расположенные на Северном Кавказе (Махачкала, Армавир, Нальчик, Кисловодск, Ставрополь, Назрань, Хасавюрт, Невинномысск, Майкоп, Пятигорск, Владикавказ);
2) »процветающие» центры нефтегазодобычи Западной Сибири с высоким механическим приростом (Сургут, Тюмень);
3) некоторые города Московского столичного региона с высоким механическим приростом (Москва, Зеленоград, Балашиха, Одинцово, Химки, Обнинск);
4) города, эффективно использовавшие выгоды своего ЭГП «входных ворот» на внешней границе (Новороссийск, Белгород, Южно-Сахалинск, Калининград, Благовещенск);
5) города нерусского Поволжья, растущие за счет относительно высокого естественного прироста окружающей их трудоизбыточной сельской местности (Нижнекамск, Нефтекамск, Новочебоксарск, Альметьевск, Сызрань, Стерлитамак, Йошкар-Ола, Салават);
6) быстро растущие новые промышленные центры с трудоёмкими производствами (Тольятти, Волжский, Старый Оскол, Липецк);
7) некоторые национальные административные центры (Абакан, Якутск).

Из 64 городов, людность которых в межпереписной период возросла, в 24 она увеличилась незначительно (менее 5%). К подгруппе «стагнирующих» относятся 43 города, людность которых почти не изменилась (в пределах от –3% до +3%). В нее входят многие крупнейшие и крупные города страны (Новосибирск, Омск, Казань, Уфа, Волгоград, Красноярск, Саратов, Ульяновск, Ижевск, Ярославль, Хабаровск, Барнаул, Рязань, Набережные Челны, Оренбург, Астрахань, Томск, Орёл, Сочи, Череповец, Саранск, Таганрог, Кострома, Петрозаводск и др.).

Людность 91 большого города России в 1989-2002гг. уменьшилась (таких городов больше, чем тех, где она увеличилась). Среди «депопулирующих» лидеров особенно выделяются Грозный (-44,4%), Ленинск-Кузнецкий (-32,1%), Мурманск (-28,0%), Магадан (сведения за 2002г. отсутствуют), Петропавловск-Камчатский (-26,4%), Норильск (-22,4%), Северодвинск (-18,9%), Прокопьевск (-17,9%), Киселёвск (-17,2%), Архангельск (-14,4%), Березники (-13,4%), Подольск (-13,3%), Чита (-13,1%), Тула (-12,6%), Рыбинск (-11,5%), Нижний Тагил (-11,1%), Орехово-Зуево (-11%), Каменск-Уральский (-11%), Комсомольск-на-Амуре (-10,8%), Королёв (-10,6%), Иваново (-10,2%), Серпухов (-10%). Лидерами-депопулянтами в абсолютных величинах стали Санкт-Петербург (-351 тыс. чел.), Грозный (-178 тыс.), Мурманск (-131 тыс.), Нижний Новгород (-127 тыс.), Самара (-99 тыс.), Пермь (-91 тыс.), Екатеринбург (-74 тыс.), Петропавловск-Камчатский (-71 тыс.), Тула (-68 тыс.), Челябинск (-65 тыс.), Архангельск (-60 тыс.), Владивосток (-56 тыс.), Ленинск-Кузнецкий (-53 тыс.), Новокузнецк (-50 тыс.), Иваново (-49 тыс.), Нижний Тагил (-49 тыс.), Чита (-48 тыс.), Северодвинск (-47 тыс.), Тверь (-42 тыс.), Норильск (-39 тыс. чел.).

Таблица 5. Изменение людности и рангов больших городов (более 100 тыс. чел.) России в 1979-2002гг. Указана людность (число наличных жителей) тыс. чел.; города упорядочены по убыванию их людности в 2002г.; ранги рассчитаны только при наличии в городе 100 и более тыс. чел.

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Москва	7933 (8137)	8769 (8967)	10.102	+1135	+12,7	1	1	1	0
Санкт-Петербург	4073 (4588)	4456 (5020)	4669	-351	-7	2	2	2	0
Новосибирск	1312	1436	1426	-10	-0,7	4	4	3	+1
Нижний Новгород	1344	1438	1311	-127	-8,8	3	3	4	-1
Екатеринбург	1211	1367	1293	-74	-5,4	5	5	5	0
Самара	1206	1257	1158	-99	-7,9	6	6	6	0
Омск	1014	1148	1134	-14	-1,2	8	7	7	0
Казань	993	1094	1105	+11	+1,0	10	9	8	+1
Челябинск	1030	1143	1078	-65	-5,7	7	8	9	-1
Ростов-на-Дону	934	1020	1070	+50	+4,9	12	12	10	+2
Уфа	978	1083	1042	-41	-3,8	11	11	11	0
Волгоград	929	999	1013	+14	+1,4	13	13	12	+1
Пермь	999	1091	1000	-91	-8,3	9	10	13	-3
Красноярск	796	912	912	0	0	15	14	14	0
Саратов	856	905	874	-31	-3,4	14	15	15	0
Воронеж	783	887	849	-38	-4,3	16	16	16	0
Тольятти	502	630	702	+72	+11,4	26	20	17	+3
Краснодар	560	620	645	+25	+4,0	18	23	18	+5
Ульяновск	464	625	636	+11	+1,8	29	22	19	+3
Ижевск	549	635	632	-3	-0,5	21	18	20	-2
Ярославль	597	633	613	-20	-3,2	17	19	21	-2
Барнаул	535	602	604	+2	+0,3	23	24	22	+2
Иркутск	550	626	593	-33	-5,3	19-20	21	23	-2
Владивосток	550	648	592	-56	-8,6	19-20	17	24	-7
Хабаровск	528	601	583	-18	-3,0	24	25	25	0
Новокузнецк	541	600	550	-50	-8,3	22	26	26	0
Оренбург	458	547	549	+2	+0,4	32	27	27	0
Рязань	453	515	522	+7	+1,4	33	31	28	+3
Пенза	483	543	518	-25	-4,6	27	28	29	-1
Тюмень	359	477	511	+34	+7,1	45	36	30	+6
Набережные Челны	301	501	510	+9	+1,8	51	34	31	+3
Астрахань	461	509	506	-3	-0,6	31	32	32	0
Липецк	396	450	506	+56	+12,4	38	40	33	+7
Томск	421	502	488	-14	-2,8	34	33	34	-1
Кемерово	462	520	485	-35	-6,7	30	30	35	-5
Тула	514	540	472	-68	-12,6	25	29	36	-7

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Махачкала	251	315	467	+152	+48,5	67	57-58	37	+19,5
Киров	390	441	457	+16	+3,6	40	41	38	+3
Чебоксары	308	420	441	+21	+5,0	48	45	39	+6
Иваново	465	481	432	-49	-10,2	28	35	40	-5
Брянск	394	452	432	-20	-4,4	39	38	41	-3
Калининград	355	401	430	+29	+7,2	46	47-48	42	+5,5
Магнитогорск	406	440	419	-21	-4,8	36	42	43	-1
Курск	375	424	413	-11	-2,6	43	44	44	0
Тверь	412	451	409	-42	-9,3	35	39	45	-6
Нижний Тагил	398	440	391	-49	-11,1	37	43	46	-3
Улан-Удэ	300	353	359	+6	+1,7	52	51	47	+4
Архангельск	385	416	356	-60	-14,4	41	46	48	-2
Ставрополь	258	318	355	+37	+11,6	64	56	49	+7
Курган	310	356	346	-10	-2,8	47	50	50	0
Белгород	240	300	338	+38	+12,7	69	63-64	51	+12,5
Мурманск	381	468	337	-131	-28,0	42	37	52	-15
Калуга	265	312	335	+23	+7,4	61	59-60	53	+6,5
Орёл	305	337	334	-3	-0,9	49	54-55	54	0
Сочи	287	337	329	-8	-2,4	55	54-55	55	0
Смоленск	299	341	326	-15	-4,4	53	53	56	-3
Чита	303	366	318	-48	-13,1	50	49	57	-8
Владимир	296	350	316	-34	-9,7	54	52	58	-6
Владикавказ	279	300	315	+15	+5,0	56	63-64	59	+4,5
Череповец	266	310	312	+2	+0,6	59-60	61	60	+1
Волжский	209	269	311	+42	+15,6	78-79	72-73	61	+11,5
Саранск	263	312	305	-7	-2,2	63	59-60	62	-2,5
Тамбов	270	305	294	-11	-3,6	58	62	63	-1
Вологда	237	283	293	+10	+3,5	72	67	64	+3
Сургут	107	248	286	+38	+15,3	135-137	78-79	65	+13,5
Таганрог	276	291	282	-9	-3,1	57	65	66	-1
Комсомольск-на-Амуре	264	315	281	-34	-10,8	62	57-58	67	-9,5
Кострома	255	278	279	+1	+0,3	66	68	68	0
Нальчик	207	235	274	+39	+16,6	80	82	69	+13
Петрозаводск	234	270	266	-4	-1,5	73	71	70	+1
Стерлитамак	220	248	264	+16	+6,5	74	78-79	71	+7,5
Дзержинск	257	285	261	-24	-8,4	65	66	72	-6
Братск	214	255	259	+4	+1,6	76	75	73	+2
Йошкар-Ола	201	242	257	+15	+6,2	82	80-81	74	+6,5
Орск	246	271	251	-20	-7,4	68	70	75	-5
Ангарск	239	266	247	-19	-7,1	70-71	74	76	-2
Нижневартовск	109	242	239	-3	-1,2	133-134	80-81	77	+3,5
Новороссийск	159	186	232	+46	+24,7	96	97	78	+19
Сыктывкар	183	233	230	-3	-1,3	88-89	83-84	79	+4,5
Нижнекамск	134	191	226	+35	+18,3	113	94	80	+14
Прокопьевск	266	274	225	-49	-17,9	59-60	69	81	-12
Грозный	375	401	223	-178	-44,4	44	47-48	82	-34,5

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Рыбинск	239	252	223	-29	-11,5	70-71	76	83	-7
Шахты	209	224	220	-4	-1,8	78-79	86	84	+2
Благовещенск	172	206	219	+13	+6,3	92	90	85	+5
Бийск	212	233	219	-14	-6,0	77	83-84	86	-2,5
Великий Н-овгород	186	229	217	-12	-5,2	86	85	87	-2
Старый Оскол	115	174	216	+42	+24,1	126	100-102	88	+13
Зеленоград	140	158	216	+58	+36,7	108-110	113	89	+24
Якутск	152	187	210	+23	+12,3	100-101	95-96	90	+5,5
Псков	176	204	203	-1	-0,5	91	91	91	0
Северодвинск	197	249	202	-47	-18,9	84	77	92	-15
Балаково	152	198	201	+3	+1,5	100-101	93	93	0
Петропавлов-ск-Камчатский	215	269	198	-71	-26,4	75	72-73	94	-21,5
Златоуст	198	208	195	-13	-6,2	83	89	95	-6
Армавир	162	161	194	+33	+20,5	94	110	96	+14
Энгельс	161	182	194	+12	+6,6	95	98	97	+1
Сызрань	166	174	188	+14	+8,0	93	100-102	98	+3
Каменск-Уральский	187	209	186	-23	-11,0	85	88	99	-11
Подольск	202	210	182	-28	-13,3	81	87	100	-13
Южно-Сахалинск	140	157	175	+18	+11,5	108-110	114	101	+13
Березники	185	201	174	-27	-13,4	87	92	102	-10
Новочеркасск	183	187	171	-16	-8,6	88-89	95-96	103	-7,5
Волгодонск	91	176	167	-9	-5,1	-	99	104	-5
Абакан	128	154	165	+11	+7,1	118-119	115-116	105	+9,5
Рубцовск	157	172	163	-9	-5,2	98	103	-106	-3
Майкоп	128	149	162	+13	+8,7	118-119	120	107	+13
Мытищи	141	154	159	+5	+3,2	107	115-116	108	+7,5
Миасс	150	168	159	-9	-5,4	102	104	109	-5
Салават	137	150	159	+9	+6,0	112	119	110	+9
Уссурийск	147	162	158	-4	-2,5	103-105	108-109	111	-2,5
Люберцы	154	165	157	-8	-4,8	99	105-107	112	-5,5
Ковров	143	160	156	-4	-2,5	106	111-112	113	-1,5
Коломна	147	162	150	-12	-7,4	103-105	108-109	114	-5,5
Находка	133	165	149	-16	-9,7	114-115	105-107	115	-9

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Балашиха	118	136	148	+12	+8,8	123-124	126	116	+10
Электросталь	139	153	146	-7	-4,6	111	117	117	0
Королёв	133	160	143	-17	-10,6	114-115	111-112	118	-6,5
Химки	118	133	141	+8	+6,0	123-124	127	119	+8
Альметьевск	110	129	141	+12	+9,3	131-132	128-129	120	+8,5
Пятигорск	110	129	140	+11	+8,5	131-132	128-129	121	+7,5
Норильск	180	174	135	-39	-22,4	90	100-102	122	-21
Одинцово	101	125	135	+10	+8,0	144-150	131	123	+8
Новомосковск	147	146	134	-12	-8,2	103-105	121	124	-3
Первоуральск	129	142	133	-9	-6,3	117	123-124	125	-1,5
Невинномысск	104	121	132	+11	+9,1	140-141	137	126	+11
Серпухов	140	144	131	-13	-10,0	108-110	122	127	-5
Димитровград	106	124	131	+7	+5,6	138	132-133	128	+4,5
Кисловодск	101	114	130	+16	+14,0	144-150	142-143	129	+13,5
Камышин	112	122	128	+6	+4,9	129-130	135-136	130	+5,5
Муром	114	124	127	+3	+2,4	127-128	132-133	131	+1,5
Назрань	...	18	127	+109	+605	-	-	132	-
Новочебоксарск	85	115	126	+11	+9,6	-	140-141	133	+7,5
Нефтекамск	70	107	122	+15	+14,0	-	155-157	134	+22
Орехово-Зуево	132	137	122	-15	-11,0	116	125	135	-10
Хасавюрт	65	71	122	+51	+71,8	-	-	136	-
Ачинск	117	122	119	-3	-2,5	125	135-136	137	-1,5
Ногинск	119	123	118	-5	-4,1	122	134	138	-4
Елец	112	120	117	-3	-2,5	129-130	138	139	-1
Черкесск	91	113	116	+3	+2,7	-	144-145	140	+4,5
Северск	-	103	116	+13	+12,6	-	-	141	-
Сергиев Посад	107	115	114	-1	-0,9	135-137	140-141	142	+0,5
Щёлково	100	109	114	+5	+4,6	151-152	150-153	143	+8,5

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Новокуйбышевск	109	113	113	0	0	133-134	144-145	144	-0,5
Ленинск-Кузнецкий	158	165	112	-53	-32,1	97	105-107	145	-39
Арзамас	93	109	110	+1	+0,9	-	150-153	146	+5,5
Октябрьский	88	105	109	+4	+3,8	-	160-161	147	+13,5
Нефтеюганск	52	94	108	+14	+14,9	-	-	148	-
Батайск	90	92	107	+15	+16,3	-	-	149	-
Киселёвск	122	128	106	-22	-17,2	120	130	150	-20
Новотроицк	95	106	106	0	0	-	158-159	151	+7,5
Обнинск	73	100	106	+6	+6,0	-	166	152	+14
Великие Луки	102	114	105	-9	-7,9	143	142-143	153	-10,5
Элиста	70	90	104	+14	+15,5	-	-	154	-
Железнодорожный	76	97	104	+7	+7,2	-	-	155	-
Кызыл	66	84	104	+20	+23,8	-	-	156	-
Ухта	87	111	104	-7	-6,3	-	146-147	157	-10,5
Сарапул	107	111	103	-8	-7,2	135-137	146-147	158	-11,5
Канск	101	110	103	-7	-6,4	144-150	148-149	159	-10,5
Соликамск	101	110	103	-7	-6,4	144-150	148-149	160	-11,5
Междуреченск	91	107	102	-5	-4,7	-	155-157	161	-5
Жуковский	90	101	102	+1	+1,0	-	165	162	+3
Новошахтинск	104	106	101	-5	-4,7	140-141	158-159	163	-4,5
Глазов	81	104	101	-3	-2,9	-	162-163	164	-1,5
Дербент	70	78	101	+23	+29,5	-	-	165	-
Усть-Илимск	69	109	101	-8	-7,3	-	150-153	166	-14,5
Серов	101	104	100	-4	-3,8	144-150	162-163	167	-4,5
Зеленодольск	85	94	100	+6	+6,4	-	-	168	-
Магадан	121	152	...	...	...	121	118	-	-
Колпино	114	142	-	-	-	127-128	123-124	-	-
Воркута	100	116	...	...	...	151-152	139	-	-
Мичуринск	101	109	...	...	...	144-150	150-153	-	-
Анжеро-Судженск	105	108	...	...	...	139	154	-	-
Усолье-Сибирское	103	107	...	...	...	142	155-157	-	-

Города	Людность (тыс. чел.)			Абсолютная убыль (прирост) в 1989-2002гг., тыс. чел.	Относительный прирост в 1989-2002гг. (в %%)	Ранги людности			Изменение ранга за 1989-2002гг.
	1979г.	1989г.	2002г			1979	1989	2002	
Кинешма	101	105	...	...	...	144-150	160-161	-	-
Воткинск	90	103	...	...	...	-	164	-	-

Еще в 30 городах численность населения сократилась от 10% до 5% (Находка, Нижний Нвогород, Новочеркасск, Владивосток, Дзержинск, Пермь, Новокузнецк, Новомосковск, Самара, Великие Луки, Орск, Коломна, Усть-Илимск, Сарапул, Ангарск, Санкт-Петербург (-7%), Кемерово, Канск, Соликамск, Первоуральск, Ухта, Златоуст, Бийск, Челябинск, Миасс, Екатеринбург, Иркутск, Великий Новгород, Рубцовск, Волгодонск).

Среди сильно депопулировавших значительно число составляют крупнейшие, крупные и средние города. Их можно сгруппировать следующим образом:

1) центры Крайнего Севера (Мурманск, Магадан, Петропавловск-Камчатский, Норильск, Северодвинск, Архангельск, Воркута, Ухта);
2) пострадавшие от военных действий (Грозный);
3) центры с устаревшими промышленными технологиями (угледобыча: Ленинск-Кузнецкий, Прокопьевск, Киселёвск, Анжеро-Судженск, Канск; металлургия: Нижний Тагил, Каменск-Уральский, Новокузнецк, Златоуст, Первоуральск; химия: Березники, Дзержинск, Новомосковск, Ангарск, Соликамск, Усолье-Сибирское, Кемерово, Бийск; застойные машиностроение и военная промышленность: Санкт-Петербург, Подольск, Рыбинск, Комсомольск-на-Амуре, Нижний Новгород, Новочеркасск, Пермь, Самара, Орск, Коломна, Сарапул, Челябинск, Миасс, Екатеринбург, Рубцовск, Воткинск, Волгодонск; текстильная: Иваново, Кинешма, Серпухов, Орехово-Зуево);
4) города, уменьшившие свою площадь (Королёв);
5) ряд административных центров Черноземья и Нечерноземья (Тула, Брянск, Воронеж, Великий Новгород);
6) транзитно-пограничные города Сибири и Дальнего Востока, потерявшие выгоды своего прежнего уникального ЭГП в результате открытия внешней границы по всему юго-восточному периметру (Чита, Находка, Владивосток).

Таким образом, большинство депопулянтов расположено на Крайнем Севере, Урале и в Центре страны.

Увеличение людности ряда больших городов России шло за счет повышенной их притягательности для населения окружающих территорий с высоким естественным приростом, за счет большого механического прироста (беженцев и иммигрантов, притягиваемых рынком большого количества трудовых вакансий и высоким уровнем доходов); уменьшение людности происходило за счет деградации (дисфункционализации) устаревших отраслей хозяйства, большого отрицательного естественного и механического прироста, социально-экономически неблагоприятной среды (низкого уровня доходов населения), военных действий, этнорелигиозных напряжений и конфликтов.

Межпереписной период был очень динамичен и в отношении рангов людности городов. При этом для верхней части иерархической шкалы городов была характерна бо́льшая устойчивость, чем для средней и нижней ее частей, где подвижность рангов была значительно выше (см. табл.6): так из первых 50 крупнейших городов 32% не изменили свой ранг, тогда как во второй сотне городов их было всего 5%.

Не изменились ранги Москвы (1), Санкт-Петербурга (2), Екатеринбурга (5), Самары (6), Омска (7), Уфы (11), Красноярска (14), Саратова (15), Воронежа (16), Хабаровска (25), Новокузнецка (26), Оренбурга (27), Астрахани (32), Курска (44), Кургана (50), Орла (54), Сочи (55), Костромы (68), Пскова (91), Благовещенска (93), несмотря даже на некоторую убыль населения в ряде их них.

Чем крупнее были города, тем меньше изменялись их ранги. Максимальное увеличение ранга в 1989-2002гг. отмечено у Зеленограда (его ранг поднялся на 24 пункта со 113-го места до 89-го), Нефтекамска (на 22 пункта: со 156-го на 134-е место), Махачкалы (на 19,5 пунктов: с 57-58 на 37 место), Новороссийска (на 19 пунктов: с 97 на 78 место); на 14 пунктов у Нижнекамска (с 94 на 80 место), Армавира (со 110 на 96); на 13,5 пунктов у Сургута, Кисловодска, Октябрьского; на 13 пунктов у Нальчика, Старого Оскола, Южно-Сахалинска, Майкопа; на 12,5 пунктов у Белгорода и 11 у Волжского и Невинномысска. Свой ранг повысили на 10-7 пунктов Балашиха, Абакан, Салават, Альметьевск, Щёлково, Химки, Одинцово, Стерлитамак, Мытищи, Пятигорск, Новочебоксарск, Новотроицк, Липецк, Ставрополь.

Лидерами среди городов, сильно понизивших свой прежний ранг 1989г., стали Ленинск-Кузнецкий (ранг опустился на 39 пунктов: с 106 на 145-е место), Грозный (на 34,5 пункта: с 47-48 на 82 место), Петропавловск-Камчатский (на 21,5: с 72-73 на 94 место), Норильск (на 21: со 101 на 122 место), Киселёвск (на 20: со 130 на 150-е место), Северодвинск (на 15: с 77 на 92), Мурманск (на 15: с 37 на 52 место), а также Усть-Илимск (на 14,5 пунктов), Подольск (на 13), Прокопьевск (на 13), Сарапул, Соликамск, Каменск-Уральский. Всего свой ранг понизили на 5 пунктов и более 39 больших городов, а повысили его на 5 и более пунктов – 41 (т.е. их число было почти равным, см. табл.6). Менее подвижными в иерархии были крупнейшие, а наиболее подвижными – средние и небольшие города.

Таблица 6. Устойчивость рангов больших городов России в 1989-2002гг. Ранги определялись по убыванию людности городов.

Ранги	Число городов, повысивших свой ранг в 1989-2002гг. (A)	Число городов, понизивших свой ранг в 1989-2002гг. (B)	Число городов, не изменивших свой ранг (C)	Всего городов (Σ)	Доля городов, повысивших свой ранг A/ Σ	Доля городов, понизивших свой ранг B/ Σ	Доля городов с устойчивым рангом C/ Σ
1-10	3	1	6	10	0,3	0,1	0,6
11-20	4	2	4	10	0,4	0,2	0,4
21-30	3	4	3	10	0,3	0,4	0,3
31-40	5	4	1	10	0,5	0,4	0,1
41-50	3	5	2	10	0,3	0,5	0,2
1-50	**18**	**16**	**16**	**50**	**0,36**	**0,32**	**0,32**
51-60	4	4	2	10	0,4	0,4	0,2
61-70	5	4	1	10	0,5	0,4	0,1
71-80	7	3	-	10	0,7	0.3	-
81-90	5	5	-	10	0,5	0.5	-
91-100	3	5	2	10	0.3	0,5	0,2
1-100	**42**	**37**	**21**	**100**	**0,42**	**0,37**	**0,21**
101-110	5	5	-	10	0,5	0,5	-
111-120	3	6	1	10	0,3	0,6	0,1
121-130	6	4	-	10	0,6	0,4	-
1-130	**56**	**52**	**22**	**130**	**0,43**	**0,40**	**0,17**

В первой «двадцатке» городов изменения рангов были минимальны: поменялись 3 и 4 местами Нижний Новгород и Новосибирск (давние конкуренты за 3-е место), 8 и 9 местами – Казань и Челябинск (первая вышла вперед). Ростов-на-Дону обогнал своих конкурентов Уфу и Пермь, выйдя на 10-е место, а Волгоград опередил Пермь. Не изменили своего ранга Москва, Санкт-Петербург, Екатеринбург, Самара, Омск, Уфа, Красноярск, Саратов, Воронеж. Тольятти переместился с 20-го на 17-е место, а Ижевск, наоборот, уступил свое прежнее 18-е место и стал 20-м. В первую «20» вошли Ульяновск (прежде занимавший 22-е место) и Краснодар (бывший 23-й по счету), а покинули ее Ярославль (передвинулся с 19 на 21 место) и Владивосток (с 17 на 24-е место). Тем не менее, Владивосток не уступил своих позиций Хабаровску (25-е место), своему давнишнему конкуренту.

Среди первых 50 крупнейших городов России в 1989-2002гг. значительно повысили свой ранг Тюмень (с 36 на 30 место), Липецк (с 40 до 33), Махачкала (с 57-58 места поднялась до 37-го), Калининград (с 47 на 42), Ставрополь (с 56 на 49-е место). Наоборот, понизили свой ранг Кемерово (с 30 на 35), Тула (с 29 на 36), Иваново (с 35 на 40), Тверь (с 39 на 45-е место), Мурманск (с 37 на 52-е место).

Так и не смогли обогнать лидеров в своих региональных конкурентных парах Кемерово (35-е место против Новокузнецка с 26-м местом), Иркутск (23-е место против Красноярска с 14-м), Вологда (64-е место против Череповца с 60-м), Орёл (54-е место против Курска с 44-м), Псков (91-е место против Великого Новгорода с 87-м).

Один важный момент, зафиксированный переписью 2002г., касается отклонения цифры текущего учета населения от реального населения. Сравнение данных текущего учета людности городов на 1 января 2002г. и переписи на 9 октября 2002г. показывает, что чем больше людность города, тем выше ошибка (расхождение). Так, фактическая численность населения Москвы оказалась на 18% выше учетной; в Санкт-Петербурге – всего на 1,5%, Новосибирске – на 2,7%, Екатеринбурге – на 3,3%, Ростове-на-Дону – на 7,8%. Текущая оценка была сильно завышена по сравнению с реальной в Нижнем Новгороде – на 1,7%, Уфе – на 4,1%, Воронеже – 5,9%, Тольятти – на 4,3%, Красноярске – на 4,1%. Для городов поменьше расхождения были незначительны (от 0,01% до 4%). Таким образом, в крупнейших городах цифра текущего учета никогда не совпадает с переписной. Это явление неоднократно подтверждалось и предыдущими переписями (1959, 1970, 1979 гг.).

Streszczenie

ZMIANY W REGIONALNYM ROZMIESZCZENIU LUDNOŚCI ROSJI W LATACH 1989-2002 (WEDŁUG WYNIKÓW LUDNOŚCI Z 2002 ROKU)

W artykule przeprowadzono analizę zmian w rozmieszczeniu ludności według regionów, w latach 1989-2002, wykorzystując przeliczone wyniki spisu powszechnego Rosji z 2002 roku (www.gks.ru/Perepis/predy.htm).

БЕЛАРУСЬ В ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ ЕВРОПЫ

К. К. КРАСОВСКИЙ

Белорусский государственный университет

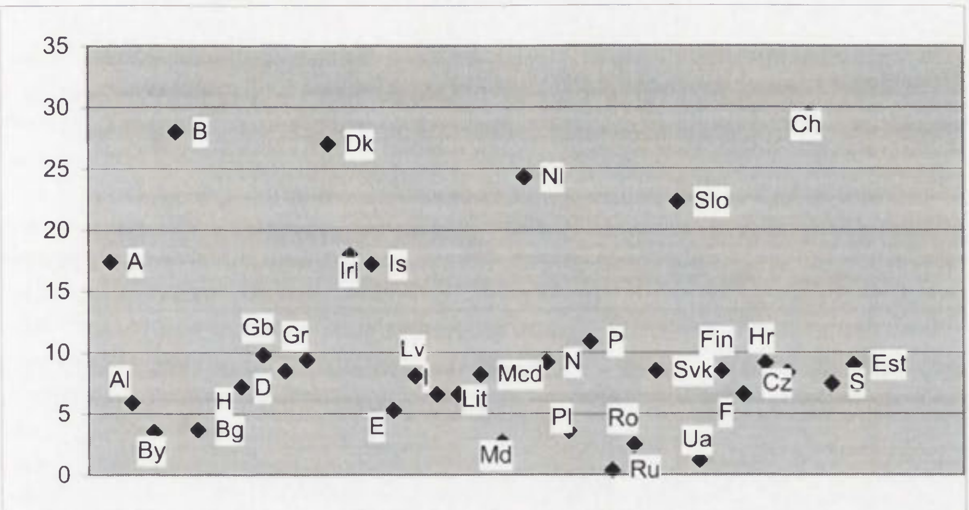
После распада Советского Союза в 1991 г. Республика Беларусь стала независимым суверенным государством. Сегодня Республика Беларусь – государство Центрально-Восточной Европы. Территория страны и ее столица расположены практически в геометрическом центре европейского континента. Республика Беларусь находится на водоразделе Черного и Балтийского морей, одна из 40 стран мира, не имеющая прямого выхода к морю. По площади территории (207,6 тыс. км^2) республика занимает 13 место среди государств Европы. Протяженность территории с севера на юг составляет 560 км, с запада на восток – 650 км. В хозяйственном отношении территория страны хорошо освоена, в ее пределах исторически сложилась относительно равномерная сеть городских и сельских поселений. Городские населенные пункты, в которых проживает более 70% демографического потенциала страны, занимают 1,1% территории, сельские поселения – 3,9%. По плотности населения (около 50 чел./км^2) Беларусь значительно уступает странам Европейского Союза. По числу жителей (около 10 млн. чел.) Беларусь сравнима с Бельгией, Нидерландами, Швецией и составляет около 1,5 % демографического потенциала Европы.

Современная демографическая ситуация на территории страны, как и в целом на европейском континенте, формировалась на протяжении длительного периода под влиянием сложного комплекса природных исторических и социально-экономических факторов. Длительное время наиболее важную роль на формирование системы расселения страны и демографической ситуации в целом играло экономико-географическое положение республики. Беларусь занимала выгодное экономико-географическое положение еще с глубокой древности, так как уже в то время через территорию страны проходили важнейшие торговые пути. Компактность современной территории, ее равнинный характер облегчает развитие внутренних путей сообщения и активных внешних экономических связей. Эта особенность расположения территории республики на пересечении основных коммуникационных коридоров Европы «Запад – Восток» и «Север – Юг» благоприятствует интеграции Беларуси в европейскую систему расселения. Транспортно-географическое положение страны, как одна из составляющих ЭГП, характеризуется прохождением через территорию Беларуси 3 из 9 транспортно-коммуникационных европейских коридоров (№2, №9, №9А). Кроме этого, решением министров транспорта ЕЭС намечено формирование нового коммуникационного коридора №5 (Ровно – Сарны – Минск).

Одной из важнейших сторон экономико-географического положения страны является ее соседство. Беларусь граничит с 5 государствами. Общая протяженность государственной границы страны составляет 2969 км. С Россией граница Беларуси составляет 990 км, Украиной – 975 км, Литвой – 462 км, Польшей – 399 км, Латвией – 143 км. Соседние государства имеют различные уровни социально-экономического развития, что в значительной степени влияет на территориальную организацию и уровень развития приграничных районов Беларуси. Если до распада СССР пограничными были только некоторые административные районы Брестской и Гродненской областей, то в настоящее время пограничными являются все области страны, за исключением Минской. С 1 мая 2004 г. Польша, Латвия и Литва стали членами Европейского Союза, что, несомненно, окажет влияние на дальнейшее социально-экономическое развитие пограничных с этими странами регионов Беларуси.

Наряду с действием на демографическое развитие Беларуси традиционных факторов, все возрастающее значение в современных условиях в период трансформации социально-экономической системы приобретают новые факторы и условия. Трансформация – сложный процесс, который характеризуется политическими, экономическими и социальными изменениями. Именно эти процессы на территории Беларуси в последнее десятилетие и стали основными причинами, которые привели к изменению существующих ранее тенденций в демографическом развитии страны. Среди этих трансформационных процессов ведущее место занимает изменение геополитической ситуации на постсоветском пространстве, проявившееся не только в распаде существовавших экономических связей, но и в нарушении традиционных миграционных потоков. В результате распада бывшего СССР резко изменилось геополитическое и экономико-географическое положение Беларуси, которое оказывает значительное влияние на территориальную структуру хозяйства и систему расселения страны. Однако по уровню территориального развития в настоящее время Беларусь значительно уступает практически всем странам Европы, за исключением Румынии, Молдовы, Украины и России (рис. 1).

Рис. 1. Уровень территориального развития стран Европы



(рассчитано автором по формуле L=0.1√G/AP, где L – уровень территориального развития, отражающий основные социально - экономические параметры: G – ВВП в пределах конкретной территории; A – площадь; P – численность населения).

Значительное влияние на развитие демографической ситуации в Беларуси, ее естественной эволюции оказала авария на Чернобыльской АЭС. В результате катастрофы оказалось загрязненной радионуклидами около 1|5 территории страны, на которой проживает более 2 млн. человек. Радиоактивному загрязнению подверглось 54 района республики, 30 городов и более 3 тыс. сельских населенных пунктов. Больше всего в результате аварии пострадали территории Гомельской, Могилевской и Брестской областей.

Естественный прирост, миграционная подвижность населения, его половозрастная структура, уровень и особенности занятости населения являются показателями, в значительной степени зависящими от уровня экономического развития страны. Системный экономический кризис, охвативший все отрасли хозяйства Беларуси, значительно снизил уровень жизни населения, что не могло не сказаться на его демографическом поведении.

На протяжении длительного исторического периода естественное движение вместе с миграцией являлись основными источниками роста численности городского населения Беларуси. Естественное движение населения является итогом взаимодействия двух составляющих его процессов – рождаемости и смертности. Основное влияние на динамику естественного движения городского населения Беларуси во второй половине XX века оказала рождаемость. На протяжении последних 50 лет ее общий коэффициент в городских населенных пунктах снизился с 28,1‰ в 1950 г. до 9,8‰ в 2000 г., т. е. почти в 3 раза (табл.1). В целом по республике уровень рождаемости за этот же период уменьшился с 25,5‰ до 9,4‰, а в сельской местности с 24,7‰ до 8,5‰. В целом на протяжении всего анализируемого периода общий коэффициент рождаемости в городах несколько превышал соответствующий показатель по сельской местности.

Снижение рождаемости в Беларуси происходило далеко не равномерно, так как изменение общего коэффициента рождаемости прерывалось частыми падениями и подъемами, вызванными крупными социально-экономическими процессами, происходящими в стране. Это обусловлено тем, что «уровень рождаемости, как чуткий барометр, реагирует на все изменения в политике, экономике и культуре страны» [1, с.41]. В первые послевоенные годы наблюдался компенсаторный рост рождаемости вследствие повышенной брачности, характерной для послевоенного времени. Однако, уже начиная с 1952 года, начала проявляться тенденция к снижению общего коэффициента рождаемости. Анализируя данные статистики, динамику общего коэффициента рождаемости на территории Беларуси в период 1950 – 2000 гг. можно разделить на следующие три этапа. Первый этап (1950 – 1964 гг.) – медленное снижение уровня рождаемости; второй этап (1965 – 1984 гг.) - стабилизация и даже некоторое повышение общего коэффициента рождаемости; третий этап (1985 – 2000 гг.) – резкое снижение уровня рождаемости. Начиная с 1988 г. темпы снижения рождаемости резко возросли, что было обусловлено влиянием последствий аварии на Чернобыльской АЭС. Политические преобразования, связанные с распадом бывшего СССР, а также охвативший страну системный экономический кризис резко усугубили уже существовавшую на снижение рождаемости тенденцию. Таким образом, анализ показателей рождаемости в Беларуси за послевоенный период свидетельствует о демографическом переходе вначале от высокого к среднему, а впоследствии - и к низкому уровню рождаемости. Это является продолжением эволюции демографических процессов к новому типу воспроизводства населения. Однако если во многих европейских странах этот переход осуществлялся на протяжении практически всей второй половины XX века, то в Беларуси он произошел в течение нескольких лет. Так, если еще в 1990 г. рождаемость ниже 10 ‰ была характерна только для 13% городских населенных пунктов, то в 2000 г. соответствующий уровень рождаемости наблюдался уже более чем в 70% городских поселений.

Таблица 1. Динамика общего коэффициента рождаемости в городских и сельских поселениях Республики Беларусь, ‰

Годы	**1950**	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
Городские поселения	28,1	24,8	18,8	18,8	14,9	9,8
Сельские поселения	24,7	24,3	14,2	12,3	11,7	8,5

Источник: составлено автором по данным Министерства статистики и анализа Республики Беларусь

Проведенный анализ динамики рождаемости в Республике Беларусь показывает, что этот сложный демографический процесс детерминирован объективными социально-экономическими закономерностями. Уровень рождаемости определялся комплексным воздействием на него ряда факторов социально-экономического, демографического, психологического и культурного характера. В обширной научной литературе по проблеме факторов рождаемости и их классификации есть различные подходы [2,3,4]. В условиях Беларуси считаем наиболее удачным разделение их на две большие группы: демографические и социально-экономические.

Структурно-демографические и социально-экономические факторы будут и в дальнейшем определять уровень рождаемости в стране. Наряду с факторами, ведущими к снижению рождаемости, будут действовать и факторы, ее стимулирующие. В частности, постепенно сглаживаются существующие диспропорции населения по полу, увеличивается доля замужних женщин фертильного возраста. Поэтому некоторое увеличение рождаемости необходимо ждать в связи с тем, что в возраст наибольшей плодовитости будут вступать женщины, родившиеся в 80-х годах, когда рождаемость была наиболее высокой по сравнению с предыдущим и последующим периодами. Эта особенность возрастной структуры населения, вызванная демографической волной, привела к совсем незначительному увеличению с 1999 г. общего коэффициента рождаемо-ти. Однако маловероятно, что данное повышение рождаемости, вызванное структурными сдвигами, сможет продолжаться длительное время. Уже через несколько лет в детородный возраст начнет вступать поколение, рожденное после аварии на Чернобыльской АЭС, когда показатели рождаемости резко снизились. Ведь главная роль в современных условиях принадлежит психологии людей, выраженной в демографических установках на внутрисемейное регулирование рождаемости. А на формировании психологической установки уже более 15 лет сказывается неблагоприятная экологическая ситуация в стране, а также, в связи с кризисом в экономике, неуверенность большинства населения в завтрашнем дне. Проводившаяся до настоящего времени демографическая политика по стимулированию рождаемости заключалась в основном в предоставлении льгот семьям, имеющим детей. Но льготы - не стимул рождаемости, а выравнивание уровня жизни. Политика должна быть направлена на помощь семьям в удовлетворении их потребностей, на сокращение разрыва между тем числом детей, которое родители собираются иметь в данных социально-экономических условиях, и тем, которое они хотели бы иметь в благоприятной во всех отношениях ситуации [5].

Другим показателем естественного движения населения является смертность, определяемая как процесс вымирания поколения [6, с.409]. Демографы отмечают, что «значение показателей смертности далеко выходит за пределы чистой демографической проблематики. От того, сколько лет в среднем живут люди в данной стране - 30 или 70, - в значительной степени зависит ее политический престиж, а также социально-экономическое развитие» [7, с.115].

Абсолютная численность умерших в Беларуси на протяжении всей второй половины XX века постоянно росла, за исключением 10-летнего послевоенного периода. Динамика же общего коэффициента смертности была достаточно противоречивой, хотя в целом в период с 1950 по 1986 гг. прослеживалась тенденция к его снижению. Более детальный анализ показателей смертности позволяет выделить в ее динамике следующие четыре этапа:

– первый (1950-1958 гг.) – снижение общего коэффициента смертности;
– второй (1959-1977 гг.) – стабилизация коэффициента смертности;
– третий (1978-1986 гг.) – незначительный рост показателей смертности;
– четвертый (1987-2000 гг.) – резкое увеличение смертности населения.

Снижение общего коэффициента смертности на первом этапе обусловлено, прежде всего, развитием после окончания второй мировой войны здравоохранения, повышением материального уровня жизни населения, ростом санитарной культуры и т.д. В этот период смертность снизилась с 7,9‰ до 5,7‰.

На втором этапе – стабилизации – общий коэффициент смертности колебался от 6,1‰ до 5,2‰.

Незначительное повышение (с 6,2‰ до 6,5‰) коэффициента смертности на третьем этапе, не является чем-то особенным. Дело в том, что тенденция к незначительному повышению общего коэффициента смертности в 80-е годы XX столетия прослеживалась и во многих высокоразвитых странах мира: Голландии, Дании, Швеции и др. Это было обусловлено сдвигами в структуре населения в сторону повышения удельного веса пожилых людей («старение населения»). Охватившая все высокоразвитые страны мира тенденция старения населения коснулась и Беларуси, а это естественно привело к увеличению общего коэффициента смертности.

Проявившаяся на третьем этапе тенденция роста смертности в Беларуси вследствие его старения с 1987 года еще более усугубилась. За период 1987-2000 гг. общий коэффициент смертности вырос с 6,7‰ до 10,0‰. Этот значительный рост смертности на четвертом этапе был связан уже не только со сдвигами в возрастной структуре населения, а в большей степени обусловлен последствиями аварии на Чернобыльской АЭС и резким снижением уровня жизни населения вследствие экономичского кризиса.

Со значительными различиями в возрастной структуре населения связано существование различий в уровнях смертности городского и сельского населения. Так, если в 1950 г. общий коэффициент смертности в городских и сельских поселениях Беларуси был почти на одном уровне (7,9‰ и 8,0‰), то к 2000 г. вследствие резкого постарения сельского населения уровень его смертности превысил соответствующий показатель в городах более чем в два раза и составил 21,6‰.

Однако не только старением объясняется рост смертности населения на территории Республики Беларусь, о чем свидетельствует проведенный анализ общего коэффициента смертности, который, как и общий коэффициент рождаемости, является не совсем репрезентативным. На протяжении анализируемого нами периода значительно увеличились и половозрастные показатели смертности. Статистические данные свидетельствуют, что интенсивность смертности изменяется в зависимости от возраста и пола. Наиболее высокие ее показатели характерны для детей до 5 лет, затем смертность снижается, достигая минимума в возрастной группе от 10 до 14 лет. Начиная с 15-летнего возраста, смертность вновь увеличивается, достигая своих максимальных показателей у людей старше 60 лет. Отличительной особенностью половозрастных коэффициентов смертности является их значительный перевес у мужского населения, причем во всех без исключения возрастных группах. В целом за послевоенный период половозрастные показатели смертности выросли, хотя в некоторых возрастных группах произошло их снижение. У мужчин снизились половозрастные коэффициенты смертности только в возрасте до 20 лет, у женского населения до 45 летнего возраста. Для мужчин старше 20 лет и женщин старше 45 лет было характерно увеличение показателей смертности. Необходимо отметить, что с возрастом темпы роста смертности увеличиваются.

Увеличение напряжённости ритма жизни, информационные и транспортные перегрузки, недостаточность физической активности, ухудшение экологической ситуации привели к перераспределению по удельному весу факторов смерти. Если раньше большой удельный вес занимали причины, связанные с инфекционными и паразитарными заболеваниями, то в настоящее время первые два места в структуре смертности приходятся на "болезни цивилизации": систему кровообращения и новообразования.

Наибольший удельный вес среди всех причин смертности приходится на болезни системы кровообращения. В последние годы ежегодно они составляют около 50% всех смертных случаев.

На втором месте стоит смертность от новообразований. Рост смертности от злокачественных опухолей на территории страны связан в первую очередь с ухудшением экологической обстановки. Если в 70-80-е годы доля этого вида смертности была около 10 %, то в последнее десятилетие наметилась тенденция к ее увеличению. Если раньше от этой причины умирали в основном люди пожилого возраста, то сейчас эта болезнь значительно омолодилась и стала характерной также для лиц средних возрастных групп.

Третье место среди причин смерти занимают несчастные случаи, отравления и травмы. Характерно то, что количество смертных случаев от этого вида с 1990 г. значительно прогрессирует, а доля в общей численности умерших ежегодно составляет около 10 %. Рост смертности в этой группе обусловлен неудовлетворительной организацией производства, транспортных средств, бытовым травматизмом, ростом алкоголизма. Так, смертность от причин, связанных с употреблением алкоголя, только за последние годы увеличилась почти в 3 раза. За этот же период возрос удельный вес умерших от убийств и самоубийств.

К "болезням цивилизации" ученые-геронтологи относят и болезни органов дыхания, смертность от которых до середины 80-х годов входила в первую тройку. В настоящее время в связи с резким ростом смертности от несчастных случаев, убийств, самоубийств и других внешних воздействий, смертность от болезней органов дыхания переместилась на 4-е место.

В послевоенный период первоначально наметилась устойчивая тенденция к снижению смертности от инфекционных и паразитарных заболеваний и болезней органов пищеварения. Однако, в последние годы в связи с затяжным экономическим кризисом и ухудшением санитарно-эпидемиологической обстановки смертность от этих причин возросла и занимает в иерархии причин смертности пятое место.

Одним из наиболее чувствительных показателей качества жизни населения, его социально-бытовых условий, уровня развития медицины является детская смертность. Ее в некоторой степени можно назвать «барометром благосостояния». Высокий уровень смертности детей до 5 лет в городских поселениях Беларуси обусловлен в первую очередь младенческой смертностью (до 1 года). Как показывают материалы текущей статистики, в целом по республике коэффициент детской смертности за послевоенный период снизился более чем в 6 раз и составил в 2000 г. 9,3‰. В сельской местности за этот же период младенческая смертность снизилась с 55,1‰ до 12,0‰, в городах – с 65,2‰ до 8,3‰ (табл.2). Начиная с 1960 г. на протяжении всего анализируемого периода уровень детской смертности в городах был ниже, чем в сельской местности. Эту особенность обусловил более высокий уровень медико-санитарного обслуживания городского населения. Резко сократившаяся смертность детей до 1 года изменила кривую половозрастной смертности от Y-образной к J-образной.

Таблица 2. Младенческая смертность в Республике Беларусь, ‰

Год	Число детей, умерших в возрасте до 1 года на 1000 родившихся		
	Всё население	Городское население	Сельское население
1950	57,4	65,2	55,1
1960	34,9	32,1	36,2
1970	18,8	18,1	19,5
1980	16,3	15,3	18,2
1990	11,9	11,8	12,3
1991	12,1	11,4	13,8
1992	12,3	12,3	12,5
1993	12,5	11,8	14,1
1994	13,2	12,5	14,8
1995	13,3	12,3	15,6
1996	12,5	12,0	13,8
1997	12,4	10,8	15,9
1998	11,3	10,0	14,3
1999	11,5	9,8	15,4
2000	9,3	8,3	12,0

Источник: составлено автором по данным Министерства статистики и анализа Республики Беларусь

Смертность детей до 1 года имеет некоторые особенности. Анализ статистических данных показывает, что из общего числа детей, умирающих до одного года, около 50% умирает на первом месяце жизни. Из числа детей, умерших до одного месяца, до 70% детей умирает в первые три дня жизни. Среди причин смертности детей этого возраста наибольший удельный вес занимает перинатальная смертность, врожденные аномалии и болезни органов дыхания.

Рост общей смертности в Республике Беларусь в конце XX века привел к значительному снижению одного из основных показателей уровня жизни населения – средней продолжительности жизни. Важность этого показателя связана с тем, что он является одним из ключевых при ежегодном расчете ООН индекса человеческого развития для стран мира.

Только переход республики по значению этого индекса за последние 10 лет с 37 места в мире в шестой десяток свидетельствует о резком снижении ожидаемой продолжительности жизни населения страны. В целом по республике за период с проведения первой Всероссийской переписи населения 1897 г. до первой послевоенной переписи 1959 г. продолжительность жизни населения выросла с 38 до 70 лет. Самая высокая продолжительность жизни населения Беларуси была отмечена в 1973-1974 гг., достигнув 73 лет. После этого периода началось ее снижение, и в 2000 г. продолжительность жизни в стране составила всего 69 лет. Аналогичная тенденция в динамике показателей средней продолжительности жизни характерна для городского и сельского населения страны. До 1970 г. продолжительность жизни сельского населения была выше, чем у городских жителей в среднем не более чем на один год. С 1970 эта тенденция изменилась, и уже городские жители стали жить больше сельских, причем эта разница достигла трех лет. Необходимо отметить, что ни в одной высокоразвитой стране мира таких диспропорций не существует. В условиях Беларуси это обусловлено более низким уровнем жизни сельского населения.

Еще одной отличительной особенностью ожидаемой средней продолжительности жизни населения Беларуси является наличие существенных ее отличий у мужского и женского населения (табл.3). Если в 1897 г. эта разница составляла всего один год, то к 2000 г. она достигла более 10 лет, а в сельской местности еще выше. Увеличение разрыва в средней продолжительности жизни мужчин и женщин является всеобщей закономерностью и в настоящее время эта проблема волнует всех геронтологов мира. Считается, что различия в продолжительности жизни населения по полу связаны с образом жизни мужчин и женщин, так как именно от этого фактора на 51,2% зависит состояние здоровья человека. На 20,4% продолжительность жизни населения связана с биологическими данными организма, на 19,9% - зависит от состояния окружающей среды и на 8,5% - от уровня развития здравоохранения [8, с.83].

Таким образом, проведенный анализ смертности и средней продолжительности жизни городского населения Беларуси свидетельствует о негативных тенденциях в динамике этих показателей. Частично это обусловлено старением населения, однако определяющее влияние на рост смертности и снижение средней продолжительности жизни оказали социально-экономические факторы. Возрастающие темпы научно-технического прогресса привели к снижению показателей качества окружающей среды. Ухудшение экологической обстановки способствовало росту заболеваемости во всех возрастных группах населения, а экономический кризис - снижению уровня жизни и медицинского обслуживания населения.

Таблица 3. Ожидаемая продолжительность жизни при рождении (число лет).

Период исчисления	Всё население	В том числе:	
		мужчины	женщины
1990	71,1	66,3	75,6
1991	70,7	65,5	75,5
1992	70,3	64,9	75,4
1993	69,2	63,8	74,4
1994	68,9	63,5	74,3
1995	68,6	62,9	74,3
1996	68,6	63,0	74,3
1997	68,5	62,9	74,3
1998	68,4	62,7	74,4
1999	67,9	62,2	73,9
2000	69,0	63,4	74,7

Источник: составлено автором по данным Министерства статистики и анализа Республики Беларусь

В результате длительной эволюции показателей рождаемости и смертности и их перекрестного влияния друг на друга формировался определенный уровень естественного прироста. В целом на протяжении всего послевоенного периода прослеживалась тенденция к его снижению, хотя практически до 1990 г. в стране наблюдалось расширенное воспроизводство населения. Решающее влияние на снижение естественного прироста населения в конце XX в. оказала рождаемость, так как показатели смертности в этот период изменялись незначительно. На 90-е годы пришелся демографический переход от расширенного к простому типу воспроизводства населения. В 1993 г. впервые за всю демографическую историю Беларуси уровень рождаемости и смертности населения страны выровнялись, и коэффициент естественного прироста стал равным нулю. В 1997 г. и в городских населенных пунктах республики произошла демографическая революция, так как общее число умерших превысило число родившихся, и естественный прирост стал отрицательным. В сельской местности страны естественная убыль населения наблюдается с 1977 г.

Таким образом, проведенный анализ естественного движения населения Республики Беларусь показал, что в стране в течение десяти последних лет произошел демографический переход от расширенного к простому, а затем и суженному типу воспроизводства населения. Для него характерна низкая рождаемость, явившаяся результатом влияния как демографических, так и социально-экономических факторов, и относительно низкие показатели смертности с проявившейся тенденцией к их увеличению. Рост абсолютных и относительных показателей смертности значительно снизил ожидаемую продолжительность жизни населения. Убыль населения происходит не только в малых городских населенных пунктах, но и в некоторых средних и больших городах, которые оказались в зоне радиоактивного загрязнения. По прогнозам к 2011 г. городское население сократится на 1%, сельское на 20,4%. Демографический потенциал Беларуси в целом снизится на 7,3% [9]. Следовательно, рождаемость увеличиваться не будет, а смертность будет расти. Уже в настоящее время практически все демографические показатели (суммарный коэффициент рождаемости, индекс разводимости, коэффициент младенческой смертности, ожидаемая продолжительность жизни) достигли тех критических величин, значения которых грозят демографической безопасности страны. Все это свидетельствует о демографической обстановке, требующей реализации долговременной демографической политики, основанной в первую очередь на значительном повышении уровня жизни населения и улучшении качества окружающей среды.

В послевоенный период на территории Беларуси усилилась миграционная мобильность населения, что явилось следствием индустриального развития страны и имело положительное значение. Однако преобладание в этих процессах стихийности, отсутствие целенаправленной миграционной политики привело к нерегулируемому росту больших городов, опустошению сельской местности и деградации большинства малых городских поселений. Негативную роль в деле регламентации миграционного поведения населения страны и осуществление целевых установок на сдерживание миграционных потоков играли и способы регулирования, представляющие собой систему преимущественно командно-административных ограничений. Гораздо меньшее развитие в исследуемый период получают рычаги экономического воздействия на миграцию. Практически не уделялось внимания в системе управления миграцией мерам социально-психологического воздействия на миграционное поведение населения, на сложившийся миграционный стереотип. Авария на Чернобыльской АЭС, распад бывшего СССР и затяжной экономический кризис изменили многие наблюдавшиеся ранее тенденции в миграционных процессах. На динамику миграционных перемещений начали влиять не только те достаточно традиционные факторы и причины, но и новые. Так, наряду с группой факторов социально-экономического, демографического и психологического характера на первый план стали выдвигаться политические, экологические и этнические факторы. В связи с этим появились новые тенденции:

- снижение общей интенсивности переселений;

- уменьшение объёмов межобластной миграции и рост доли внутриобластной;
- сокращение расстояний, на которые мигрирует население;
- уменьшение масштабов миграции из села в город;
- некоторый рост миграционного потока город – село;
- замедление процесса концентрации населения в городах;
- уменьшение темпов роста больших городов;
- расширение масштабов маятниковой миграции;
- возрастание доли естественного прироста в росте численности городского населения;
- появление новых видов мигрантов – переселенцев и беженцев.

Характерной особенностью конца 80-х, начала 90-х гг. стало увеличение объема эмиграции населения Беларуси за пределы бывшего СССР, что было связано с резко изменившейся политической, экономической и социальной ситуацией в стране. Данные об эмиграции жителей Беларуси в отдельные страны за период 1990 - 2000 гг. представлены в таблице 4.

Таблица 4. Численность граждан республики Беларусь, получивших разрешение на выезд за границу на постоянное место жительства по отдельным странам

Годы	Всего получило разрешение	Из них в:					
		Израиль	США	Германия	Австралия	Польша	Канада
1990	34094	33085	508	95	62	66	157
1991	22017	15146	6191	208	132	116	89
1992	9727	3157	5590	370	231	152	97
1993	6901	2431	3627	464	57	101	29
1994	6950	2952	2826	398	94	99	76
1995	8780	3705	2169	552	61	147	37
1996	8917	3324	1912	518	68	206	49
1997	8891	2838	1697	641	35	210	85
1998	9214	2182	1587	579	33	173	103
1999	9581	2803	1451	744	8	74	83
2000	10674	2517	1606	811	19	54	87

Источник: Министерство статистики и анализа Республики Беларусь

Как видно из представленных данных, наибольшее число выехавших за пределы республики в последнее десятилетие XX века наблюдалось в 1990 и 1991 гг. Это было связано с либерализацией жизни в стране и принятием ряда законов, способствующих упрощенной процедуре для желающих покинуть Беларусь. В последующий период (1992-1997 гг.) число желающих выехать в другие страны несколько стабилизировалось вследствие многих причин и, прежде всего, иммиграционной политики потенциальных стран эмиграции из Беларуси. Однако в последние годы опять наблюдается незначительный рост населения, получившего разрешение на выезд за границу на постоянное место жительства. Эту особенность можно объяснить дальнейшим снижением уровня жизни жителей Беларуси, так как среди эмигрантов уже лица еврейской национальности составляют менее 25%, а в 90-м году их доля превышала 95%. В последний период возросла доля эмигрантов в США и Германию. Кроме этих двух стран и Израиля, наибольшее число жителей Беларуси выезжает на постоянное место жительства в Канаду, Польшу и Австралию. Как правило, это высококвалифицированная рабочая сила, ведущая к «утечке умов» из страны. Следует отметить, что в результате этого вида миграции на территории Беларуси наблюдалось отрицательное сальдо миграции на протяжении всего анализируемого периода. Затяжной экономический кризис, низкий уровень жизни населения, последствия аварии на Чернобыльской АЭС не смогут остановить поток мигрантов из Беларуси в более высокоразвитые страны мира, особенно высококвалифицированных специалистов.

Выявленные тенденции в динамике процессов миграции населения на территории Беларуси в послевоенный период показывают, что закономерности их протекания, как показывает мировой опыт, совпадают с теми, которые характерны для высокоразвитых стран мира. Это значит, что процессы миграции в ходе исторического развития на пути от промышленной к постиндустриальной цивилизации укладываются в определенную схему, согласующуюся с этапами развития урбанизации как глобального социально-экономического процесса. В первые послевоенные годы Республика Беларусь находилась на втором этапе развития урбанизации (начало промышленной цивилизации). В это время наблюдалась невысокая степень интенсивности сельской миграции. В процессе повышения уровня индустриализации и урбанизированности региона поток сельских мигрантов в городскую местность начинает возрастать. При достижении урбанизированности 40-60% наблюдается максимум сельско-городской миграции. Это происходило в 70-80-е гг. XX столетия, когда Беларусь находилась на третьем этапе развития урбанизации. В конце XX столетия по мере увеличения доли городского населения из-за истощения трудовых ресурсов села, показатели миграционной мобильности сельских жителей страны начинают снижаться. Кроме этого для четвертого этапа развития урбанизации характерно снижение общей интенсивности переселений. В результате этого сокращаются не только темпы, но и абсолютные величины прироста населения больших городов, снижается, как уже отмечалось, доля механического прироста. Это признаки, характерные для конца четвертого этапа урбанистической эволюции, где находится в настоящее время

Беларусь. Следующий этап – деконцентрация населения из городов, развитие субурбанизации и рурбанизации. Однако рост миграционной мобильности из городов в пригороды и сельскую местность может наступить только при повышении уровня жизни населения, развитии транспортных коммуникаций, средств связи.

В высокоразвитых странах мира факторами, которые привели к уменьшению притягательной силы городов, снижению в них темпов миграционного прироста, развитию субурбанизации и рурбанизации стали: развитие промышленности интенсивным путём (идёт сокращение рабочих рук); вынос производства из крупных в малые города и сельскую местность; улучшение транспортных связей городов с прилегающей территорией, что ведёт к усилению маятниковой подвижности населения; улучшение подготовки местных кадров, что ведёт к сокращению их притока со стороны; улучшение бытовых условий и обслуживания населения в поселениях более низкого иерархического уровня. Поэтому рационализация миграционных перемещений на территории Республики Беларусь может быть достигнута только в результате взаимоувязанных экономических, социально-психологических и административно-правовых мер.

Таким образом, проведенный анализ геодемографического развития Беларуси показал, что страна вступила в стадию устойчивой и длительной депопуляции. Снижение рождаемости, рост смертности, отрицательный естественные прирост, прогрессирующий процесс старения привели к суженному воспроизводству населения. Экономический кризис и экологическая катастрофа усилили неблагоприятные миграционные тенденции. Переход от расширенного к простому, а затем и суженному воспроизводству во второй половине XX века произошел во многих странах Западной Европы. В них также наблюдается низкая рождаемость, отсутствие естественного прироста, старение населения, и в целом - суженное воспроизводство населения. Однако если в странах Западной Европы демографический переход от расширенного к суженному типу воспроизводства населения осуществлялся эволюционным путем на протяжении всей второй половины XX века, то в условиях Беларуси этот переход захватил не более 10 лет. Это свидетельствует о том, что те меры демографической политики, которые проводят европейские страны, не могут быть применены полностью в условиях Беларуси.

Все кризисные явления в демографической системе Беларуси связаны не только с трансформацией социально-экономической системы. В основе демографического развития страны лежат особенности структуры и воспроизводства населения, сложившиеся в предыдущие годы, долговременные закономерности демографического развития. Если бы даже не было аварии на Чернобыльской АЭС, экономика развивалась бы стабильно, до сих пор существовал бы СССР, общие показатели рождаемости снижались бы, смертности - росли даже из-за старения нации. Правда, этот демографический переход от слегка расширенного к суженному воспроизводству населения длился бы несколько больше, не 5 лет, как оказалось, а несколько десятилетий. Трансформация социально-экономической системы ускорила демографический переход, явилась своеобразным катализатором. Чтобы воспрепятствовать негативным тенденциям в воспроизводственных процессах на территории Беларуси, необходима активная и эффективная демографическая политика. К сожалению, до сих пор меры демографической политики носят разрозненный, централизованный, не учитывающий местных условий характер. В современных условиях необходимо разграничить сферы деятельности местных и республиканских органов в области демографической политики. На верхнем уровне должна быть разработана концепция демографического развития республики и научные рекомендации по внедрению ее в жизнь. Местным органам необходимо предоставить возможность решения всех вопросов, касающихся демографической политики, включая вопросы финансирования ее мероприятий из собственного бюджета.

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Summary

BELARUS IN DEMOGRAPHIC SPACE OF EUROPE

The paper discusses the main stages of demographic development in Belarus. Based on the current statistics and census materials dynamism of birth and death rates, and natural growth of the country's population have been analysed.

Migration processes on the territory of Belarus have been examined, and contemporary tendencies in demographic processes have been analysed.

Some solutions to the demographic policy have been suggested. They would divide the activity fields among local and central state agencies. A concept of the demographic development in the Republic as well as recommendations for its implementation should be prepared on the top level. Whereas local authority agencies should have an opportunity to solve all the questions concerning the demographic policy, including financing of such enterprises from the own budget.

BULGARIA'S EUROINTEGRATION

Margarita ILIEVA

Institute of Geography
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
Sofia

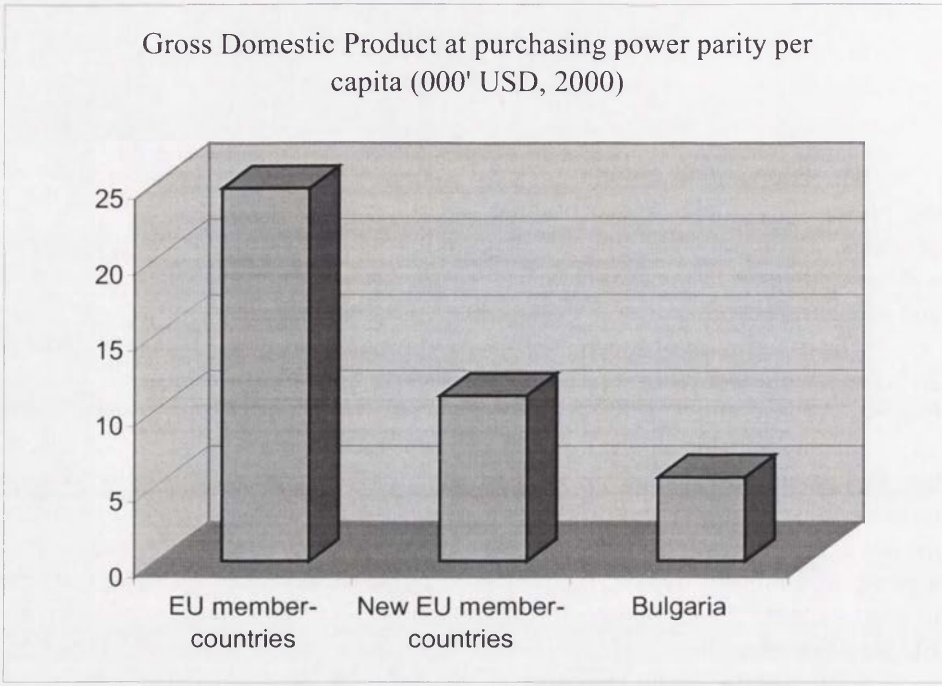
The cooperation among different countries is becoming a key factor in the present-day social and economic development. That is why the number of states, aiming at international integration, is steadily increasing, because it will give impetus to their economy and will guarantee a higher living standard and safe and peaceful life.

The integration of the West-European nations started in the middle of the 20th century but today it is a process characteristic mostly of Central and Eastern Europe. As envisaged in the Maastricht Agreement, each European state can apply for membership in the European Union (EU). To become a EU full member, this candidate country has to share the EU value system and objectives, to meet certain economic and political requirements and criteria and to harmonize its laws and regulations with the EU legislation. If an individual country or a group of countries declare their willingness to join the EU, they must adhere to a procedure, corresponding to the demands in the contracts, ratified by the EU member countries.

„The enlargement is a historical priority for the European Union. Each candidate member will negotiate its integration with the EU as quickly as possible according to its own rhythm" (Europe's Agenda 2000, 1999). Since its foundation till the end of the 20th century the European Community expanded four times - in 1973, 1981, 1986 and 1995. The next, fifth and most impressive expansion of the EU took place in 2004 when Cyprus, Malta, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were concurrently integrated. Thus the united Europe turned to be a model of a peaceful and voluntary integration among 25 West and East- European states.

The old EU member countries have had economies, governed by market mechanisms. Eight of the ten newly accepted states are from Central and Eastern Europe, which in the 1990s were undergoing a transition from centrally planned to market economy. Compared to all 12 candidates countries, they have achieved the highest level of social and economic development but at this stage they are still less developed than the EU member countries and therefore the economic restructuring in them has to continue. Thus, for instance, there are considerable differences between them and the EU member countries with respect to the gross domestic product (GDP) at purchasing power parity per capita (Fig. 1). Furthermore, differences can be discerned among the EU newly accepted member countries themselves (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1. Gross Domestic Product at purchasing power parity per capita ('000 USD, 2000)



Bulgaria is a state from the second group of candidate member countries, called the „Helsinki" group, including Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Malta. In comparison with the new EU members Bulgaria comes second only after Poland in terms of its area and as far as the number of population is concerned, it ranks after Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic (Fig. 3). However, Bulgaria's GDP is smaller than that in most of the aforesaid countries whereas its per capita GDP is the smallest (Fig. 4). If a comparison is made with regard to GDP at purchasing power parity per capita, this indicator has again the lowest values in Bulgaria although its difference with the remaining countries is not so marked (Fig. 2). From 1995 to 2000 it grew insignificantly as a consequence not only of the lower economic level during the first half of the 1990s, associated with the more profound changes in the economic sector, with the retarded rates of reforms, etc., but also of the substantial economic decline in

1996-1997 when negative rates in GDP growth were registered. During the same period the other countries in transition unlike Bulgaria succeeded in pushing forward their economies (Fig. 5, 6). Despite the accelerated development rates, observed recently, Bulgaria is lagging behind in its social and economic progress. In the next few years Bulgaria has to proceed with its preparations for EU full membership. „For Bulgaria the European integration means coordination and unification of practically all aspects of social and economic life and the aspirations for the EU membership are a comprehensible necessity" (Monitoring of..., 2000, p. 19).

In fact, Bulgaria's integration with the EU enables the country to revert to the European value system. „Bulgaria's membership in the EU is a means for approaching the national interests and that is why it is considered to be a strategic goal. The country's accession to the EU is not a single political act but is a result of long-standing efforts, oriented towards the establishment of a democratic, constitutional state with flourishing market economy. In terms of politics, the efforts towards integration are very important as they will guarantee the irreversibility of the changes and will consolidate the democratic reforms. Bulgaria's membership in the EU has a number of economic advantages, related to its participation in the Common Market, which is remarkable for unrestricted flow of goods, services, people and capitals. The expected advantages will result both from transformations within the country and from the successful preparation for and completion of its accession to the EU" (Genov, Panushev, 2001).

Bulgaria established diplomatic relations with the EU at the end of the 1980s. The first document to confirm this fact was the Convention for Trade and Economic Cooperation (1990). An Agreement for Association with the EU was ratified in 1993 but was enforced at the beginning of 1995. Bulgaria was granted the status of associate member later than Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. In 1995 Bulgaria's request for EU membership was officially submitted for consideration. After a positive response from the European Commission (1997), a whole set of documents were jointly elaborated and adopted which served as a basis for the future relations between Bulgaria and the European Union. They contain a consistent program, focusing on the preparations of the country and the commitments, assumed by it and the EU in carrying out certain priority objectives within preliminary fixed periods. These priorities for Bulgaria are as follows: economic reform, stabilization of the institutional and administrative capacity, development of home market, judicial system and internal affairs, environment and energy output. Corresponding institutions have been set up, e.g. the Council on European Integration, the Committee on European Integration, etc.

Fig. 2. EU member-countries and Bulgaria. Gross Domestic Product at purchasing power parity per capita (in '000 USD, current prices)

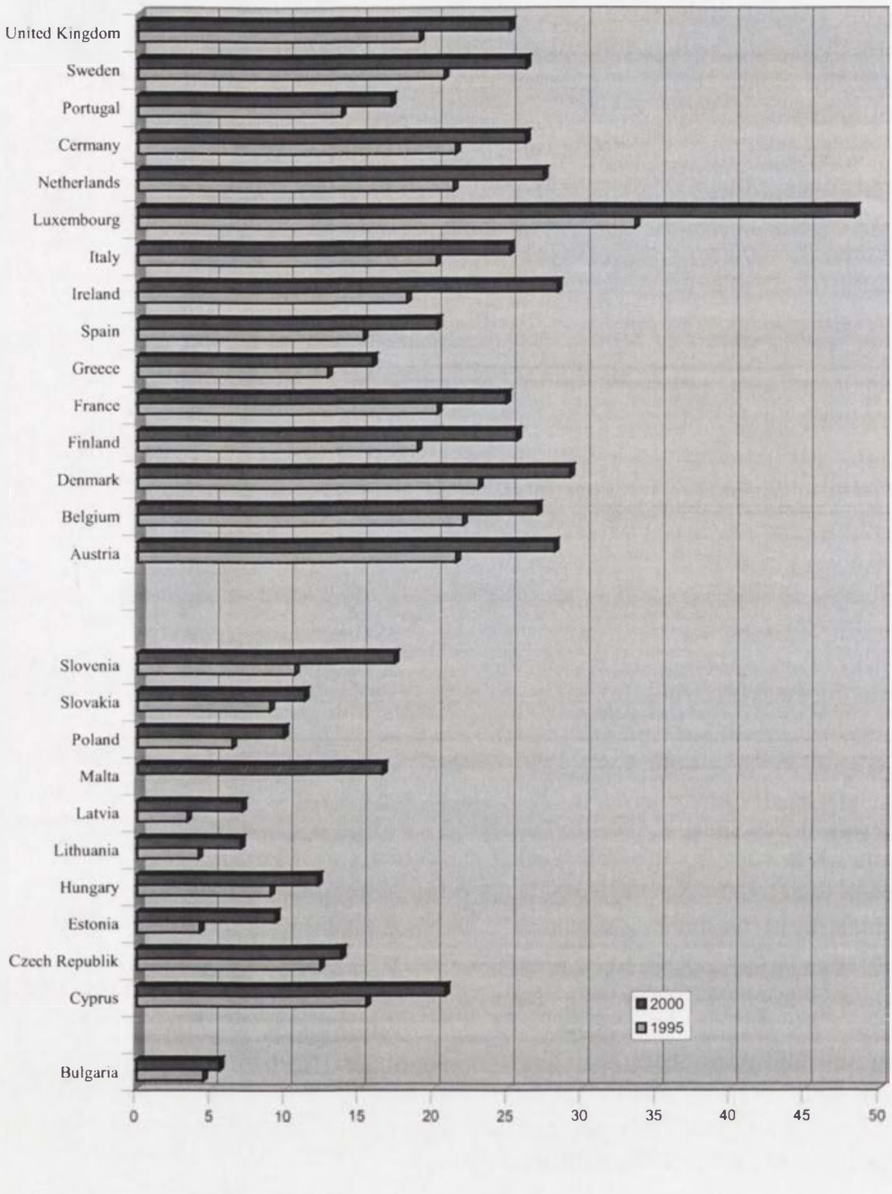
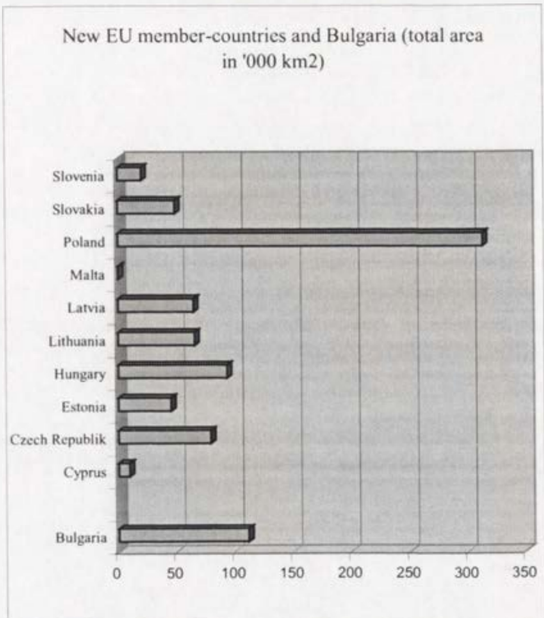


Fig. 3. New EU member-countries and Bulgaria (total area in '000 km²). New EU member-countries and Bulgaria (population in millions)



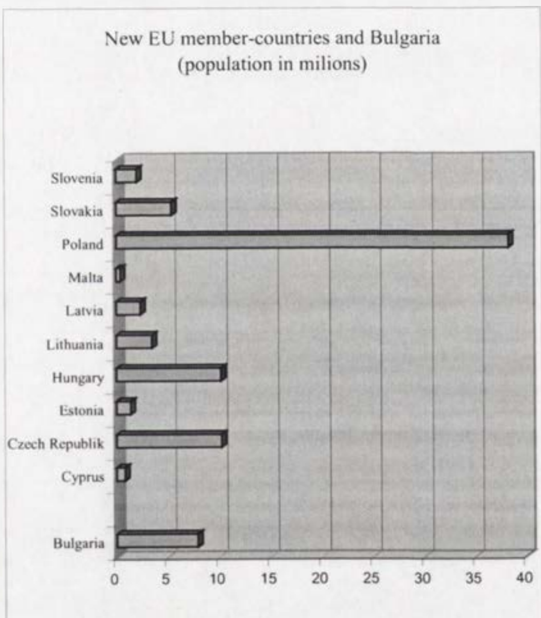
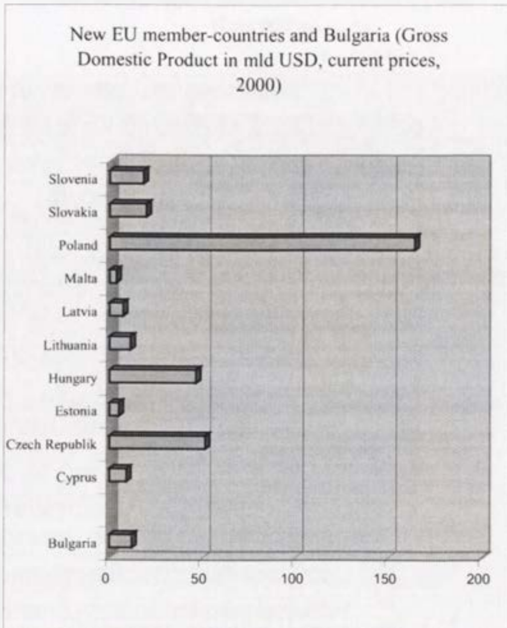


Fig. 4. New EU member-countries and Bulgaria. Gross Domestic Product in mld USD, current prices, 2000. New EU member-countries and Bulgaria. Gross Domestic Product per capita in USD, current prices, 2002



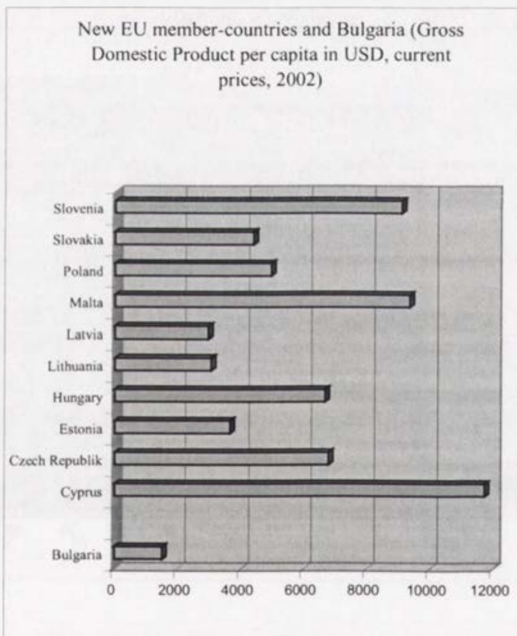


Fig. 5. New EU member-countries and Bulgaria. Indices of Gross Domestic Product (constant prices, 1995 = 100)

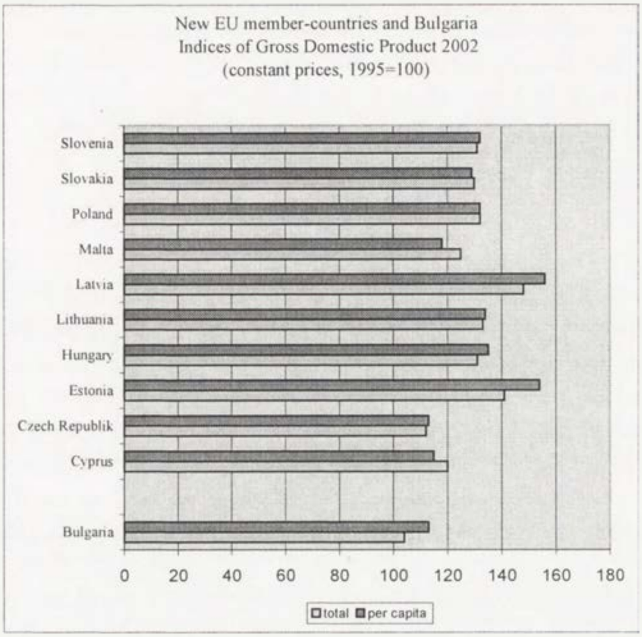
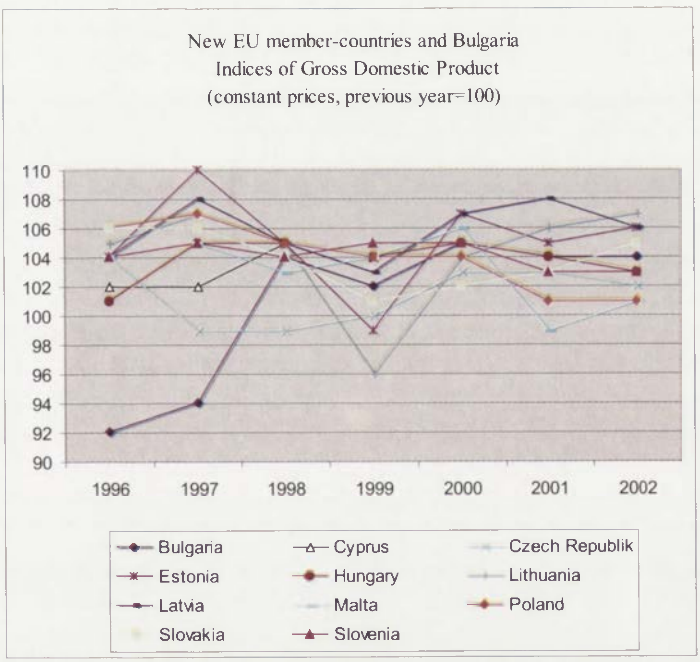


Fig. 6. New EU member-countries and Bulgaria. Indices of Gross Domestic Product (constant prices, previous year = 100)



Bulgaria's integration with the European Union enjoys a wide public support - sociological surveys indicate that more than 80% of the citizens approve the country's accession to the EU. Nevertheless, much work has to be done in order to make the Bulgarians accept the „European idea" and to better acquaint the Europeans with Bulgaria so as to increase the number of those who support Bulgaria's nomination for EU member country (Plan for…, 2002).

The negotiations for Bulgaria's integration with the EU started in the early months of 2000. By the mid-2002 the country had successfully opened all 31 negotiable chapters. Till June 15, 2004, the negotiations on all of them had been technically concluded and the chapters - temporarily closed (Table 1) which will allow the country to become a EU full member in 2007.

The finalized negotiations for Bulgaria's membership in the EU will essentially contribute to the economic prosperity of the country and will enhance its attractiveness for foreign investments. The elaborated documents make forecasts about economic stabilization and sustainable and dynamic development. Thus the country will be able to meet the Copenhagen criteria for EU membership. „In the sphere of economy Bulgaria should aim at stable trends towards economic growth and integration of the Bulgarian economy with the economies of the EU member countries as far as the investment process, the transfer of technologies, the industrial policy and financial control are concerned..." (Monitoring…, 2000, p.20). The achieved positive results are described in the annually published Regular Report on Bulgaria's progress towards accession, which the European Commission has been issuing since 1998. For the first time the 2002-Regular Report lays special emphasis on the fact that Bulgaria already has an operating market economy but in spite of the progress it has made, the country is lagging behind in the development of agriculture and rural areas, of transport infrastructure, environment, investments, etc.

The future successful economic development will promote the participation of the country in the international trade. During the 1990s the share of the EU member countries in their trade with Bulgaria was steadily increasing (Fig. 7). Now the EU is Bulgaria's biggest foreign trade partner with respect to the total export and import activity (Fig. 8). The export consists mainly of metals, textiles and clothing, unprocessed and processed farm produce (wine, meat, tobacco, etc.), etc. The major destinations for the exported Bulgarian articles are Italy, Germany and Greece. The import is dominated by machines, automobiles, pharmaceutical products, foodstuffs, forages, etc. The import from the EU countries prevail over the export, oriented to them.

Table 1. Negotiations on accession of the Republic of Bulgaria to the European Union (15.06.2004)

Chapters	Opening of the negotiations	Preliminarily closing of the negotiations
1. Free Movement of Goods	01-05-17	02-06-10
2. Free Movement of Persons	01-10-26	02-06-10
3. Freedom to Provide Services	01-03-30	01-11-28
4. Free Movement of Capital	00-11-16	01-07-27
5. Company Law	00-11-16	01-06-11
6. Competition Policy	01-03-30	15.06..2004
7. Agriculture	02-03-21	04-06-04
8. Fisheries	01-03-30	01-06-11
9. Transport Policy	01-06-11	03-06-02
10. Taxation	01-07-27	02-06-10
11. Economic and Monetary Union	02-03-21	02-04-22
12. Statistics	00-10-24	00-11-20
13. Employment and Social Policy	01-10-26	02-04-22
14. Energy	01-11-28	02-11-18
15. Industrial Policy	01-12-21	01-12-21
16. Small and Medium-Size Enterprises	00-03-28	00-06-14
17. Science and Research	00-03-28	00-06-14
18. Education and Training	00-03-28	00-06-14
19. Telecommunication, Information Technologies and Postal Services	00-10-24	01-10-26
20. Culture and Audio-Visual Policy	00-03-28	00-11-20
21. Regional Policy and Co-ordination	01-11-28	04-06-04
22. Environment	01-07-27	03-06-30
23. Consumers and Health Protection	00-10-24	00-11-20
24. Justice and Home Affairs	01-06-27	03-10-29
25. Customs Union	01-06-11	02-07-29
26. External Relations	00-03-28	00-11-20
27. Common Foreign and Security Policy	00-03-28	00-06-14
28. Financial Control	01-05-17	02-10-01
29. Finance and Budgetary Provisions	01-11-28	04-06-04
30. Institutions	02-04-22	02-04-22
31. Others		04-06-15

Source: Http://www.mfa.government.bg

The EU backs Bulgaria in its efforts to become a EU full member in 2007. To speed up the process of integration, a detailed Road Map of Bulgaria has been worked out which specifies the basic tasks and steps the country should undertake in the pre-accession period. Particular attention is paid to the administrative and judicial capacity needed to put into practice the achievements of the EU legal and economic reforms (Road Maps..., 2002). Besides, the EU financial aid is expected to grow.

Fig. 7. Share of EU in Bulgaria's export and import

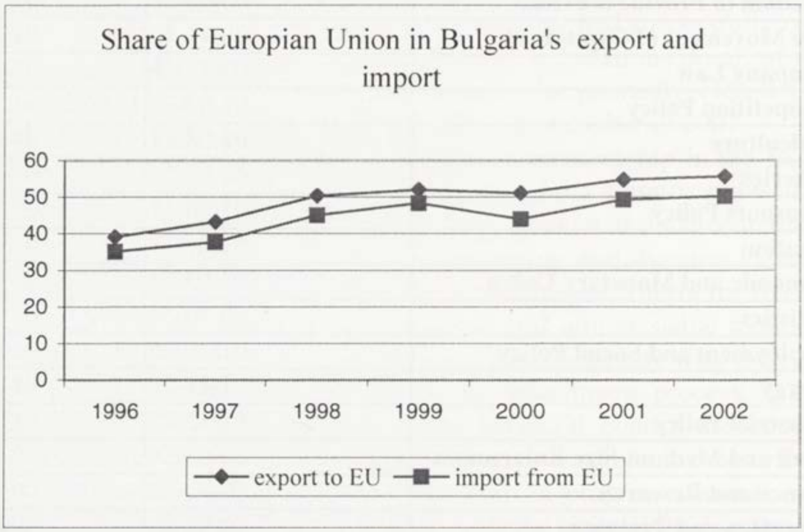


Fig. 8. Export and import by groups of countries (million Levs)

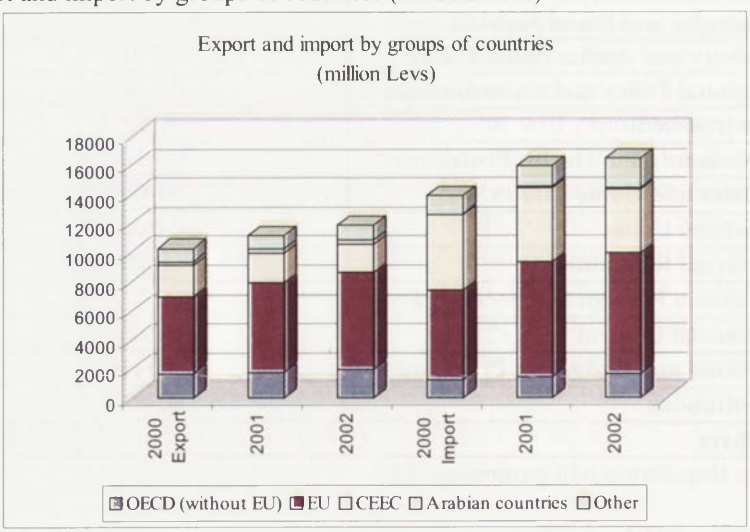
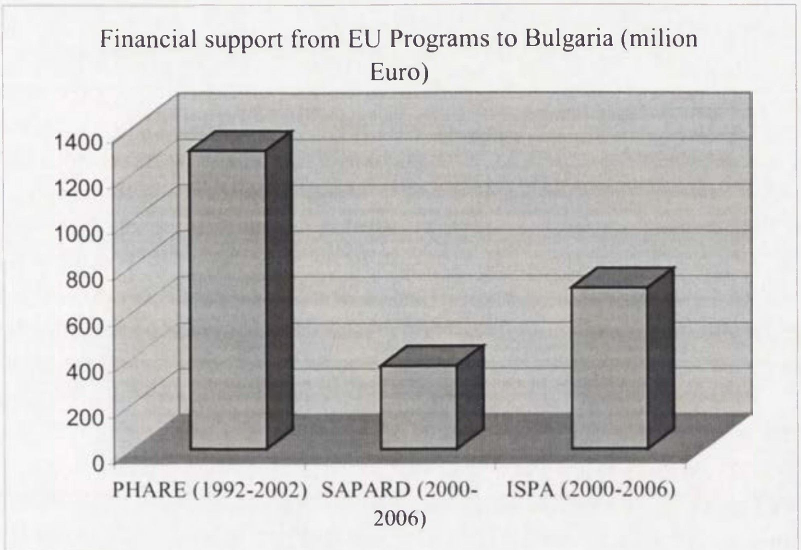


Fig. 9. Financial support from EU Programs to Bulgaria (million Euro)



The development of Bulgaria and its preparations for integration with the EU is assisted by various programs (Fig. 9) and pre-accession funds as is the case with the other candidate members from Central and Eastern Europe. Under the PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD Programs the EU allocates for Bulgaria about 250-300 million EURO annually. The funds, which it receives from the PHARE Program, should be used for further economic restructuring, for implementation of the EU legal norms, for consolidation of the public administration, for ethnic integration, for the development of civil society, for programs on trans-boundary cooperation (chiefly infrastructural projects dealing with the borders which Bulgaria shares with Greece and Romania), etc.

The SAPARD Program provides funds for the development of agriculture and rural regions in Bulgaria. Actually the country was the first candidate member which in May 2001 could partially accredit its SAPARD Agency - a condition favourable for the initiation of the program. Among the program priorities are the improvement of the output quality, the manufacture and marketing of agricultural products, the encouragement of organic farming and environmental protection, the balanced development of the rural areas, etc.

The ISPA Program finances infrastructural projects in two spheres - environmental protection and transport. Priority objectives in environmental protection are the drinking water quality improvement, the treatment of waste waters and solid wastes and the restriction of air pollution, while in the sphere of transport they can be reduced to the construction and modernization of the basic trans-European networks and development of cross-border links, up-dating of the railway infrastructure in some key sections of the Pan-European transport corridors which run through Bulgaria, etc.

Closely associated with the strategic goal, which Bulgaria pursues, i.e. its full membership in the EU, is the necessity of extending further the cooperation among neighbouring countries within the framework of the European cooperation. In this sense the cooperation between Bulgaria and its neighbouring states against the background of the Eurointegration processes, is a pressing issue. „For Bulgaria the regional economic, political and military cooperation is an important element and a step forward to the integration of the country with the European and North Atlantic structures" (Monitoring..., 2001, p. 160). Therefore the establishment and extension of cooperation between local and regional authorities in the respective countries and particularly of trans-boundary cooperation between neighbouring nations is essential for Bulgaria's Eurointegration. The trans-boundary cooperation is one of the priorities in the Plan for Regional Development of the Country (1999).

In recent years Bulgaria has been extending its cooperation with the neighbouring countries. Greece as a NATO member country supports Bulgaria in its aspirations for EU full membership. Turkey and Greece as NATO members have firmly backed Bulgaria's candidature for membership in this organization. On April 2004 the country became a NATO full member and part of the its „eastern border". After Bulgaria's integration with the European economic and social space, the EU boundary will be pushed southeastward and the country will become part of this boundary, too.

The opening of new check points on the frontier with Greece and Turkey has been negotiated. Programs for trans-boundary cooperation with Romania, Macedonia, Greece and Turkey during the period of 2000-2006 have been worked out. The cooperation between the Bulgarian and Serbian municipalities is being activated, which in the 1990s was impeded by the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Very important for the extension of the trans-boundary cooperation and for the future development of the border areas is the up-dating of the road network and the other elements of the technical infrastructure, the coordination of the joint efforts which the neighbouring countries make to attract investments and to promote business contacts. This will result in setting up Euroregions between Bulgaria and its neighbours.

The process of foundation and development of Euroregions in Southeastern Europe is going on more slowly as compared to Western and Central Europe because of numerous reasons and obstacles - the lower socio-economic development level of the Southeastern European countries and especially of their border areas, the lack of experience and capitals, the restless political situation in the 1990s on the Balkan Peninsula, the inadequate contacts between adjacent areas of neighbouring countries, inherited from the past, the poor development of transport infrastructure, the small number of check points, much fewer than those in the Central European countries in transition (e.g. Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary), etc.

The formation of Euroregions, including certain areas from Bulgaria, started at the end of the 1990s. The first Euroregion was „Mesta-Nestos", which is the only one currently „functioning" out of all Euroregions between Bulgaria and Greece, proposed by EU. Under the INTERREG Program for Development of the Border Areas in the EU candidate countries a Program for Trans-boundary Cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece (2002-2006) will be financed. An Agreement was signed for the establishment of an Euroregion, named „Eurobalkans", with the assistance of EU and the Stability Pact, which will incorporate parts of Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia.

There are many examples, pointing to the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Romania and to the efficient use of funds from European programs, individual countries or international organizations. Three Euroregions have already been created with the EU financial aid and their names are „Danube-South", „Danubius" and „Lower Danube". A fourth Euroregion is on the way to be formed. At the same time a tripartite Euroregion, called „The Danube - 21st century" is developed, in which participate administrative units from Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia.

Very important for the development of regional and European cooperation will be the quality improvement of the transport and communication systems, the opening up of Bulgaria's road network and that of its neighbouring countries, the construction of international transport corridors, etc. There are also mutual projects, suggested by Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia, for the construction or rehabilitation of other linking transport axes with funds from the Stability Pact. These axes will extend the Central and East-European communication system south-eastward, especially after the tunnel under the Bosphorus is completed (the first sod was turned on May, 2004). The tunnel will link the railway networks of Europe and Asia. A priority objective is to build a second bridge over the Danube River between Bulgaria and Romania as a part of corridor # 4. Therefore considerable investments have to be channeled to Bulgaria and its neighbours for infrastructural projects of regional and European importance. This can be done with the help of international and financial institutions - the EU, the Stability Pact, the International Monetary Fund, the European Investment Bank, the European Bank for Restoration and Development, the World Bank, etc.

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Streszczenie

INTEGRACJA EUROPEJSKA BUŁGARII

Bułgaria ustanowiła stosunki dyplomatyczne z Unią Europejską pod koniec lat 80-tych. Otrzymała ona status członka stowarzyszonego później niż Polska, Czechy, Węgry i Słowacja. Początek prowadzenia negocjacji przypada na 2000 r. Do połowy 2002 r. otwarto wszystkie 31 obszarów negocjacyjnych, a do 15 czerwca 2004 r. negocjacje te były już zakończone.

Osiągnięcia Bułgarii w poszczególnych sferach są odnotowywane w rocznych raportach oceniających postępy kraju w procesie reform i przygotowań do przystąpienia do UE. Komisja Europejska oceniła, po raz pierwszy w 2002 r., że w Bułgarii funkcjonuje już gospodarka rynkowa, ale jednocześnie wskazała na opóźnienia w rozwoju rolnictwa, obszarów wiejskich, infrastruktury transportowej itd. Zakładany rozwój gospodarczy pozwoli Bułgarii aktywniej uczestniczyć w handlu międzynarodowym. Udział UE w handlu zagranicznym Bułgarii systematycznie rośnie od lat 90-tych i obecnie Unia jest największym partnerem handlowym Bułgarii.

Unia Europejska wspiera wysiłki Bułgarii zmierzające do osiągnięcia założonego członkostwa zwyczajnego w 2007 r. Programy i fundusze przedakcesyjne UE wspomagają finansowo rozwój kraju i jego przygotowania do członkostwa. Od 2000 r., w ramach programów PHARE, ISPA i SAPARD, Bułgaria otrzymuje rocznie około 250-300 mln euro.

Z celem strategicznym Bułgarii – członkostwem zwyczajnym w UE, związany jest rozwój realnej współpracy transgranicznej w dążeniu do integracji europejskiej. Istotne znaczenie dla rozwoju współpracy regionalnej i europejskiej ma poprawa stanu sieci komunikacyjnej, połączenie sieci drogowej Bułgarii i sąsiednich krajów, budowa międzynarodowych korytarzy transportowych itp.

THE TOURISM IN BULGARIA - A FACTOR FOR THE COUNTRY'S INTEGRATION WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION

Iliya ILIEV

Sofia University „St. Climent Okhridski"
Sofia

The development of industrial society is characterized by some typical features such as a large-scale industrialization, considerable urbanization, extension of arable land and restriction of the areas under natural vegetation, environmental pollution, disturbance and degradation. In many countries of the world the isolation of the citizens, who live in big cities, agglomerations and megalopolises, from nature and their inner need to be close to it have increased the search for territories with clean environment and natural conditions fit for recreational purposes. At the same time the current socio-economic and political situation and the higher mobility of people have encouraged the development of the tourist market and the tourist flows and turned tourism into one of the outstanding phenomena of the present-day society. In a number of states, including Bulgaria, tourism with all its different forms has become an important economic branch. However, the inevitable integration of the European nations requires revaluation of the natural, tourist and economic potential in the light of the tourist market of United Europe. Under the on-going transformations the tourist activity attains greater significance and is notable for some new characteristics as follows:

- tourism is a mighty factor for drawing people closer, for making them know each other better and for facilitating the integration of nations;
- the citizens of the economically advanced European states live in a highly industrialized and urbanized environment which prompts them to look for regions with unpolluted and preserved natural scenery, Bulgaria is endowed with, corresponding to their demands for alternative recreation;
- Bulgaria has the necessary potential - unpolluted nature, rich cultural and historical heritage, tourist infrastructure and skilled personnel for the development of various forms of tourism;
- tourism can substantially contribute to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country, to nature conservation, to biological diversity and, the last but not least, to sustainable development;

– the re-orientation of tourists from the European countries to Bulgaria will help in maintaining the environmental dynamic equilibrium, the environmental quality and the economic activity in Common Europe.

Today the tourism in Bulgaria is considered to be one of the major economic branches. Due to the governmental policy in the field of tourism the revenues from it have increased from $ 1.2 billion (2001) to $ 1.62 billion (2003), i.e. by 35%. Its share in GDP is 8.1% (2003). The development of tourism depends on different natural and anthropogenic factors and conditions - geographical location of the country, natural conditions and biological diversity, valuable cultural and historical heritage, economic level, infrastructure, environment, political situation in the country and in the region, ethno-cultural composition and religions, qualified experts in tourist services, etc.

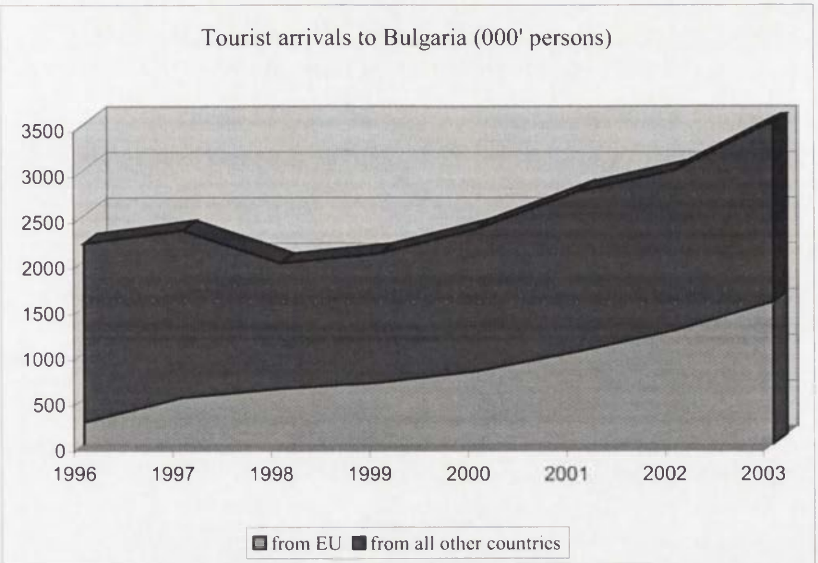
The organized tourist activity in Bulgaria started in 1895 with a picnic to Vitosha Mt. in which 300 people took part under the guidance of the Bulgarian writer A. Konstantinov. The international tourism was initiated in 1926 when 15 000 German, Polish and Czech tourists spent their holidays in the resort of St. Konstantin and Elena near Varna.

The available tourist infrastructure in Bulgaria is rather impressive. According to the official statistics there are 102 functioning resorts of which 34 are of national (10 seaside and 5 mountainous) and 68 of local (seaside, balneological, mountainous, etc.) importance. The beds are more than 300 000 - 180 000 of them are only in the seaside resorts. The potential number of beds to accommodate tourists is estimated at 500 000. In the years of transition almost all tourist objects were privatized. Besides, new tourist complexes, hotels, motels, restaurants, amusement and sports facilities were built which can meet the needs of different categories of tourists.

In the last decade the number of foreign tourists, who visited Bulgaria, grew (Fig. 1) which can be explained mainly with the increased number of tourists from the EU. In 2003 over 3.5 million holiday-makers came to Bulgaria. In the near past the Bulgarian resorts were visited predominantly by tourists from the socialist countries while nowadays, in the period of political, economic and social changes, a lot of visitors come also from Western Europe, Scandinavian countries, Arabia, etc. A stable trend is observed towards an increase of the EU tourists in the total number of tourists (Fig. 2). Most substantial is the increase of tourist flows from Greece, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, etc. (Fig. 3). These countries stand out with their largest number of tourists within the framework of the enlarged EU as well (Fig. 4). A lot of tourists arrive from Bulgaria's neighbouring countries who more or less carry on "suitcase trade". In recent years the number of tourists from the Central European countries in transition has risen - e.g. for the Czechs the growth is by 62%, for the Polish - by 27% (2003 figures compared to 2002 ones). Simultaneously, the traditional tourist flows from Russia and other states within the former Soviet

Union have been reduced because of the new requirement to issue visas for their tourists. Certain concessions for the tourists in package tours, the electronic visas, the establishment of new consul's offices, the tax reduction, etc., make the travel agents believe that in 2004 the Russian tourists will grow by 20%.

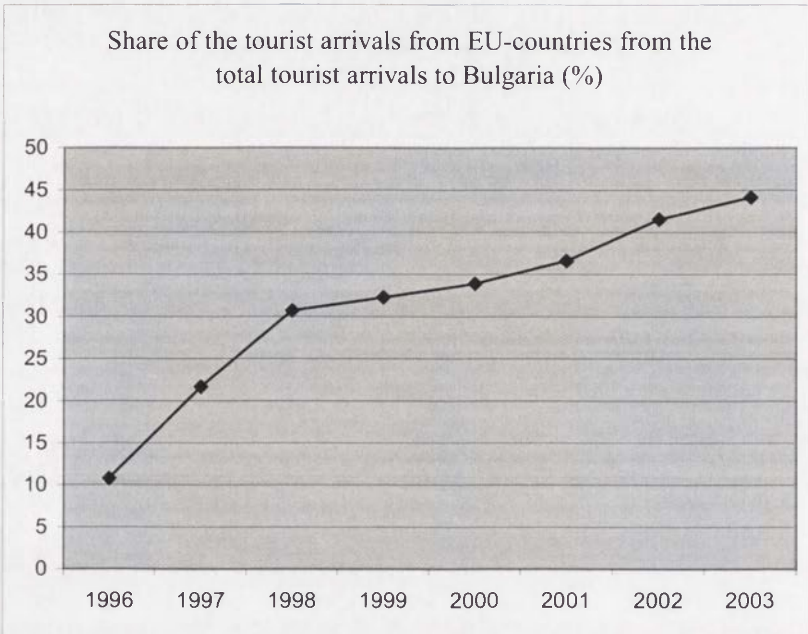
Fig. 1. Tourist arrivals to Bulgaria ('000 persons)



During the past few years with the improvement of the socio-economic conditions more Bulgarians have been able to travel abroad. The number of trips has increased from 3.2 million (2002) to 3.4 million (2003), i. e. by 6.7% just within two years (Fig. 5). Unfortunately it cannot be said how many of the visitors came for tourist purpose because this information is not reported. The most frequent destinations are the neighbouring countries (Turkey, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, Romania) and the EU countries (Greece, Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, etc.). The share of trips, particularly to the EU countries, has grown and in 2003 was 35% (Fig. 6).

By tradition the seaside tourism is included in Bulgaria's tourist offer. The splendid natural conditions together with the resort complexes, camps and motels, built on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, attract a lot of foreign tourists. World-famous are the resorts of Albena, Zlatni Pyasatsi (Golden Sands), St. Konstantin and Elena, Slanchev Bryag (Sunny Beach), etc. In the conditions of market economy the Bulgarian and foreign investors show greater interest for the construction of new hotels and places of entertainment, which can meet even the tastes of the most pretentious guests. Recently about 250-300 million EURO have been invested in the Bulgarian seaside resorts. Three new resort settlements on the Black Sea coast are planned to be built by Bulgarian and foreign investors - two will be in the region of Kamchia River and one in the region of Pomorie. They will cost 300-350 million EURO totally.

Fig. 2. Share of the tourist arrivals from EU-countries out of the total tourist arrivals to Bulgaria



Bulgaria is exceptionally rich in mineral springs, curative mud and lye. They promote one of the basic tourist products - the balneological tourism, combined with climatotherapy and physiotherapy. A number of balneological centers of national and local importance have been built all over the country. More popular of them are Varshets, Bankya, Hisarya, Sandanski, Kiustendil, Velingrad, the resorts of Albena, Zlatni Pyasatsi, St. Konstantin and Elena, Slanchev Bryag, etc. Well-known mud-cure and climatic resorts are Pomorie, Balchik, Sandanski, Tryavna, Teteven, etc. The tourists are offered top-quality services in more than 10 hotels of the highest category, specialized in balneotherapy. However, the country's potential in this respect is far from being completely utilized and the European tourist market clearly indicates that health tourism in combination with balneotherapy attains an increasing significance. This trend gives grounds to believe that if a consistent and target-oriented policy towards creation of the aforesaid tourist product is carried out, Bulgaria can turn into a desirable destination for many EU visitors.

Fig. 3. Tourist arrivals to Bulgaria from EU-countries ('000 persons)

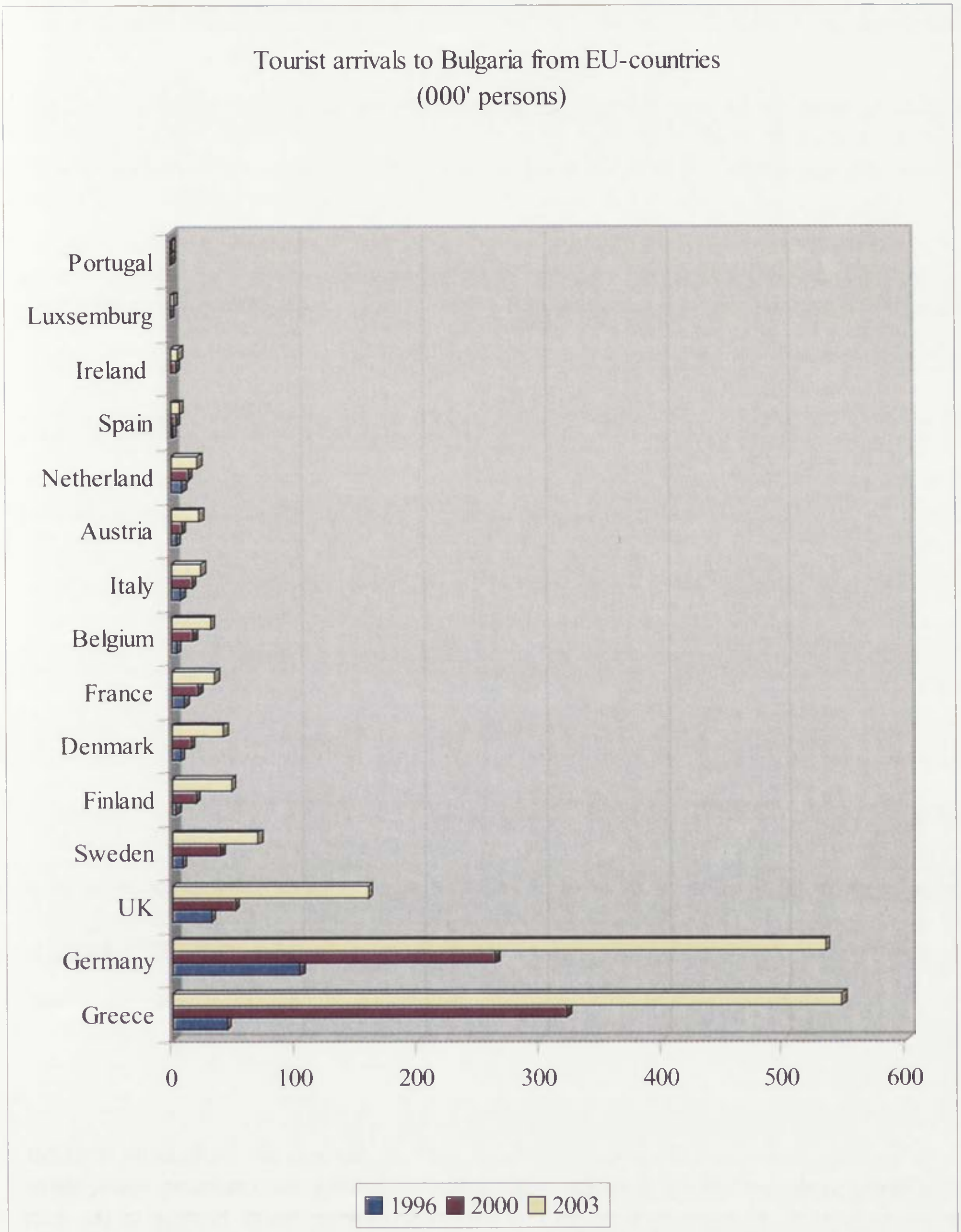
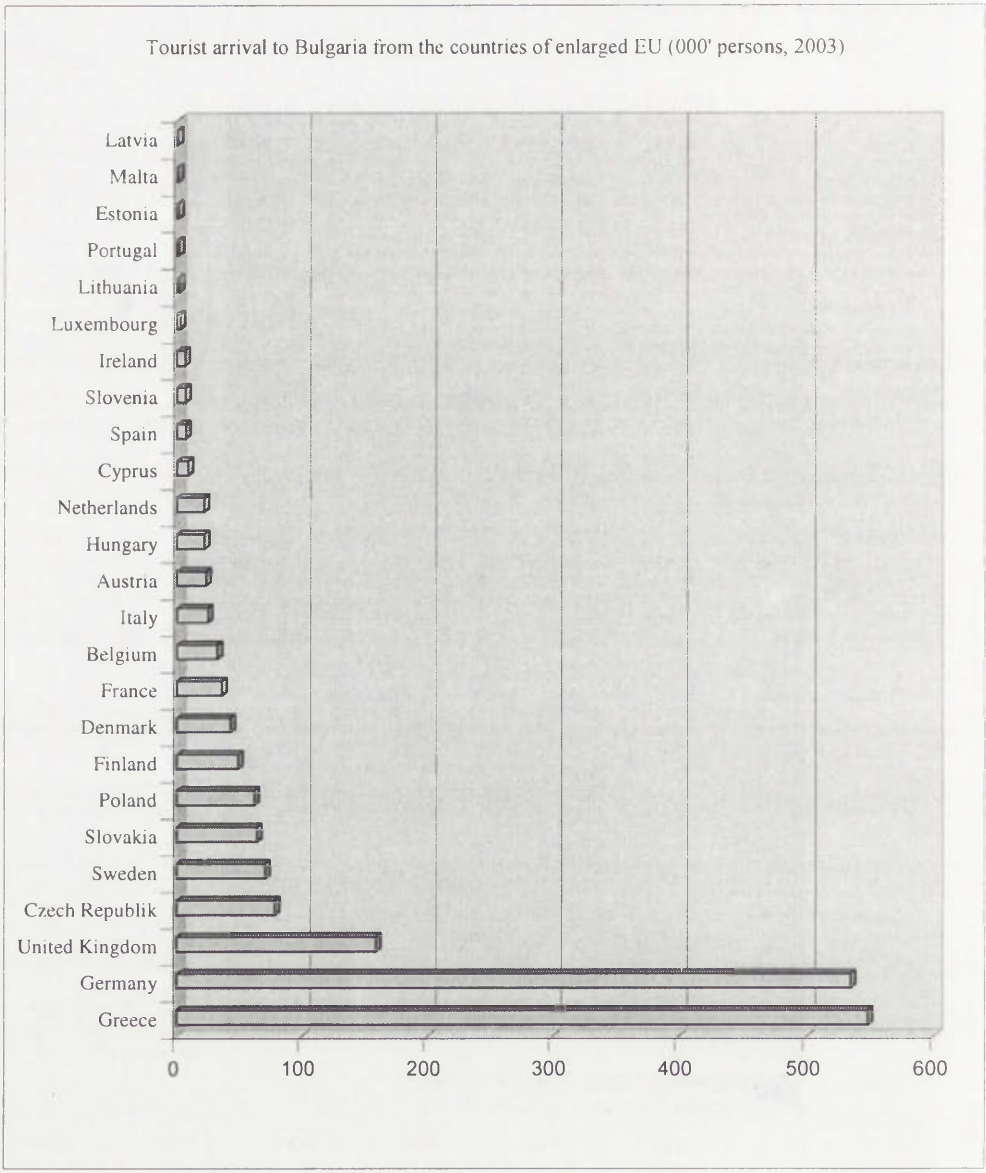


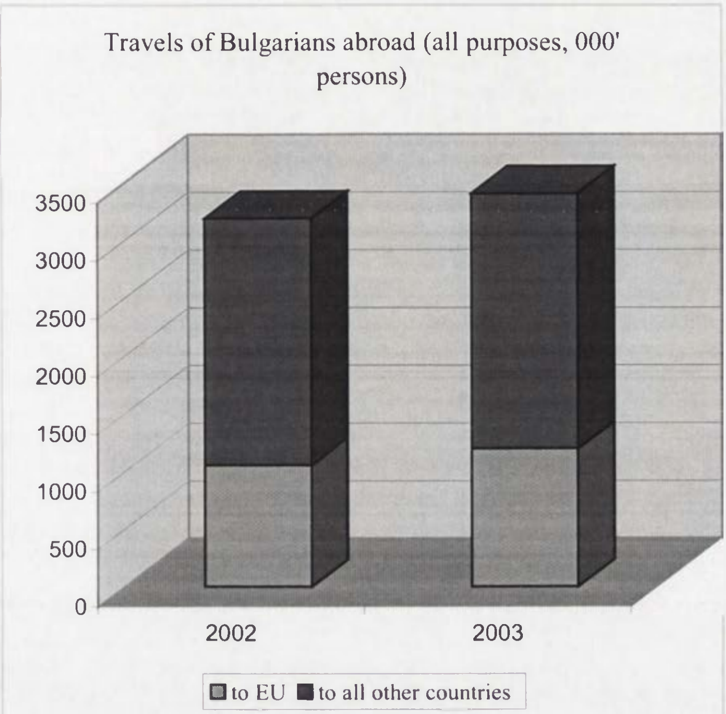
Fig. 4. Tourist arrivals to Bulgaria from the enlarged EU ('000 persons, 2003)



The enormous diversity of animal species attracts an increasing number of Bulgarian and foreign tourists. Alongside with the most common ones, there live and can be hunted others, which have been naturalized. Owing to the fact that the authorities consider the animal breeding and protection to be their primary concern, the game reserves are well maintained and have good traditions.

Over 50 animal species are fair game. In many of the game reserves pedigree animal species are raised. Some of the world-record shooting trophies of red deer and wild-boar are either Bulgarian or are gained by foreigners in Bulgaria. Every year more than 2 500 foreign hunters and fishermen (primarily from Austria and England) come to the country to enjoy their hobby. There are about 110 shooting boxes and lodges in the forestry enterprises, conformable to the modern standards.

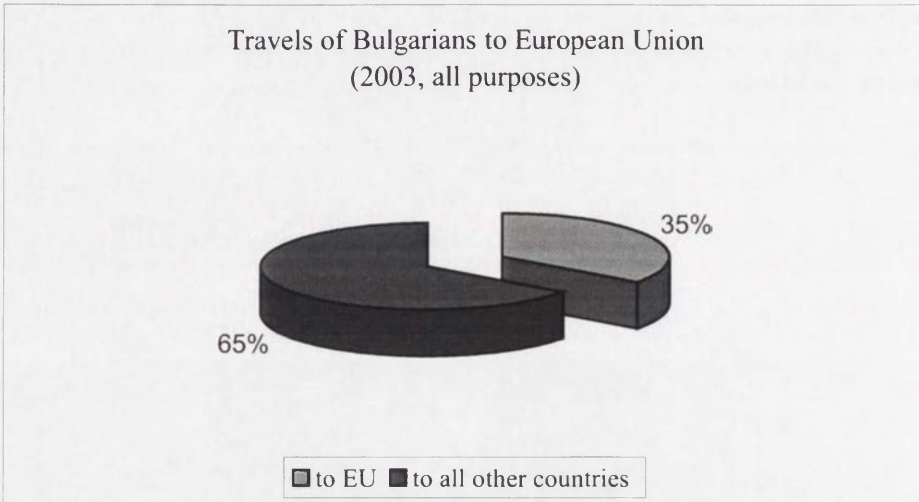
Fig. 5. Travels of Bulgarians abroad (2002-2003, all purposes, '000 persons)



The mountain tourism has served as a basis of organized tourist activity. The mountains in Bulgaria, which are remarkable for their virginity, beauty spots, varied landscapes, diverse plant and animal species, „blue-eyed" cirque lakes, crystal clear, foamy streams, spectacular waterfalls, gorges and caves, attract more and more tourists for different tourist purposes. The snow cover, which persists 190 days of the year and is appropriate for skiing, the available ski-runs with a total length of 80 km, the hotels, chalets and other tourist facilities meet the present-day demand and tastes of Bulgarian and foreign skiers and all those who go in for winter sports. Ski tourism is practiced in the world-famous resorts and centers of Pamporovo, Bansko, Borovets, etc. Projects are being worked out for the construction of new sports-tourist complexes in the

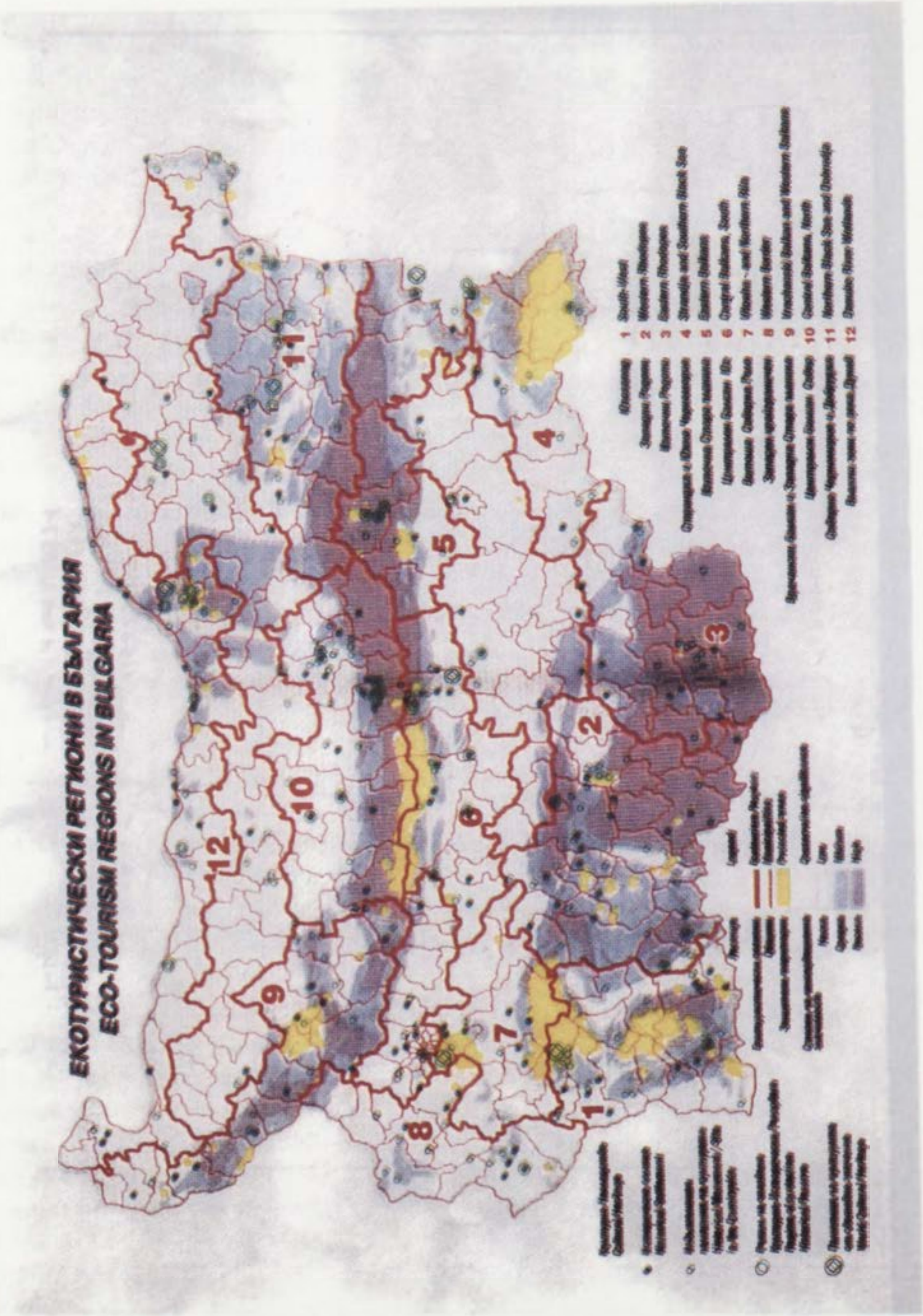
Rhodopes, Rila and Pirin mountains - Dobrinishte, Malyovitsa, Semkovo, Perelik, etc.

Fig. 6. Travels of Bulgarians to the European Union (all purposes)



The period of transition to market economy is characterized by the emergence of new tourist activities such as rural tourism, ecotourism, phototourism, ornithological tourism, etc., for the development of which Bulgaria has an impressive potential. Mention is to be made of the policy, pursued by the government bodies and the European Commission, under which a special Fund for Rural Regions Development was established. It will encourage the development of some untraditional forms of tourism, e.g. the rural tourism. In many highly urbanized European states more people prefer the individual alternative tourism, which increases the role of the rural areas. Bulgaria has good prerequisites to develop rural tourism. There are already promising examples in this respect and a growing interest is noticeable to certain rural regions notable for their unpolluted and attractive natural landscape. The number of foreigners, who even buy estates in Strandzha mountain, in the Stara Planina and the Rhodopes, is swelling.

Fig. 7. Eco-tourism regions in Bulgaria



The well preserved and beautiful nature of Bulgaria, the abundant relic and endemic plants and animals and the comfortable chalets draw the attention of the foreign ecotourists whose number in recent years has been ranging about 20 000. In addition to them, 150 000 - 200 000 Bulgarians are also periodically involved in ecotourism. For the lovers of ecotourism the natural conditions and resources of different categories of protected areas (national and nature parks, reserves, protected sites and nature landmarks) are of special interest. So as to avoid any damage on them, resulting from excessive tourist flows, development projects are proposed. The respective offices and regional inspectorates are charged with their practical implementation. For the purposes of cognitive and educational tourism, paths and routes have been marked and specialized information and educational centers have been established at the offices, managing the national and nature parks. The travel agents' surveys show that more foreign ecotourists will be interested in this country and their annual number is likely to go up to 200 000 - 300 000 people on the average which will constitute 10% of all foreign tourists.

According to an agreement, related to the PHARE priority topic "Bringing the Economic and Social Development Closer", the country is working on a project, titled "Development of the Bulgarian Ecotourism" whose budget is 5.3 million EURO. A new strategy for the development of ecotourism in Bulgaria has been devised with the financial aid of the American Agency for International Development, the UNO Development Program, the Swiss Government and the World Bank. Bulgaria's area has been divided into 12 ecotourist regions (Fig. 7).

The transitional geographical location of Bulgaria on the border between several faunistic provinces makes it an important "way station" and a nesting place for migratory birds. Two ornithological migration routes are passing over the country's area: eastern - along the Black seaside (Via Pontika) and western (Via Aristotelis). This fact in combination with the wet lands which the Ramsar Convention (1971) defined to have international importance and which are to be found on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast and on the Danube shore, enables the tourist to watch more than 70% of the bird species in Europe.

Due to the historical fate of Bulgaria, being recognized as one of the oldest states on the European continent, there aren't many castles, palaces, parks or other buildings in Baroque, Rococo and Gothic style but there are numerous cultural and historical monuments, dated from the times of the Thracians. Bulgarian lands are considered to be one of the cradles of the European civilization. This is evidenced by the unique archaeological complexes of world fame. The Kazanlak tomb (4^{th}-3^{th} century B.C.), the Thracian tomb near Sveshtari, Razgrad district (built 2300 years ago), the Madara horseman, cut in the Shoumensko Plateau rocks (from the beginning of the 8^{th} c.), the Boyana church in Sofia with its magnificent mural paintings, dating back to 1259, the Ivanovski rock churches near the village of Ivanovo, Rousse district (11^{th}-14^{th} c.), the Rila Monastery (10^{th} c.), the ancient town of Nessebar are on the UNESCO list of world cultural heritage. New complexes of unique value from the period of the Thracian culture were revealed in the last few years in Starosel (Plovdiv district) and Perperikon and Tatul (in the Rhodopes). Bulgarian and foreign tourists have splendid opportunities to "discover for themselves" the cultural wealth, consisting of 40 000 monuments, 36 cultural reserves, 160 monasteries and 330 museums and galleries.

The unique atmosphere of the National Revival and the spirit and traditions can be felt in the towns' old residential districts, as well as in the individual houses, streets and squares of both towns and villages. The Old Plovdiv, Koprivshtitsa, Tryavna, Veliko Tarnovo, Arbanasi, Bozhentsi, Zheravna, Nessebar, etc., are noteworthy. G. Parvanov, President of the Republic of Bulgaria, suggested that a Regional Fund for Creation of Cultural Corridors in Southeastern Europe should be set up - an idea, which was supported by UNESCO. Thus the tourists will get acquainted with the genuine image of Bulgaria and the other countries in the region. To encourage the initiatives with regard to the cultural-cognitive tourism, the EU is financing through PHARE Program the project "Development of the Bulgarian Cultural Tourism".

A new alternative form of tourism is the herb tourism. Practically it can develop throughout the country, which is called the "herb paradise" of Europe and which is the biggest producer and exporter of herbs on the European continent.

To stimulate the so called "wine tourism" Bulgaria has published a Map of Wines which is the only one of its kind in Europe. It illustrates the location of all 152 wine cellars in the country and contains information about the high-quality brands of wine they produce as well as information about the nearby cultural, historical, archaeological monuments and places of interest.

The tourist activity in the country is organized and managed by the Ministry of Economics and by the National Board of Tourism, subordinate to it. Other associations, central and branch tourist organizations and 25 tourist information centers are also responsible.

Very important for the development of various forms of tourism turn out to be the general and specialized branch infrastructure. Considerable construction work has to be done - the old roads, airports, etc., and have to be repaired and new ones have to be built. The construction and modernization of the infrastructural projects and the extension of road network to the tourist sites will be financed from the state reserve and PHARE Program (26 million EURO for 2004-2006 period).

In order to become an attractive tourist center for the tourists from EU countries, Bulgaria will have to cope with a number of requirements as follows:

- reassessment of the priorities in the country's economic development, orientation to new high technologies and to ecologically friendly production, guaranteeing unpolluted and beautiful nature;
- development of general and branch infrastructure for various types of tourism in compliance with the European standards;
- carrying out an active and systematic advertisement campaign at the European tourist market with emphasis placed upon the advantages and diversity of the tourist potential in Bulgaria and its individual regions;
- diversification and quality improvement of the tourist services so as to meet the demands of the present-day tourist market;
- overcoming the wrong idea at various levels (from governmental and economic bodies to the individual hotel and restaurant manager) that the tourism and the revenues it brings are not simply a function of the number of beds, the seats in the restaurants and the prices but is a result of a set of factors and conditions, providing for the tourists comfort and complete recreation.

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Streszczenie

TURYSTYKA W BUŁGARII – CZYNNIK INTEGRACJI KRAJU Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ

Turystyka jest ważną gałęzią gospodarki Bułgarii. Zmienione polityczne i społeczno-ekonomiczne uwarunkowania w integrującej się Europie determinują nowe znaczenie rynku turystycznego, w którym Bułgaria zajmuje ważne miejsce. W wyniku realizowanej polityki przychody kraju z turystyki międzynarodowej systematycznie rosną, a w 2003 r. udział turystyki w produkcie krajowym brutto wyniósł 8,1%.

Stworzona znaczna baza materialno-techniczna turystyki, wraz ze sprzyjającymi warunkami przyrodniczymi, zapewniają niezbędny komfort bułgarskim oraz zagranicznym turystom w korzystaniu z różnorodnych, zarówno tradycyjnych jak i alternatyw-

nych, form turystyki. To przywraca Bułgarii coraz większą liczbę upragnionych turystów i tworzy sprzyjające warunki integracji Bułgarii z krajami Unii Europejskiej. Żeby jednak Bułgaria mogła stać się jeszcze bardziej atrakcyjnym centrum dla turystów z Unii Europejskiej, powinna poradzić sobie z licznymi barierami w infrastrukturze, reklamie turystycznej oraz poziomie usług.

EU ENLARGEMENT AND CHANGING DEVELOPMENT OF PERIPHERAL REGIONS IN LITHUANIA

Donatas BURNEIKA

Department of Human Geography
Institute of Geology and Geography
Vilnius

Introduction

The consequences of integration to the European Union on various sides of social and economical phenomena were being studied in many post soviet countries and this article deals with the peripheral border regions of Lithuania. On the other hand the border regions in various parts of have been researched for a long time (Jauhiainen, 2001; Hauff, Kettermann 1996; Mayr, 1997). These studies have mostly revealed that these regions develop more slowly and this is due the peripheral location and negative impact of the state borders, which act as a factor limiting economic relations.

The border region itself was established as a territory consisting of municipalities bordering state border and also of municipalities located close to it when main international flows of people and goods crosses their territory. It was established that direct impact of being close the border is not felt in the territories located further and is not noticeable in the territories of higher level. Smaller local units („seniunija", gmyna) aren't suitable for scientific study of such king, cause there are no data available on the one hand and these units cannot be described as a self existing economic systems from the other one. The whole border region (fig. 1) can be divided into four regions or sub-regions, which due to the different neighbour country have different conditions of development. The Capital of Lithuania Vilnius was excluded from the research because other factors of development make much more important role here than closeness of state border ant it is by no means a peripheral place.

The main objective of the article was to find out the main changes of economic conditions in the peripheral border regions of Lithuania, related to the integration of the country into EU and to reveal most suitable ways of use of the INTERREG III programme.

Four interrelated fields were mostly studied:

- various conditions, making impact on the economy;
- the economy as the main object of the research;
- cross border activities;
- business managers as a subject. Their behaviour will affect the final results of impact on economy of the entering EU.

Short description of conditions making impact on the development of economy in border region.

Analysis of geographical environment. The political, economical, social, environmental conditions and their changes in the territories close to state border were investigated . In general these conditions do not make favourable premises for the future development of the economy.. Environment conditions vary a lot in different portions of border region, but a lot of natural conditions do not make favourable premises for local economy.

Socially it is the most depressive territories of Lithuania. Geodemographic situation and trends aren't favourable for the development of economy. The structure of population and trends are rather poor. In many regions the density of population is very low (less than 5 persons per square km) and is still decreasing.

Differences of macro-economic systems across a border. The existing differences (first of all noticeable in price levels) aren't favourable for the development of the economy in border region and more strict border regime will be making positive impact on legal economy.

Insufficient differences of macro-economic development between new EU countries which even tend to decrease, permit us state that changes in border regime will not make serious impact on the economy on both side of the border.

Main changes affecting development of economy in border regions:

- The removal of customs and custom stations near inner EU borders.
- The removal of passport control not earlier than in 2006 with the EU countries.
- Common currency Euro not earlier than in 2007.
- Possibilities of new measures for regional development related to the structural funds (first of INTERREG programme).
- Visa regime for all population of Belarus and Russia in 2003.
- More strict border regime and control of movement of population and cargo across border of non EU countries.
- The reduction of border crossing stations with non EU countries (first of all Belarus) in 2003.

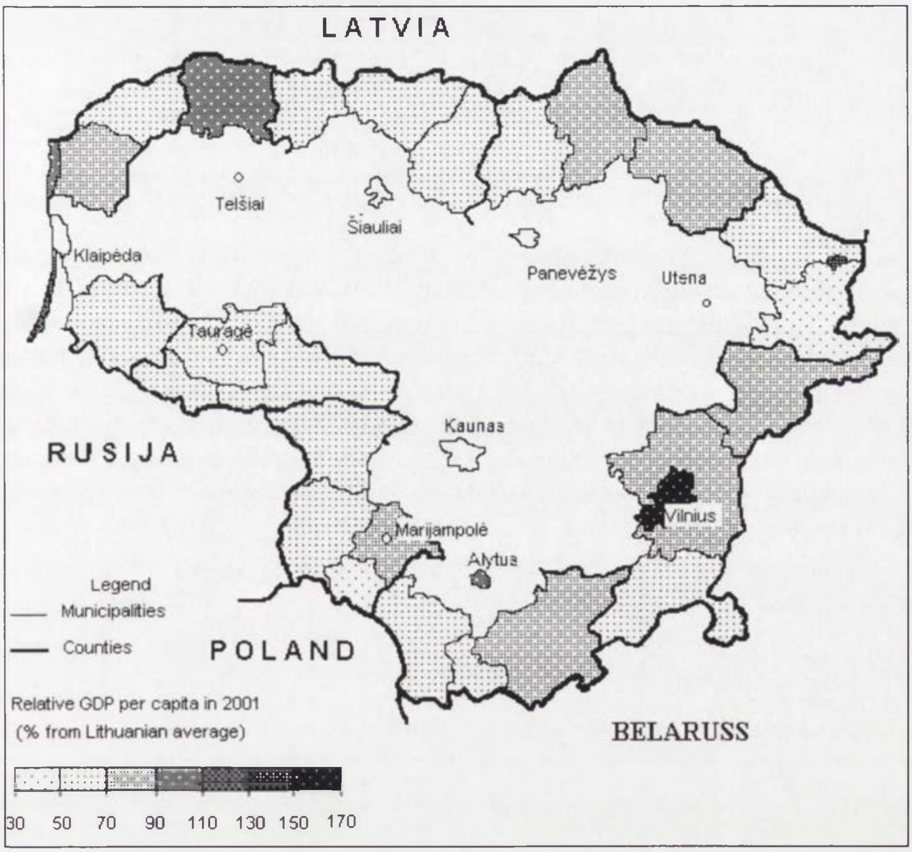
The development of economy in the border region

The development of economy in the border region is much slower than average in Lithuania. Relative GDP can be seen in fig. 1 and it is evident that peripheral border territories develop more slowly. Three municipalities with the lowest GDP per capita are located there. The same situation is concerning trends of changes of GDP per capita.

Levels of real and foreign investments, average salaries, and other main indicators of the development are also lover than average, though they are higher in sub-regions located near present EU states. The municipalities with highest unemployment level also can be found in this region.

The same situation can be found in every sectors of economy though levels of agriculture and tourism industry are higher in the sub-regions near EU states.

Fig. 1. GDP per capita in municipalities in border region of Lithuania (% from Lithuanian average = 4.230 Euro in 2002) (Based on the data of Dep. of statistics of Lithuania, Caunties.., 2002).

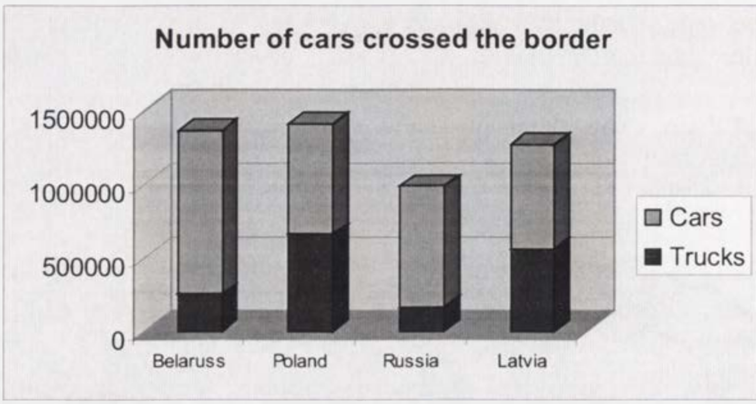


Activities across the borders of Lithuania

The next task was to find out existing cross border activities in Lithuania near border region cause these phenomena can characterize existing situation from the one hand and these matters will be effected first all because of changes that are taking place.

Flows of people and transportation across the borders.

Fig. 2. Number of cars crossed the state borders in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)

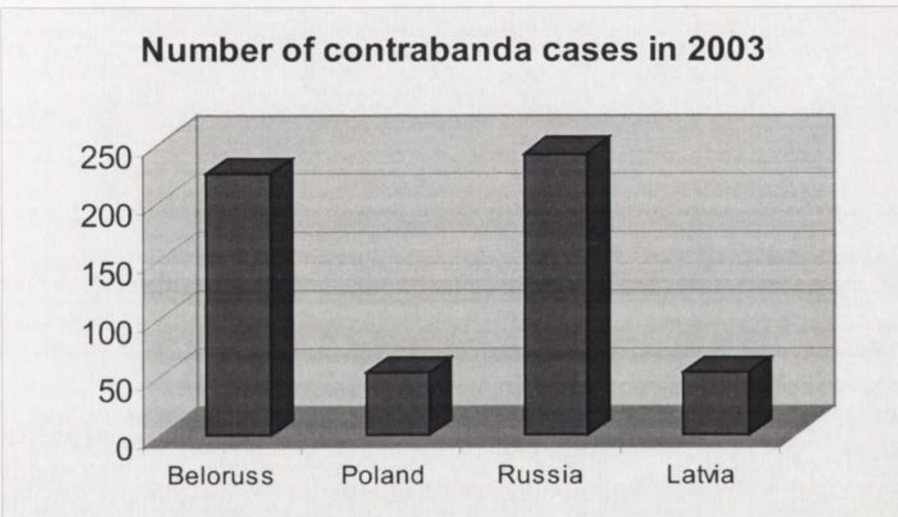


Number of cars and persons crossing all four Lithuanian surface state borders are almost equal though the lengths of state borders and spaces located further are entirely different. The differences of types of cars crossing borders can explain reasons of such equality and also they show differences of reasons of trips. The clear majority of personal cars in cases of Belarus and Russia chows large proportion of private trips related also with small private trade and other personal reasons. While higher proportion of trucks crossing EU borders shows higher importance of international economic relations of larger scale and less important private journeys.

Fig. 3. Number of persons crossed the state borders in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)

Illegal economic flows across state borders

Fig. 4. Number of contraband cases across the state borders in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)



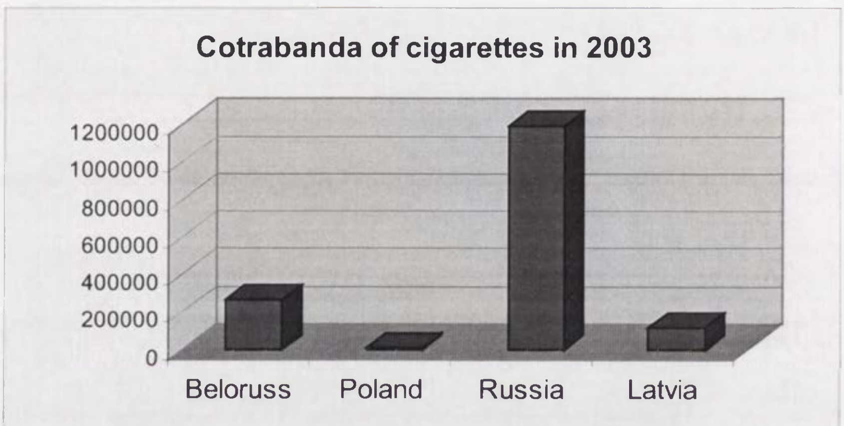
One of the phenomena, which also can illustrate existing tensions across state borders and also can characterise conditions for legal economic development in the border region is contraband. Also it is evident that this illegal trade will feel great impact due to the changes of border regime. In this case we may state that differences among different state border portions are very clear (Fig. 4). Borders with present EU states plays much less important role preventing country for illegal trade. Reasons are also evident – price differences here are very low. Very similar situation was evident during previous 5 years as well.

Especially clear differences are among goods of every day consumption, which prices across the border differ sufficiently mostly due to the different tax levels (alcohol, cigarettes, fuel). Fig. 5 illustrates contraband of cigarettes in 2003.

The same situation was common for previous years, though actual amounts ant directions vary depending on price variations and accessibility of goods. For example market of Belarus is not the one with infinitive supply and prices grew higher during last year.

The presented data do not include huge flows of legally transported goods by private persons, which later were being sold illegally mostly in the border regions so disturbing development of small and medium size business there. However it is clear that the situation is the same cause reasons are similar.

Fig. 5. Number of contraband of cigarettes across state borders in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt).



Criminal activities across the state borders. Criminal activities present also one of the problems, which illustrate the importance of state border and its regime. State border plays important role preventing the international criminal and illegal activities. Present and forthcoming changes of border regime will affect these things. Generally speaking, presented figures shows that it is too early to completely remove state border guarding systems, cause all Lithuanian state borders still have a lot of problems in this field.

Fig. 6. Number of arrested searched persons in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)

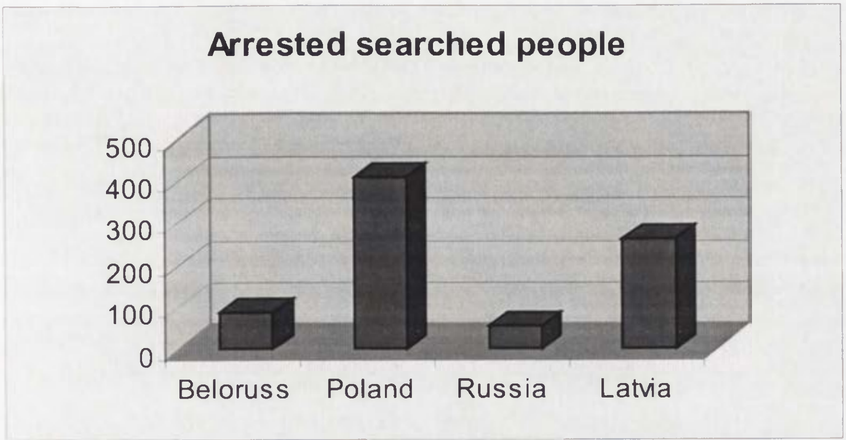
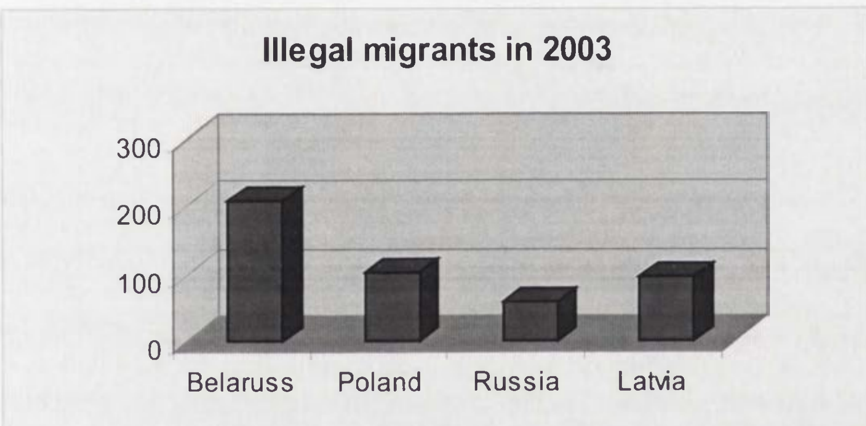
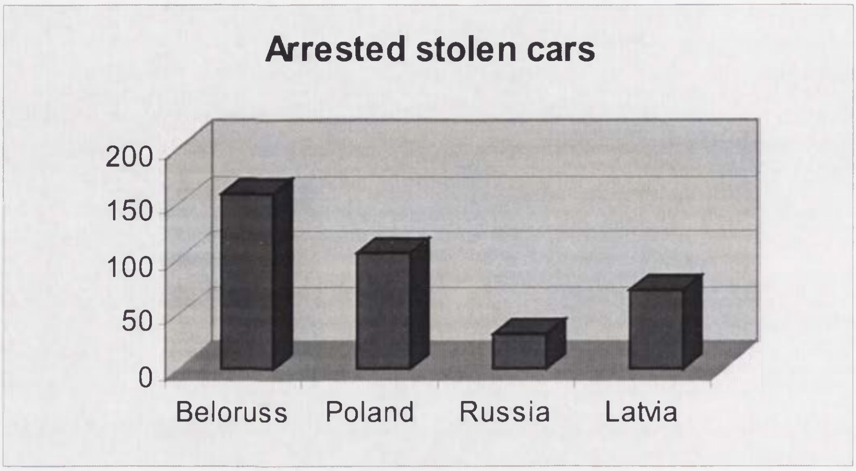


Fig. 7. Number of illegal migrants in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)



Summarising this chapter it may be stated that present changes of border regime will not make essential negative impact on the legal economy or international criminal activities.

Fig. 8. Number of arrested stolen cars on state borders in 2003. (data of State border guard service. www.pasienis.lt)



The request of business makers in border region

Possible consequences of entering into EU depend not only of objective changes that will occur but also on subjects, which will feel these changes. The request of business makers was organised in 2003 trying to establish general opinions on possible impact on their business, their opinions on present impact of state border and also to find out their knowledge of forthcoming changes (The impact.., 2003). 200 managers and owners of the enterprises in the region were questioned - 50 in each region. The amount wasn't big enough to establish exact numbers but it allowed reveal general differences between different state border regions. Generally speaking knowledge and expectations are sufficiently higher near present EU borders. Table 1 presents opinion concerning forthcoming impact of changes of border regime, but the situation is rather the same concerning general impact of entering EU, expectation to use EU funds, present impact of state border and present business development.

Table 1. Opinion on changes of the conditions for their enterprise due to the changes of border regime

Neighbour country	Will grow better (%)	Will grow worse (%)	No changes (%)	Its difficult to say (%)
Poland	38	10	16	36
Latvia	36	4	20	40
Russia	18	18	26	38
Belarus	18	4	20	58
Whole border region	27.5	9	20.5	43

Summarising results of the request of enterprises there may be stated that the perspectives of enterprises, according to the opinion of business makers are rather mute. In most cases nor the present impact of the state border, nor forthcoming changes, neither impact of entering EU aren't clear for them. Notwithstanding that the opinions are more positive than negative it can be summarised that the uncertainty prevails. The regions surrounding future inner border of EU will experience more positive impact than those near Belarus and Russia border.

Main conclusions and general recommendations

In general main cause of the slowness of the economic development in the border region is mostly related to its peripheral location and therefore as the measures of development of the region that constitute to reduction of this cause are very welcomed. Also it is clear that the impact of new state border regime and all other factors on the conditions of the development of the economy in border regions will be mostly positive, especially in Lithuanian – Poland and Lithuanian – Latvian regions.

The existing conditions for the development of economy, the current trends of economy and administration capacity in Lithuanian border regions will not play positive role helping to use the forthcoming changes and possibilities. The pace of development of the economy in border region will be slower than in the whole country, especially in the regions, located near future outer borders of EU.

When choosing the priority measures of the development of economy in border regions, first of all it is suggested that factors of slowness are targeted. Any measure, which will reduce the peripheral location and will help to develop human resources of the region, will have to be seen as favourable for the development of the regions.

Mostly these measures include the development of transport and other communications, language skills, increasing accessibility of information and etc. Regions located near the future inside border of the EU should focus their attention on the development of the cross-border economic relations, while other regions (bordering Russia and Byelorussia) should try to mostly cooperate in other fields, the three sided networks of cooperation should be of highest priority here.

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Streszczenie

ROZSZERZENIE SIĘ UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ A ZMIANA W ROZWOJU PERYFERYJNYCH REGIONÓW NA LITWIE

Artykuł jest poświęcony analizie możliwych zmian w warunkach rozwoju gospodarczego w litewskich peryferyjnych regionach przygranicznych w związku z przystąpieniem do UE. Jednym z zadań badań była także próba zaproponowania jak najlepszych sposobów współpracy międzynarodowej regionów przygranicznych, mając na myśli możliwości pojawiające się w związku z programem UE INTERREG III. Regionem przygranicznym jest tutaj terytorium składające się z jednostek samorządowych graniczących z granicą państwową, a także jednostki samorządowe położone w jej pobliżu, jeśli zasadniczy międzynarodowy przepływ osób i towarów przechodzi przez ich terytorium. Cały region składa się z czterech regionów lub podregionów położonych obok różnych krajów sąsiedzkich.

Po pierwsze badano różne warunki społeczne, gospodarcze, polityczne i naturalne rozwoju gospodarki w regionie przygranicznym. Najogólniej mówiąc, nie są one sprzyjające rozwojowi gospodarki w tym regionie. W rzeczywistości można określić ten region jako w przeważającej mierze dotknięty kryzysem społecznym.

Część druga jest poświęcona analizie procesów gospodarczych w regionach. Cała gospodarka i poszczególne sektory są gorzej rozwinięte niż przeciętnie na Litwie,

a tempo wzrostu gospodarki jest niższe. W niektórych przypadkach sytuacja w regionach graniczących z obecnymi krajami UE jest lepsza.

Trzecia część analizuje działania transgraniczne różnego rodzaju w różnych regionach przygranicznych. Ogólny wynik jest taki, że całość terenów przygranicznych jest obiektem dość znacznego przepływu gospodarczego osób i towarów, chociaż nielegalne stosunki gospodarcze są intensywniejsze w pobliżu krajów, które nie należą do UE. Jednakże zjawiska o charakterze kryminalnym są prawie jednakowo powszechne w całym regionie przygranicznym. Tak więc, obecne zmiany co do charakteru granic nie będą miały dużego wpływu negatywnego, a co bardziej prawdopodobne, to będzie odwrotnie.

Czwarta część analizowała możliwe zachowanie się przedsiębiorstw w kontekście zmieniających się warunków politycznych i gospodarczych. W większości przypadków ani obecny wpływ granicy państwowej, ani nadchodzące zmiany, ani wpływ wstąpienia do UE nie są dla nich jasne. Mimo, że opinie są bardziej pozytywne niż negatywne, to można sytuację podsumować, że **niepewność** przeważa. Regiony otaczające przyszłą wewnętrzną granicę UE doświadczą pozytywniejszych skutków niż leżące blisko granicy z Białorusią i Rosją.

Ogólnie mówiąc, główna przyczyna wolnego rozwoju gospodarczego w regionie przygranicznym jest przede wszystkim powiązana z jego peryferyjnym położeniem, a zatem będą bardzo pożądane wszelkie kroki na rzecz rozwój tego regionu, które przyczynią się do ograniczenia tej przyczyny. Jest także rzeczą jasną, że wpływ nowego charakteru granic i wszelkich innych czynników na warunki rozwoju gospodarki w regionach przygranicznych będzie zasadniczo pozytywny, szczególnie w regionach litewsko-polskim i litewsko-łotewskim.

LITHUANIA AS A SPACE OF INTERACTION OF CULTURES

Vidmantas DAUGIRDAS

Institute of Geology and Geography
Department of Human Geography
Vilnius

Introduction

The present article is an attempt to analyze the influence of specific geographical situation – bring at the junction of cultural domains – on the cultural development of a country. The article is based on the case of Lithuania. This issue is of topical importance today when the boundaries of the EU have shifted considerably to the east. Cultural factors are the main driving forcer of European integration, i.e., countries unite hot only on economic but also on cultural (civilization) basis. Accession of Lithuania and neighboring countries to the NATO and EU is an important historical fact marking the return of these countries to the European cultural domain. Yet there remain many unanswered questions:

– Will Lithuania again become the periphery of the Western culture?
– Will Lithuania be a stronghold of the Western culture expansion to the East or will it act as a buffer zone hindering the expansion of the eastern culture to the West?
– Will the country become a „bridge" linking the East and the West?

It is not easy to answer these questions today. The cultural conflict in Lithuania is rather obvious and accounts for many modern social, economic and political processes. The history of Lithuania has been permanent balancing between the East and the west and between survival or extinction. The zones of cultural junction mostly suffer when these cultures are at war. The history of Lithuania and other countries (Poland, Latvia, etc.), which are in the same geographical and geocultural position, server as a good example how complicated the cultural evolution can be in the periphery of cultural domains. Long existence in the junction of civilizations form specific feature of culture, traditions, mentality, national character, etc. The, international conference „Dialogue of Civilizations" held in Vilnius in 2001 (April) emphasized the importance of Lithuania as a space of interaction of cultures (http://www.adamkus.321.lt).

Stages of cultural interaction

Constructive analysis of cultural interaction should be based on the concept of „kernel (nucleus) – periphery". The cultural kernel is composed of the countries, which create civilization al values of this culture. The periphery is the territory which joins the cultural impact area somewhat later putting efforts to take up with the kernel, i.e., to „modernize". The modern West Europe is the kernel of the western culture. Scandinavia and Central Europe (Czech, Hungary, Poland) joined the Western civilization in the 9th–11th century after getting baptized. Lithuania joined the Central Europe in 1387 when it was baptized. Yet the Central Europe is often not regarded as an integral part of the western culture. The Reformation corrected the distribution of the kernel and periphery of the western civilization – Scandinavia has merged with the European kernel whereas the central Europe has remained the Western periphery (Manusadžianas, 1999). However, this periphery has become the most devoted stronghold (defense wall) of the Western civilization. Geographer R. Baubinas has pointed and that today the front line of civilizations in the ethnographic East Lithuania is dispersed and rather vague (Baubinas, 1995). Russian politics scientist A. Dugin maintains that the greater part of Lithuania –except its eastern periphery – is linked with the West. Catholicism, separating the country from the Protestant part of Europe, is the main obstacle on the way of Lithuania's (and Poland's) integration to the West (Dugin, 1997).

A few stages of cultural integrations can be distinguished in Lithuania:

– ***Already in the 1st millennium B C the* fundamental divide *between the eastern and western cultures become apparent in the territory of Lithuania – the Baltic tribes split into Eastern and Western Balts.***

Since the links of the western part of Lithuania have always been close with the culture of the western neighbors whereas the links of the eastern party of Lithuania have been closer with the culture of the eastern neighbors. The Slavonic tribes split considerably later – the eastern and Western Slavs began to form in the 2d–4th centuries A D. Their divide has always been not far from Lithuania: Byelorussia's are ascribed to the eastern Slows and Poles – to the western Slavs. There is a probability that the boundary between the Eastern and western Balts was actually, the boundary between the eastern and Western civilizations. The western Baltic area was marked by richness of material culture and more pronounced development and differentiation of society. The lands of the Western Balts (Prussians and Curonians in particular) were closely cooperating with the Central and Northwestern Europe. It is only natural that innovations in the territory of the Lithuania would always be related with its western periphery. The newest archaeological data provide sufficient basis for distinguishing the Central Baltic culture, which bore a mixed character (Volkaitė–Kulikauskienė, 2001).

- ***Before Christianity Lithuania had existed between the cradles of two civilizations – the Western (European) and the Eastern (Byzantine) ones. She had fried to stand against both of them fighting on two fronts for more than 300 years.***

Lithuanians would unwillingly mix with the neighboring non – Baltic tribes. They have created a specific Baltic culture and self – dependent state. Lithuanians were devoted to their traditional mode of life and were the ones in Europe who for the longest time stuck to the old tradition and religion. The weakening of the Western influence and strengthening of the eastern positions in Lithuania at the moment of the establishment of the state were responsible for the fact that Lithuanians were the first who created their state and incorporated Samogitians and hat the other way round.

The civilization contact between Catholics and orthodox believers has played an especially important role in the history of Lithuania. Namely orthodox religion was the first to expand into the territory of Lithuania. Its influence manifested already in the 11th century and intensified in the second half of the 12 h century. In 1264–1269 two Grand Dukes, who were orthodox believers, ruled Lithuania. In the 14th century Grand Duke Gediminas and his son Algirdas they put efforts to establish an independent (from Moscow) metropolis of Orthodox Church. Negotiations took place in 1380–1384 on the issue of Jogaila (Algirdas son) Christianizing as an orthodox believer.

The effort to adopt Catholicism in the 13th–14th centuries was futile. The behavior of the faun–century of the Lithuanian state – Mindaugas – was very expressive in this respect. For political reasons he was baptized as a catholic in 1251 and was crowned as King of Lithuania in 1253 (his son Vaišvilkas was baptized as an orthodox believer). Yet in 1261 he repudiated the catholic Christianity. This was, presumably, predetermined not only by the strong political and cultural opposition of Lithuanians to the West but also by the opposition of orthodox believers within the Grand Ducky of Lithuania (GDL). Grand Duke Gediminas chose the western orientation and entered into negotiations of opposition of heathens and orthodox believers he repudiated it in 1324. Gediminas was a tolerant sovereign. In order to avoid the isolation from the West Europe he invited tradesmen and artisans of West Europe to settle in Lithuania (in 1323–1324).

- ***Political causes forced to choose the Catholic baptism of the Western orientation, which included the eastern (in 1387) and the western (1413)***

parts of Lithuania into the West European cultural zone. Germans and Poles (in particular) were the carriers of the new culture. Yeast for a long time Lithuania remained in the influence zone of East Slavonic culture.

Though Lithuania became a Catholic state the Christian terms have for a long time been adopted from orthodox believers. In the 14th–17th centuries the office Slavonic language was used in Lithuania as written language. It is interesting to note that in the Ducky of Moscow this language was referred to as the Lithuanian language... the Latin and Polish languages were adapted some time later. Though Catholic baptism helped to avoid isolation from the Western culture the spread of Christianity was slow and formal. It hat to assimilate a complex of values in order to become part of western culture. Though Lithuania was developing rather rapidly the assimilation of western cultural values was rather superficial. The ousting of the Lithuanian language from the public life was the price Lithuania paid for the rapid joining to the Western culture. According to historian Z. Ivinskis this opened the gates for the Polish culture (Gudavičius, 1997). Lithuania has got a peripheral (barrier) role in the Western civilization. Permanently conflicting with Russia Lithuania acted as barrier afar the expansion of orthodox religion to the west and as a stronghold of Catholicism in the east.

– ***After the reformation Lithuania found itself at a junction of even three Christian cultures – Northwestern (Protestantism), Southwestern (Catholicism) and Eastern (Orthodox Church).***

The Reformation, which began in Europe in 1525, produced a strong influence on the cultural processes in Lithuania. The neighboring Prussia (in 1525) and Kuršas (Curonia, in the 40ties–50ties of the 16th century) adapted Protestantism. In the period of Reformation the Lithuanian national culture entered into a stage active development. Lithuania entered into relations with the culture of neighboring countries as a contributing partner, what reduced the asymmetry of the contacts. The mentioned religious, public and cultural movement was so powerful that it affected most of the processes taking place in the GDL. Protestantism stimulated the written language and culture development. The Lithuania culture becomes more open and susceptible to changes and challenges (Lukšaitė, 1999). This brought Lithuania even closer to the Western culture. Though Poland stood against the expansion of Protestantism Lithuania had nearly become a Protestant country. This strengthened the separatist moods. Society saw no virtual differences between the religious doctrines of Catholicism and Protestantism, yet the religious differences were a plea of national autonomy.

The doctrine of Calvinism was most widespread and had influential supporters (Radvilas). Žemaitija (Samogitia) was predominated by the German Protestantism (Lutheranism). Most of the leaders of the Lithuania elite – nobility, gentry, citizens and educated people – turned into Reformats. The new religion reached even peasants. The Reformation became so widespread that the catholic and evangelical parts of society were at equilibrium. In 1566 half of the members of the Council of Lords (7 out of 13) were evangelists. In 1569 18 senators of the 29 in the GDL (62%) also were evangelists. In the united Lithuanian – Polish Senate evangelists made up 52% among the laymen. In 1572 the number of senators evangelists in the GDL made up even 73%. About 200 evangelical churches could be counted in the territory of GDL at the turn of the 17th century.

The religious equilibrium ended in the first decade of the 17 th century. Catholicism superseded the reformation. Yet before these events Protestantism had had good changes to become superior. King of Poland and Lithuania Žygimantas Augustas had intended to adopt Protestantism but delayed due to political circumstance and, eventually, abandoned this idea. The establishment of protest antic university in Lithuania was fiercely opposed. The Lithuanian activists established the protest antic university in Karaliaučius (Kaliningrad) in 1544. A Kulvietis was its vice-rector and S.Rapolionis – the leading professor of theology. Many famous Lithuanian cultural workers studied at this university (Lukšaitė, 1999). The Counter-Reformation won its victory. The Jesuitical Vilnius University established in 1579 played an important role in this process. Polish kings threatened with repressions for studying at Protestants universities and for the import of protest antic books (the disobedient could even be condemned to death). In 1668 the Seym (Seimas) passed a decision to exile the persons who repudiated Catholicism. By the Warsaw Confederation Act, adopted on the initiative of Lithuania in 1673, the right of existence of all Christian Churches in the Polish–Lithuanian state was recognized. Thus, almost throughout the whole century the two competing parties (catholic and protestants) stimulated each other efficiently (Lukšaitė, 1999).

The influence of the Polish culture increased with the strengthening position of Catholicism. The cultural rapprochement of Poland and Lithuania began in 1385 after signing the Krėva Treaty with which the Lithuanian baptism was related. That was the starting point of Lithuania's polonization. Poland strived to liquidate the Grand Ducky of Lithuania. The Lublin Union with Poland (1569) reduced Lithuania's self-dependence and strengthened the cultural assimilation. The influence of the Western culture – Latin Polish culture – manifested through the Polish culture. In the course of time the Polish language was adopted as the everyday language of Lithuanian nobility. Some time later it came into use among gentry and small-gentry. Gradually the Polish language gained the status of prestigious language of gentry. In 1697 it was legalized as the official office and court language of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The Polish language was spreading through the churches, state institution, schools and estates. The Lithuanian language survived only in the lowest social estate – peasants and serfs (Gaučas, 1997).

Lithuanians of the Lithuania Minor endured rapid germanization in the 18^{th}-19^{th} centuries. The common German and Lithuanian religion was responsible for more rapid assimilation of Lithuanians than of Poles who were different believers. The success of germanization was predetermined by the cultural and economic power of Germany and by the aspirations of Lithuanians for higher Western culture.

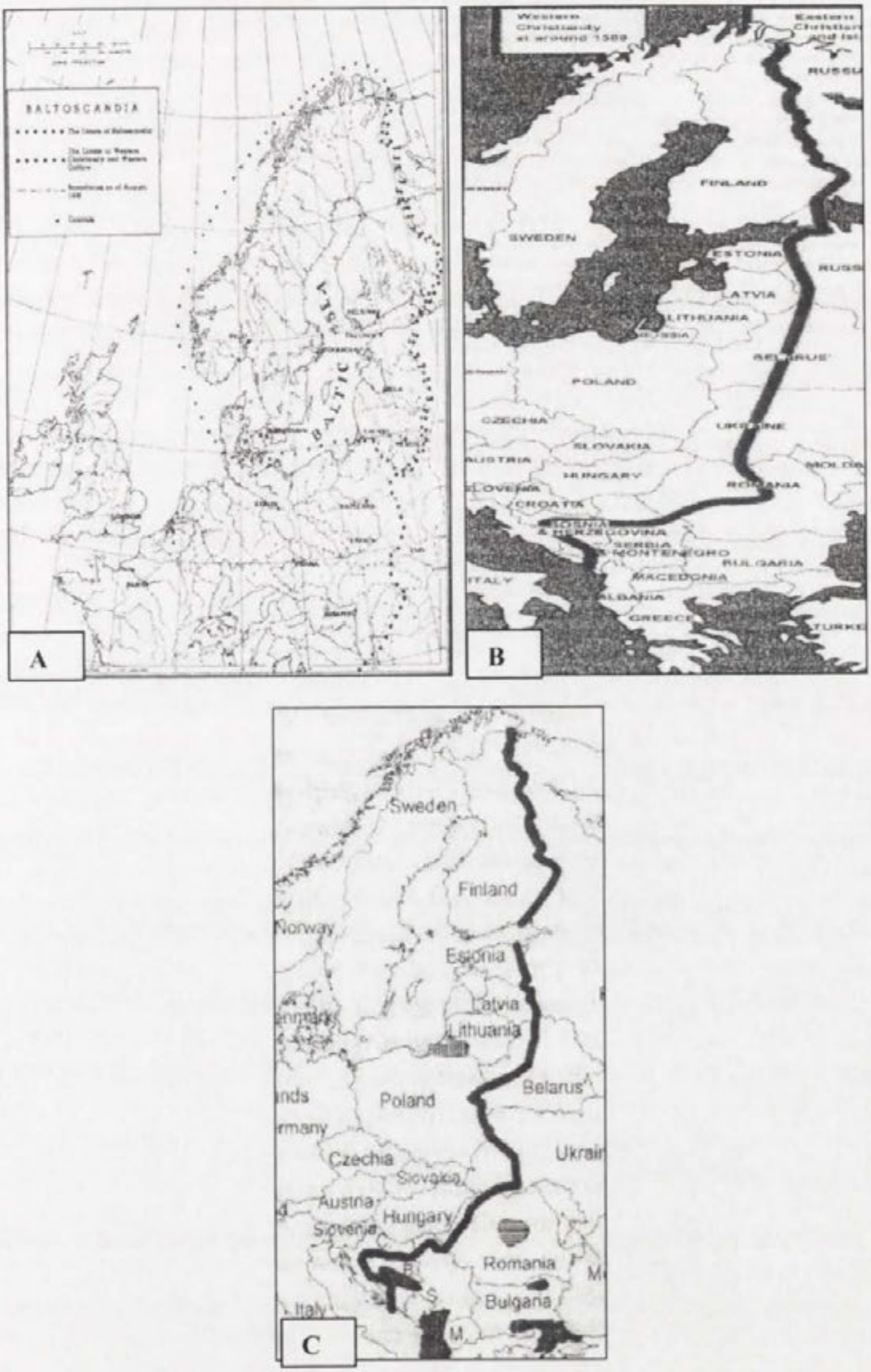
– ***At the end of the 18^{th} century Lithuania turned into the northwestern periphery of the orthodox Russian Empire.***

Lithuania lost its independence and suffered oppression and russification. After the uprising of 1863 the russification obtained brutal forms: prohibition of the written Lithuanian in Latin characters and teaching in Lithuanian at schools. Colonization was started by bringing Russian inhabitants for settlement in Lithuania and through the expansion of orthodox religion (Gaučas, 1997). Nevertheless, in more than 120 years of occupation Lithuania has not lost its cultural (Western, Catholic) identity. In spite of intensive propagation of Russian culture (1795-1914) it has not taken root. This was so because Russian culture was not superior. Catholicism was the main weapon against russification. Jet it was identified (especially in the East Lithuania) with Polish-mindedness.

– ***In 1918 taking advantage of the political circumstances Lithuanians restored their independent state, which, being in a complicated geopolitical and geocultural situation, chose a policy of neutrality. The rebirth of the Lithuanian nation was a response to the Eastern and Western influences. The state pursued a policy of cherishing the national culture. Judging from the literary, intellectual and cultural life before World War II Lithuania was rapidly approaching Europe.***

Jet the status of neutrality did not save Lithuania from the loss of Vilnius Region, German and Soviet occupations. Being in a military conflict with Poland Lithuania put efforts to dissociate itself from the influence of Polish culture. Jet the Vilnius Region occupied by Poland was intensively polonized. The activity of the Lithuanian public organizations and educational system in this region was restricted and, eventually, prohibited. About 100 thou Poles were transferred to this region from Poland for permanent residence (Gaučas, 1997).

Fig. 1. **The boundary between the Western and Eastern cultures**: A – according to K. Pakštas, B – according to S.P. Huntington, C – according to P. Eberhardt.



The famous Lithuanian inter-war geographer and geopolitician K. Pakštas has analyzed the problems of the interaction of the Eastern and Western cultures. He had a very clear idea about the complicated geographical situation of Lithuania – between the German and Russian empires and in the neighborhood of unfriendly Poland. He has stated that „great zone of national friction" manifests in sophisticated national problems. Small states have best to survive keeping political equilibrium and separating the conflicting neighbors. According to K. Pakštas „*Lithuania can be valued in Europe (...) for maintaining equilibrium between Slavs and Germans*". Lithuania is in the crossing of the main European arteries and has to endure stronger assimilation and influence of foreign cultures and interests than any other nation of Europe (Pakštas, 1991). K. Pakštas warned Lithuania about the threats to state self-dependence and even suggested finding a „deposit Lithuania (emergency Lithuania)" in the Central America or South Africa. He was not understood... In 1942 K. Pakštas suggested the idea of Baltoscandia and drew the boundary between the Western and Eastern cultures, which was running eastern more from the from the present Lithuanian border (Pšibilskis, 2003). A similar boundary between civilizations was drawn by S.P. Huntington and corrected by P. Eberhardt (Eberhardt, 2003) (Fig. 1). Religious beliefs served as the basic criteria.

The intermediate situation of Lithuania between the East and West has given birth to the idea of **cultural synthesis** suggested by the famous inter-war Lithuanian philosopher S. Šalkauskis. He introduced this idea in his book „*In the Divide between the Two Worlds*" (1919, in French) and in a few other publications (Šalkauskis, 1995). He believed that being in the divide between the East and the West Lithuania did not belong to any of these civilizations. Though religion and culture unites Lithuanians with the West, their temperament, psyche and historical heritage still keep them related with the East. Lithuanians have rudiments of these two worlds. Lithuania is a country at a crossing. This hides the threats for its existence and the specific features of its calling. S. Šalkauskis pointed out „*history has proved not once that response to this calling to be at the crossing of the two worlds is an intrinsic necessity for the Lithuanian nation. Everything else depends on the external circumstances*". He also believed that the specific geopolitical situation preconditioned that „*the Lithuanian nation can life of full value only in case if it manages to mould the rudiments of Russian and Polish cultures into one Lithuanian synthesis and to maintain an external equilibrium – even if local or partial – between the German and Slavonic worlds*" (Šalkauskis, 1995).

– ***Intensive sovietization-collectivization, mass deportations and russification set in after 1945.***

Many Russian were brought to Lithuania for permanent residence in the deserted Vilnius and Klaipėda cities. Most Russian-speakers occupied higher social positions. Two official languages were used in Lithuania – Russian and Lithuanian. But even the intensive forcible sovietization did not break down the Lithuania's resistance (the partisan war lasted for 10 years, underground organizations have been operating throughout the entire period of occupation, Lithuanians participated in silent cultural resistance). Catholicism was a specific form of resistance against sovietization and russification. Even basketball (competition between the Lithuanian and Russian teams) was a ring of resistance. Nevertheless the stratocide (extinction or emigration of political, economic and cultural elite) and „iron curtain" produced a strong effect on the cultural development of Lithuania – estranged Lithuania from the West and facilitated the Russian cultural assimilation, which has become evident.

– ***It is natural that the least sovietized Lithuania (together with Latvia and Estonia) shook up the fundament of the Soviet Empire, restored its state self-dependence in 1990 and assessed the EU and NATO in 2004.***

The restored Lithuanian state took the way of integration with the West and rapidly liberating itself from the Russian sphere of influence. Jet this was not an easy task. After the restoration of independence Lithuania – which has and should belong to the Western world – was confronted by many problems. Main of them was: cultural self-identification, lack of clear spiritual values and nostalgia for the Soviet years. The westernization of Lithuania is „virtually" confined to mechanical adoption of the Western tradition. The conversion to western tradition is more rapid among businessmen, part of politicians, young people and academic strata who entered into relations with the West European countries. We should agree with philosopher L. Donskis who believer that conversion to European standards should exclude blind imitation of the Western mode of life and take form of opening its own forms of culture in time and space (Donskis, 1994).

The cultural collision has become especially evident in the last years when the western and eastern orientation candidates stood for election to president, European Parliament and Seimas. In order to resist influence of the eastern culture it is necessary to mobilise the cultural forces and to increase the role of Church in the public life. The priority status of education state support of ethnoculture should be the main means of cultural mobilisation (Baubinas, 1995).\

Thus for more than a thousand years Lithuania has been a zone of cultural interaction. Its Capital Vilnius has always been marked by national, cultural and linguistic diversity. Though historically Lithuania has been and is a part of the western culture the westerners has always been superficial and fragile. This has been predetermined by the geocultural situation and historical conditions. Being in the specific geopolitical space Lithuania has enjoyed variable cultural influences, which have formed some specific cultural phenomena:

- The contact peripheral location of Lithuania (especially in the trans-border regions in the East Lithuania) is responsible for presentation of ethnic and religious diversity, tolerance, cultural conservativeness, composite cultural identity, cultural heterogeneity and syncretism (the Church of Unites, Russian Orthodox „Cerkov" of Gothic style, bilinguism, mixed everyday language of the South-eastern Lithuanian population (plain language with the elements of Lithuanian and Polish, phenomena of religious syncretism in the Lithuanian Catholicism, etc.)
- Lithuania is marked by certain cultural lagging behind – many cultural and social phenomena and innovations came later and would slowly take root (state-self dependence, Christianity, architectural styles, chronicles and essays, social and economic relations, urbanisation and industrialisation. All this is responsible for specific character of Lithuania.
- The cultural interaction formed the structure of Lithuanian cultural regions. The boundary between the Western and Eastern cultural regions has survived for more than one thousand years (FIG.2).

Fig. 2. The boundary between the Lithuanian Eastern and Western cultural regions.

Future prospects

The cultural interaction is not only an important factor in the history of Lithuania. It will retain its significance also in the future. The modern Lithuanian history shows that being in the zone of cultural interaction causes cultural, political, and economic problems. This is so because of the cultural orientation changes slowly – at considerably slower pace than the economic or political one. The competition between western and Eastern economy and culture continues to take place. It is a common belief that the west has reached the peak of its power. Therefore, being in the West ensures the safety of the country in all respects. Yet the process of democratisation and liberalisation in Russia are accompanied by revanshistic and imperialistic aspirations and attempts to influence the East Baltic states. The west has not yet lost the image of an enemy. Therefore, the causes of confrontation between civilisations have not yet disappeared. There always remain preconditions for changes of geocultural situation.

S. Huntington believes that culture will be the main cause of split of humanity rather than ideology or economy. The history of Lithuania has proved that contacts of civilisations used to be the main cause of confrontation at all times. But contrary to Huntington's idea we think that the boundaries of civilisations must not turn into front lines. Due to its historical experience and geographical situation Lithuania could become a „bridge" between the West and the East. The confrontation between civilisations should convert in Lithuania into dialog between civilisations.

The main strategic goals of Lithuania have been achieved. Lithuania is a member of EU and NATO. The country will become an integral part of the Western world when it abandons the position of cultural defence and takes the position of cultural development and expansion. A resolution on the trends of foreign policy was adopted by Lithuania on May 1, 2004. It emphasizes that pursuing the policy of good neighbourhood Lithuania should become an active and influential country of the region. The main interest of Lithuania is to achieve that the Kaliningrad region, Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia become more European-minded. The tandem with Poland could turn to be rather promising in this context. So far the Lithuanian-Polish partnership remains rather a declaration of politicians. If the EU formally expands to the East the cultural differences will become the major disintegrating factor. It cannot be imagined that Russia will become an integral part of the Western Cultural region.

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Streszczenie

LITWA JAKO PRZESTRZEŃ WZAJEMNEGO ODDZIAŁYWANIA KULTUR

Niniejszy artykuł jest próbą zanalizowania wpływu szczególnego położenia geograficznego – na skrzyżowaniu kultur – na rozwój kulturalny danego kraju. Artykuł bazuje na przypadku Litwy. Po znacznym przesunięciu granic UE na wschód kwestia ta nabrała istotnego znaczenia. Czynniki kulturalne są główną siłą napędową integracji

europejskiej - kraje jednoczą się nie tylko na bazie gospodarczej, lecz także kulturalnej (cywilizacyjnej).

Różnice kulturalne na Litwie są dość oczywiste i biorą się z wielu współczesnych procesów społecznych, gospodarczych i politycznych. Dzieje Litwy cały czas balansują pomiędzy Wschodem i Zachodem, oraz pomiędzy przetrwaniem a zagładą. Obszary na skrzyżowaniu kultur doznają największego uszczerbku, kiedy te kultury prowadzą ze sobą walkę. Dzieje Litwy, a także innych krajów (Polski, Łotwy i pozostałych), znajdujących się w tym samym położeniu geograficznym i geokulturalnym, stanowią dobry przykład skomplikowanego rozwoju kulturalnego na obrzeżach kultur. Długie trwanie na skrzyżowaniu cywilizacji tworzy swoiste cechy kultury, tradycji, mentalności, charakteru narodowego i innych.

Konstruktywna analiza wzajemnego oddziaływania kultur winna się opierać na koncepcji „rdzenia (jądra) i obrzeży". Rdzeń kulturalny składa się z krajów tworzących cywilizacyjne wartości danej kultury. Obrzeża stanowi terytorium, które łączy w sobie obszar danego wpływu kulturalnego i późniejsze próby nadążenia za rdzeniem, tj., „modernizowanie się".

Na Litwie można wyróżnić kilka etapów integracji kulturalnych:

- Już w pierwszym tysiącleciu przed Chrystusem fundamentalny podział na kulturę wschodnią i zachodnią stał się widoczny na terytorium Litwy – plemiona bałtyckie podzieliły się na Bałtów wschodnich i zachodnich.
- Przed wprowadzeniem chrześcijaństwa Litwa pozostawała na styku dwóch cywilizacji – zachodniej (europejskiej) i wschodniej (bizantyjskiej). Próbowała się opierać im obu, walcząc na dwóch frontach przez ponad 300 lat.
- Przyczyny polityczne wymusiły wybór chrztu katolickiego i orientacji zachodniej, co włączyło wschodnią (w 1387 r.) i zachodnią (w 1413 r.) część Litwy do zachodnio-europejskiej strefy kulturalnej. Niemcy i Polacy (szczególnie) wnosili nową kulturę. Jednak przez dłuższy czas Litwa pozostawała w strefie wpływu kultury wschodnio-słowiańskiej.
- Po reformacji Litwa znalazła się na skrzyżowaniu nawet trzech kultur chrześcijańskich – północno-zachodniej (protestantyzm), południowo-zachodniej (katolicyzm) i wschodniej (prawosławie).
- Z końcem XVIII w. Litwa znalazła się na północno-zachodnich obrzeżach prawosławnego Imperium Rosyjskiego.
- W 1918 r., wykorzystując sytuację polityczną, Litwini odzyskali swoje niepodległe państwo, które, będąc w skomplikowanej sytuacji geopolitycznej i geokulturalnej, wybrało politykę neutralności. Odrodzenie narodu litewskiego było odpowiedzią na wpływy Wschodu i Zachodu. Państwo prowadziło politykę pielęgnowania kultury narodowej. Sądząc na podstawie życia literackiego, intelektualnego czy kulturalnego przed II wojną światową, Litwa szybko dołączała do Europy.
- Intensywna sowietyzacja i kolektywizacja, masowe deportacje i rusyfikacja nastąpiły po 1945 r.
- Jest rzeczą naturalną, że najmniej sowiecka Litwa (wraz z Łotwą i Estonią) wstrząsnęła podstawami imperium sowieckiego, przywróciła swoją niepodległość państwową w 1990 r. i przystąpiła do UE i NATO w 2004 r.

Znajdując się w szczególnej przestrzeni geopolitycznej, Litwa pozostawała i pozostaje pod różnorodnymi wpływami kulturalnymi, które wytworzyły pewne specyficzne zjawiska kulturalne:

- Kontaktowe, peryferyjne położenie Litwy (szczególnie w rejonach przygranicznych na wschodniej Litwie) odpowiada za przejawy różnorodności etnicznej i religijnej, tolerancję, konserwatyzm kulturalny, złożoną tożsamość kulturalną, wielość kulturalną i synkretyzm (kościół unicki, rosyjska cerkiew prawosławna w stylu gotyckim, dwujęzyczność, mieszany język codzienny południowo-wschodniej ludności litewskiej (prosty język z elementami litewskiego i polskiego), zjawiska synkretyzmu religijnego w litewskim katolicyzmie, itp.)
- Litwę cechuje pewne zacofanie kulturalne – wiele zjawisk i innowacji kulturalnych i społecznych nadeszło później i zakorzeniało się powoli (niepodległość państwowa, chrześcijaństwo, style architektoniczne, kroniki i eseje, stosunki społeczne i gospodarcze, urbanizacja i uprzemysłowienie). To wszystko odpowiada za szczególny charakter Litwy.
- Wzajemne oddziaływanie kulturalne uformowało strukturę litewskich regionów kulturalnych. Granica pomiędzy regionami kulturalnymi zachodnim i wschodnim przetrwała przez ponad tysiąc lat.

S. Huntington uważa, że to raczej kultura będzie główną przyczyną podziałów wśród ludzkości, a nie ideologia czy gospodarka. Dzieje Litwy udowodniły, że kontakty cywilizacji były zawsze główną przyczyną konfrontacji. Lecz wbrew idei Huntingtona uważamy, że granicom cywilizacji nie wolno zamienić się w linie frontu. Z powodu swojego doświadczenia historycznego i położenia geograficznego Litwa mogłaby stać się „pomostem" pomiędzy Zachodem i Wschodem. Konfrontacja cywilizacji winna zamienić się na Litwie w dialog pomiędzy cywilizacjami.

Główne cele strategiczne Litwy zostały osiągnięte. Litwa jest członkiem UE i NATO. Kraj stanie się integralną częścią świata zachodniego, kiedy porzuci pozycję obrony kultury i zajmie pozycję kulturalnego rozwoju i ekspansji. Rezolucja na temat kierunków polityki zagranicznej została przyjęta przez Litwę w dniu 1 maja 2004 r. Podkreśla ona, że kierując się polityką dobrego sąsiedztwa Litwa winna stać się aktywnym i wpływowym krajem regionu. Głównym interesem Litwy jest doprowadzenie to tego, aby obwód kaliningradzki, Białoruś, Ukraina i Rosja stały się bardziej proeuropejskie. Tandem z Polską mógłby stać się dość obiecujący w tym względzie. Jednak jak dotąd partnerstwo litewsko-polskie pozostaje raczej tylko deklaracją polityków. Jeśli UE rozszerzy się formalnie na Wschód, to różnice kulturalne staną się jednym z najważniejszych czynników dezintegrujących. Trudno sobie wyobrazić, aby Rosja stała się integralną częścią regionu kultury zachodniej.

UKRAINE AND THE EASTERN BORDER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Viktor BUDKIN

Institute of World Economy
and International Relations
Kiev

The most significant enlargement in the history of the European Union creates qualitatively new conditions for relations between Ukraine and other members of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs) with the EU and its new member states. The dominant in the new EU „Eastern policy" is the statement about the imperative necessity to avoid new dividing lines in Europe. As a model for settlement of the above problem a „Neighbourhood" strategy has been chosen. It was promulgated in the Communication of the European Commission „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood" in March 2003. The strategy is based upon the following principles:

– participation in the EU's internal market and regulatory structures;
– preferential trading relations and market opening;
– easier cross-border cooperation, and more people-to-people exchanges in science, culture and education;
– closer cooperation against common security threats and in conflict prevention;
– integration into EU transport, energy and telecoms networks, research programmes, etc.;
– new instruments for investment promotion and protection;
– increased financial assistance.

The document emphasises that these new frameworks for cooperation apply to countries „that will have direct sea or land borders with the EU of 25 but have no current prospect of EU membership." [1] The whole complex of the above principles specify the objective set forward at the EU Summits to promote stability and prosperity of both sides of new common borders in Europe. Ukraine has been included into the group of the „Western Newly Independent States" (WNIS) along with Belarus and Moldova, the same way as the 10 countries of the „Southern Mediterranean» group were formed. Russia was not included into any group and thus is considered as a special dimension of the EU „Neighbourhood" policy.

The deeper differentiation of the cooperation between these the above three sectors of the EU external borders is a distinctive feature of their relationships. The Communication „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood" stresses that „regional trade and integration is a recognised objective of the EU's Mediterranean policy." „The EU has Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) in place with the countries of the Southern Mediterranean and the Barcelona process envisages that these should now be expanded to include the services sector as well as the goods sector more fully." [2] The Union's position towards Russia (the biggest neighbouring country) has also changed significantly over the last five years in comparison with „Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia" (European Council, Meeting in Cologne, June 1999). „Russia is a key actor for the stability and security of the entire European continent. The EU has an important strategic and economic interest in the development of Russia" – this statement is emphasized in the contemporary documents of the EU [3]. The most important directions of collaboration with Russia are considered to be the concept of the Common European Economic Space (CEES), the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue, the EU's recognition of Russia's market economy status and the question of the Kaliningrad enclave (this issue became especially significant after Poland and Lithuania had joined the EU).

There was little progress in the EU's policy towards the three WNIS, though within this group of countries the policy differs significantly in its directions (meanwhile this might be the evidence of the lack of logic in joining these states into one group). Taking into account the problems related to creation of a democratic state and a market economy in Belarus, the EU postponed the preparation of the „Country Strategy Paper" (CSP) and the TACIS program for this country. Similar documents concerning Moldova envisage the political, economic and financial stabilisation of the country. TACIS program, with the budget of EUR 25 million in 2002-2003, is mainly oriented on institutional, legal and administrative reform, private sector development, social assistance etc.

The key directions of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine remained almost unchanged in comparison with the previous years and they differ qualitatively from priorities of the EU's collaboration with Russia. The cooperation between the EU and Ukraine could be supplemented in the framework of the „Country Action Plan". The 2002-2006 „Country Strategy Paper" for Ukraine emphasises trade- and investment-related issues, judicial reform, justice and home affairs (including border management and migration questions), development of civil society and alleviation of the social impact of reforms. The priorities of the National Indicative Programme for 2002-2003 will be retained. They included such aspects as legal, judicial and administrative reform; business, trade and investment promotion; civil society, training and education and social reforms. The indicative budget for the Ukraine programme for 2002-2003 was EUR 115 million [4]. By the time this article was written, the CSP for the following period as well as the following Country Action Plan for Ukraine had not been yet determined. It is also necessary to mention that the last EU contribution to the closure of Chernobyl was made in 2002. Significant is the fact that the CSP for Ukraine lacks a number of important aspects related to cooperation being though set in the similar documents related to Russia, in particular as for the participation in the Common European Economic Space. The thesis about the CEES will be perhaps included into the „Country Action Plan" for Ukraine.

In this situation the Ukrainian authorities were forced to change the tactical priorities in their relations with the EU as well as in other contemporary issues of foreign policy. Even at the conference held on 17 April, 2003 in Athens, President L.Kutchma declared that „Kiev is not interested in forcing problem of EU membership" [5]. At the same time according to the Ukrainian high-level officials it does not mean any changes in the strategic course for European integration. „In the period of large scale transformations in the European Union the main objective for us was to retain the perspective of the Ukraine's full membership in it. It is our strategic goal", - pointed out V.Yelchenko, the first Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, in April 2004 [6]. Approval by the President of Ukraine of the „State Program on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine for 2004-2007" in December 2003 proves it. On 18 March, 2004 Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (the Parliament) passed the law on the „National State Program on Approximation of Ukrainian legislation to that of the European Union". The first chapter of this program clearly states that the aim of this process „is the achievement of the accordance of the legal system with acquis communautaire subject to the criteria set by the EU to the other countries that intend to joint it" [7]. By the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers the Interdepartmental Coordination Council on Approximation of Ukrainian Legislation to the Legislation of the European Union was also created in March 2004. It was formed by the representatives of all ministries and it was headed by the Minister of Justice. The problems of development the new framework for cooperation with the EU-25 have been reviewed in a special topic report on „Enlargement of the European Union - New Opportunities and Perspective for Ukraine" which is an integral part of the annual President's report to the Verkhovna Rada „On Internal and External Situation in Ukraine over 2003".

These initiatives are basically supported by the European Union. In particular, organised by Ukraine the international conference devoted to the conception of „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood" held on 10 November, 2003 gained the EU's high evaluation. The representatives of the official bodies of the EU, European Commission, Ministers for foreign affairs of the ten new members of the EU, of three countries, the candidates to the accession, Russia, Belarus and Moldova participated in it. According to the EU leadership this conference enabled to identify the positions of all the parties concerned.

With the EU enlargement Ukraine is facing qualitatively new geopolitical. It will have a different impact upon our country in the near future and in the long-run as well. After the process of real integration of the new members into the Wider Europe will have been over, the cooperation with them will enhance additional positive effects for Ukraine in the field of economic and political relations. The unification of the geopolitical positions of all the countries on the West from the Ukrainian borders will facilitate the coordination of the external policy interests of Ukraine and the EU's common policy in the international arena. Common tariff system, same conditions for economic activity will positively influence export and import, financial and other operations of the Ukrainian business in the all-European market. The enlargement of the EU from 15 to 25 countries might have a special importance for Ukrainian foreign trade. It moves the European Union from the second position (after the CIS countries) to the first place in the rating of our country's foreign trade partners. The simplification of the international payments due to gradual integration of the new member states into the EUR-zone will also be of great significance.

In the future it is likely to expect the reduction of some negative elements existing nowadays in economic collaboration between Ukraine and the EU. First of all it entails the large trade deficit with the EU-15 which reached 1.2 billions USD in 2003 against 0.2 billions USD in 2002. The rapid economic growth rates of Ukraine during the latest years will enhance the increase in export-import transactions with the EU, and as a consequence it will strengthen its positions as a trade partner in the European market. Now it is not possible to recognise these positions as relevant to the trade turnover development for both sides. When in 2002 the ten new members occupied the second place after the USA in the total trade turnover of the EU-15 (they are accounted for 11.7%) and Russia had 3.9%, Ukraine was only accounted for less then 0.5%. At the same time, the share of the EU-15 in the Ukrainian trade turnover increased from 14.8% in 1994 (by the time the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was adopted) to 21.6% in 2002 and it continues to rise [8].

However, in the nearest future (in two or three years time) the consequences from the EU enlargement might have a negative impact on the development of economic relations between Ukraine and this wider, integrated Union. All bilateral cooperation agreements between Ukraine and the 10 new members will be revised and replaced by common EU relations with the third countries. It will result in the loss of those specific privileges that were envisaged by the economic agreements of Ukraine with the states of Central Europe in the 90-th but didn't meet the EU's standards. Economic links with the Baltic states will especially suffer because the former free trade agreements will be terminated. The EU's quotation system as to the Ukrainian ferrous metallurgy products will be extended on all these countries. Products of metallurgy is the key direction of the Ukrainian export. Entering the Common European Economic Space will promote reorientation of the trade flows. Those consumers of the ten new EU member states oriented before on import of chemical, food, wood proceeding and other Ukrainian products might shift their focus to the trade within the EU's internal market. All of them automatically will join the anti-dumping procedures, unified norms for accession to the common market, antimonopoly and other protective measures which are strictly carried out by the European Union. According to the Ministry for Economics and European Integration of Ukraine in the nearest future the annual losses of our country from the consequences of the EU enlargement might reach 250-350 million USD or 1.1-1.5% of our export over 2003 [9]. Even under the maximum positive treatment from the side of the majority of the neighbour countries, especially Poland and Hungary, towards introduction of the visa regime for Ukrainian citizens, it is necessary to point out that this regime has become more complicated after these countries had joined the Schengen Treaty regulating the entry to the EU territory. For example, bilateral business exchange has essentially decreased after Slovakia had become a member of Schengen. The same situation refers to Bulgaria's tourist industry, both parties being not satisfied.

Certain problems might arise also in financial sector of Ukraine. Transferring into Euro payments in trade transactions with the 10 new EU member states will essentially increase the demand on this currency from the side of Ukrainian exporters and importers and this will require the refusal from the ambiguous national currency policy with its current orientation on the US dollar. It is most likely that Ukraine will have to determine this policy on the basis of the „currency basket" - dollar and euro, as Russia has started to do already. Taking into account the significant fluctuations of the European Union currency (that also resulted from joining of the 10 new national financial systems in its zone) it is possible to expect the delay in euro stabilisation for a couple of successive years. This respectively will require additional analytical work and co-operation with foreign partner-banks, especially with the European Central Bank from the National bank of Ukraine while developing the currency policy, determining together with commercial banks the structure of currency reserves, as well. Similar additional difficulties can arise in attraction of foreign direct investments, in international payments with foreign clients, etc. The growth of the trade volumes with the EU-25 in comparison with the EU-15 will require acceleration of transition of the Ukrainian export enterprises into the common European standards (now only 17% of Ukrainian national standards are adopted to the EU's requirements). And this will result in the „peak" growth of expenses in industrial sphere.

All the above will envisage a lot of work on minimisation of the possible negative impact of the EU's enlargement for Ukraine. It is expected that this kind of activity might include the realisation of the common strategy at the level of general EU cooperation with Ukraine as well as the special instruments on its new Eastern border.

Ukrainian proposals for the nearest future cover such important statements as final recognition of Ukraine (from the side of the EU) as a country with market economy, supporting (by the European Union) of Ukraine's accession to the World Trade Organisation, entering the agreement on free trade zone. The possibility the above was stipulated in the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA), concluded between both partners in 1994. Up to now the EU's position proves that current relations between Ukraine and the EU completely meet the demands set in the Agreement of 1994 (in particular it was stressed in „Common Strategy of the EU concerning Ukraine" in 1999 and in the Communication „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood" in March 2003). Under the current negotiations with the EU the Ukrainian representatives emphasise that over the last decade and especially in the past few years the situation with the internal economic and political situation in Ukraine, its position a geoeconomic and geopolitical coordinate of the world definitely changed to the better. That's why the PCA framework is not relevant any more to the opportunities and complicated problems of cooperation, especially in the context of the European Union enlargement. Under such conditions it is vital to reach a higher level of economic and political cooperation like it existed in the previous years in the framework of the EU's relations with the CEEs countries. In the President's annual report to the Verkhovna Rada, mentioned above, the EU enlargement is directly connected with the necessity to add to this process the conclusion to the agreement about Ukraine becoming an associated member of the European Union. It is considered as the key tactical objective for the current period. The associated status of Ukraine will enable to solve not only the problem of transition to the free trade zone, but also to settle the whole complex of problems of cooperation in the field of investments, joint ventures, industrial, scientific and technical collaboration etc., including, first of all, the relations between Ukraine and the immediate western neighbours - new members of the EU.

The proposals on extending the „social" preferences in the framework of the EU General System of Preferences to Ukraine, on quotes' increasing on Ukrainian steel products exported to its traditional partners (the EU-15) and on preserving the existing volumes of export of the steel products to the new members of the Union are also subject of negotiations. In February 2004 M.Derkach, the minister for Economics and European integration, conducted negotiations on these issues with Mr. Paskal Lamy, the EU Trade Commissioner.

Ukraine has paid special attention to the issues of visa regime, migration, combating organised crime. A non-symmetric model with the regard for Schengen requirements chosen by Poland, Hungary and Lithuania in relations with Ukraine (non-visa travelling for individuals from these countries to Ukraine, simplified and free-of-charge procedures for obtaining visas for the Ukrainian citizens in conformity with the intergovernmental agreements between Ukraine and Poland, dated 30 July 2003, between Ukraine and Hungary, dated 9 October 2003, and a similar agreement with Lithuania conducted later and added to this set of documents) is considered to be the most rational under current conditions and should be extended on all new EU's members and candidates for entering this organisation. Unfortunately, such practice has not been extended yet on visa relations with other new member states and candidates for the EU's accession. Though, for example, since 1 May 2004 Ukraine does not require invitations for the citizens of Czech Republic and it is ready to go further in simplification of the visa regime for them as well as for citizens of all other states mentioned above. Another Ukrainian proposition concerns the introduction of a non-visa regime for the owners of the business passports. Poland has already agreed to consider this proposal. Ukraine supports the Communication of the European Commission on the so called „small cross-border movement" which is now under consideration of the EU Council. The experience of its introduction since November 1992 on Poland-German border shows that the simplified scheme of crossing of the EU's external border by the inhabitants of the border territories is an important step to foster effective contacts between the citizens of the neighbouring states. It is necessary to point out that some Ukrainian proposals related to liberalisation of access for its citizens to the EU's territory have not been accepted - the representatives of the EU explain the situation by the fact that the general concept of the visa relations with all neighbouring countries is being in the stage of development.

Negotiations between Ukraine and the EU related to some other important problems of mutual cooperation have been delivered more successfully. The European Union welcomes the opportunity of the Ukrainian participation in such EU programs as ARGO (on prevention of illegal migration) and AGIS (on prevention of organised crime). The background for such participation makes up significant amount of work carried out by Ukraine during the latest years. First of all, it is connected with Ukraine's accession to the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, considerable lawmaking activity of migration issues (over 10 legislative and over 5 governmental regulation were adopted) as well as issuance by the President of Ukraine the Decree „On Actions to Strengthen Combating Illegal Migration", whereby the Program of this combating for 2001-2004 was approved. A joint IOM (International Organisation for Migration) and Russian and Ukrainian pilot project „Migration management system in the Russian Federation and Ukraine: Immigration Control in Border Zones" was positively evaluated by the EU. A joint Ukrainian-Belarusian project „Border Management" is carried out with the EU's support. The EC is expected to expand its assistance under the TACIS program for more effective management of the migration processes in all neighbouring countries, including

Ukraine. For this purpose it will provide EUR 250 million for the next five years.

It is necessary to specify the positive internal changes concerning the preconditions of illegal and legal (in the framework of quotes for foreign labour) migration related to the positive changes in the Ukrainian labour market. During 2000-2003 the GDP increase in 30.4% was followed by the reduction of the unemployment rate in Ukraine on 27.8% and it is accounted for 9.1%. At present about 2 million Ukrainian citizens work abroad (mostly in the EU member states - old and new ones). However, the growth rate of labour migration has been slowing down due to the growth (after a ten years' break) of the number of employed people in Ukrainian economy since 2002 and owing to stable increasing of real wages since the end of 2000 - beginning of 2001 [10].

A lot of joint work has also been done in the area of organised crime prevention. In 2003 Ukraine joined to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, began the implementation (together with Belarus and Moldova) of the second stage of the program for fight against drugs (BUMAD). Ukraine was excluded by international organisation FATF from the list of countries that do not provide proper policy against money laundering, implemented other preventive measures eliminating the reasons for criminal activity at the national level. The EU has shown the willingness to give support in implementation of the provisions of the Criminal and Civil Convention of the European Council against corruption, which is now under preparation for ratification by the Ukrainian Parliament (in this sense it is necessary to point out that the World Bank's report „Anticorruption in Transition 2: Corruption in Enterprise-State Relations in Europe and Central Asia 1999-2002 (ACT-2)", promulgated in March 2004, placed Ukraine among the group of states with a decreasing level of corruption influencing business).

The EU has welcomed the Ukraine's joining the provisions on combating organised crime of the joint Declaration, adopted by the European Council on 8 April 2003. In December 2003 under the TACIS program the large project on combating against trafficking in human beings started in Ukraine. Ukraine, along with the EU, also carries out the work on implementation of the provisions of the joint Declaration of the ministers of the EU and European Commission, dated 14 October 2002, concerning the protection of commercial cross-border drivers against organised crime, and the similar joint Declaration, dated 28 September 2001, concerning fighting against trafficking in human beings as well.

Most of these measures had been set up in the framework of the so-called „Soderkoping Process" which is financed by the European Commission and is, according to Per Almqvist, director of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, „a most promising example of co-operation between the enlarged EU and primarily Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova" [11]. Ten countries on both side of the new EU external border are engaged, besides the EU the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organisation for Migration and the Swedish Migration Board are its members. The main objectives of this process is providing assistance to the three European countries with „neighbouring" status related to the EU (Russia has not joined to „Soderkoping Process") in settlement of problems of borders protection, migration and asylum. It should be noted that Cross-border Co-operation Process Secretariat is situated in Kyiv, closer to the zone of immediate activity of this international project.

The European Union has developed the guidelines for cooperation with Ukraine, two other WNIS and Russia which are stated in the Communication of the Commission of the European Communities „The New Neighbourhood Instrument", dated 1 July 2003. It envisages two stages of relation development with these states. First stage covers 2004-2006 years and focuses on introduction of the programs related to relation development with the Eastern neighbours. Second stage will commence after 2006 and during this period such complex task as gradual development of the new detailed mechanism of regulation of the EU-25 relations with these states will be in the focus.

The first stage assumes facilitation of coordination between the existing programs of financing of the cross-border cooperation projects on the new border as well as economic and other projects in „neighbouring" countries. Issues related to the Eastern border are regulated by the programs INTERREG, a part of the PHARE and TACIS schemes devoted to cross-border cooperation. In particular Ukraine can take part in the program INTERREG-A which is focused on bilateral cooperation (in this case - with Poland, Slovakia and Hungary). Large-scale programs for sub-regional and transnational cooperation are stipulated in the INTERREG-B. It allows to coordinate the work of all these four states and even more - of the countries on both sides of the new EU eastern border. TACIS also plans to develop a new Strategy and Indicative programs for the Program of the cross-border cooperation for 2004-2006, and annual Action Plans for their realisation as well. The special attention will be paid to the „programs of the small projects", to the maintenance of measures at the lower administrative levels.

Within this period the EU plans to commence a complex program for development of the relations with the „neighbouring" countries. All interested partners from both sides of the new European Union's external border will be involved in its preparation. This program will be oriented on development of infrastructure in such areas as transport, environment, energy, border crossing points, electronic communication, investments in economic and social integration (investments in production, cooperation in the sphere of scientific research, technologies and innovations), exchange in culture and education fields, etc. [12].

For some neighbouring countries these measures will be included in the Country Action Plan of the European Union cooperation with them, for several other countries on the both sides of the border - in the Regional Action Plan.

At the national level and in contact with its Western neighbours Ukraine has actively joined to the work for preparation of concrete measures on cooperation within the framework of the „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood" programs. On 14 January 2004 the Resolution „On approval of the agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the government of Poland Republic concerning the using of powerful system of carbohydrates transportation „Odessa-Brody" and its integration with the Polish capacities" was adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. In the Polish territory this pipeline will be built by the firm „Przyjazn" which is part of the joint venture, created together with the joint-stock company „Ukrtransnafta". Taking into account that 44% of the EU' cargoes are transported by auto vehicles, the Ministry of Transport of Ukraine has raised attention to the construction of highways of the European standards, including those roads that belongs to the transeuropean highways and are on Ukrainian territory. On 16 July 2003 the contract on the TACIS program "Custom -7" in the amount of EUR 2 million was signed in Brussels. This contract provides the implementation of the project „Reform and Modernisation of the Custom Service of Ukraine" which is aimed at all-around automation of customs procedures in order to liquidate the cargo delays on the Ukrainian borders. The facilitation of border crossing will also be promoted by "The Typical Technological Scheme on Clearance Across the National Border of Carries' Motor, Water, Railway and Air Transport Vehicles and Goods Transported by Them" adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 24 December 2003 [13].

The important direction for cooperation is strengthening of contacts in the field of ecology with the new EU members. Reducing transboundary environmental risks and pollution is one of the four priorities of the Cross-border Cooperation Programme (CBC) of the EU. It usually allocates about 30% of the total budget to environmental projects [14].

Summing up, it is necessary to emphasise that in the long term Ukraine has considerably more potential opportunities for development of cooperation with the EU as a whole and with its new members than it had before. Rapid growth rate of the Ukrainian economy might serve as a strong internal precondition for this. This results in export growth on the global market and increasing of currency resources in the state and business structures. This respectively influence on growth of their import opportunities. Acceleration of the economy pace raises up an investment rating of Ukraine as well, it has resulted already in increasing of foreign investment inflows in the country.

Ukraine has practically met all the key requirements in the process of its integration into the World Trade Organisation. Joining the WTO will essentially facilitate the terms of Ukrainian trade with the partners from the EU. Export and import operations with Ukraine will base on common, unified terms for all EU's members.

Along with the parliaments of Russian, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ratified the agreement on Common Economic Space of these four states on 20 April 2004. If (unlike many other initiatives, developed in the framework of the CIS countries) the realisation of this agreement is based upon rational principles and common interests (Ukraine in particular has declared that its participation in CES would be restricted by the free trade zone format), it will promote on the entire territory from Brest to Pacific ocean active acceleration of the Ukrainian business with all positive consequences for its cooperation with other sectors of the world market, including the EU-25. The position of Ukrainian authorities on this issue is clear: entering the CES is not an alternative for European integration. As the Prime-Minister of Ukraine V.Yanukovych emphasised, the creation of the CES „will play a uniting role, promote the realisation of the policy for the European integration of Ukraine and Russia and their fastest synchronous accession to the WTO", it should not „cause contradictions in relation between Ukraine and the EU" [15].

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Streszczenie

UKRAINA A WSCHODNIA GRANICA UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ

W artykule podjęto problematykę nowego etapu powiązań między Ukrainą i Unią Europejską (UE-25). W interesie Ukrainy leży prowadzenie europejskiej polityki integracyjnej w geopolitycznych wymiarach koncepcji „Wider Europe. Neighbourhood". Ukraina zainteresowana jest budowaniem w regionie Europy Środkowej nowych warunków dla trwałej stabilizacji i umacniania współpracy ekonomicznej. W związku z tym zwrócono uwagę na perspektywiczne aspekty procesów transgranicznych.

УКРАИНСКИЙ ПУТЬ В ОБЪЕДИНЕННУЮ ЕВРОПУ

Светлана ПИСАРЕНКО

Институт региональных исследований НАН Украины, г. Львов

Желание Украины стать полноправным членом ЕС впервые было провозглашено Президентом Украины Л. Кучмой в январе 1996 года на заседании Совета Европы в Страсбурге. Европейский выбор Украины обусловленный осознанием интеграции к ЭС как фактор содействия государственной независимости, экономической и политической безопасности, политической стабильности, экономическому развитию, социальному согласию, интеллектуальному прогрессу, духовному обогащению украинского народа, а также существования угрозы оказаться вне границ общего европейского дома в следствие замедления или остановки восстановления европейской сущности Украины, признание ЕС Украины неотъемлемой частью Центральной и Восточной Европы.

В настоящие время основу отношений Украины и ЕС составляет Соглашение о партнерстве и сотрудничестве (СПС) между Украиной и ЕС, которое было подписано 14 июня 1994 года в Люксембурге, ратифицировано 10 ноября 1994 года Верховной Радой Украины и приобрело силу только с 1 марта 1998 года после его ратификации всеми странами-членами ЕС.

Этим соглашением предполагается несколько ведущих направлений взаимодействия Украины и ЕС:

- поддержка демократических реформ и развитие гражданского общества;
- содействие экономическим реформам, развитие торгового и экономического сотрудничества усиление политического диалога и поддержка привлечения Украины к формированию новой архитектуры европейской безопасности;
- развитие регионального сотрудничества;
- укрепление договорных отношений;
- реформирование энергетического сектора;

– реализация на практике формального определения ЕС Украины как страны с переходной экономикой.[1]

СПС предусматривает институализацию политического диалога, то есть создание механизма встреч и консультаций на парламентском, правительственном и президентском уровнях с целью принятия конкретных решений относительно развития сотрудничества между Украиной и ЕС и его государствами-членами. Соглашение заключено с учетом новых реалий, и, в частности, вступлением в силу Маахстрихтского договора и значительного усиления удельного веса политического и военно-политического сотрудничества в рамках ЕС.

31 мая 2002 года Президент Украины в своем ежегодном послании к Парламенту «О внутреннем и внешнем положении Украины» в разделе под названием «Европейский выбор» поставил такие цели европейской интеграции Украины:

– в 2003-2004 годах подписать с ЕС соглашение об ассоциированном членстве и провести переговоры о создании зоны свободной торговли;
– в 2004-2007 годах Украина должна выполнить все необходимые процедуры, чтобы было реализовано соглашение об ассоциированном членстве и стать ассоциированным членом;
– в 2005-2007 годах Украина должна создать таможенный союз с ЕС;
– в 2007-2011 годах выполнить условия, необходимые для вступления в ЕС.[2]

Тогда же Украина обратилась к ЕС с просьбой дать ей статус ассоциированного члена. В ответ Украине был предложен статус «соседа ЕС». Цель такой Политики Соседства была определенна в обращении Европейской Комиссии и Европейского Совета – обеспечить рамки для развития новых отношений со странами-соседями ЕС, которым не предусматривается в среднечасовой перспективе членство или участие в институтах ЕС. В обращении Европейской Комиссии отмечалось, что целью такого сотрудничества является «доступ ко всем преимуществам ЕС без участия в его институтах», включая «единый рынок , свободную торговлю, открытый инвестиционный рыночный режим, сближение законодательства, взаимосвязь инфраструктурных сетей и использование евро в качестве резервной и основной валюты в двухсторонних отношениях».

Если страна – сосед ЕС достигнет реального прогресса, который продемонстрирует общие ценности и эффективную реализацию политических, экономических и институциональных реформ, включая

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приведения законодательства в соответствие с нормами ЕС, то это даст ей возможность воспользоваться перспективой более тесной экономической интеграции. С этой целью данной стране будет предложена часть во внутреннем рынке ЕС, а также товаров, услуг, капиталов («четыре свободы»).

Из сказанного можно сделать вывод, что это первая инициатива ЕС, которая предусматривает присутствие Украины в европейском экономическом пространстве.

Однако одним из препятствий на пути интеграции Украины в ЕС является уровень её экономического развития. Так показатель уровня жизни населения Украины достигает около 15 % , а объем экспорта на душу населения около 5 % среднего показателя по ЕС.

Другим препятствием на пути европейской интеграции Украины является небольшие объемы её торговли со странами ЕС. В 2003 году внешнеторговый оборот товарами и услугами Украины с странами ЕС составил 11,5 млрд. дол. США. Отрицательное сальдо равнялось 849,1 млн. дол. США против 133,9 млн. дол. США в 2002 году. В общем объеме экспорта Украины доля ЕС составила 19.8 %, в импорте – 25,2 %.

Традиционно главными партнёрами как в экспорте, так и в импорте является ФРН, Италия, Нидерланды и Великобритания. На них приходится больше половины общего объема торговли со странами ЕС.

В 2003 году 22,7 % от общего экспорта товаров в страны ЕС составили неблагородные метали; 22,3 % – минеральные продукты; 15.5 % – продукция легкой промышленности.

Основу товарного импорта со стран ЕС составляют механические машины и оборудование, приборы, аппараты и средства транспорта (43,2 % от общего объема импорта товаров со стран ЕС), продукция химической, легкой промышленности.

Объем прямых инвестиций в экономику Украины из стран ЕС равен 2,4 млрд. дол. США, что составляет 35,5 % общего объема прямых иностранных инвестиций в Украину. Главными странами-инвесторами, на которые приходится больше трех четвертей общего объема инвестиций из ЕС, является Великобритания (28,8 %общего объема инвестиций из ЕС), Нидерланды (19,5 %),. ФРН (18,5 %), Австрия (10,6 %).

Наиболее инвестиционно привлекательными в Украине для стран-членов ЕС являются такие виды деятельности, как: пищевая промышленность и переработка сельскохозяйственного сырья, транспорт и связь, оптовая торговля.

Объем инвестиций с Украины в экономику стран-членов ЕС равен 17,3 млн. дол. США, что составляет 10,6 % общего объема инвестиций с Украины.

Характер внешнеэкономического отношения Украины и ЕС свидетельствует о том, что:

– структура торговли между Украиной и ЕС напоминает в определенной мере торговлю ЕС со странами, которые развиваются;
– экономические связи между украинскими и европейскими компаниями в основном состоят из простых экспортно-импортных операций. Как правило, европейские инвесторы удерживаются от масштабных инвестиционных проектов, хотя в отдельных случаях (например, табачная промышленность) величина инвестиций довольно значительной по украинским стандартам.

Все препятствия на пути к полноценному развитию торговли между Украиной и ЕС можно рассматривать как структурные и организационно-административные, которые можно еще поделить на отдельные группы. Так, первая группа включает в себя проблемы сертификации товаров, происхождением с ЕС. Кроме сертификации на сегодня существуют и другие болевые вопросы, в частности:

– защита прав интеллектуальной собственности;
– доступ к рынкам Украины и ЕС (соблюдение правил СОТ);
– внешнеэкономические последствия реализации отдельных инвестиционных проектов в Украине (например, общее предприятие Автозаз-DAEWOO);
– несогласованность, связанная со взысканием таможенной пошлины (например, с товаров, которые временно ввозятся на территорию Украины).

Существуют и другие проблемы. Они свидетельствуют о том, что законодательная база Украины, которая регулирует сферу производства и торговли, требует усовершенствования в соответствии с общепризнанными европейскими нормами.

В целом на сегодняшний день украинские усилия интегрироваться в европейскую экономику можно охарактеризовать, как реализацию Украиной «торговой идеи сотрудничества». Ее суть состоит в том, что экспортно-импортные операции составляют основу взаимных отношений между Украиной и ее европейскими партнерами. Характерные особенности для этой модели вытекают из сравнительных преимуществ нашей страны, которые развивались со времён, когда Украина была частью СССР. Такой вариант развития сотрудничества является довольно опасным, поскольку он консервирует существующую структуру украинского производства.

Традиционным для украинской экономики есть доминирование ресурсоинтенсивных и энергоёмких отраслей таких, как машиностроение, химическая и строительная промышленность, производство сельскохозяйственной техники и т.д. На данный момент высокотехнологические отрасли Украины не определяют специализацию её промышленности на европейском и мировом рынках. Лишь 8-10 % промышленного производства Украины отвечает международным стандартам и требованиям. Именно поэтому значительная часть украинского промышленного производства является низко конкурентоспособной или вообще не выдерживает конкуренции на мировых рынках. Переполненный традиционными товарами машиностроения европейский рынок фактически требует от Украины производства высокотехнологических товаров и активизации инновационной деятельности.

Для того, чтобы изменить экономическую и технологические системы, нужно внедрить новую модель внешнеэкономической деятельности, которую условно можно назвать «производственно--инвестиционная». Под ней понимаем такое сотрудничество с заграничными партнёрами, которое происходит на всех стадиях производственного процесса в отличии от чистого торгового обмена. Очевидно, что такую модель можно реализовать, если страна достигнет определённого уровня участия в мировом потоке товаров, капитала, услуг и технологий.

До настоящего времени в Украине интеграция является понятием декларативным. В основном используется как инструмент в политической борьбе, не являясь стратегически осознанным приоритетом. Украина не выработала жизнеспособной стратегии европейской интеграции, т.е. модели с целями приоритетами, путями и способами их реализации, ресурсами, необходимыми для достижения поставленной цели. Десятки государственных институций, формальных групп и комиссий привлечены к процессу принятия решений в этом направлении, однако их усилия не скоординированы соответствующим способом. Другими словами, украинская политика по отношению к европейской интеграции в современных условиях не является эффективной.

Для того, чтобы политика европейской интеграции Украины дала положительные результаты, необходимо разработать национальную стратегию европейской интеграции, в которой должен быть определён план действий, полномочия и ответственность, направления внутренней адаптации Украины к нормам и принципам ЕС.

Важное значение для развития отношений Украины и ЕС имеет использование преимуществ полиархической модели, которая сложилась в двухсторонних отношениях стран Западной Европы. Суть модели заключается в том, что интеграция тесно связана с процессами децентрализации и регионализации. Межгосударственные отношения в ЕС определяются и формируются не только бюрократическими институциями или органами самого ЕС. Всё больше внимание уделяется контактом между отдельными гражданами негосударственными организациями или структурами, прямым связям между регионами разных стран.

На пути интеграции Украины к ЕС необходимо учитывать опыт стран Центральной и Восточной Европы, которые уже стали их членами. Вступление стран Восточной и Центральной Европы означает, что Украина теперь будет непосредственным соседом с ЕС. Этот процесс будет иметь прямое влияние на Украину, поскольку:

- внешняя торговля, экономическая политика и визовый режим, таможенные платежи, квоты и лицензии будут уже не касаться вопросов двусторонних отношений, а будут рассматриваться в широком аспекте соглашений между Украиной и ЕС;
- участие Украины в Едином рынке ЕС будет означать, что в торговле с западными соседями украинские компании будут иметь дело с ЕС, а не с отдельными национальными системами регулирования внешнеэкономической деятельности стран Центральной и Восточной Европы.

Практическое осуществление интеграционного процесса возможно лишь при условии дополнения общеевропейского измерения сотрудничества региональной интеграцией и углублением регионального сотрудничества Украины и ЕС. Учитывая важную для ЕС тенденция, высказанную в лозунге «ЕС: от Союза стран к Союзу регионов», данное направление приобретает особое значение. Основой региональной интеграции является Европейская Хартия местного самоуправления, другие соответствующие правовые акты ЕС и Совета Европы. Региональная интеграция предусматривает установление и углубление прямых контактов между отдельными регионами Украины с регионами государств-членов ЕС, и кандидатов в члены ЕС, их развитие в определённых в этой Стратегии направления для постепенного перенесения основного веса интеграционного процесса из центральных органов исполнительной власти на регионы, на органы местного самоуправления, на территориальные общины, и в конце концов, широчайшего привлечения граждан Украины к межрегиональному сотрудничеству..

Важная роль в процессе интеграции Украины к ЕС принадлежит трансграничному сотрудничеству и такой его форме, как еврорегионы. Это определяется тем, что интеграция может базироваться прежде всего на международном сотрудничестве на местном уровне пограничных регионов. Поэтому необходимо оказывать содействие использованию п-отенциала местных и региональных органов управления, которые принимают участие в трансграничном сотрудничестве.

Устранение существующих проблем в деятельности на территории Украины такой его формы, как еврорегионы будет оказывать содействие расширению взаимоотношений между странами её участницами, созданию моделей активного трансграничного сотрудничества, которое в свою очередь положительно будет влиять на решение проблем интеграции Украины к ЕС.

В тоже время в Украине необходимо проведение широкомасштабной информационно-просветительской роботы для распространения среди общества знаний по природе и сущности европейской интеграции. Правительство должно поддерживать диалог с обществом относительно реализации своей европейской политики.

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Summary

UKRAINIAN WAY TO THE UNITED EUROPE

The problems of the modern relationship between Ukraine and European Union as well as the possible ways of the Ukrainian integration with EU are obserwed. The special attention is given to the new EU vision for the future collaboration development with Ukraine and consider this stale as a „EU nPisarenkoeighbour”. Main features and tendencies of the external economic relations between Ukraine and countries members of the EU are examined. The mechanisms for solving problems wich faced Ukraine on its way to the European integration are proposed.

UKRAINE – AN INSEPARABLE PART OF EUROPE: A HISTORIC AND POLITICAL APPROACH

Yuriy MAKAR

Yuriy Fed'kovich National University
Cherniovtsy

The Ukrainian authorities, perhaps since 1994, have been announcing the European choice of Ukraine. Yet this choice looks rather inconsistent against the reality. As, speaking practically, the direction of the Ukrainian Government orientation, preached as the pro-European one, has been taking clearly an eastern orientation. That is why such a double policy has placed Ukraine in a difficult position on the international arena, and it does not favour its internal development.

Contrary to the above, the Ukrainian nation has their old fine history, indicating that Ukraine has always been an inseparable part of Europe, despite the fact that this State has been absent for centuries on the European map. In this sense, one could make some comparisons geographically. If Europe is to be considered as a whole, from Great Britain to the Ural, its centre is located on the territory of Ukraine near the little town of Rakhiv, situated in the District of Zakarpatya (Transcarpathia). If Europe were to be conceived geopolitically, it would be worth taking out from files Friedrich Engels' criteria who considered as limits of Europe his contemporary borders of Poland and Hungary. It was the 19th century. Moreover, according to Engels, it was the beginning of Eurasia. Even if we want to follow Engels, large areas of the Ukrainian lands used to be within the borders of the Noble Republic of Poland, i.e. all Right-Bank Ukraine and a substantial territory of Left-Bank Ukraine. It results even from this that The Ukrainians are Europeans. Historically, Eurasia used to be considered as the area of the Byzantine influence, i.e. the Balkans, Turkey and, of course, Russia.

If we consider the term „Europe" as a socio-cultural object, in such a case it is based on three fundamental phenomena. They are *Antiquity, Christianity,* and *Enlightenment.* In this context Antiquity is conceived respectively to the way it was transformed in Renaissance, Christianity – respectively to its passage through Reformation, and Enlightenment – in the context of further social and scientific progress and democracy. At the same time it should be remembered that in individual historic epochs there were specific approaches to the concept of „Europe". For example, in the 16^{th} century Germany was not included into Europe. In those times, it did not respond to one more – concerned with civilisation – concept of Europe, connected as early as then with modernisation processes and beginnings of industrialisation.

In the contemporary times, socio-cultural dimensions of course, belong primarily to the concept of "Europe." Nevertheless, it seems, this is based on the concept that is slightly forgotten by us today – „the way of life" or „the course of life." The latter one, in a sequence, has its own three „levels": quality of life, level of life (exclusively in its quantitative dimensions), and style of life. However, it should be marked in advance that in the centre of the European contemporary consciousness (which is always referred to by sociologists) there is a problem of liberal democracy. It should be also remembered that democracy in the civilised world is conceived not due to the criterion of majority (we may revise for ourselves that Stalin always had a „lawful", according to himself, majority at all assemblies of the communist party; the problem was in the fact that it was him who that majority would form), but due to criteria of securing minority rights, or, speaking more widely, human rights of individuals. In other words, it is meant not to create a contemporary European as a person considering himself as hardly visible „little threads" of the general development process, following an assumptions: „I do the same as others do" (in the Ukrainian version: „my hut is aside").

Here, by the way, „the problem of personalism" may be quoted, in connection with a thoroughly described „crisis" of humanism. During the Vatican Council 40 years ago humanism was described as „an attempt to exchange the religion of God transformed into man by the religion of man considering himself to be God." In such an approach humanism is rightly criticised sharply today. The stress falls on personality and its inseparable right as such. Let us remind that in the World Declaration of Human Rights it was stated unconditionally that: „the personal right has priority over the State law." When we mean „personalism," we think about this. In addition, this seems to be the most important component of the European character. Moreover, in this sense the concept of „Europe" is being changed.

How does the Ukrainian question look against the above-said? First, it may be said a priori that Ukraine has always been an inseparable part of Europe; it has been an element of the uniform historic, socio-cultural, political, and economic space. In the times of Kiev Russia that uniform space was mainly of commercial character. Then Ukraine was the main commercial region between the East and the West. Let us remind that then the Mediterranean Sea was under the Arabic and then Turkish rule and influence. That is why the main commercial route of those times ran across the Dnepr (known as „шлях із варяг у греки" („the route from the Varangians to the Greeks). It is interesting, however, that in fact „the vector" of the route was, speaking symbolically, reversed, i.e. „із греків у варяги" („from the Greeks to the Varangians". Some historians see in those commercial relations a manifestation of the historic vector „the North – the South". Yet, in reality, a movement of a very different character had place there – „the West – the East". So we may conclude that it was across the Ukrainian lands where the main commercial artery ran, linking the West of that time with Byzantium – and farther - with the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Concerning political contacts of Ukraine with Europe in the times of Kiev Russia, many facts may be quoted that would speak in favour of the European character of Ukraine. Almost everybody knows that daughters of the Kievan Prince Yaroslav the Wise linked by family contacts the Kievan court with the most important dynasties of Europe. On the other hand, let us remind, for example, Princess Yevpraxia, an active participant of the European policy by the end of the 11th century. In western sources she was called Adelgaida. She was the daughter of the Kievan Prince Vsevolod, the son of Yaroslav the Wise, married to the margrave of North Saxony Henry the Tall, and after his death to Henry IV - the Roman Emperor. Due to his brutality, she escaped from him to his enemy – Matilda of Tuscany, and through her mediation she petitioned the Pope. It was she who was one of the main witnesses, giving evidence against the German Emperor Henry IV - the most powerful lay ruler of Europe, during his rivalry with the Pope in Canossa.

In the context of the presented paper it would be purposeful to turn the current attention to the participation of Ukraine in the uniform European space (if it were allowed to use such a term) in the next epochs. In the 16th-18th centuries the space was determined by religious relations. The question refers to the fact in all Ukrainian history of culture the leading motif has been equivalence of the Old Testament and the New Testament – of two parts of the Holy Script. At the same time, for example, Catholicism concluded that the quintessence of the Bible is the New Testament. Let us remind what the starting point was for the Reformation in Western Europe in the 16th century: the requirement to make the Old Testament available to people. In Ukraine the equivalence of the both Testaments has been recognized from the very beginning. It is characteristic that in Russia it was punishable to recognize equivalence of the two parts of the Bible as "yeres' zhidovstvuyushchikh" („the heresy of Jewry supporters"). The term referred to Orthodox priests who were prosecuted for recognition of the Old Testament.

Whereas Reformation in Europe had assumptions similar to the Ukrainian ones, reformers of various currents considered it as their natural ally. This statement can be confirmed by an analysis of historic sources. For example, at one time the Lutheran Centre in Halle carried out a fairly active correspondence with the Mohylan Academy of Kiev. Speaking generally, the Ukrainian history of the 17^{th}-18^{th} century showed many examples of inter-religious bonds in the context of the Reformation processes. Of course, active accusations of Protestantism aimed at Petro Mohyla and Feofan Prokopovich were not accidental.

That was on the one hand. On the other, there was the Union or the Greek Catholicism. Up until now, we have not fully appreciated that phenomenon whereby we must have been able to save Christianity in Ukraine that was extinguishing in those old times, at least in the field of culture. By the end of the 16^{th} century and at the beginning of the 17^{th} century Vatican higher schools were eager to enrol the so-called „Uniate youth." Yet, under the cover of that „Uniate youth" almost all Ukrainian young elite studied in Vatican. In Rome those young people were converted into the union, and returning to the country, they left that faith and took an active part in the Orthodox spiritual life of Ukraine.

In the next period, i.e. in the 17^{th}-18^{th} centuries, the bonds between Ukraine and Europe, as it is believed by a well-known Ukrainian professor of philosophy Serhiy Kryms'kiy, were not weaker, but on the contrary, they were stronger. According to him, an example of tightening the bond, and even of the growth of the uniform European space, where Ukraine belonged, could be the Baroque culture. It is astonishing that in all monuments of the epoch, from Lisbon to Poltava, it is only the style in architecture that is perceived. That style is the Baroque. It was manifested in all fields of the Ukrainian culture, first of all in poetry. There is such a historic fact: the Latin Baroque poetry was present in Ukraine for 300 years. Each nation has at least one all-human sector of culture. Presence of the Latin-language culture among the Ukrainian people is the most important proof of the fact that the Ukrainian culture is undoubtedly European.

Of course, the European cultural synthesis in Ukraine was not confined only to the Baroque only. For example, let us take music. Artemiusz Wedel, Maxim Berezovs'kiy, Dmytro Bortnians'kiy - were creators of truly European music. Another problem was how to link that European creation with the colonial situation of Ukraine, grabbed by Russia. We can also add here that the said Berezovs'kiy studied at the Academy of Bologna with Mozart himself. They both graduated with honours from their studies. The names of them both were carved in gold on a marble plate in that Italian city.

We could ponder here if there was then a common European space in education. It seems that there was. Ukrainian students („spudei"), speaking Latin, wandered around the whole Europe. There are data that ca. 100 Ukrainian students from the 18^{th} century attended lectures by the great German philosopher, Emmanuel Kant. Another example, Petro Mohyla and Rene Descartes studied at the same university at the beginning of the 17th century. There is an interesting programme of forming that uniform educational space, prepared by Petro Mohyla. The quintessence of the programme is a synthesis of Western and Eastern culture. The other problem is that Mohyla's views were qualified by part of the Orthodox clergy as „Latinism" and he was criticised for that. Yet,

„the European choice" of Ukraine in the period of the Baroque cannot be erased from the history of Ukraine.

In those times, Europe widely published Ukrainian books. For example, „Pidruchnyk iz pravoslavnoho virospovidannya" („The Handbook of Orthodox Confession of Faith") by Petro Mohyla was published in Germany (17^{th} c.) Moreover, out of seven theological works by Feofan Prokopovich (the first half of the 18^{th} c.) five were published in Leipzig. Another example. Let us remember an outstanding German philosopher Johann Gottfried Gerber (end of the 18^{th} c.) and his work „Contribution to Philosophy of Mankind's History." He thought that Ukraine would be the centre of the Slavdom in the future and the most civilised future in Europe would be waiting for it. It was written over 200 years ago. French Encyclopaedists prepared a plan to write „The All-World History" that was not realised in the 16^{th}-17^{th} centuries. In that plan a separate volume was envisaged for Ukraine. This and other examples, quoted here, prove that there was a reciprocal reception of Ukraine in all Europe.

There are many other fields of cultural life speaking for Europeanism of Ukraine.

In the 18^{th}-19^{th} centuries Europe was quite well acquainted with the Ukrainian folklore. Thus, Beethoven in his „Variation for the Piano" used motifs of a splendid song „Yikhav kozak za Dunay" („A Cossack went beyond the Danube"). Liszt worked out the well-known folk song „Viyut' vitry..." („Winds blow..."). It is most important, however, that until the mid-18^{th} century, i.e. until the final colonisation of Ukraine, the elite of the Ukrainian nation was oriented to the Western policy and entrance to the Western culture. This should be always remembered. What happened later is generally known: the empire of Catherine II, transformation of the Cossack gentry into the integral part of the Russian boyardom, enslavement of peasantry, etc. Times of hard tests followed in Ukraine. The authorities of the tsars' Russia, taking advantage of the situation that had been created, not only liquidated systematically the Ukrainian statehood, though not quite formed, but also did everything to get rid of The Ukrainians as such. Those endeavours during centuries have led to the situation that sociological research even in the contemporary Russia show that ca. 60% of Russians still do not recognize The Ukrainians as a separate nation. Moreover, in the consciousness of many Ukrainians there is still a feeling of being „Little Russians," a feeling of own lesser value. This factor has been halting until now the social progress in the already independent Ukraine.

In the national past there were many attempts to free Ukraine from the Russian rule and to return to the European orientation. For example, we may mention here such an attempt undertaken by the hetman Ivan Mazepa as early as at the beginning of the 18th century, who undertook fight in coalition with the Swedish king Charles XII against the Russian emperor Peter I.

Trying to reach a conclusion we should note that an analysis of Ukraine's history in the 17th-18th centuries indicates the European context of forming the Ukrainian nation. In our situation we must distinguish between the term of „nation" and „ethnos." The concept of ethnos is primarily connected with the community of territory, language, cultural and economic life, historic fate, etc. Ethnos may exist for a long time, isolated, presumably in the mountains, on distant islands. It transforms into nation – and this is important – when it becomes a subject of the world history, i.e. when it joins the world experience and confirms statehood of its existence.

It is characteristic that the first classic of the new Ukrainian literature - Ivan Kotlarevs'kiy in his „Aeneid" shows the creation time of the Ukrainian nation – the 17th century – in a symbolic and fictional way as a travel of Cossacks across the centre of the European culture, the Mediterranean Sea, similarly as Trojans led by Aeneas wandered across the said Mediterranean Sea in old times. In his work Kotlarevs'kiy shows one more important aspect. In his opinion even the Ukrainian language was formed under the influence of Latin. In Kotlarevs'kiy's work we may find such unrepeated „mixing of languages" that it is hard to distinguish between Ukrainian and Latin. In such a way the literature reflects forming of the Ukrainian nation, as well as its accession to the community of the European civilisation.

It is worth mentioning here the question of deciding all-European problems in the Ukrainian civilisation. The first one is the problem of *sophia*. It was already antiquity that bore two concepts of wisdom: the mind in head („logos") and the mind in things, beings („sophia"). Christianity used those ideas to link God with the world („the world as the Divine word") to argue teaching about God as personality.

In Ukraine that concept developed until the 20th century, e.g. in works by Pavlo Tychina („the world as a book", „the world filled with purposeful existence", „the world as joyful art"). The Ukrainian culture in the context of the existence idea was oriented to the outlook optimism.

The next very important aspect of solving all-European problems in Ukraine is how in the Ukrainian spiritual space the concept of personality was worked out. Let us turn attention to the fact that the Ukrainian nation was formed on the border with the Wild Field. To survive in such conditions could only people of the so-called free individuality. That is why the concept of ethical personal values was born and has developed throughout the total Ukrainian history. As early as in the „Russian Truth," that ancient Ukrainian „constitution" of the 11th century there was no death penalty. Of course in reality people were killed, but it was strictly forbidden by law. In the law there were no corporal penalties either (unfortunately only in law). The following developed, what was an important element of representative democracy: the Magdeburg rights, the Bursack freedoms, election of all Orthodox Church hierarchs. In addition, what is the most important: the very idea of ethical values of personality was the main argument in the fight of Cossacks against the Muscovite despotism. It is interesting that that concept was worked out by an outstanding Ukrainian scholar - Hryhoriy Skovoroda. He preached a thesis: „I hate the life that ends with death."

There is still a third field where the Ukrainian thought has contributed to solving all-European problems. I mean here the ideas of all-European humanism. This is all about the fact that in the 17th century when Galileo proved by experiment the rightness of Nicolaus Copernicus' idea that man is not in the centre of the world and the Earth in the centre of the universe, which caused a real spiritual crisis among European intellectuals, even among such outstanding persons as Pascal, Goethe and others. That was the end of the old idea, a great drama in the concept of man. Hryhoriy Skovoroda had his contribution and solved that knot. In his opinion when man stopped being in the centre of the large world, he represented a specific world – *the microcosmos,* and was in its centre.

Moreover, there is one more – the fourth idea in the Ukrainian turning point. This is the idea of Enlightenment. In Ukraine reason was highly praised traditionally. It is interesting that in the times of the early Enlightenment in all coats-of-arms of Kievan metropolitans there was always a book. We could also add that in the Ukrainian mythology, contrary to the Russian one, there is no image of „Ivanushka – durachyok" („Johnny the Fool"). What is more, there were no handicapped creatures at all if stupidity is not worth discussing. Spiritual values (erudition, skills) have always been praised in Ukraine, at least not less than material goods. Even in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church there was formed an idea of spiritual mind. Isaiah Kopyns'kiy, a Kievan metropolitan of the 17^{th} century said: „Mind should ne praised higher than faith as the former leads to faith." A contemporary Ukrainian scholar Dmytro Nalyvayko writes on the concerned aspect that the ideas of the great representative of the Enlightenment Schiller and of a Ukrainian Shevchenko are converging.

Illustrations of spiritual European character of Ukraine could be listed infinitely. All Europe is very differentiated – from Turkey to Norway, or from Great Britain to the Russian Federation. Seizure by Russia of the major part of the Ukrainian lands, ruthless suppression of their Ukrainian character, started in the 17th century, led to substantial denationalisation of the incompletely formed Ukrainian community and to negligence of the European character of Ukraine. In the 19^{th} century under the rule of the emperor Alexander II the formally published the so-called the treaty of Valuyev and the „ukase" (a decree) by the emperor himself that forbid using the Ukrainian language even in the every-day life. That is why publications in Ukrainian could be published rather in Petersburg or Lviv.

Attempts to establish the Ukrainian State during the World War One and the Bolshevik revolution failed as Bolshevik Russia suppressed by force the Ukrainian independence and western countries were not practically involved in the question. Attempts to undertake fights for Ukraine's independence during the World War Two had to fail from the very beginning. The Soviet Union, as a participant of the anti-Nazi coalition was among the winners and for a time reinforced its international position. Inside the USSR there were large-scale persecutions of Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and other „nationalists." The greatest blow was aimed at the Ukrainians. It came to the situation that by the end of 1944 in Moscow a resolution was taken to transfer from the places of residence all the Ukrainians who had been under the German occupation. The situation was probably saved by the fact that there were too many of them.

In such hard national and political conditions the Ukrainians were gradually losing their national, and of course European, identity. The culminations of the process were soviet times when millions of The Ukrainians were physically liquidated and the rest were being broken spiritually and ideologically. Fortunately, it seems, the Ukrainian character was preserved on West Ukrainian lands that in the inter-war period belonged to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. From there the present Ukrainian renaissance began, supported by Ukrainian organisation in the Diaspora.

Sometimes the Ukrainian national helplessness looks strange. However, this can be explained historically. Sociological research has shown that at present 45% of the Ukrainian citizens consider Ukraine as their state. At the same time an analogous percentage in Russia is 90 % of all the population and in Poland above this figure. It results from this that Ukraine faces an enormous political task to form a single community without class or national divisions, but with consideration of national and cultural interests of minorities if Ukraine is a multinational state.

The problem to be solved is very difficult, but if it remained unsolved the socio-political and socio-economical development in Ukraine would be unsuccessful. That is why state and regional authorities should make great efforts to solve the problem without delay.

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Streszczenie

UKRAINA JEST INTEGRALNĄ CZĘŚCIĄ EUROPY: PRZEGLĄD HISTORYCZNO-POLITYCZNY

Niniejszy artykuł zajmuje się głównymi problemami europejskości Ukrainy i Ukraińców w oparciu o badania autorów ukraińskich i zagranicznych.

Autor analizuje fakty z dziejów i kultury różnych epok, począwszy od Rusi Kijowskiej, oraz wyciąga wnioski, że Ukraina zawsze była i jest nieodłączną częścią Europy. Po uzyskaniu niepodległości z początkiem ostatnie dekady XX wieku, Ukraina stoi przed wieloma trudnościami o charakterze politycznym i społeczno-gospodarczym, które musi przezwyciężyć. Przezwyciężanie trudności jest związane z nieistnieniem struktur społecznych na Ukrainie, co jest związane z wielowiekowym brakiem własnego państwa.

THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINE ON THE BACKGROUND OF THE SOCIETY POLITICAL UNSTRUCTURALISM

Vitaliy MAKAR

Yuriy Fed'kovich National University
Cherniovtsy

Gaining of independence by Ukraine might have meant political liberation from foreign dominance and construction of its own state, social-economic development due to the needs of the Ukrainian society as well as a of its own place in Europe and world community.

The author would like to speak about the second problem mentioned above. But it is necessary to underline that this problem is tightly connected with the others. The problems of the social-economic and political development of Ukraine since the declaration of its independence are discussed on the official state level and in mass-media; as well many treatises are developed by politologists, economists, sociologists and representatives of other social sciences both by themselves and by request of the state power.

Since 1994 has been started the address of the President of Ukraine to Verkhovna Rada (parliament) on the most important problems of the state development. The idea of such addresses was taken from the USA. The first address under the title „On the way of radical economic reforms" was sent to Verkhovna Rada in October 1994. The strategy of Ukraine to overcome the economic crisis and the way of deepening transformational processes was proved in it. The other address to the parliament was devoted to overcoming the world financial crisis (November 1998). The set of addresses touched upon conceptual grounds of the budget reform, strategy of economic and social development of Ukraine (2000-2004), the European choice of the state etc.

To develop the idea borrowed from the USA as for the addresses of the President to the parliament the thematic reports on the most urgent problems of state policy have been included since 2000. The topical problems included into addresses were the problems of poverty in Ukraine (2000), energy saving (2000), judicial reform (2000), internal market formation (2001), definition of the scientific and technical potential of Ukraine and the prospects of its development (2001), demographic situation (2002), formation of technical policies in agriculture (2002) and others.

The current address „On the internal and international position of Ukraine in 2003" covers 472 pages. Its circulation was 4,000 volumes. The address was prepared by 108 scientists, incorporated in 10 analytical groups. It consists of two chapters devoted to social-economic and political development of the state, and also includes seven thematic reports, 5 of them concerning the actual economic problems as well as the problems of defense policy and analysis of the situation connected with the EU enlargement.

The purpose of the author is to analyze on the background of the official state documents the situation of the social-economic development of Ukraine, achievements and problems connected with the political instability, which is still permanent in this young Ukrainian state.

Conceptual grounds of the economic growth policy were stated in the President of Ukraine Address to Verkhovna Rada „The strategy of economic and social development of Ukraine in 2000-2004" (March 2000). In that very document the task to increase annual rates of growth to 6-7% was justified for the first time. By the way, the international experts considered the annual rates of growth would not be higher than 3-3.5%.

But it became evident that the economic development of Ukraine has been 5-10% annually since 2000 as seen in Table 1.

As seen from Table 1 the GDP has increased for the last four years (1999-2000) on 32.9% (2003 – 9.3%). The industry of Ukraine has been developing even more dynamically – 60.3% and 15.8% respectively. Ukrainian export growth rate has reached 70%. It was the highest rate not only among the CIS countries but in Europe too. The industrial production growth rate was 37.3% higher in 2003 than in 1994 – the lowest point of economic crisis of the first decade independent Ukraine.

It can be ascertained that Ukraine joined the group of leader states in the world concerning growth rates of the entire economic complex parameters in 2000-2003. Only 7 countries according to the World Bank data had the above 6% growth rate in 1985-1995: Indonesia – 6%, Chile – 6.1%, Botswana – 6.1%, Singapore – 6.2%, South Korea – 7.7%, China – 8.3%, Thailand – 8.4%. Ukraine's average growth rate makes up 7.4% of GDP and 12.5% of the industrial growth. Ukraine had the highest growth rates (3.4%) in 1976-1980 for the last 15 years of being in the former USSR structure, while 3.3% - in 1981-1985, 1.7% - in 1986-1990 respectively.

Table 1. Macroeconomic parameters of the economic development of Ukraine in % to previous year

	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2003 in % to 1999**
GDP	105,9	109,2	105,2	109,3	132,9
Industrial production volume	113,2	114,2	107,0	115,8	160,3
Consumer goods production	124,5	117,7	108,4	120,4	191,2
Machine building production	115,3	118,8	111,3	135,8	207,1
Agricultural production	109,8	110,2	101,2	89,8	110,0
Capital investment	114,4	120,8	108,9	127,7	192,2
Retail trade turn-over	106,6	114,8	116,6	120,1	171,4
Population income	131,2	122,7	117,1	113,7	у 2,2 р.б.
Real wages	99,1	119,3	118,2	115,2	161,0
Bank deposit (in Ukraine)	153,7	168,4	170,8	168,2	у 7,4 р.б.
Goods and services export	112,8	109,5	110,7	124,0	169,5
Goods and services import	117,8	114,2	105,0	128,3	181,2
Consumer price index	128,2	112,0	100,8	105,2	152,3
State debt (% to GDP)	37,0	31,0	30,0	29,4	X
Gold reserve ($ mil.)	1475,5	3089,5	4417,0	6937,4	у 4,7 р.б.
Current account balance Payment balance ($ mil.)	1481	1402	3173	2940	198,5
Unified budget income, % to GDP	28,9	26,9	27,4	28,5	X
Unified budget expenses, % to GDP	28,3	27,2	26,7	28,7	X
Unified budget balance, % to GDP	0,6	-0,3	0,7	0,2	X

Source: The President of Ukraine Address to Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. On Internal and International Position of Ukraine in 2003. – Kyiv, 2004. – P.33-34.

The above mentioned growth rates are almost two times higher than in the countries of Central Europe, who were the leaders in economic growth. According to the existing estimation the average annual growth rates of the GDP were about 3.5% in the Baltic and Central European states in 2000-2003 (it can be partially seen from Table 2).

Table 2.

	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**
Poland	104	101	101.4	103.7
Czech Republic	103.3	103.1	102	102.9
Slovakia	102.0	103.8	104.4	104.2
Slovenia	104.6	102.9	102.9	102.3

Source: Den'. – 2004. – March 31. – P.4.

The growth of the Ukrainian economy creates objective preconditions, which allows not only stabilizing the situation in the social sphere but also starting a positive dynamics in all branches of economy. The realization of the policy of advancing growth (comparing with the growth of GDP) of population's income, first of all the growth of wages was a determined factor of economic development. It has increased 1.6 times for the last 4 years (15.2% in 2003). According to official statistics the average wages made up 230 UAH in 2000, while 462 UAH in 2003, and 510 UAH at the end of February 2004. For the same period of time the densities of employees with the wages above 500 UAH have increased from 9.1% to 29.8%. At the same time the densities of employees with the wages below 185 UAH has decreased 3.9 times. It has influenced the structure of the GDP. In particular, if the share of wages was 42.3% in 2000, in 2003 – 45.3%.

The official statistics asserts that for the recent years the parameters characterizing the poverty level has stabilized in Ukraine. The total amount of the unemployed decreased for 10.4% in 2003. Also positive tendencies were outlined in pension provision, although to speak about certain success in this branch. It is true, that the state authorities carried out certain steps in 2003 and at the beginning of 2004 to pension provisions and increase unemployment benefits as well as other social payments. The law, which was introduced at the end of April, 2004 is directed to fulfill these objectives. According to it the minimum level of the help is increased by 2 % on unemployment. It is about 23 % of a living wage which makes about 79 UAH. The above mentioned concerns also a lump sum on unemployment, both the regular help, and the help for uninsured persons. The law adjusts also surcharges to mothers, who have juvenile children. According to the law, now the level of the minimal help on care of the child under three should make not less of the same of 23 % of a living wage for the able-bodied father. Till now this sum reached 50 UAH.

The basic financial parameter incorporated in system of calculations of payments, is a living wage which till now made 342 UAH. What parameters undertook to attention at definition of a living wage? According to it one working person should eat for this sum during one year: 2,5 kg of rice, 4 kg of macaroni products, 1 kg of millet, 2 kg of buckwheat, 1,1 kg of porridge, 9 kg of sausage, 4 kg of herrings, 5 l of sour creams, some bags of potato, 14 kg of meat, 12 kg of poultry, 8 kg of pork, 2 kg of mutton, 2 kg of lard etc. The same calculations exist and for articles of manufactured goods necessary for living. They are carried out on the basis of the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers from April 14, 2000. It is clear that the prices for all kinds of goods lately have increased. Naturally, monetary incomes of citizens have increased too. On the basis of their comparison it is possible to draw a conclusion that the standard of life grows though it is not significant. At the same time, there are layers of socially unprotected people whom the process of well-being increase almost does not touch. Now the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has accepted the decision about the level of a living wage on 2004 according to which this minimum can make a little bit more than 362 UAH. Separately, for the basic social and demographic groups of the population, the next sizes of a living wage are assumed: for children under 6 years – UAH 324.49; children from 6 till 18 – UAH 404.79; able-bodied persons – UAH 386.73; persons who have lost serviceability – UAH 284.69. In general, in comparison with the last year the living wage increases more, than on 20 UAH. But the minimal pension after last increase hardly exceeds 100 UAH. The average pension makes about 180 UAH, that is 50 % of a living wage.

Coming back to macroeconomic increase of Ukraine for last years it is necessary to reflect, what is it origin? Whether it is possible to count, that a major factor of increase are processes of reproduced character, whether is gone about the statement of investment model which is capable to provide not only proof growth, and on prospect structural-innovative updating of economy?

It is a complicated question. Present significant economic boost of Ukraine, obviously, is not necessary to overestimate. Economic dynamics always has relative character, therefore it is necessary to take into account first of all depth of an economic crisis to which initial rises preceded, and those statistics which characterized economy falling. Thus it is impossible to forget, that extensive factors have appreciably worked in favor Ukraine at the beginning of economic growth, namely: the consequences of deep devaluation of hrivnia during global financial crisis, lack of own production which was caused by an economic crisis, etc.

At the same time, there are also essential factors of economic growth which should be taken into account. There are some of them. First of all, system shifts which have taken place in the Ukrainian economy for years of reforms. We speak about appreciable breaking in reforming of the property relations, restructuring of the enterprises, increase of their competitiveness, providing the critical weight of the market transformations. There was a significant thorough reorganization of management. New generation of the managers has come to management of the majority of firms and corporations capable to profitable work. In the same context a strategy of organic alliance of elements of market self-regulation and active management policy of the state had a positive effect.

Though for the ultimate solution of economy reforming problems Ukraine needs to do much more, it is obvious that saved for years of reforms transformations have already started to work on efficiently. This is confirmed by statistical data, in particular fast increase of labour productivity. In comparison with the previous period it has made: in 1997 – 107.1 %, and are farther on years - in 1998 – 103.9 %, 1999 – 109.6 %, 2000 – 113.2 %, 2001 – 114.2 %, 2002 – 107.0 % and in 2003 – 119.8 %. It is calculated that only during 2000-2003 the mid-annual gain of productivity of work in the industry of Ukraine made 16.7%, which more than five times has exceeded rates of the Soviet period for 1985-1990.

Thus, it is entirely obvious, that Ukraine has already passed significant part of a way of system modernization of the economy started at the beginning of economic reforms. Economic growth of 2000-2003 is, on the one hand, an expectable result of this modernization, on the other hand – a stimulus for its deepening.

The other group of factors which characterize available preconditions of the economic growth are connected with the effective realization of the proved in the President of Ukraine address to Verkhovna Rada „On the way of radical economic reforms" (1994) priority policies of macroeconomic stabilization. It is necessary to remind in this connection a criticism of the left-wing politicians of the state economic strategy. The situation was very serious in Ukraine that time. In 1993 inflation has made astronomical size - 10258 %. It was a world record. Barter contracts made up almost 40 %. Deficiency of the state budget was 8,9 % GDP. The mechanism of its covering was a National bank of Ukraine direct issue. Fulfillment of annual budgetary assignments made up only 60 %. The international currency reserves reached almost a zero point and annually growing deficiency of the balance of payments. Then even it was hard to believe, that Ukraine will ever overcome such precipice.

Present macroeconomic stability which forms a basis for a favorable investment climate is one of the strongest among the countries with transitive economies. It is recognized also by the western experts. We can speak about reliable stability of national monetary unit and practical absence of budget deficiency (+-1 %) for last four years of the state budget. There is a significant growth from $ 1.5 bil. in 2000 up to $ 6.9 bil. by the end of 2003 of gold and currency reserves of the National bank of Ukraine (nowadays its sum exceeds $ 8.5 billion). Since 1999 Ukraine has positive balance of the current account of the balance of payments. In 2002-2003 it is almost $ 3 bil. annually (over 6 % of GDP). Economic problems in the countries of the Central Europe are connected first of all with the excess of critical limit of deficiency of the balance of payments. In 2002 in Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary relative deficiency made 4,6-8,2 % of GDP. Delay of economic growth rates in these countries for the last years is explained by this factor (see Table 2).

And last essential precondition of economic growth - formation of a favorable investment climate and on this basis - investment model of economic progress.

Last data of the statistical analysis testify to the confirmation of a new quality of growth connected with expansion of the internal market and the beginning of intensive updating of the basic production assets, considerable increase of the investment demand. In 2003 incomes of non-financial corporations grew with an advancing to GDP that has predetermined the growth of investments into a fixed capital, 62.8 % of which are mastered due to own resources of the enterprises and organizations. The share of the long-term credits of commercial banks has increased from 22.3 % in 2002 up to 36.0 % in 2003. As a whole for the last year the gain of investments into a fixed capital made 27.7%, including machine and equipment – 32.9 % (Table 3).

Table 3. Fixed Capital Investments

	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**
Fixed capital investment (in actual prices), UAH mil.	23629	32573	37178	49638
Growth rates of fixed capital investments, % to previous year	114.4	120.8	108.9	127.7

Source: The President of Ukraine address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The internal and international position of Ukraine in 2003. - Kiev, 2004. – P. 35.

The share of expenses for purchase of machines, equipment, the equipment for newly-built objects and for reconstruction and reequipment of the working enterprises grows in technological structure of investments into a fixed capital. In 2003 densities of these expenses made 56.0 % of total amount (in 1999 – 47.1%).

The tendency of increase of the involved direct foreign investments has been kept for the last years in Ukraine. On January 1, 2004 the total amount of the involved direct foreign investments into Ukraine made $ 6.7 billion. The gain of the foreign capital in 2003 made $ 1.1857 billion (21.7 %).

Increase of an investment demand has caused outstripping rates of production of mechanical engineering. Nowadays this basic branch takes up a leading function in the Ukrainian economy growth. Its innovative potential becomes stronger. It is one of the major factors of economic dynamics for the last years. For four years production volumes of mechanical engineering - the basic area of the Ukrainian industry - were doubled. In 2003 they have increased by 35,9 %. Volumes of import of machines and equipment have increased by 39,0 % for the last year. This is one more proof of the statement of essentially new model of investment growth into Ukrainian economy. The corresponding model essentially differs first of all from Russian where the branches of a fuel and energy complex act as an engine of the growth.

A question disturbs the Ukrainian society: how powerful is a potential of economic growth generated for last years, what opportunities of prolongation of the received results are for the future? Theoretically the answer to this question can be found in worked out by economists, on the President order, research „The strategy of economic and social development of Ukraine in 2004-2005". Conditions of the highest growth rates preservation of GDP (6-7 % in mid-annual measurement) on intermediate term (till 2015) are proved in the document. Certainly, plans look tempting, but what will be their implementation?

Oppositions between different clans and political forces which represent them spoil social and economic development of the state. And the authorities, unfortunately, cannot cope with obligations taken on for the lack of understanding of national interests, instead of separate public groups.

There is a real barrier on the way of social and economic development, despite of significant shifts. Among the reasons which will cause fear there is, first of all, an incompleteness of formation of the high-grade market environment, the admitted misses and disagreements of carried out reforms. Not complex market transformations appeared to one of the principal causes of extremely difficult situation which arose in 2003 in an agrarian and industrial complex and in the food market. The scientists consider negative consequences of the most severe for post-war years drought could be significantly smaller if the authority did not stop on halfway in reforming land relations and would provide arrangement of effective attributes of the agrarian market, reliable state support - according to world practice – of agricultural goods producers.

The system incompleteness of market reforms is a principal cause of basic lacks in the development of energy sector, the market of work, and other spheres of economy. For improvement of position in economic and social spheres in the present Address of the President to the Verkhovna Rada three thematic reports are submitted: „Energy markets of Ukraine: directions of development and improvement", „Labour market formation and development in Ukraine: problems and prospects of the solution" in which the all-round analysis of corresponding problems is carried out and the mechanism of their solution is determined.

Among problems with which Ukraine needs to solve urgently is a problem of shadow economy. A special thematic report how to overcome it „Strategy of deshadowing of the Ukrainian economy" is also included into the President's address. Certainly, during last years the level of economy shadowing in Ukraine has decreased a little. If in 1997 behind the official data, there were 43,5 % of economy in a shadow , in 2003 - 35 %. Even these official parameters (as informal which can be met frequently in newspapers) show, that a parameter of shadowing of the Ukrainian economy is too high, and the problem demands the urgent solution not only on a paper.

And for that purpose the authorities in Ukraine should not only proclaim scientifically significant programs, but also to implement them. In particular, in the present President's address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine the ways for overcoming the given contradiction are specified. Among them is the formation of "economy of trust" where key tasks are statements of meaningful dialogue between authority and business, reliable protection of a private property, a deepening of liberalization, reduction of tax pressure etc.

One of important compound economic development and social rise of the Ukrainian society is the problem of strengthening of potential regions development and determination of ways of overcoming social and economic disproportions in regional development. It is necessary to note, that significant disproportions in economic and social development of regions are inherited by Ukraine from the former USSR. Then in all spheres of a public life total centralization dominated. The Communist party, having seized power in the illegal way, gradually created the powerful totalitarian state which task was the most severe suppression of any separatism, including social and economic spheres. We can say, that this excessive centralism has been really inherited by the present Ukrainian state from its totalitarian progenitor and mechanically transferred on the modern Ukrainian reality. Now it serves, appreciably, as means of struggle against those political forces in the country which carry out alternative programs of social and economic development. Generally speaking, the gap between the center and regions has increased as well as the gap in development between the regions for years of independence of Ukraine. In 1996-2002 the variation coefficient of the total added value per capita in regions has increased from 2.17 up to 5.93 (in the actual prices). The differentiation between regions in parameters of development of the industry, formation of credit resources and investments into a fixed capital and, that is the most dangerous, in the parameters of social development grows. Taking into consideration the situation which has developed, the authority has introduced an official notion „a depressive region". The following conclusion can be drawn that the important direction of formation of political-economical system stability can be realization of the effective state regional policy. The similar policy in Ukraine till now remains simply not generated.

In author's opinion the general condition of economic-social-political development of modern Ukraine reflects a deep crisis in the Ukrainian society, its unstructuralism.

It goes without saying, that the independence gained owing to disintegration of the USSR did not guarantee a happy, carefree life to citizens of Ukraine. It, that took place at the end of 1991, only opened opportunities for construction of a society on the basis of equality and justice. Or whether reorganization could take place quickly and without conflicts? It is obvious, no. Factors of internal and external character have direct influence on it. Unfortunately the centuries-old absence of the Ukrainian statehood gradually destroyed the Ukrainian society. Frankly speaking, not having generated yet, the Ukrainian society has ceased to be actually the Ukrainian society as the public elite either joined the state prevailing on the Ukrainian soils, or its representatives were simply physically discharged. Therefore the declaration of independence has found out a difficult public situation – the absence of elite ready to undertake functions of a public conductor. Actually, and the elite is just being formed. Centuries-old belonging of east and western Ukrainian regions to different states has served as the reason of that in the grounds which belonged to Russia, and then the USSR, a totalitarian mode essentially destroyed national consciousness of the Ukrainians while in the western regions it nevertheless developed. On this ground the left-wing political forces of modern Ukraine try to divide the East and the West of the state. In other words, the political factor essentially brakes social and economic development. Moreover, modern legislative, executive and judicial branches of state power frequently forget about national interests.

The external factor will play an important role in economic development of Ukraine. Unfortunately, the significant part of the Ukrainian society sees the growth of economy of the state and, accordingly, own well-being due to the help from the side of a „kind neighbour". In the east of Ukraine orientation to Russia which as if will take our state on the right way prevails. Among a part of the population, in particular in the western regions, unconditional orientation to the "civilized" West dominates. Actually, the idea of an independent way out from a social and economic gap in which there was Ukraine arises now. Sooner or later the Ukrainian state will reach an appropriate level. But at the beginning of the 21st century it could move faster in social and economic progress, taking into account experience of neighboring peoples, enjoying their friendly support, but proceeding own geopolitical interests. The "multivector" foreign policy and external economic orientation of Ukraine is a brake on this way, at simultaneous, since 1994 official declaration of European oriented movement.

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Streszczenie

PROBLEMY ROZWOJU SPOŁECZNO-EKONOMICZNEGO UKRAINY NA TLE NIEUKSZTAŁTOWANEGO POLITYCZNIE SPOŁECZEŃSTWA

Niepodległa Ukraina przeżywa obecnie trudny okres formowania swojej państwowości. Zdobycie niepodległości pod koniec 1991 roku nie oznaczało jeszcze zdobycia przez Ukrainę wszystkich atrybutów rozwiniętego gospodarczo i dojrzałego politycznie państwa.

Jak wskazuje analiza zdobyczy i niedociągnięć Ukrainy, w okresie od uzyskania niepodległości, posiada ona pewne osiągnięcia, głównie w procesie rozwoju gospodarczego, a nawet w zaspokojeniu potrzeb socjalnych społeczeństwa. Jednakże hamulcem na drodze rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego jest problem, jak dotychczas, politycznej słabość społeczeństwa. Do społecznego rozłamu nadal przyczyniają się pozostałości dawnej ideologii klasowej oraz antypaństwowa postawa pewnych warstw społecznych, a na tym tle także dość chwiejna pozycja władz państwowych.

Jednak widoczne osiągnięcia w zakresie społeczno-ekonomicznym oraz stopniowy postęp w pojednaniu społecznym, wskazują na to, że Ukraina, wprawdzie w niezadowalającym tempie, ale wytrwale, porusza się naprzód na drodze rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego.

REGIONAL DISPARITIES IN SLOVAKIA

Vladimír SZÉKELY

Institute of Geography
Slovak Academy of Sciences
Bratislava

Introduction

The contemporary Europe more frequently declares itself not as the Europe of individual states but as Europe of regions, which represent autonomous regional units with their proper institutional bases in co-operative/competing positions. On the one side the European regions cannot imagine their existence without an efficient co-operation, on the other side they compete in attracting potential investors who bring increased employment, income and life quality for their populations. Media mainly present some regional „winners" whose regional developmental strategies are interpreted as „success stories". A more numerous group of „loosing" regions is especially mentioned in relation to the regional policy of the European Union, the aim of which is to reduce the existing regional disparities through Structural Funds. Identification of regional disparities which becomes the key role in search of addressees of financial assistance is becoming the highly interesting issue for the representatives of varied scientific branches (geography, economy, sociology, environmental science) while the traditional differences between the basic and applied research are disappearing (see for instance Tvrdoň, 2002 or Huba et al., 2003).

The aim of the article is to point to some important regional disparities in life quality indicators in Slovakia and relationships between them.

Administrative division of Slovakia as a basis for the study of regional disparities

The question of delimitation of adequate regional units which represent functional relationship in space is the problem during identification of regional disparities not only in Slovakia but in many other European states. Analysis focused on identification of regional disparities in Slovakia are as a rule linked with administrative region which is the product of territorial-administrative division. In 1996, 8 administrative regions and 79 districts were formed in the consequence of the new territorial-administrative division in Slovakia. They became automatically regional units from the regional statistics point of view with subsequent evidence and accessibility of spatially disaggregated statistical data.

Bezák (2001) supposes that territorial-administrative units on principle cannot adopt the function of spatial or regional units as the establishment of the territorial-administrative division seldom takes into account scientific or any criteria other than political. Leaning on his analyses the author states „that as far as the number of administrative regions and the choice of their administrative centres and demarcation of their boundaries are concerned there exists serious disproportion between the present regional structure and the new territorial-administrative division of Slovakia". Even if we can agree with the above, the practical life shows that the regional statistics linked to the territorial-administrative units clearly determines the regional analyses. The study of literature and official governmental documents (see for instance Národný r-ozvojový plán) suggests the conclusion that the problem pointed to by Bezák is in spite of its rationale widely ignored. The question of formation of functional regions with their corresponding regional statistics remains open.

Administrative regions represent regional units in this article (Fig.1), on the basis of which regional differentiation of Slovakia according to selected indicators of life quality is studied.

Fig.1. Administrative division of Slovakia into 8 regions.

Regional disparities

There exist numerous indicators of socio-economic nature which are also monitored at the regional level and characterise the life quality of populations living in the individual regions. As their importance often depends on the character of research, the choice of appropriate indicators which describe the regional differences in life quality among larger territorial units in the most precise manner is generally subject for wider discussion. This paper rather concentrates on search of the mutual relationship between the individual regional disparities. This is the reason why *relative* values of these indicators are applied to comparison of the selected life quality indicators, while the *standard* value is represented by the *national average* value (Tab.1-3). Mutual relationships between the relative values of selected regional life quality indicators where the *linear dependence* is presumed as expressed by a straight line, are presented in the individual figures (Fig.2-4).

The basic view of the regional differentiation of Slovakia is obtained by application of a synthesised indicator of economic performance of regions and material life quality of their populations, i.e. gross domestic product per capita (GDP/capita). As the economist Tvrdoň (2002) asserts the quoted indicator characterises fairly precisely the achieved economic and social levels in the individual regions. Its value is used as the decisive criterion for the possibility to obtain financial assistance for economically less developed regions in the states of the EU at implementation of the regional policy in the framework of the Objective 1.

Compared to the mean value of the 15 former EU countries, the value of the Slovak GDP/capita amounted to only about 48 % of the EU average in 2000. Remarkably, none of the regional values, except for the region of Bratislava, exceeded the national average value. In comparison with the average value of EU states, the regional GDPs/capita moved between 29 % corresponding to the economically weakest region of Prešov, and 48 % of the region of Trnava, which is the economically strongest region. Disparities between regions are relatively small while the decrease of values GDP/capita is obvious in the direction from the west to the east. But a sharp contrast appears if the smallest and also most advanced region of Bratislava, formed administratively around the Capital of Slovakia, is compared to the rest of Slovakia. Bratislava is indeed an exception in the regional structure of Slovakia from the point of view of the indicator we are talking about. The value of the regional GDP per capita (22,708 in PPS in 2002) even exceeded the average of the 15 former EU states (101%). The difference between the region of Bratislava and the rest of Slovakia is huge in terms of economic performance. Slovakia is practically divided into a small economically advanced western part of the country represented by the region of Bratislava with high inner differentiation (town districts of Bratislava city contra districts with urban and rural population) and a substantially larger less developed rest of Slovakia with a considerably lower inner differentiation among administrative regions.

Table 1. Regional disparities in Slovakia: GDP per capita, and unemployment rate.

	GDP per capita in PPS, 2000	Registered unemployment rate in % (of disposable registered unemployed), 31.12.2002	Relative regional comparisons with Slovakia	
			GDP per capita in PPS, 2000	Registered unemployment rate in % (of disposable registered unemployed), 31.12.2002
Slovak Republic	10724	17,4	100,0	100,0
Bratislava region	22708	5,2	211,7	29,9
Trnava region	10822	13,0	100,9	74,7
Trenčín region	9888	10,9	92,2	62,6
Nitra region	9392	21,5	87,6	123,6
Žilina region	9104	14,7	84,9	84,5
Banská Bystrica region	9008	23,8	84,0	136,8
Prešov region	6632	23,0	61,8	132,2
Košice region	10053	24,3	93,7	139,7

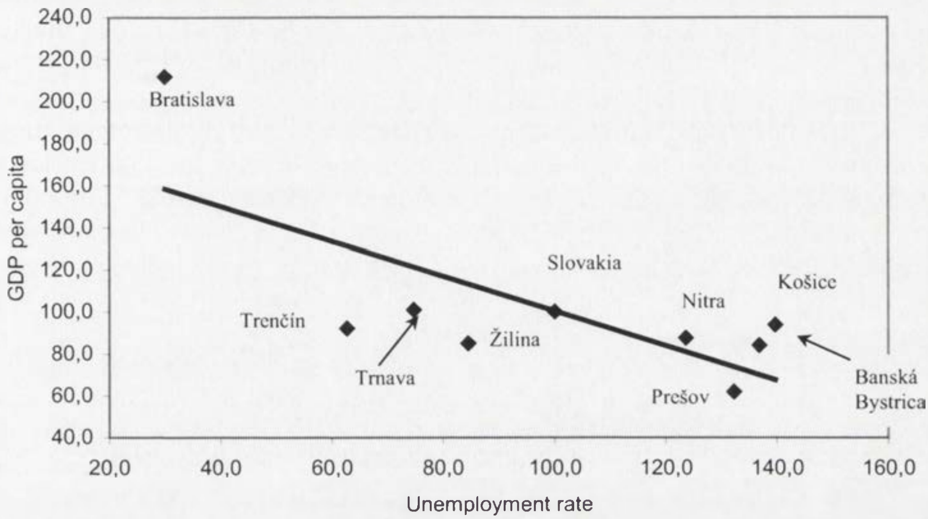
Source: Regionálne porovnania v Slovenskej republike, Štatistický úrad SR, Bratislava 2002, + own calculations.

Another important indicator of socio-economic level of individual regions is the unemployment rate which indicates the overall situation in labour market. Reduction of unemployment rate is the political priority of all governments. The optimal form of unemployment reduction is generation of jobs as the product of a revived economic environment and inflow of (foreign?) direct investments. Another less correct form of unemployment rate reduction is accepting of the change in methodology of calculation of its rate.

There is a comparatively high unemployment rate in Slovakia which is evidently regionally differentiated and stable from the beginning of transformation period. The highest unemployment rates during long time are observable in the regions of eastern and south-eastern Slovakia, those of Košice, Prešov and Banská Bystrica where the unemployment rate is higher approximately by about a third than the national average. On the other side, the region of Bratislava in the western part of the country is characterised by unemployment which does not reach a third of the national value. It is not surprising, as Bratislava plays the role of the political, economic and cultural centre of Slovakia. Numerous companies profiting on advantages offered by the agglomeration, networking and business atmosphere are concentrated in the city and their demands for employing highly qualified labour nad less qualified technical and also servicing staff is very important for the solution of problems on this regional labour market. Public institutions of national importance which generate additional jobs are also located there. The development of labour market is dynamic and the demand of labour is permanent. This is why situation in other regions of the western part of Slovakia (with the exception of that of Nitra) was comparatively favourable in unemployment rate by the end of 2002.

Fig. 2 represents the mutual relationship between regional disparities in GDP/capita and unemployment rate.

Fig.2. Interrelationship between regional disparities: GDP per capita, and unemployment rate.



Hypothetically it was presumed that creation of regional GDP drops with increasing unemployment. The direction of the linear straight line suggests that this hypothesis was correct - the higher the regional value of GDP/capita, the lower the regional unemployment rate. However, several deviations from this linear trend were observed as given by the economical structure of the individual region. Along the high GDP/capita value, a lower share in the average national unemployment rate should corresponds to the position of the region of Bratislava or, in other words, a lower regional GDP/capita value was expected at such share of regional unemployment rate. It means that such economic activities are concentrated in Bratislava, the nature of which together with their relation to unemployment rate more massively contribute to the creation of the national GDP/capita (similar situation is observed in regions of Košice, Banská Bystrica and Nitra). The region of Trenčín is in certain contrast to the region of Bratislava. The low rate of unemployment in region of Trenčín should also suggests a substantially higher value of GDP/capita. But it is not so. What are the main reasons? Textile industry as an industry with not very high contribution into generation of national GDP is one of the leading branches in the economic structure of Trenčín region. This industry as a labour-intensive industry offers numerous jobs, predominantly for women. Simultaneously it is the region with high level of urbanisation directly connected with higher size and branch diversification of economic activities and therefore it offers the more flexible response of population to changes in functioning of individual industries and companies. Regional labour market is so more flexible and consequently the unemployment rate is lower. But the work productivity in the region is under average thanks to the nature of the prevailing production. The same statements are more or less valid for all regions situated below the linear straight line (region of Trnava, region of Žilina, and region of Prešov).

Life quality is a term with multiple meanings and its interpretations is varying from time to time , from person to person. Its economic dimension is perhaps the most discussed one but other dimensions such as social, cultural, or environmental are also important for evaluation of life quality. Regional disparities of the environmental dimension of life quality were studied by means of indicator concerning the amount of municipal waste per capita which was surveyed in relation to level of urbanization (Tab.2, Fig.3).

Table 2. Regional disparities in Slovakia: level of urbanization, and quantity of municipal waste (Kg per capita).

	Population, 2002	Level of urbanization, 2002	Quantity of municipal waste (Kg per capita), 2002	Relative regional comparisons with Slovakia	
				Level of urbanization, 2002	Quantity of municipal waste (Kg per capita), 2002
Slovak Republic	5379161	56,0	283	100,0	100,0
Bratislava region	599736	83,7	403	149,5	142,4
Trnava region	550911	50,1	364	89,5	128,6
Trenčín region	603494	57,7	250	103,0	88,3
Nitra region	711002	48,0	292	85,7	103,2
Žilina region	693041	51,1	301	91,3	106,4
Banská Bystrica region	660110	54,2	274	96,8	96,8
Prešov region	793182	50,2	213	89,6	75,3
Košice region	767685	56,5	213	100,9	75,3

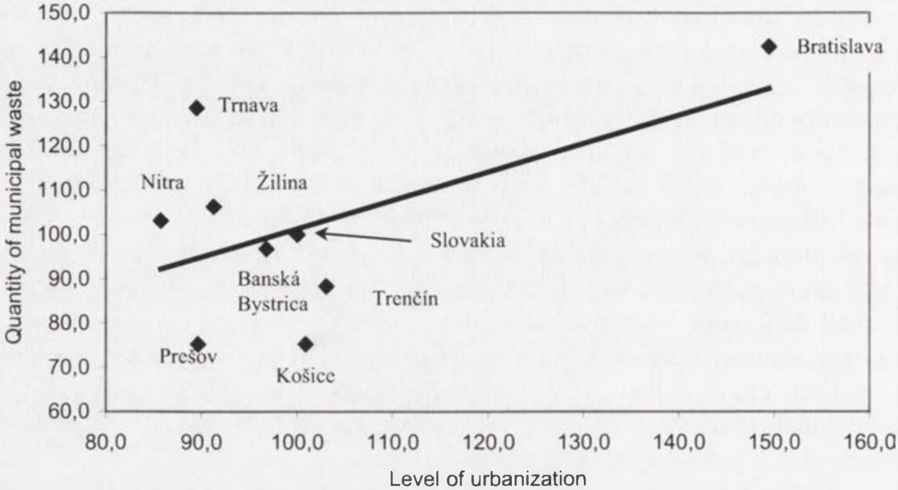
Source: Regionálne porovnania v Slovenskej republike, Štatistický úrad SR, Bratislava 2002.

The level of urbanization is determined by the share of population living in settlements which obtained the status of town. The region of Bratislava is the most urbanized one in Slovakia (83.7 % of population lives in towns). It is delimited by the town districts of Bratislava city and three neighbouring districts with proportional representation of the urban and rural population (Malacky, Pezinok, Senec). The region of Bratislava as the only one of all administrative regions of Slovakia differs more remarkably from the national average of urbanization level. But according to Bezák (2001) the spatial delimitation of Bratislava region, which has the great influence on its current position in the regional structure of Slovakia, does not correspond to functional urban region and its delimitation as a nodal region is not correct. The regions of Košice and Trenčín are other ones that exceed the average value of urbanization. There is a small difference: while urbanization of Trenčín region is characterised by a larger concentration of middle size towns, the region of Košice (similar to Bratislava region) could be characterised by dominance of one city - the seat of regional administration. The least urbanized region is that of Nitra with prevalence of farm land and rural population.

It was hypothetically presumed that the increasing level of urbanisation is accompanied by increase of values of one of the environmental life quality indicators - the amount of municipal waste per capita. It is generally known that urban people and their activities produce more waste than people living in rural area. This trend was confirmed but there exist regional units which distinctly differ from presumed values (Fig.3). The largest difference is observable in the region of Trnava which shows, with regards to its urbanization level, distinctly highly negative values of the quantity of municipal waste per capita. According to the Slovakian trend a lower relative value of the municipal waste per capita should be expected. Concerning the environmental indicator of life quality, position of the region of Trnava is in sharp contrast with the equally urbanized region of Prešov where the value of the municipal waste per capita is the lowest. The reached difference (151 kg/capita) represents more than a half of the national average (283 kg/capita).

The transport infrastructure which serves to accessibility of the regional settlement system and commuting of population is considered one of important life quality indicators of the population in region. Research tasks take into account not only the quantitative characteristics of the transport infrastructure (such as the total length of roads), which is often product of morphological features of the territory, but also the quality of transport infrastructure (such as the share of motorways in total length of roads). Comparison requires to relate transport indicators either to population number, or to the size of territory, or to the number of (passenger) cars.

Fig.3. Interrelationship between regional disparities: level of urbanization and quantity of municipal waste



In Slovakia 3.301 km of roads corresponds to 1,000 inhabitants (Tab.3). The most significant difference from this average value is in the case of Bratislava region as the small space with the prevailing urban settlement, the largest concentration of population and the highest density of population. Regional total length of roads per 1,000 inhabitants reach less than half of the national average. The large region of Banská Bystrica is in contrast with Bratislava region as it is characterized by a large number of small settlements connected by numerous roads of lower quality. Lower concentration of population and the character of settlement are responsible for the fact that the total length of roads per 1,000 inhabitants in the region of Banská Bystrica exceeds the national value by almost 45 percent points. The quoted information of course does not state anything about use of the individual roads when some of them are the most loaded sections of transport in Slovakia (for instance the connection between Zvolen and Banská Bystrica) while in other sections of the regional transport infrastructure (roads of the 3rd class connecting small rural settlements) are almost unused.

Table 3. Regional disparities in Slovakia: total length of roads (km) per 1000 inhabitants, and total number of passenger cars per 100 inhabitants.

	Total number of passenger cars, 2002	Total length of roads (km) per 1000 inhabitants, 2002	Total number of passenger cars per 100 inhabitants, 2002	Relative regional comparisons with Slovakia	
				Total length of roads (km) per 1000 inhabitants, 2002	Total number of passenger cars per 100 inhabitants, 2002
Slovak Republic	1326891	3,301	24,67	100,0	100,0
Bratislava region	241972	1,329	40,35	40,3	163,6
Trnava region	151310	3,536	27,47	107,1	111,3
Trenčín region	136704	3,083	22,65	93,4	91,8
Nitra region	175226	3,594	24,64	108,9	99,9
Žilina region	137194	2,847	19,80	86,2	80,3
Banská Bystrica region	156114	4,784	23,65	144,9	95,9
Prešov region	152332	3,884	19,21	117,6	77,9
Košice region	176039	3,104	22,93	94,0	93,0

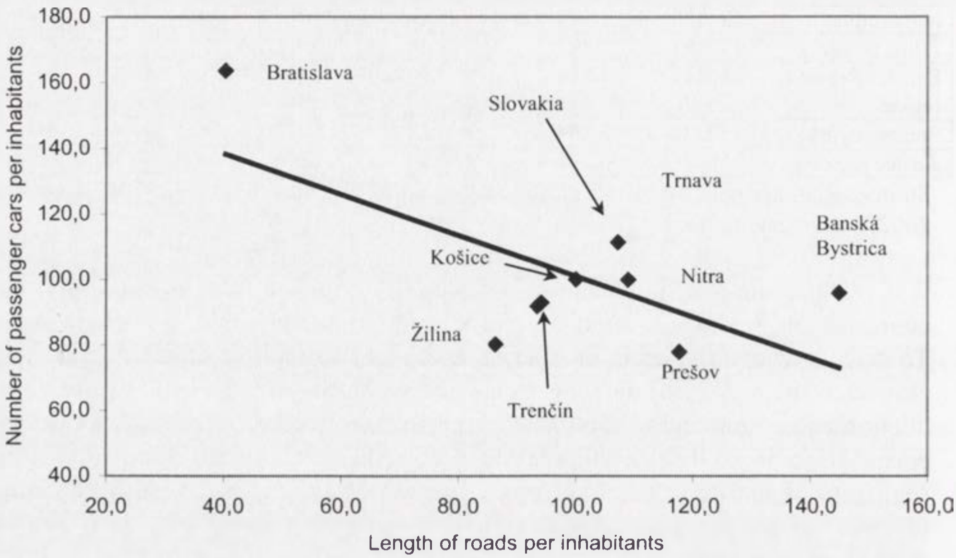
Source: Regionálne porovnania v Slovenskej republike, Štatistický úrad SR, Bratislava 2002, + own calculations.

The economic dimension of life quality of inhabitants of the individual countries and regions is often expressed through ownership of a passenger car. To have a car still means prosperity and higher living standard in Slovakia. However, the quality of passenger cars widely varies depending on year of production and equipment of the vehicle. It also does not takes into account preferences of some well-to-do population groups in terms of investing into other segments of markets (purchase of real estate or luxurious holiday) or choice of other life style connected with refusal of car ownership. This is why this indicator of life quality of the Slovak population offers only a general and partially biased view of its solvency.

About one passenger car corresponds to a four-member family in Slovakia, in other words every fourth citizen owns a passenger car. However, there are distinct differences between regions which illustrate the differences between the rich and poor regions in Slovakia. The highest number of passenger cars per 100 inhabitants (40.35) is in the richest region of Bratislava, and the lowest number (19.21) is in the poorest region of Prešov. The value corresponding to the region of Bratislava is especially strikingly distinct from values of other territorial-administrative units.

Searching for the relationship between the regional length of roads per inhabitants and regional number of passenger cars per inhabitants a surprising dependence appears which is the product only of the situation existing in Bratislava region (Fig.4). Increasing length of roads per inhabitants is accompanied by decrease of number of passenger cars per inhabitants (leaving Bratislava out results should be in the contrary dependence). Further construction of roads in densely populated, economically rich but spatially restricted region of Bratislava region is physically limited. On the other hand saturation of the needs of regional population in terms of passenger cars ownership along with the existing financial potential probably have not reached the top yet. It is then reasonable to expect that the exclusivity of this region in overloaded road network will deepen in future.

Fig.4. Interrelationship between regional disparities: length of roads per inhabitants, and number of passenger cars per inhabitants



A comparatively low number of passenger cars in relation to length of road in regions of Žilina and Prešov is evident. In connection with the construction of the new South Korean car concern KIA in the vicinity of Žilina it is also possible to expect that in the following years the number of passenger cars per inhabitants in Žilina region will increase in the forthcoming years. Although the similar scenario in case of the region of Prešov is more than questionable, certain trend of increasing number of passenger cars per inhabitants in this region should be expected when the relatively high number of local (short-term?) emigrants will return to Prešov region.

Conclusion

The reached results testify to an unbalanced spatial structure of economy in Slovakia as characterised by distinct regional disparities in studied indicators of socio-economic development and life quality. Life quality of population of Slovakia largely depends not only on region, but also on the particular place in region where they live. Life in the western part of Slovakia and centres of its individual regions brings opportunities of work and consequently possible increase of economic living standard to local populations. However, the impact of economic development is often negative in terms of environmental quality and the population must tolerate for instance higher noise or higher pollution levels. Inhabitants living in the eastern part of the state and peripheral rural settlements are clearly limited as far as the work opportunities are concerned. Unemployment is one factor contributing to lower level of material welfare which in turn also emerges in form of lower rate of wastes produced. Paths how to harmonise the ideas of socio-economic development as represented by the concept of economic development and the ideas of nature and landscape protection as represented by the concept of sustainable development are still sought. Both concepts are still contradictory and in struggle to obtain and maintain the privileged position. So far the concept of economic development which is artificially adorned by the term of „sustainable economic development" is winning.

In spite of several-year efforts of the governments of the Slovak Republic which declares the intention to reduce the existing regional disparities, the aim and its successful solution remain far. Experiences gained by the EU member states shows that desired convergent tendencies of regional disparities involves a long-term process which leans on the assistance of Structural Fund or Cohesion Fund. Unfortunately, in many cases this assistance is not „panacea" to the existing regional disparities in life quality of inhabitants.

Translated by H.Contrerasová

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Streszczenie

ZRÓŻNICOWANIE REGIONALNE NA SŁOWACJI

Kwestia delimitacji odpowiednich jednostek regionalnych, która winna wynikać z funkcjonalnych relacji w przestrzeni jest jednym z podstawowych problemów podczas identyfikacji zróżnicowań regionalnych. W tym artykule regiony administracyjne stanowią jednostki regionalne jako produkty podziału terytorialno-administracyjnego Słowacji (rys. 1). W oparciu o te jednostki regionalne badano zróżnicowanie regionalne Słowacji zgodnie z wybranymi wskaźnikami jakości życia.

Istnieje wiele wskaźników o charakterze społeczno-gospodarczym, które są również monitorowane na szczeblu regionalnym i charakteryzują jakość życia ludności żyjącej w poszczególnych regionach. Ponieważ ich ważność często zależy od rodzaju badań, wybór właściwych wskaźników opisujących różnice regionalne jakości życia pomiędzy większymi jednostkami terytorialnymi w sposób najbardziej precyzyjny podlega zazwyczaj szerszej dyskusji.. Niniejszy artykuł koncentruje się na poszukiwaniu wzajemnych relacji pomiędzy różnicami poszczególnych regionów. Jest to powód zastosowania *względnych* wartości tych wskaźników dla porównania wybranych wskaźników jakości życia, podczas gdy *średnia* wartość *krajowa* przedstawia wartość *standardową* (Tab.1-3). Wzajemne relacje pomiędzy wartościami względnymi wybranych wskaźników jakości życia w regionach, przyjmując, że *zależność liniowa* została przedstawiona w postaci linii prostej, zostały przedstawione na poszczególnych rysunkach.

THE GEOPOLITICAL CHANGES OF ROMANIAN'S SITUATION IN THE PROCESS OF UE AND NATO ENLARGEMENT

Jan WENDT

Department of Regional Development Geography
University of Gdańsk

The geopolitical aspects of Romanian territory formation

In the Romanian case, the orographic factor had the main influence on the division of historical lands. There was also another factor- difficult to overcome for a long period of time- the River Danube barrier. The Transilvania Upland is in the centre of the present Romania and is separated from the west by the Bihorian Mountains – which used to be conducive to create the Grand Duchy of Transilvania. Crisana (Kriszana) was created on the Hungarian Lowland which contains the Keresz River Basin (Quick, White and Black Keresz) and Banat was created on the south from the Lowland. Maramures is located on the north direction from Transilvania and is separated from Transilvania by the Carpathian curve. Moldavia is, additionally, in The Seretu River Basin separated by the Prut River from Bessarabia. In the down-stream of the Danube River there is Dubrogea – defended by the meanders of the Danube River and Walachia is situated on the south direction from the South Carpathian. Walachia is divided- nearly exactly along the Aluta River-into Oltenia in the west and Multany in the east.

The separate character of Transilvania – closed by the Carpathian Curve- was propitious to Hungarian attachment for a long period of time. However, the long border of the Danube River was created as a result of a slow disintegration of Turkish Empire in which the Danube River made a convenient, natural obstacle, letting separate Turkish impact and the Romanian aspiration to reach independence. The above reasons make the border on The Danube River, between Belgrade and Ruse, constant. However, there are also some characteristic changes of the national status in the east and in the south direction from Ruse, Silistria region, in the south and north Dobrugea, Budziak and South Bessarabia. On the other hand, political borders dividing the old Hungarian territories are now observed on the west of the country, in Banat and Crisana, which lie in the Temesz, Marusza and Keresz River Basin.

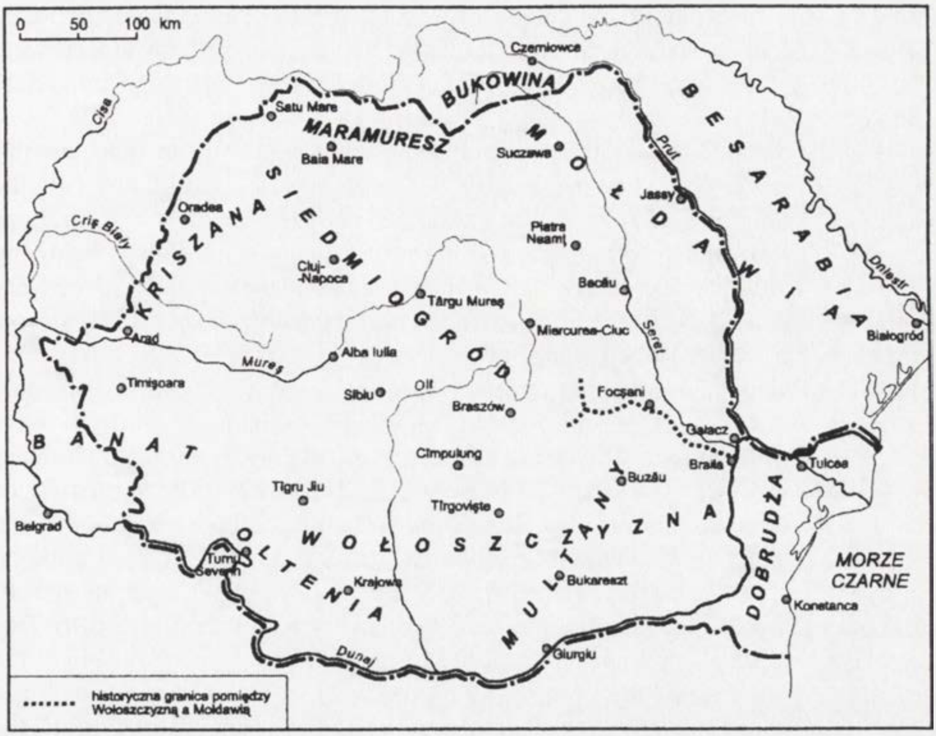
Table 1. The historical provinces, oro- and hydrographic units on Romanian lands

The orographic and hydrographic units of Romanian territory	The historical district	The main centre	The dominant river
The Transilvania Upland	Transilvania	Cluj-Napoca Alba Julia	Upper Marusza
The upland of Somes The Carpathian Plateau	Maramures	Baia Mare Sighetu	Somes
Upper Keresz, The Bihor Plateau	Crişana	Oradea (Wielki Waradyn)	Keresz with its tributaries
The Upland of Moldavia The Seretu River-Basin	Moldavia	Jassy, Suceva	Siretu
The Upland of Bessarabia	Bessarabia	Kiszyniów	Nister
The Banat Mountains, The east part of the Hungarian Lowland	Banat	Timişoara	Temesz
West part of the Walachia Lowland, The Carpathian Height	Oltenia	Craiova	Danube, Jiu, Aluta
East part of the Walachia Lowland, The Carpathian Height	Multany	Bucuresti	Danube, Dymbowica
Delta Danube, Dobrugea Height	Dobrugea	Constanta	Danube

Source: Own elaboration.

The borderlines between Bessarabia and Moldavia are more contradictory than the set of the river nets-especially the interior borders of Moldavia which go along the Dniestr and Prut Rivers. The Hospodar Land of Moldavia reached the Dniestr border surrounding the whole Moldavian Upland and Bessarabia with the Prut and Seretu River Basin touching the middle runs of the Dniestr River in the Northeast side. The division of the Hospodar Land of Moldavia took place only after the part of Moldavia and Bessarabia were taken over by Russia (1812) what divided the Prut River-Basin into Russia and Turkey. The Black Sea regions of Bessarabia were taken „from hands to hands" when definitely remained in Russia and its heirs.

Fig.1. The historical lands of Romania



Source: Own elaboration.

Thus, since the many years, the Romanian central set of physical-geographical units-together with the orographic barriers-decided about the birth of some independent political organism in the place of present Romania. After the conquest period of the Decebala Kingdom by the Romans and country's division into three provinces (Malvensis, Apulensis, Porolissensis) and then taking over the Romanian territory by the Goths, quite large part of the Balkan Peninsula entered into the composition of Byzantium Empire (Rusu, 1985). However, The Slavs and Awaran incursions led to the dislodgement of Byzantium influence. In the IX and X century, the Romanian areas – in its substantial part- were under the Bulgarian Empire hegemony. Then, the areas submitted the division- as a result of the battles among Hungarian, Walachian and Pieczyngian allied with Byzantium and Russia – into some independent countries. Yet, in the X century, Transilvania was taken over by Hungary, Dobrugea was under Byzantium control and soon entered into the composition of the Bulgarian Empire. At the beginning of XIV century, Moldavian and Walachian countries-which were still existed as independent countries – were conquered by the Turkish Empire and stayed in the empire for the next five hundred years. Thus, only

Moldavia and Walachia – under the Turkish control, and in short period of time under Polish and Russian control – kept its fully ethnic, Romanian character among all current historical Romanian lands. The rest provinces were taken by Bulgaria and Hungary and partly submitted the process of bulgarisation or magyarization.

It seems to be crucial to present some etaps of the Romanian country forming in order to understand clearly the geopolitical circumstances of the present Romania's location. Quite many border changes and people migrations were there as a result of the process of the modern country building. Knowing the processes, which have been taking place in Romania, appears to be very required to understand the interior relations and exterior policy and also some geopolitical situation of the country.

The Balkans Peninsula had been conquered by the Turkish and also some Romanian principalities – Transilvania, Moldavia, Walachia, Dobrugea were subjected during the next war- for some period of time by Poland and Hungary either- until the victory Russia – Turkey war in 1828-1829. The signed Peace treaty in Adriannopol alleged that Serbia and Greece would have autonomy, the delta of the Danube River would be given back to Russia, the shipping trade on the Black Sea would be free, and Moldavia and Walachia would get an interior autonomy. The Romanian principalities were nominally subordinated to Turkey. Turkey limited its management only to approve the emperors, collect the exaction – which was 1 mln piastr (monetary unit) from Moldavia and 2-mln piastr from Walachia. The Adriannopol treat stated that until Turkey paid the war tribute, the principalities would be governed by Russian administration, which were to prepare some organisation status.

Considering the rising Union tendencies in both principalities, the matter to create Romanian country became a crucial problem during the Paris Congress, which was organised after the end of the Crimea War. However, the conflict between Russia-which was trying to weaken the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish influences-and England – which was afraid of loosing the political balance on the continent._Additionally, the powers led to make the Danube shipping international and created an international commission in Gałacz. Russia was cut off from the Danube River. The river's delta - after giving three regions of south Bessarabia to Turkey-was under Turkey domination again. Yet, the movements of Romanian unionists led to-in 1857-organize a new election in both countries which- during its general meeting "ad hoc" took decision to unit the country. After the next election in January 1859, The Moldavian Meeting decided to elect the Prince Alexander Ion Cuza (17.01.1859) who also - under the public opinion – was chosen to be the Prince of Walachia (05.02.1859 according to the Gregorian calendar – 24 of January). Despite the fact that Austria and Turkey made some problems to approve the new country, which started to use the name Romania, they - at the end – accepted the unity of Moldavian and Walachian countries into one unit.

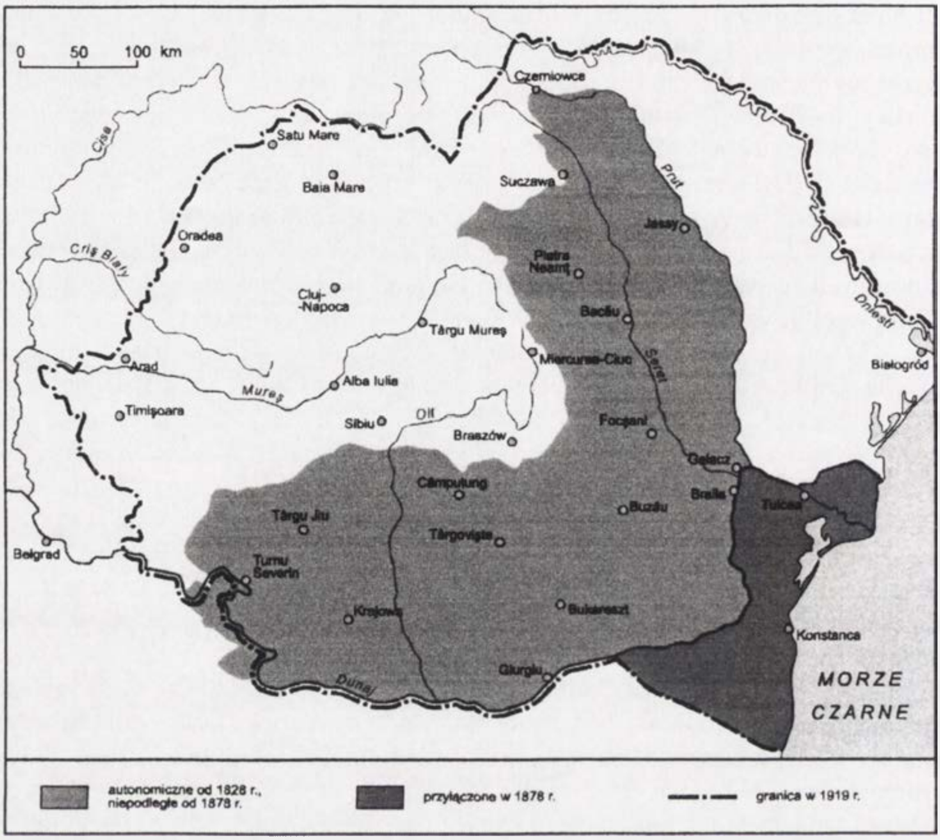
After the coup d'etat in 1866, the Prince A.J.Cuza was pressed to abdicate. The new ruler was the Prince Charles Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Turkey let have hereditary monarchy but on condition that the sultan would have the formal domination. After the bloody suppress of the insurrections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1857 and in Bulgaria in 1876 Russia started a new war with Turkey and Romania supported Russia. As a result of Russian-Romanian victory, Turkey accepted – in San Stefano- Romanian independence. Romania got the delta of Danube and Dobrugea Rivers but had to give back to Russia the south Bessarabia. After the first Balkan War in 1912, Romania received Silistra as a reward for being neutral. However, one year later when Bulgaria started a new Balkan war, Romania attacked its south neighbour and conquered part of the south Dobrugea.

When the First World War started, Romania was formal but secret ally of The Triple Alliance. The agreement among Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy was extended many times from 1883 to 1913. Yet, after the start of the war, the „Crown Council" decided to be neutral, despite the fact that Germany and Austria-Hungary pressed against it. The international situation was friendly for Romania of those days. Ententa desired to obtain a link from Russia to Serbia, and central countries required Russia to be cut off from the Straits of Turkey, therefore Romania – considering its location- was able to perform all of the above mentioned tasks. The very important factor was that Romanian army appeared to be very strong and was supposed to be very helpful in the Balkan front being able to turn the scale of the victory on both sides. The fundamental meaning had the Romanian oil pools and food supplement in the time of long war activities, especially for the central countries. In 1915, the Romanian Government decided to join the Ententa in the war, having negotiated with both sides of the conflict. Unfortunately, the military unlucky determined the country to announce it. Only when Russia, in 1926, reached many successes in the war, Romania declared war to Austria-Hungary. Although Romania had some war successes in Transilvania at the beginning, the Romanian army was pressed to turn back. In Romania, the army lost the capitol and had to withdraw to Moldavia.

After the revolution in Russia, with Ententa's consent, Romania, which lost its military support, signed an agreement referring to the war activities suspense. As a result of it Romania lost south Dobrugea, which was gained by Bulgaria, also lost The Carpathian Passes gained by Austria-Hungary, but took Bessarabia from Russia. Bessarabia was called then an Independent Moldavian Republic and incorporated to Romania. However, one year later, after the Ententa's victory, the layout of the power in the Balkans was changed and due to the change, the Romanian geopolitical situation was changed either. A National

Gathering was called in historical capital Alba Julia and decided to unit Transilvania and Banat with Romania.

Fig.2. The etaps of building Romanian state



Source: Own elaboration.

Romania - thanks to the agreements with Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary- gained all Transilvania, all Bukovina, south Dubrogea and part of Banat keeping still Bessarabia. The conception of The Great Romania - „Romania Mare"- was fulfilled. Romania of those times was 300 thousand sq.km. and had 17 mln population.30% of the population- similarly to Poland-was the ethnic minorities: Hungarian, Saxons, Seklerian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Turkish, Jewish. Neither the Soviet Union nor Hungary could accept the lost of Bessarabia but Romania did not agree with any plebiscite on their territories. In the same time, the Romanian Government started a new policy to romanise the gained areas.

The geopolitical situation of Romania tills the year 1989

In the period between the two Wars Romania - similarly to Poland - was pressed to sign a „minority" agreement which was to guarantee the minority rights to those nations which were settled there. Romania and Poland signed a political and military agreement in order to secure its east borders and keeps Bessarabia in case of Russian invasion. Romania also signed an agreement with Czech, to secure its ex-Hungarian territories, and with SHS Kingdom (Yugoslavia) creating a new agreement called „A Little Ententa". The aim of the Little Ententa was to secure the geopolitical businesses of the membership countries in case of Hungarian pretensions. The „Little Ententa" had also anti-Bulgarian range for Yugoslavia and Romania. In the 30's, next agreement with Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, were signed and called the „Balkan Ententa" and it was also aimed against Bulgaria. It was to be the way to secure the territory of Romania. What is more, the agreement with France was re-signed and France accepted the Romanian rights to Bessarabia. Yet, the pro-French policy was broken due to some new factors: the rise of Nazi tendencies, German stock influences, signing a new economical agreement with the Reich III and Austria incorporation by A.Hitler. After the German aggression in Poland, Romania declared neutrality and did not support military Poland when the Red Army came into Polish territory, excusing itself, that Poland did not declare a state of war with Russia. However, Romania let Polish Government to pass its territory and did not make any problems to Polish people escaping through Romania to France despite the Germans objections.

In 1940, under the influence of German success, and French defeat, Romania strengthens its pro- German foreign policy. An „oil" pact was signed and after that a „cereal" pact, which guaranteed oil and cereal delivery to Reich in change of Romanian army's reinforce. But the pacts and the pro-German policy could not stop the coming catastrophe. USSR realising the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact put forward an ultimatum to Romania and demanded Bessarabia and North Bukovina to be given back. Romania – in that circumstances- had to agree with it. The taken back Bessarabia was incorporated to, created in 1924, the Socialistic Republic of Moldavia and Bukovina was annexed to Ukrainian SSR. The same situation was in Poland, when Polish taken territories were incorporated to Ukrainian SSR and Belarus. To complete the national tragedy, under the German pression and support of Hungary, Romania was forced to transfer part oft its territory to Hungary due to „the second Vienna arbitration" (30.08.1940). The territory was Maramures, Crisana and the North Transilvania (with the cities of Cluj, Bistrita) which were habituated generally by Romanian people.

Table 2. The process of the Romanian territory unification in XIX and XX century

	To 1828	1829-1855	1856-1861	1861-1878	1878-1912	1913-1917	1918-1940	1940-1941	1941-1945	After 1945
Bessarabia South	Russia	Russia	Turkey	Russia	Russia	Russia	ROMANIA MARE	Russia	Romania	Russia
Bessarabia			Russia							
Bucovina North	Austria	Austria	Austria	Austria	Austria	Austria				
Maramures	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary	Hungary		Hungary	Hungary	Romania
Crişana										
Transilvania										
Banat										
Carpathian pass.	Turkey	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania		Romania	Romania	
Moldavia										
Walachia										
Delta Danube		Russia	Turkey							
Dobrugea		Turkey								
Silistra				Bulgaria				Bulgaria	Bulgaria	Bulgaria
Dobrugea South				Turkey	Bulgaria					

Source: Own elaboration based on: Romani. Historic-geographic atlas.1996, Editura Academiei, Bucuresti.

In November, the Romanian government joined the „axis" countries, which were attacked by USSR in 1941. During the first few months, Bessarabia and North Bukovina were occupied and incorporated to Romania. The territories between Dniestr and Bohemia became a separate administrative Union „Transnistria" with the centre in Odessa. But in the result of the Reich defeat, a resistance against the war increased in Romania. When the Red Army was coming into Moldavia, on September 1944, King Michael made a revolution and arrested General Antonescu. The regular army detachments stopped fighting with the Red Army. The German reaction was very quick. The Germans bombed Bucuresti and the Romanian army started the war with the Germans. When the USSR's army came into Bucuresti, Romania, official was on the aliant's side and declared a war to Hungary. At the end of October, Romanian army, in spite of German and Hungarian counterattacks, annexed the whole Transilvania. According to the signed in Paris peaceful pact (10.02.1947) Romania kept Transilvania, but Bessarabia and Bukovina were incorporated to Russia.

When the 'people's democracy' was strengthened and The King Michael was forced to abdicate in 1947, the power in Romania was taken over by the Romanian Worker's Party created in February 1948. The name of the country was again changed and called the Socialistic Republic of Romania. When N.Ceaucescu was overthrown, Romania became the Republic of Romania

(08.12.1991). The Romanian neighbours were two USSR Republic - Moldavia and Ukraine, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Socialistic Federation of Yugoslavian Republic. As in Polish case, the political and economical system, which was imposed to Romania, in fact led to vassal Romania by the USSR.

Geopolitical position of Romania after 1989

When Romania obtained its independence, it had to regulate the relations with ex-neighbours (Hungary and Bulgaria) and start contacts with the new ones (Ukraine and Moldavia). However, the situation was not friendly to normalise the contacts with the neighbours. The heirs of Yugoslavia were in the action of a bloody national and religion war; Macedonia faced an economical crisis and possible internal disturbances of Greek minorities. Albania tries to democratise its economy and society in a quick rate with no interest of Europe. A conflict between Greece and Albania is also noticed and it is connected with the minorities in both countries. Only Slovenia adapted its economy to the Western Europe standards and was in the first group of the countries, which were to join UE. Bulgaria is traditionally pro-Russian and all the changes are in very slow rate not like in Romania, where the President Iliescu petrify the present political set and does not let have any changes: neither in democratic system nor in the economy. Till the year 2001, XIV Russian Army was in Moldavia having a strong influence on the political and economical life of the country. The national minorities create own enclave (Gaugaska Republic). The all Balkan Peninsula appeared to be in a state similar to those ones before the year 1914. Ukraine was divided in its national aspirations and is completely dependent on Russian energetic stock. The Russian naval stations at the Black Sea let Russia control the country. The very complicated Crimea situation makes possibility of Russian ingerention in the inner matters of the country.

Normalisation of the Romanian external relation met some problem on its way. The issues of Hungarian minorities came on the first plan, there is also a problem with Moldavia, which belonged to Romania and has ethnical population-mostly Romanian- but called officially Moldavian. There is also problem with Russia - Naddniestr conflicts and problem with Gaugaska Republic. The relations with the new Yugoslavia became worse as Romania took part in ONZ sanctions against Yugoslavia. Good relation with Bulgaria were worsen, if we are not going to remember the south Dobrugea, because of a common transport infrastructure via the Danube which was realised thanks to EBO and R means by both the countries. In February 1993, Moldavia accused Romania of training the terrorists who were believed to organise a revolt. The conflicts was soften only when an agreement was signed which stated that Romania will deliver oil to Moldavia thanks to Romanian founds. Greece accused Romania of selling the weapons - which were put under embargo - to Macedonia.

Fig.3. The geopolitical situation of Romania in the years 1989-2004

Source: Own elaboration.

Until the 90's there was not possibility to sign any pacts with Russia, Ukraine and Moldavia. The barrier is lack of condemnation in the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact as Ukraine is afraid of Romanian territory demands of north Bukovina, Chocim provincy, Hert region and The Island of the Snakes. The island is only 17 ha, is located in the east direction from the Danube delta and was incorporated by the USSR after the II World War. The island can not be returned to Romania because there is a radar station which has its range up to the Central Europe, the Balkans, the Near East, North Africa and Libya. Russia does not agree to give back any of the stolen Romanian works of art and culture and what is more, is not going to return back Romanian gold (about 2 billions USD), which Romania deposited during the evacuation in the I World War. Russia claims that after so long time, they do not know where the gold is. The very crucial factor of the conflicts is the Romanian access to NATO (Puscas 2000). Moldavia - which geopolitical location between East and West is characteristic-is afraid of the Romanian ambitions to unit and always sees attempt of unification of the both countries. Hungary reached a pact referring to national minorities and giving them autonomy during the agreement signed with Slovakia accepted by the European Council. The minorities used the argument during the talks with Romania but Romania is not going to approve any autonomy for Hungarian minorities because it is afraid of some separatist movements and possibility of dividing the country.

Despite the all mentioned problems, Romania reached some successes also. In 1993, Romania signed EWG admission agreement and was able to initial a next agreement connected with borders entrances and an economical co-operation with Hungary. A new partnership, co-operation and good neighbourhood pact were signed with Albania, Lithuania and Belarus. In September Romania joined the Council of Europe and The USA awarded to Romania a clause of the highest privilege in the trade and signed a military co-operation agreement. At the end of the year the countries of the Black Sea Organisation of Economical Cooperation created a Black Sea Bank of Trade and Development which was model on the EBOR. In 1994, Poland and Romania signed a military cooperation agreement and in June Romania and Czech initialled a trade pact. There were also some concessions made in the Hungarian issue. A bilingual names of the cities were introduced-where the minorities were over 30% - and a common bank in Oradea was created. The limit of teachers of Hungarian was enlarged at the university of Cluj-Napoca. In February a new agreement about association with UE was introduced.

The geopolitical change of Romanian location after the year 2000

To the most important factors leading to the geopolitical changes of Romania after 2000 belong: the process of UE extension, NATO enlargement, and close military cooperation with the USA after the 11 of September. Admittedly, Romania was not among the countries, which joined the UE in 2004 despite the very quick Romanian law adapting process. However, when Hungary joined the UE, Romania became a country, which is in neighbourhood of UE.

Fig.4. Potential sources of conflicts in the close neighbourhood of Romania after 2004

Source: Own elaboration.

A very crucial factor, which influenced on the geopolitical situation of Romania, became a Hungarian minority, which had a raw of autonomic rights in Romania and a lot of facilities to start work, study, and social rights. A quite big transborder movements, facilities in finding work, a large financial support of Hungarian country will make the process of democratic ideas penetration easier by the Hungarian citizens of Romania. The problem of Romanian admission to UE is also a crucial Hungarian issue not only because of political reasons but also because of economical reasons. Thanks to the fact of the adapting process of country law continuation with the possible progress in economy, and lessen the corruption, Romania – together with Bulgaria, Croatia and Turkey - may join the UE in 2007.

Table 3. The army personnel in chosen Balkan countries and theirs neighbour countries in 2001-2002

State	Number of soldiers (Thous.)	Number of soldiers per 1000 citizens	Military expenses (w mln USD)
Turkey	402	8,95	8 100
Ukraine	304	6,32	749
Romania	207	9,23	985
Greece	159	14,90	6 120
Bulgaria	80	10,61	356
Croatia	60	13,79	520
Czech	58	5,65	1 190
Albania	54	15,07	6
Hungary	44	4,39	1 080
Slovakia	39	7,18	406
Moldavia	15	3,42	6
Slovenia	9	4,64	370

Source: Military Balance 2001-2002, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

More important than the prospect of UE membership, had the fact of cooperation with the USA. After the 11 of September Romania became a much desired partner for the USA in the region, which is very political unsure because of strong Turkish fundamental Muslims. The all-Romanian society is very pro-American (Durna, 2001), what is – in Europe now - rather rare. Romania together with the GB sent four hundred soldiers to Afghanistan in close cooperation with the USA. Romania chartered transport planes, which let transfer the army to Afghanistan or Iraq. It also renders a harbour in Constancy to the Americans and an air base. In return of it the Americans gave a financial support which was about 200 mln $ which is about one fifth of Romanian army budget. The Romanian army is not the best one in Europe but it is the second after the Turkish army when we consider the number of soldiers in the army.

The strong position of Romania after joining NATO will be even stronger after NATO enlargement and Albania; Croatia and Macedonia access that was suggested by some of the Americans politicians. Romania - similarly to Poland- may become a local leader in the process of democratic changes and a factor which make the military situation stable in the region, being-in the same time- an ally of the USA.

Conclusions

To the most important changes in the geopolitical situation of Romania we can include the UE and NATO enlargement, good relations with the USA after the 11 of September, relations, which are a result of the American support. The UE enlargement and a prospect of Romania access to UE in 2007 appears to have a lot of challenges and even now the changes are the reasons of the economical rise and lead to make the country society a citizen society. The access to UE brings Romania a chance to solve the problems of Hungarian minority in a positive way and create a prospect of economical cooperation with Moldavia and in the future – after possible joining UE-a chance to unions the both Romanian countries.

The real agreement with the US not only leads to the strengthened of Romanian position in the region, but thanks to the military and economical support of the USA, became a crucial factor of army modernisation and the rise of Romanian position in the field of the international policy. Being a NATO member makes Romania a possibility of forming its safety space and is a stable factor in this part of Europe. All the above-mentioned factors - together with the prospect of Albania, Croatia and Macedonia NATO joining, may guarantee a Peace in the region.

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Streszczenie

ZMIANA GEOPOLITYCZNEGO POŁOŻENIA RUMUNII W PROCESIE ROZSZERZENIA SIĘ UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ I NATO

Od najdawniejszych lat centralny układ jednostek fizyczno-geograficznych w Rumunii, wraz z barierami orograficznymi decydował w okresie kształtowania się pierwszych państw na Bałkanach, w tym o powstaniu w miejscu obecnej Rumunii kilku niezależnych organizmów politycznych. Po odzyskaniu pełnej suwerenności w 1989 r. przed Rumunią stanęła konieczność uregulowania stosunków z dawnymi sąsiadami (Węgry, Bułgaria) i nawiązania z nowymi (Ukraina i Mołdawia). Jednak sytuacja na Bałkanach nie sprzyjała normalizacji stosunków z sąsiadami. Normalizacja stosunków zagranicznych przez Rumunię napotkała na szereg problemów, gdyż w stosunkach z Węgrami na plan pierwszy wysunęła się kwestia praw dla mniejszości węgierskiej w Rumunii, nad stosunkami z Mołdawią ciąży cień jej dawnej przynależności do Rumunii i etniczne pochodzenie ludności, której zdecydowana większość jest rumuńska, gdy oficjalnie nazywana jest mołdawską. Na relacje z Mołdawią nakłada się konflikt tego kraju z Rosją o Naddniestrze i problemu z samozwańczą Republika Gaugaską. Z kolei stosunki z nową Jugosławia pogorszył aktywny udział Rumunii w przestrzeganiu sankcji nałożonych na Jugosławię przez ONZ. Nawet dobre stosunki z Bułgarią zostały pogorszone przy realizacji wspólnej infrastruktury transportowej przez Dunaj ze środków EBO i R przez obydwa kraje. Do najważniejszych czynników prowadzących do zmiany położenia geopolitycznego Rumunii po 2000 r. należą: proces rozszerzenia się Unii Europejskiej, rozszerzenie się Paktu Północnoatlantyckiego oraz ścisła współpraca wojskowa ze Stanami Zjednoczonymi po 11 września. Ważnym czynnikiem wpływającym na geopolityczne położenie Rumunii stała się liczna mniejszość węgierska, posiadające szereg praw autonomicznych w Rumunii jak i wiele ułatwień w podjęciu pracy, studiów oraz praw socjalnych po przekroczeniu granicy węgierskiej. Znaczny ruch transgraniczny, ułatwienia w znalezieniu pracy oraz szeroka pomoc materialna państwa węgierskiego sprzyjać będzie procesowi przenikania idei demokratycznych poprzez węgierskich obywateli Rumunii. Silna pozycja Rumunii po przystąpieniu do NATO ulegnie wzmocnieniu po ewentualnym rozszerzeniu w 2009 r. o Albanię, Chorwację i Macedonię, co już kilkakrotnie sugerowały wypowiedzi amerykańskich polityków.

EUROPEAN PRACTICE OF STATE ACCOUNTABILITY FOR STATE OFFICIALS ACTIONS: EVOLUTION OF APPROACHES

Ruslana GAVRULIYK

Yuriy Fed'kovich National University
Cherniovtsy

Under the influence of transformations in post-socialist republics since the start of democratic evolutionary processes, it would be useful to substantiate the legitimacy of the conceal coming back from XIX c. that state accountability for its officials' activities is based on public fundamentals and formed on the principle of protection of not only individual interests but public also. Complexity of the problem of state accountability is brought about by other numerous problems of a more common legal character requiring prior solution. Some of the issues concern civil law, for example:

1. What is indemnification?
2. What are the conditions of possible accountability for actions of others?
3. Whether and when is accountability possible in the absence of guilt?

Some other issues belong to the sphere of state, public law, for example, what is the essence of legal relations between the official and the state, on the one hand, and between the official and the citizen, on the other hand?

Scholars, as a rule, divide the problem of state accountability into its constituents, which due to the nature of the issue is not always successful. Some scientists focus on accountability for illegal actions of officials, who are the representatives of fisc and state. While others consider just the issues of officials' unlawful activities, irrespective of their being either fisc representatives or public authority agents[1]. Some researchers analyze a new question of state accountability in detail - indemnification to innocently-imprisoned persons. Still others give a theoretical foundation of state accountability for harm caused by officials' unlawful and illegal actions when fulfilling public authority[2].

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[1] Loening. *Die Haftung des Staates aus rechtwidrigen //*. Handlungen seiner Beamfen. – 1979. –S. 117-135.

[2] Hauriou. *Les actions en indemnite contre l'etat* //Revue de droit public. – 1896.#11. – P.51-55.

In the meantime a theoretical substantiation of state accountability requires a thorough research of state obligation to pay indemnification in case of its judicial or administrative mistake as fulfilling justice and administrative governing are the two forms of realization of the same public authority.

It is possible to divide the concepts of state accountability for the harm caused by actions of its officials into three groups. The first group of scientists determined the state accountability for wrong actions of officials on the basis of public law, the second group - on the basis of private law, the third - on the basis of both. Representatives of the first group are the proponents of public contract theories, subjective public law and public accountability. The second group are adherents of the theories of quasi-contract or extra-contract guilt and the concept of professional risk. The third group consists of supporters of the theory of moral duty and justice[3].

According to the theory of public contract or duty, which derives from the contract, in the case when citizens did not break law but were subject to non-authorized prosecution and condemnation, they must be given the right to sue state in judicial procedure. This old theory is reflected in a new theory of public benefit, or quasi-delict obligation. Indemnification by the state is a form of transforming an unequal burden into an equal one. The conditions of the referred right defined by A.Mayer, German theoretician of administrative law, are the following: „a) harm caused at fulfilling public management. If they were caused by fisc activity, the question of indemnification must be solved by rules of private law; b) harm should be particular (specific) victim; c) intervention of authority is carried out concerning the direct sphere of personal rights[4]". Harm caused by war or court is not subject to compensation.

The theory of extra-contract, or of aquiliana guilt (culpa aquiliana) established state accountability on fundamentals of private law according to the relation type between the principal and the trusted, the mandatory and the mandate, the master and the servant at exercising corresponding duties.

An obligation of extra-contract character arose from committing civil delict and quasi-delict. Thus, in France the state is subject to principles of civil code of France that establishes an indirect state accountability for its officials' activities. Besides state can be subject to corresponding principles of private law which establish its direct accountability. The concept of extra-contract guilt caused numerous disagreements on substantiating indirect accountability of state for harm caused by representatives' mistake made by the fault of the latter (culpa) or at his/her will, but without any malicious intention (without dolus).

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[3] Гаген В. *К вопросу об ответственности государства за действия должностных лиц* // Вестник права. — 1903. —Октябрь. — Кн. 8. — С. 1-38.

[4] Mayer O. *Deutsches Verwaltungsrecht.* Bd.II. – S. 345.

Only few scientists recognized state accountability to be a general rule in all cases. Some of them proved the accountability resulting from mandate, which took place, or from representation[5]; others established not direct, but subsidiary state accountability as a silent guarantee of the state, which it vests it agents with and which infers duty for citizens to obey officials' act as that of the state[6]. The third group deduced state accountability and concept of legal person, which has a real but not fictitious mode of existence (official is not a representative, but a state body, which responds for its fault, as for his/her own[7]).

The majority of authors differentiate between cases, when the state is or not responsible. Indirect civil liability is excluded in cases where unlawful activities are committed through the fault of officials, but through their intermediary - state as legal person of public law, as sovereign. Such accountability is admitted in cases where „actions committed through officials by the state as by subject of patrimonial rights, as by the legal person of civil law, as fisc[8]". According to Laffayer, the higher the position of functional duties of the official the more limited is state accountability. Therefore the state is not responsible, when this function borders with sovereignty. „In acts of administrative character, that are not sovereign acts, or acts of public authority (actes de puissance publique), or acts of performance (actes de gestion), state accountability is less for the former and, and bigger for the latter. But the biggest responsibility is determined by the norms of civil law in the acts adopted by the state in its property interests"[9].

The appearance of a new theory of professional or industrial risk was brought about by the necessity to prove state accountability, excluding an element of guilt. This concept, with the help of analogy, assumes that state can do harm and even in on a greater rate. Therefore it is necessary to extend accountability of risk to state. State is responsible for harm not due to culpa aquiliana, for legal mistake is a probable case; but due to the risk and danger accompanying judicial activity. Thus, classic element of quilt concerning the type relations not regulated by public law was rejected.

The theory of professional risk formed the basis for laws on accountability for job related accidents, appeared as antipode to the theory of guilt. The latter was an exceptionally and precisely individualized and turned out to be ineffective in determining the question of accountability when harm was done by „the huge machine called state". The principle of solidarity and mutual aid

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[5] Gierke O. *Die Genossenschaftstheoric und die deutshe rechtssprechung.* – Berlin, 1887. – S. 743.

[6] See, in particular: Pfeiffer. *Practische Ausfuhrungen aus alien Thelein der Rechtwissenschaft:* Hannover, 1828,Bd.II.- S. 369.

[7] E.g.: Windscheid. Lehrbuch des Pandectenrechts, # 59.

[8] Гаген В. — *Op. cit.,* p. 25.

[9] Гаген В. *Op. cit.,* p. 25-26.

demands that everyone, in whose interests this machine functions, be involved in compensation of the harm caused"[10].

The referred concept is closely related to the theory of insurant accountability. «The case is viewed as if the state, as a legal person, organized mutual insurance between subordinates against administrative risk. The idea of similar insurance logically stems from the equality before the law and public functions: equality before public functions must be pursued directly in cases, where it is possible to execute it, for example, levying taxes... military service. It should be pursued indirectly with the help of compensation, reward, when public function... is unequally distributed among subordinates"[11].

According to Oriu's conditions of harm indemnification caused to citizens in the sphere of administrative management are of specific character of harm: mistakes and negligent performance are rather rare, and persons, who became their victims, in comparison with other subordinates are in such an unjust situation, which demands indemnification. The latter is public law by its nature and its practical application admits a great flexibility. In our opinion, in comparison with the theories of private and public law, the concept of indemnification suggested by Oriu, has certain advantages. First, it considers indemnification at the expense of state not only at presence of administrative mistake, but also in case of deceit; second, it excludes a direct application of civil law norms to public law phenomenon. Thus, Oriu's concept can be considered as fiction which permits to determine indemnification as paying from the fund of mutual insurance formed by tax-payers[12].

Among the theories of the private law character we can distinguish, primarily, the theory of emergency based on the following principle of civil law: „the one who caused harm, shall compensate it, for the enterprise, which caused harm, was his/her enterprise, the expenses for which must be paid by it"[13].

Arthur Rocco's concept is close to the group of public law character theories which formed state indemnification law in case of a judicial mistake as subjective public law[14]. The starting point for Rocco's theory is the theory of state law developed by Herber, Laband, Ellenik. The founder of German sociological positivism in the field of state law influenced upon A. Rocco

[10] Kohler. *Der Entwurf eines gesetzes Entschadigung.* – 1904. – S. 337-384.

[11] Hauriou. *Op.cit;* See also Klevitz, who considered fisc accountability resulting from insurance agreement.

[12] Гаген В. *Op. cit.*, p. 27-29; Ориу Н. *Основы публичного права.* — М., 1929.

[13] Гумбольт В. *О пределах государственной деятельности.* — М., 2003. — С. 79; See also Алєксєєв Н.Н. in his book «*Идея государства*». — СПб., 2001. – С. 112.

[14] Rokko A. *La riparazione alle vittime degli errori giudtziari* // Rivista penale. – Novembre. – S. 514.

greatly[15]. According to this theory, state as well as its citizens, are subject to positive law. State is considered to be a legal person and a capable subject.

State is a legal person not only in the sphere of private but public law when it acts as fisc: buying, selling, obliging, and while performing public law activities, acting as sovereign, legislator, authority, punitive institution. The legal person of a citizen has the same double character.

He is a subject of law, when acting not only as a private person entering relations with other private persons or state as a subject of private laws, but as a citizen, coming across direct clashes and state-sovereign. The rejection of citizens' subjective public rights is an equivalent of rejecting judicial relation between the state and the citizen and at last the very public law, as legal relations allow the presence of two subjects. Indemnification to victims of judicial mistakes is a legal duty on the part of state and subjective public law on the part of citizen. In accordance with A. Rokko's theory state performs social activities, besides judicial - it interferes into social relations aiming at ensuring well-being in the society by eliminating property inequality, and indemnification of harm to innocent persons.

Some authors tried to build up special accountability of state to assign to public law or grounded it on the public law institute as conversion. Romano, theoretician of administrative law supported applicability of public law state accountability, though it is not included into the norms of written law, but it is in accordance with general principles formed by doctrine and legal practice[16]. First, state is responsible for harm caused by officials; without need for „dolus" or „culpa" in official's actions; second, harm must be caused by illegal act, which, in its turn, must be done by state and by the an official[17].

The other theory was based on the institute of public law conversion and compensation that presupposes special rates for harm done by the state and public enterprises according to the law. In accordance to this theory the principle «qui iure suo utitur neminem laedit „in the field of public law is interpreted differently from that in private law. In public law individuals' desires must concede wherein by public interests and state law demand. At the same time the public corporation, assigning sacrifice inconceivable under normal conditions on private right of individual must compensate or transform it into the benefit"[18]. Such institute of public law is sometimes referred to «as direct accountability" of public corporations and are applied at immovable property expro-

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[15] See. Еллине Г. *Общее учение о государстве.* – СПб.: Юридический центр Пресс, 2004. – 750 с.

[16] See *Государственное право Германии.* Сокращенный перевод немецкого семитомного издания. Т. 1. — М., 1994 – С. 53-62; М., 1994. — С. 220-229.

[17] Romano. *Principi di diritto administrativo italiano.* – Milano, 1901. – S. 50 , 53-56.

[18] Гаген В. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

priation. It may also be used in the case of indemnification to innocently sentenced persons, who are in mass numbers in Eastern Europe.

The theory of moral duty and justice is referred to the third group, concerns only substantiation of state accountability for the harm resulting from judicial mistakes and considers it to be based on charity and in its turn on justice. The basis for the given concept that society (state) has obligation to its members - militia, protection, social care, impartial court - is initial.

The obligation of indemnification is based not only on guilt (culpa), but on the mistake which occurred, injustice, is moral not a judicial one.

The given classification of theories of state accountability for officials' unlawful activity allows to make some generalizations on the theoretical foundation of such accountability proposed by scholars, theoreticians and practitioners in the states of continental system of law. When considering the development of the concepts on state accountability from the historical perspective, one can distinguish between three historical periods of the development.

The first period marked by the domination of an old doctrine justifying state accountability is based upon separate legal provisions, but not on legal principle. While the state attitude to the official and consequences resulting from it are on analogy with other legal relations regulated by positive law.

The second period marked by the discussion of the issue on analogies taken from private law. Mandate relations were especially popular.

The start of the third period is connected with a necessity of state-legal grounding accountability, due to the failure of civil-law analogies. Civilian constructs came to be unacceptable in the field of relations between victim and state concerning citizens' rights renewal. Equaling fisc accountability with that of insurer is unlawful, as the idea of hypothetic distribution of inflicted harm among the population of the state in the form of insurance agreement is artificial.

In the first case the character of harm differs from that of an insured and the rate of payment to the victim is determined not by insurance fees but by significance of the public interest defined by state. The state risk must not be equaled to the entrepreneurs' risk, as interests of the former are not total to interests of personal benefit and profit. The analogy between harm to the third party under urgent necessity and to the innocent citizen at state performing legal actions is also not suitable: indemnification should be considered as a separate task of the state policy and not as a result of preferences given to one of the interests.

The recognition of incapability to absolutize the Roman principle of guilt – a corner stone of the concept of „accountability» in the area of private law relations facilitated recognition of fisc accountability irrespective of officials guilt, who did harm[19]. The number of adherents of state-law substantiation of state accountability has been gradually expanding and at the turn of XXI c. became significant[20].

During the fourth period „indistinct, formless and uncertain aspirations to find the basis for state accountability not in the field of private law but in public one takes a more precise formulation, and finds...its expressions in various theories, which quite often set... a task to link isolated and various cases of state accountability by the uniform principle and fundamentals taken from public law"[21]. Inefficiency of theories of state accountability for its officials' actions at fulfilling state power in governing and justice based on private law fundamentals is clearly revealed due to the legislation development in this field.

The establishment of state obligation to compensate harm to victims of judicial mistakes in Germany[22], Denmark[23], Norway[24], Portugal[25], France[26], Switzerland[27], and Sweden[28] and other countries proved public private character of state accountability for its officials' actions.

The assignment of exclusive (in some countries - initial or subsidiary) accountability to the state underlined policy makers' intention to recede from private law point of view. "The specific feature of this type of accountability for harm in comparison with that used by civil law, is reduced...to the fact that the condition on harm is done not by private persons - one to another but - by authority body to its subordinate corresponds to analogous property relations. Therefore general fundamentals of accountability for harm may be directly borrowed from civilians... and then these common fundamentals must be changed according to the attendant public law element of the referred type of accountability"[29].

Indeed, civil law provisions had a great significance for creating and implementing the theory of fisc accountability for its officials' actions in the field

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[19] Лазаревский Н.Н. *Ответственность за убытки, причиняемые должностными лицами.* — СПб., 1905. — С. 614.

[20] Гомеров И.Н. *Государство и государственная власть.* – М. 2002. – С. 477-486; Рипинский С.Ю. *Имущественная ответственность государства за вред, причиненный предпринимателем.* — СПб.: Юридический центр Пресс, 2002 та ін.

[21] Гаген В. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[22] See: *Конституции государств Европы.* В 3-х томах . Под ред. Л.А. Окунькова. — М.: НОРМА. – 2001. – С. 592.

[23] See: *Op. cit.*, p. 764.

[24] See: *Op.cit.* V. 2. — М.: НОРМА. — 2001. — p. 661.

[25] See: *Op. cit.*, p. 750.

[26] See: *Op. cit.*, V.3. — М.: НОРМА. — 2001. — p. 433-434.

[27] See: *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

[28] See: *Op.cit.*, p. 617-619.

[29] Люблинский П.И. *Процесс как судебный порядок и процесс как правоотношение* // Журнал Министерства Юстиции. — № 1. — 1917. — С. 614.

of justice and govern. The establishment of state accountability in these cases would be much more difficult, if in civil law, as well as in general theory of law, they firmly followed the provisions that accountability with absence of guilt were impossible. Nevertheless a mechanical transference of theories from other sciences into the field of public law relations did not reveal the essence and nature of state legal accountability.

As material and moral harm done by officials' wrong actions, are subjected to compensation in the public interests, public - legal relations between state and citizen cannot meet civilian constructs. Unlawful detention and sentence may cause irreparable harm not only to private, but also the state and public interests. First, breaking of economic relations of the person and society, depriving a person of his/her earnings undermine state economy. Citizens, who are resentful of the state body which deprived them of the source of income, can easily be induced by poverty into committing crimes. Infringement of justice in judicial sphere does not only material harm to the state, because it influences upon citizens' mentality, deforms their sense of justice and causes alienation from the society and brings about disrespect to law and authority. Thus, compensating harm caused, the state protects private interests which have public meaning[30].

To introduce legal basis of fisc accountability for harm done by officials, is necessary to define, besides the purpose of indemnification, the character of legal relations between the official and the citizen; and the state and the official. In the case considered these relations have a public character in contrast to the relations of master and servant, principal and agent. Therefore accountability which results from the present relations is of public law character not of civil-law. The attitude of state to its official in xx c. could not be considered as civil mandate any more, as the official is not a mandator to the sovereign, but body of public authority. Civilian understanding of state service as the relations sovereign employment and absence of the conception on the state as legal person of public law was characteristic of xvii and xvii cc. Therefore conclusions drawn by German jurists of XVII c. who employed civil-law analogies to characterize fisc accountability for officials' actions as accountability ex mandato proved to be inefficient in XX and XVI cc. Certainly, the public law character of the state service cannot be recognized under the conditions when relations of official to sovereign had a personal employment character in reality. The police state of xvii and xviii cc. in Germany, as well as in France, did not recognize inviolability of citizens' public rights, which were not actually perceived at the then time. „The civil law was the only law perceived and enacted at that time. Authority followed the rules, which were rather considered to be habitual

[30] See: *Op.cit.*, p. 614.

technical norms aimed at governing sovereign servants' activity, than legal rights establishing certain limits of authority powers and corresponding rights of citizens in regards to authority"[31]. Public law began to be perceived as the law only in xix c. A change of scholars' views on the construct of state service made application of theories grounding state accountability on the provisions of civil law unacceptable. At present, attempts to substantiate state accountability by its guilt, culpa in eligendo, cannot convince anyone that fisc shall respond for harm inflicted by officials' illegal actions.

Theories that deduce fisc accountability from the insurance contract based on provisions of civil law, do not take into consideration discrepancy of fundamentals of accountability and those of the insurance contract. The insurance contract is a compensating contract, which pursues property interests of the two parties. State accountability for officials' actions does not imply fisc profit. The essence, purpose and relations in this case are absolutely different. Insurance, as the basis for fisc accountability (as well as representation), can rather be considered as comparison. A similar contract is not actually made, as it is difficult to perceive insurance fee in tax payments.

The theory of professional risk can not serve as justification of the fact that harm caused by officials' unlawful actions assigned to fisc either. The state cannot be equaled to the enterprise: state does not receive income from public law activity. Legal relations between employees and the enterprise differ from those between state and its bodies. Along with civilian analogies the specified concept contains public law provisions (inevitability of mistakes in officials' actions requires that consequences of these mistakes be distributed equally among all citizens. Otherwise, justice will be infringed)[32]. Certainly it is impossible to reduce fisc accountability to the fundamentals of harm distribution. It would be so, if every indemnification were reflected by a proportional increase in taxes. Eventually in most cases fisc accountability is practically reduced to distribution of harm. Nevertheless the concept of professional risk (the concept received the name „administrative risk" regarding cases under consideration) is not sufficient for state accountability substantiation.

A specific public law character of state accountability in public law relation cases is confirmed by the fact that along with fisc accountability in fisc cases existed fisc unaccountability in other public cases up to the end of XIX c. The state was not subject to norms of private law. Adherents of the approach that demands for fisc indemnification have a civil character, paid special attention to the fact that fisc accountability was possible only in case of infringed civil interests and victim civil-law sphere, though concerning public law rela-

[31] Лазаревский Н.Н. *Ответственность за убытки, причиняемые должностными лицами.* — СПб., 1905. - С. 183.
[32] The concept was considered by French scholars – Oriu, Laffayer and others.

tions. The fact, that claim for the damage is considered in civil court cannot be a proof of private law nature of legal ground of accountability. Civil court can also hear public law cases for some reason of expediency. The civil jurisdiction does not solve the problem of the basis of legal relations underlying the claim - public or civil. Recognition of the fact that any determination of size of harm – is a question of civil law does not solve the question of private law character of the case.

The issue of the public or civil character of harm caused by bodies of authority, governing and justice is not only a verbal dispute. The purpose of private law is the organization of relations of private persons, while the purpose of public law is the organization of relations of the state - its bodies with citizens. „The institutes of civil law are aimed at mutual relation of separate, independent persons, who pursue personal interests, and sometimes try to carry them out at the other's expense. In this respect establishment of accountability for caused harm quite often plays the role of a bridle... fisc accountability has different assumptions: there are no two parties that want to get into each others' pocket"[33]. Due to the fact that there are legal relations of the non-civil character are in the basis of fisc accountability in public law cases and also that it pursues absolutely a different goal, it is impossible to subordinate it to norms of civil law. The limits and conditions of state accountability must be deduced from fundamentals of public law and regulated by them only.

The corresponding norms may coincide with norms of civil law, include reference to them, and direct to the requirements of civil law on accountability. Public law employs basic provisions of civil law (the concept of harm, order of size harm proof, persons who have the right for indemnification in case of victim's death). Despite their public character, civil jurisdiction of these cases is possible. However, principles of private accountability cannot be transferred onto the state as public authority. The recognition of citizens' public rights as regards the state, which is characteristic of legal state order, is a precondition of the establishment of legal obligation to compensate harm caused to the person at the expense of state treasury. The private law approach to the relations of state with officials formed historically and developed in xix and xx cc has assisted to ignore the state accountability problem by representatives of public law, primarily of all by proponents of administrative and public law for a long time.

At the same time a change of concepts dominating civil law (particularly, extension of duty to be responsible outside the frame of guilt) had a great significance for solution of fisc accountability problem. The refusal from the principle of guilt as single provision of accountability has removed an insuperable judicial obstacle as for establishing provisions, conditions as well as limits

[33] Лазаревский Н.Н. *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

of fisc accountability. Complication of management tasks in the society increased practical significance of fisc accountability.

However, modern doctrine of state accountability for its officials' actions was formulated only due to the recognition of public - law character of citizens' claims for harm compensation caused by state officials in public law cases. Nowadays majority of national legal systems recognize a special public character of state accountability for its officials' unlawful actions. It is confirmed by the content analysis of legislative texts on the renewal of citizens' rights, who suffered in the course of unjust actions of state body in spheres of governing and justice.

Unfortunately, the specific character of public law relations has been insufficiently investigated in modern law studies. The study of theories differentiating private and public law is not of the historical interest only. Reference to the dilemma «public law - private law" allows a better understanding of the essence of state accountability for harm caused by state body activity at public functions fulfilling.

One of the reasons for considering general provisions of civil law as absolute unconditionally employed in the public law relations sphere was a specific organization of law studies at universities of Germany and France of the previous centuries. The Roman law lay the foundation of law education in Germany. All bran chew of law science, general theory of law included were elaborated under the prevailing influence of civil law from civilian point of view. For a long time jurists have not paid any attention to inapplicability of many civilian concepts to public law. Public law became a separate science due to the practice of French administrative courts. Later it influenced German jurisprudence. Together they created the core of European experience securing state accountability for its officials' unlawful actions.

Streszczenie

EUROPEJSKIE DOŚWIADCZENIE GWARANCJI ODPOWIEDZIALNOŚCI PAŃSTWA ZA DZIAŁALNOŚĆ ICH OSÓB URZĘDOWYCH: EWOLUCJA PODEJŚĆ

Autorka przeprowadza analizę doświadczenia państw europejskich, przede wszystkim Niemiec i Francji, stosownie gwarancji odpowiedzialności państwa za działalność swoich osób urzędowych na poszczególnych etapach ich rozwoju historycznego. W referacie naświetlono gruntownie ewolucję podejść podstawowych państw europej-

skich do rozstrzygnięcia tego problemu. Autorka pokazała wyjątkową wartość tego doświadczenia dla państw – młodych członków UE – jak również wykorzystania go w działalności swoich rządów.

PART III

DIRECTIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN NEW GEOPOLITICAL CONDITIONS

THE PRIORITIES OF THE POLISH AND EUROPEAN HIGHER EDUCATION UNTIL 2005

Stanisław MACIOŁ

Warsaw School of Economics

Introduction

Poland is one of 29 European countries which signed on 19 June 1999 the Bologna Declaration for establishing the *European Higher Education Area* by 2010. The Bologna Declaration has six main objectives: adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees (also through the implementation of the Diploma Supplement); adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles (undergraduate and graduate); establishshment of a system of credits (such as European Credit Transfer System – ECTS), promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the free movement of students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff; promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance; promotion of European dimensions in higher education.

On 19 May 2001, Ministers responsible for higher education from countries that signed the Bologna Declaration met in Praque and they agreed to add three new crutial points: lifelong learning, involvement of higher education institutions and students as essential partners in the process of creating and adopting the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), promotion of the attractiveness of the EHEA.

Two years later, on 18-19 September 2003 Ministers of Education from States signatories met in Berlin in order to review the progress achieved since the Praque meeting. Ministers also accepted applications from several countries as new members hence broadening the Bologna Process to 40 European countries (early in Praque, Ministers accepted four new members).

In Berlin, Ministers set precise priorities for the next two years:

- quality assurance
- two-cycle system
- recognition of degrees and period of studies[1].

[1] *Realising the European Higher Education Area. Communiqué of the Conference of Ministers responsible for Higher Education in Berlin on 19 September 2003*, http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/haupt1.htm

This paper presents general characteristics of tertiary education system in Poland and information about how to promote quality assurance systems and adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles.

Current situation of the Polish tertiary education

The current system of tertiary education in Poland has been created basing on three fundamental Legal Acts: the Act of 12 September 1990 on Schools of Higher Education, the Act of 12 September 1990on Academic Titles and Academic Degrees, and the Act of 26 June 1997 on Higher Vocational Schools. Despite the fact that the above Acts have with the time passing been amended several times, their rudimentary provisions have remained unchanged and still determine both the nature and the pace of tertiary education development. In 2004 a project of new law on higher education was prepared by the team of experts specially appointed by Polish President. Its draft has already been debated by academic environment.

Within 1990/91–2002/03 there was an exceptionally dynamic quantitative expansion of higher education: the number of students increased almost four-and-a-half fold – from about 404 thousand to 1,8 million and the percentage of young people within 19-24 years of age attending universities rose by more than three-and-a-half times which was reflected in a growth in net schooling ratio from 9.8% in academic year 1999/2000 to 35.0% in 2002/03 (gross schooling ratio surged from 12.9% to 46.2%).

In 1990 Poland recorded almost 1,050 students per 100,000 inhabitants, whereas France almost 3,000 and Spain over 3,140 students. In 2002 in Poland the number of students per 100,000 inhabitants was almost 4,700; in France – 3,430 and in Spain – 4,600 (1998/99[2]). In this respect as well as in terms of schooling ratio, Poland has reached the level of highly developed countries.

In Poland in academic year 2002/03 there were 377 higher schools (112 in 1990/91). Among them 252 were non-public (non-state) universities in which almost 70 had authorisation to awarding M.A. degrees. In 2002/03 almost 46% of students (824,000) studied at full-times studies whereas 54% were students of evening and part-time studies (about 976,000). At the time non-public universities offered tuition to almost 30% of the total number of undergraduates. 56,100 graduates completed university education in 1990 whereas in 2002 – 342,000 which shows over a six-fold increase in the number. It should be underlined here that the most dynamic development was recorded in case of tertiary economic education. In 1990/01 the number of students of economic faculties amounted to about 42,000 – in 2002/03 the number rose to half-a-million.

[2] *Rocznik Statystyki Międzynarodowej 2003*. GUS, Warszawa 2003, s. 173.

Table 1. Tertiary education in Poland in the academic year 2002/03

Higher schools by type	Number of schools	Number of students (in thousands)
Total	377	1800,5
State higher schools	125	1271,7
Non-state higher education	252	528,8
Universities	17	527,2
Technical universities	22	344,3
Agricultural schools	9	98,1
Schools of economics	94	389,5
Teacher education schools	17	138,9
Medical academies	10	37,7
Maritime schools	2	12,4
Academies of physical educadion	6	23,7
Schools of arts	22	14,1
Schools theology	14	10,1
Higher vocational schools	128	130,1
Other	36	74,4

Source: Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse w 2003 r. GUS, Warszawa 2003.

A several - fold increase in the number of undergraduates was not accompanied by a substantial rise in the number of faculty members (teachers). Within the period under review their number increased by about one-third only, i.e. from 64,500 to 88,500 which could have affected the quality of education. This could be also proved by the fact that in 1990 there were about 6 students per one teacher while in the year 2002 – almost 20 undergraduates.

Within the last decade the share of public spending for tertiary education in Poland, measured by the share of GDP spending levelled at approximately 0.8% (1993 – 0.82%, 1994 – 0.78%, 1995 – 0.75%, 1996 – 0.83%, 1997 – 0.8%, 1998 – 0.77%, 1999 – 0.82%, 2000 – 0.78%, 2001 – 0.89%, 2002 – 0.88%; in 2001 and 2002 there was a change to the method of GDP estimation). The above could be compared with public and private spending on tertiary education in 1999 in European countries where it amounted to: Sweden – 1.7% GDP, Denmark – 1.6%, Ireland – 1.4%, Holland – 1.3%, France, Spain, Germany and Great Britain – 1.1% of their GDP[3].

[3] *Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse w 2002 r.* GUS, Warszawa 2003, p. 664.

Table 2. Most popular university majors in academic year 2002/03

Ranking	Name of university major	Number of students
1	Management and marketing	252,466
2	Pedagogy	146,168
3	Economics	123,635
4	Administration	90,645
5	Information technology	62,287
6	Law	58,812
7	Finance and banking	55,670
8	Politology and social science	52,883
9	Foreign philology	48,597
10	Mechanics and machinery construction	45,555

Source: Data of Ministry of National Education and Sport; http://www.menis.gov.pl/szk-wyz/kierunki/kierunki.htm

Nowadays, in Poland the major of study – *management and marketing* is the most popular among undergraduates (over 252,000 students), followed by *pedagogy* (over 146,000), *economics* (almost 124,000) and *administration* (almost 91,000). *Information technology*, *law, finance and banking* are also very attractive to students (5 th - 7th position in the ranking; table 2).

Quality Assurance

European University Association confirmed that „quality assurance is a major issue in the Bologna Process, and its importance is increasing"[4]. Quality assurance in higher education has three levels: institutional, national and European. As the report *Trends 2003* shows, all European countries have established or are about to establish agencies which are responsible for external quality control. 80% of higher education institutions in Europe currently undergo quality assurence procedures (quality evaluation or accreditation)[5]. Moreover 82% of the heads of higher education institutions reported that they have internal procedures to monitor the quality of teaching, 53% also have internal procedures to monitor the quality of research. Only 9% of universities do not have internal quality assurance mechanisms[6]. In some countries, especially in Poland,

[4] *Forward from Berlin: the role of univerities*, European University Association, Leuven, 4 July 2003.

[5] *Trends 2003* prepared with the support of the European Commiss through the Socrates Programme, on the occasion of Conference of European Ministers responsible for Higher Education in Berlin. The report includes opinion: goverments, national rectors′ conferences, head of higher education institutions and students. S. Reichert, C. Tauch, *Trends 2003. Progress towards the European Higher Education Area,* EUA, European Commission, July 2003, p. 77.

[6] *Trends 2003*, op. cit., p. 82.

these internal quality procedures are not yet complicated. Generally, they include students' opinions about lectures.

During the Ministerial Conference held in Berlin, Ministers have agreed by 2005 national quality assurance systems should include:
- a definition of the responsibilities of the bodies and institutions involved
- evaluation of programmes or institutions, including internal assessment
- external review, participation of students and the publication of results
- a system of accreditation, certification or comparable procedures
- international participation, co-operation and networking[7].

In Poland since 1 January 2002 the State Accreditation Commission has been responsible for the improvement of teaching quality and has controlled the quality of education in several institutions. The appraisal carried out by the State Accreditation Commission is obligatory and its negative assessment (until 2003, 18 negative assessments have been made, 102-conditional ones, and 271-positive ones) entails the Minister of National Education and Sport decision to be issued concerning the recalling or suspending of the licence to pursue higher educational activity at a set level and in a specified field. The quality assessment is also carried out by internal boards of certain types of higher schools (e.g. the University Accreditation Commission, the Accreditation Commission of Foundation of Promotion and Accreditation of Economic Faculties, the Accreditation Commission of Medical Academies). However, being assessed by such boards is voluntary and subject to a fee. Basing on the experiences of the Western countries' education, it can be said that accreditation is a good mechanism for assuring minimum standards of education.

Two-cycle education system

One of the goals of Bologna Declaration is: „adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles, undegraduate and graduate. Access to the second cycle shall require successful completion of first cycle studies, lasting a minimum of three years, the degree awarded after the first cycle shall also be relevant to the European labour market and/or doctorate degrees as in many European countries". The first degree (Bachelor) should carry between 180 and 240 ECTS (which equals to 3 to 4 years of full-time study) and the second degree (Master) – 120 ECTS (minimum 60 ECTS).

According to the report *Trends 2003*, about 40 % of the ministries reported that there was a two-cycle structure in their countries even before the Bologna Declaration. Other countries were introducing the two cycles as a result of the Bologna discussions. Certain countries declared that they do not have

[7] *Realising the...*,op. cit.

two-cycle structure yet but that the introduction is planned (e.g. Hungary, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland)[8].

In Poland the structure based on two main cycles has existed since 1990 when it became possible for higher schools to offer higher vocational studies leading to a Bachelor`s degree which could be followed by a Master`s degree. The title *licencjat* was introduced by legislation in 1992[9]. Graduates from three-year higher vocational schools obtain only the title *licencjat*. Two cycles education is very popular in part-time studies contrary to full time studies. The new Act on Schools of Higher Education that will introduce obligatory two cycle studies (apart from medicine, law, theology) have to be accepted by the Parlament. The General Council for Higher Education is responsible for preparing a new definition of fields of study and new standards in two cycle education – undergraduate and graduate. The Polish university environment expects that it will be successfully completed in academic year 2004/05.

It should be emphasized that the Bologna Process has already taken into account introducing a three-level-system, the doctoral level being the third.

Conclusion

In the years to come the Polish university education will undergo a stage of sorting out its market segment and giving top priority to quality of education[10]. In terms of demographic aspects, the number of students will gradually fall. Firstly, it will be noticeable in part-time studies which are subject to tuition fee. Consequently, not only non-public universities will suffer financial problems. The activity of the State Accreditation Commission is also likely to speed up a collapse of private higher schools and limit the scope of education at some faculties at public universities.

The Polish higher schools ought to adopt quickly the European Credit Transfer System. Currently only 120 higher educational institutions have introduced ECTS at some of their faculties[11] because ECTS is not yet mandatory and institutions are autonomous. In Poland from 2004/05 onwards, the Diploma Supplement will be obligatory annexed to all universities and other higher schools. The Supplement will contain full information about studies completed and the educational and vocational qualifications. Hence, the Bologna Process has a positive influence on quality of Polish higher education.

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[8] *Trends 2003*, op. cit., p. 45-46.

[9] *Focus on the Structure of Higher Education in Europe 2003/04. National Trends in the Bologna Process*. Eurydice, Brussels 2003, p. 72.

[10] M. Rocki, S. Macioł, *Polish Tertiary Economic Education System – Current Situation and Development Prospects*. ORSE SGH, Warszawa 2004 (copied material).

[11] *Focus on...*, op.cit., p. 72.

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Streszczenie

PRIORYTETY POLSKIEGO I EUROPEJSKIEGO SZKOLNICTWA WYŻSZEGO DO ROKU 2005

Artykuł przedstawia ogólną charakterystykę systemu szkolnictwa wyższego w Polsce oraz informacje odnośnie tego jak można promować systemy zabezpieczenia jakości i dostosowanie systemu opartego zasadniczo na dwóch głównych etapach kształcenia. W dniach 18-19 września 2003 r. ministrowie edukacji z krajów-sygnatariuszy umowy bolońskiej spotkali się w Berlinie, aby dokonać przeglądu postępu osiągniętego od spotkania w Pradze (2001). W Berlinie ministrowie ustalili szczegółowe priorytety na dwa kolejne lata: zabezpieczenie jakości, system dwuetapowy, uznawanie stopni naukowych i okres trwania studiów.

Zgodnie z raportem *Trends 2003 (Trendy 2003)*, wszystkie państwa europejskie ustanowiły lub mają właśnie ustanowić organy odpowiedzialne za wewnętrzną kontrolę jakości. W Polsce od 1 stycznia 2002 r. Państwowa Komisja Akredytacyjna odpowiada za poprawę jakości nauczania i skontrolowała jakość kształcenia w kilku instytucjach. Ok. 40% ministerstw, według sondaży autorów raportu *Trends 2003*, zgłaszało, że w ich krajach istniała struktura dwuetapowa jeszcze przed podpisaniem deklaracji bolońskiej. Inne kraje wprowadzają dwa etapy w wyniku rozmów w Bolonii. W Polsce nowa ustawa o szkolnictwie wyższym, która wprowadzi obowiązkowe dwa etapy stu-

diów (poza medycyną, prawem i teologią) musi zostać przyjęta przez parlament. Rada Główna Szkolnictwa Wyższego odpowiada za przygotowanie nowej definicji kierunków studiów i nowych standardów dla szkolnictwa dwuetapowego – licencjackiego i magisterskiego. Polskie środowisko uniwersyteckie oczekuje, że zostanie to szczęśliwie zakończone w roku akademickim 2004/05.

THE STATE OF NATURAL ENVIRONMENT IN POLAND ON THE DAY OF ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION – THE OPENING ACCOUNT

Marek DEGÓRSKI

Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw

1. Introduction

A great many opinions have been formulated in the recent years concerning the state of the natural environment in Poland, frequently highly divergent ones (Degórski, 2000 and 2003). The reasons for the so diverging assessments of the sanitary state of the environment in our country should be sought, on the one hand, in the low degree of representativeness of the respective study areas in relation to the regions or the territory of the entire country, and on the other hand – in the highly negative opinions, having been nurtured over the years, which assumed the role of the stereotypes, uncritically repeated, and thus made popular. The opinions voiced had in normative terms an almost catastrophic character.

It is of course beyond any doubt that the period of the bygone system left behind many problems associated with the quality of the environment, which have to be resolved as soon as possible. The activities oriented at the improvement of the environmental quality ought therefore liquidate the effects of the neglect from the past years and rectify the functioning of the environment. The issues connected with the correct functioning of the natural system in Poland were, in particular, articulated in the chapter on „Environment" of the Accession Treaty, signed by Poland in 2002, along with the transition periods granted Poland for the resolution of these problems in accordance with the criteria stipulated by the existing directives of the European Union.

The purpose of the present paper is to attempt an evaluation of the state of environment in Poland on the day of accession to the European Union, showing both the strong and weak points of the Polish natural space and presenting the efforts of the Polish side in harmonising Polish environmental standards with the ones of the Community. Hence, this report constitutes a kind of synthetic opening balance sheet concerning Polish natural space on the day of accession to the European Union.

2. Evaluation of selected elements of the environment

To the evaluation of environmental conditions of Poland some elements was selected into analyse. It is air and water quality, forest conditions as well as soil properties.

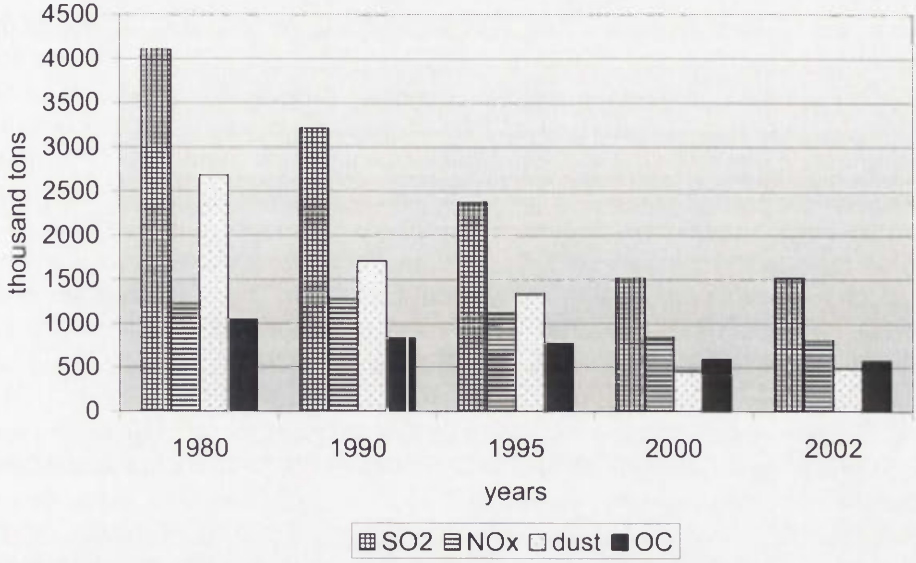
2.1. Air

Elimination of numerous industrial plants, emitting pollution to the atmosphere, on the one hand, and intensive realisation of the investment projects in the field of protection of air quality during the last ten years on the other, entailed the reduction of the emissions of dust to the atmosphere in relation to 1988 by 65% and of sulphur dioxide by 45% (Fig. 1). The average efficiency of the scrubbing facilities in Polish power industry amounts nowadays to 95.5%. These devices are being constantly improved. Limitation of the emissions to the atmosphere eliminated the catastrophic situations. Such notions as, for instance, „the Black Triangle", lost their meaning. There are only two components that do not display a rapid emission decrease: carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxides. Emissions of these gases are lower by 25-30% than in 1988 (*Ochrona Środowiska...*, 2003). The greatest problem in the improvement of air quality in Poland is still constituted by the structure of fuels used in power generation and in the so-called low emissions (domination of the non-renewable solid fuels burned in thermal power plants), and by the development of road transport, along with the associated process of fuel production and storage. These problems found their reflection in the transitory periods granted Poland for the implementation of obligations pertaining to:

- Directive 99/32/EC, dealing with reduction of sulphur contents in liquid fuels (transitory period until 31 December 2006)
- Directive 94/63/EC, dealing with control of emissions of the volatile organic compounds resulting from the storage of gasolines and their distribution from the terminals to the service stations (transitory period until 31 December 2005)
- Directive 96/61/EC, dealing with integrated prevention and control of pollution (transitory period until 31 December 2010).

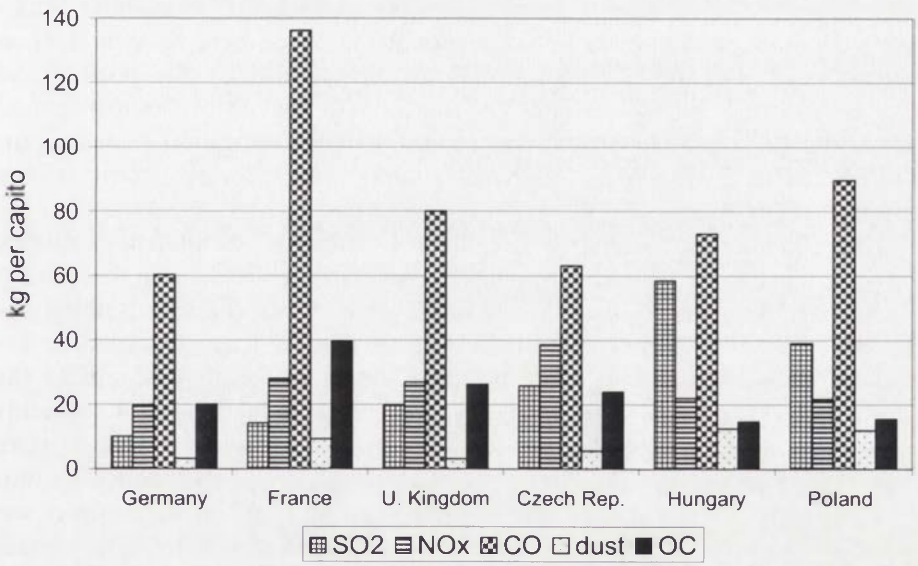
Nevertheless, it have to point out that level of emission of many components in Poland is similar to many European countries, and concerning some of them e.g. organic compounds is more smaller (Fig. 2).

Fig. 1. Total emission of main air pollutants in Poland during the period of 1980-2002



(SO_2 – sulphur dioxide, NO – nitrogen oxide, OC – organic components)

Fig. 2. Total emission of main air pollutants in selected countries in 2002



(SO_2 – sulphur dioxide, NO – nitrogen oxide, CO – carbon oxide, OC – organic components)

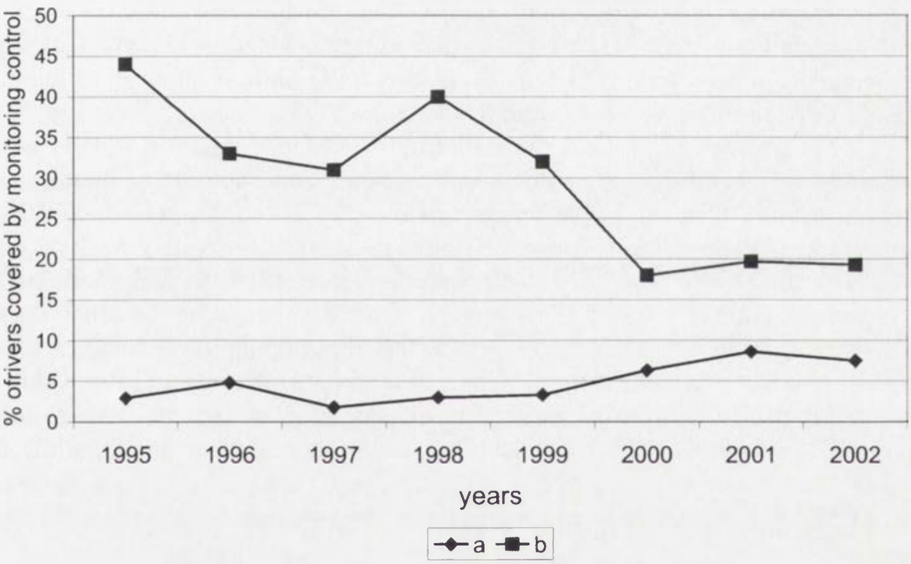
2.2. Surface and underground waters

The surface water resources in Poland, whose magnitude is defined as the mean annual outflow, fluctuated in the years 1991-2000 between 39.4 cu. km and 70.4 cu. km, yielding the average volume of surface water resources in the last decade of the 20^{th} century equal 54.2 cu. km per annum. In per capita terms this is equivalent to only 1390 cu. m per annum. This is more than three times less than on the average in Europe (4560 cu. m per annum). In addition, very limited capacity of the artificial reservoirs (3.6 cu. km), given the high variability of surface water resources over time, makes rational water economy very difficult. Further, the resources of underground waters (16.1 cu. km) are quite limited, and 35% of them are situated in very deep aquifers.

That is why the improvement of the water retention situation should become one of the priorities of the ecological policy of our country. This is insofar even more justified as due to the increasingly frequent weather anomalies and flood phenomena, retention should actively serve two purposes in terms of discharges: protection against floods and securing of minimum flows during droughts. The most advantageous concept of enhancement of surface water resources is to establish the small retention network, especially in mountainous areas, that is – the cascades of small reservoirs, delaying the runoff towards the sea, and simultaneously constituting water reserves useful for many other purposes, like creation of tourist function around the reservoirs, or hydropower generation. The use of water resources for power generation is in Poland marginal in comparison with other European countries. Thus, there were in 2000 on the territory of Poland 126 hydropower stations owned by the professional power engineering enterprises and 399 small plants owned by companies and private persons (*Ochrona Środowiska...*, 2003). All these power stations produced altogether 2102 GWh, which constituted only 1.8% of electric energy produced in the country.

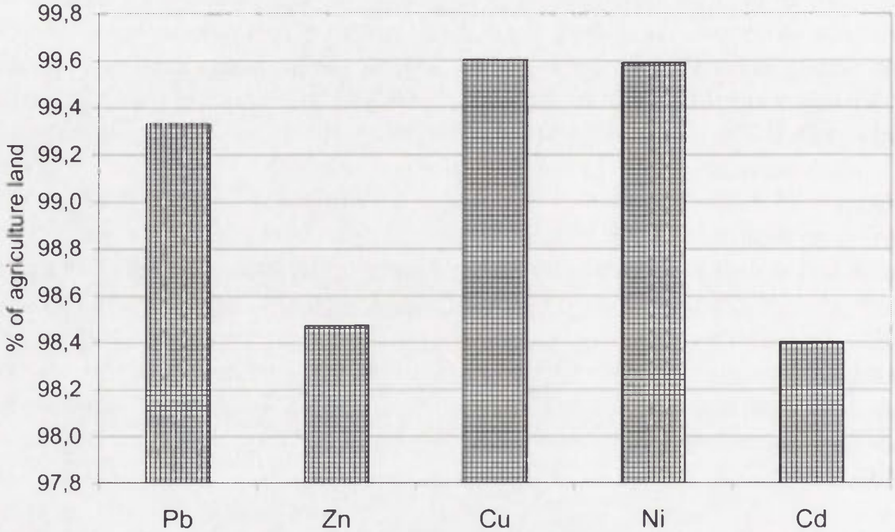
Additionally, one of the basic causes of difficulties in the use of surface waters for the municipal, industrial and tourist purposes is their sanitary state. This concerns particularly the flowing waters, which are characterised by significant degree of pollution, even though there is a tendency towards the decrease of the share of excessively polluted waters in the total length of the monitored river stretches, as well as a slow increase of the length of segments belonging to the 1^{st}, highest purity class (Fig. 3). We will be able to state whether the changes towards the improvement of quality of surface waters turn out to be persistent only in a couple of years from now. When we compare the catchment areas of Vistula and Odra, the main Polish rivers, though, we can state that water quality is definitely better in the watershed area of Vistula. In terms of the physical-chemical criteria the highest quality (1^{st} class) waters constituted in the catchment area of Vistula 9.4% of the total length of the monitored river stretches, while the excessively polluted waters – 13.8%. At the same time, the 1st purity class waters made up in the watershed area of Odra only 2.6% of the total monitored length. Similar differences are observed for the biological criterion. Thus, with respect to this criterion there are no 1st quality class waters in both catchment areas, while water of 2nd purity class constitute in the Vistula watershed 7.3% of the total monitored length and in the Odra watershed – only 0.7%. The biologically excessively polluted waters in the watershed of Vistula make up 46.9% of the total monitored length, while in the watershed of Odra – 75.0%. Water quality in Polish lakes is also bad. Only 2% of the total number of monitored lakes (99) belonged in 1999 to the 1st purity class, while 23.2% had waters not classified in any of the purity classes. The 2nd and the 3rd purity classes dominated in this set of lakes, with the shares of 40.4% and 34.4%, respectively. The average values obtained from the monitoring of lake purity carried out in the years 1994-1998 in 440 lakes of more than 50 hectares of surface area each showed that there were only 12 lakes in the 1st purity class (2.72% of the set), while 92 lakes (20.9%) could not be classified in any of the purity classes.

Fig. 3. Purity state of rivers covered by elementary monitoring control by physical and chemical criterion



(a – first class of purity b – out of purity classification)

Fig. 4. Area of agricultural land free of content of heavy metals in surface stratum of soil (0-20 cm) in 2002.



The situation is much better in the case of groundwater and deep aquifers, which are characterised by good quality. Thus, in the year 2000 as much as 60.9% of all groundwater was classified in class 1, while 23.8% - in class 3. Water from the Cretaceous horizon obtained the highest quality evaluations: 71.5% of water in class 1 (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003).

The primary reason for the pollution of surface waters in Poland is the unsatisfactory condition of wastewater treatment. Total volume of liquid waste discharged to Polish surface waters equals roughly 2.5 cu. km, of which 0.3 cu. km is not treated, while 0.7 cu. km is only mechanically treated. In 2002 only 54.7% of the population of Poland were serviced by water treatment plants (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). This share is much higher among the urban dwellers, exceeding 80%, while with respect to the rural population it amounts to not quite 13%. Similarly, there is a high differentiation of this indicator value in space. The best situation is observed in the Pomeranian province, where more than 87% of inhabitants are serviced by the water treatment plants, while the worst situation exists in central-eastern Poland (the provinces of Masovia, Lublin, Holy Cross, Subcarpathia and Little Poland), where this share falls below 50%.

With respect to the EU directives, referring to water quality, Poland was granted the following transitory periods:

- Directive 91/271/EEC dealing with purification of municipal wastewater:

- with respect to the systems of collective sewage for urban centres with more than 10,000 of inhabitants (transitory period until 31 December 2008), for the urban centres with the number of inhabitants between 2,000 and 10,000 (transitory period until 31 December 2015),
- with respect to wastewater treatment plants the transitory periods amounting to between 8 and 13 years (until 31 December 2015), depending upon the magnitude of the urban centre,
- with respect to the wastewater treatment plants in the enterprises of agricultural and food economy (transitory period until 31 December 2010)

• Directive 76/464/EEC dealing with pollution caused by some substances emitted to aquatic environments, as well as the „daughter" directives, concerning individual dangerous substances (transitory period until 31 December 2007).

2.3. Soils

Soils belong among the most important elements of Polish space, and this in view of multiple functions that soils fulfil in the environment. In terms of Polish soil quality classification medium quality soils dominate in Poland (quality classes IVa and IVb), covering, respectively 22.5% and 16.8% of the total area. We have very little of the very good soils, i.e. of quality classes I and II, namely 0.5% and 3.2%, respectively. This situation constitutes an important barrier to agricultural production. The additional negative factors limiting the edaphic value of soils are the fact that they are threatened with erosion, their low buffer capacity and their acidity (Józefaciuk, Kern 1988; Degórski 1995). The potential threat from wind erosion of the agriculturally utilised soils encompasses 86,300 sq. km, i.e. 27.6% of the total area of agricultural land, with 10.3% being subject to medium or strong degree of threat (Degórski 1995). There is also a similar hazard concerning agricultural and forested soils with respect to surface water erosion. The total area subject to this hazard in Poland amounts to 89,100 sq. km, that is – 28.5% of the total area of agricultural and forest soils, while 14.7% of this area is subject to medium and strong hazard (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). The hazard from the side of the gulliform water erosion of agricultural and forest soils has a different spatial distribution. Yet, on the scale of the entire country some 54,700 sq. km are subject to this hazard, equivalent to 17.5% of the total of agricultural and forest soils.

On the other hand, the sanitary state of Polish soils is good. Concerning the contents of the basic heavy metals (plumb, zinc, copper, nickel and cadmium) between 98.5% and 99.6% of the total area of soils is classified in the contamination classes 0 and 1, meaning that they are free of contamination with these metals (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003).

2.4. Forests

The forest resources of Poland consist of the forest complexes occupying close to 28.8% of the area of our country. According to the *Report on the state of forests in Poland* (1999) pine forests dominate in the forest structure in Poland, appearing on 60.6% of the forest area. The specie composition of the stands is dominated by the coniferous species (76.8% of the forest area and 78.3% of the volume), mainly Scots pine. In the age structure of the forests young stands take the leading share, the ones belonging to classes II (21-40 years) and III (41-60 years) occupying, respectively, 23.8% and 22.5% of the surface of all forests. The stands older than 100 years take 6.1% of area in the forests belonging to the State Forest service, which corresponds to 10.6% of volume of the wood resources. The increase of the share of stands older than 80 years is very slow. Yet, it should be emphasised that the average age of stands in the forests administered by the State Forest service equals 57 years, while in the private forests only 40 years. During the recent years a tendency developed in Polish forests of the increase of the big timber's gross volume. The increase of the total wood resources in Poland took place owing to the limitation in felling (the ratio of exploitation to natural increment is maintained at the level of roughly 55%) and the consistent extension of the forest area (Fig. 5). In the year 2000 the estimated wood resources in the forests amounted to 1,7 billion cu. m (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). A very negative phenomenon in the case of Polish forests is their persisting poor health status. According to the monitoring of the forest health conducted in Europe (*Forest Condition in Europe* 2000) the assessment concerning all the tree species shows that only four countries have more important damages of their tree stands: Italy, Bulgaria, Czechia and Ukraine. Yet, a significant improvement of the health status of the Polish forests has been observed in the recent years. The share of the damaged trees, evaluated as belonging to the defoliation classes 2 through 4 in the total volume of trees decreased from 52.6% in 1995 to 31.6% in 2002 (Fig. 6). A tendency has been taking shape, as well, during the recent years, towards the decrease of disproportion of the health condition between the forests in the northern and southern parts of Poland, caused by the improvement of the health condition of forests in the southern part of the country (Wawrzoniak, Małachowska 2001). Still, the worst defoliation indicators are observed in the Silesian and Little Polish provinces in the South, while the best health status is observed in the stands of the Podlasie, Western Pomeranian, Pomeranian and Lubusza provinces. The improvement of the health condition of Polish forests is certainly the consequence of the already mentioned improvement of the sanitary state of the air.

Fig. 5. Amount of afforestation
(a – total area of afforestation, b – area of afforestation by State Forest Service).

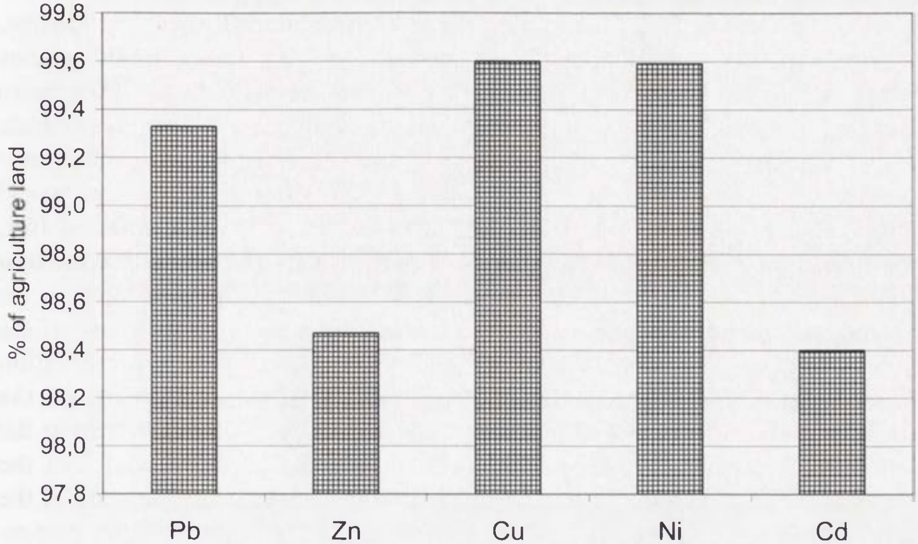
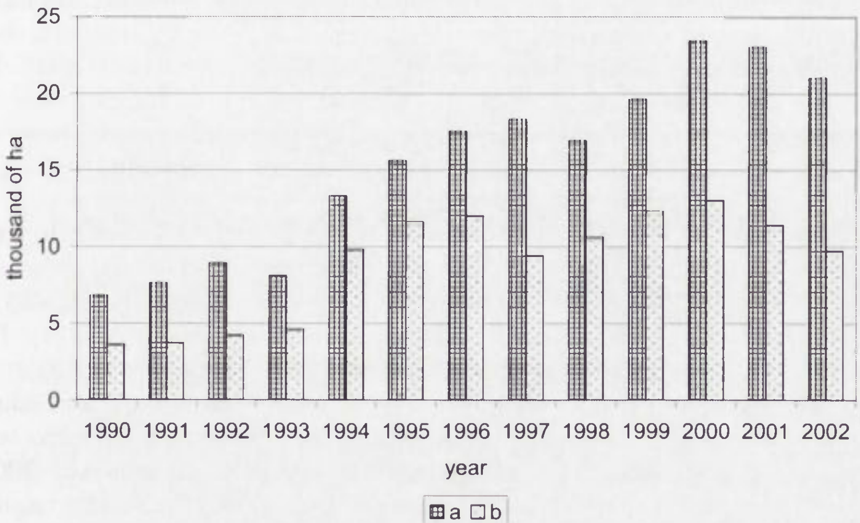


Fig. 6. Trend of changes in state of trees damages (>25%) for all species in Poland during the period of 1995-2002



3. Protection of biological diversity and legal protection of natural environment

Biodiversity in Poland is among the most pronounced in central Europe, especially in the domain of forest biocoenoses. There are some 10,000 species of algae in Poland, 4,000 species of fungi, 1,500 species of lichens, 700 species of mosses and more than 2,300 species of vascular plants. The invertebrate fauna encompasses some 33,000 of species, and there are close to 600 vertebrate species. The world of birds contains 418 species, while the world of mammals – 84 species. Besides, Poland is the home to 48 species of fish, nine species of reptiles and 18 species of amphibians (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003).

Legal protection is one of the instruments for preserving diversity of the natural resources. The primary tasks of legal protection consist in preservation of the natural biological processes and the stability of the ecosystems on the protected areas, preservation of biodiversity and geological legacy, securing the continuity of existence of the species, formation of the proper attitudes of the population with respect to nature and reconstruction of the adequate state of the nature's resources and components. A well functioning system of area protection guarantees, as well, an effective and maximum realisation of the objectives of nature protection. Area of special nature value has increased during tha last 20 years (Fig. 7). In 2002 the system encompassed 23 national parks (3,15 sq. km), 120 landscape parks (24,86 sq. km), 409 areas of protected landscape (72,71 sq. km) and 1354 nature reserves (1,49 sq. km). Side by side with these areas there are in Poland 6728 ecological plots, 104 documentation sites, 184 nature-and-landscape complexes and 33882 monuments of nature (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). The distribution of the legally protected areas is, however, uneven across the country, which is the consequence of the potential of the geographical environment in Poland (Fig. 8).

Adequate effectiveness of functioning of the areas most valuable in terms of nature, that is, the national parks, necessitates putting in order land ownership on these areas. In 2002 of 3,15 sq. km occupied by the national parks, 485 sq. km belonged to private owners or to owners other than the State Treasury. Partial protection dominates in the structure of protection categories in Polish national parks. National parks play also an important role in tourism and education, side by side with the nature protection function. Polish national parks were visited in 2002 by about 11 million tourists (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). An increasing interest in the protected areas from the side of the society requires the development of tourist infrastructure on the territory of parks, not threatening the fundamental function, that is – protection of the nature's most valuable objects.

Fig. 7. Changes in area of special nature value protected by law in Poland during 1980-2002

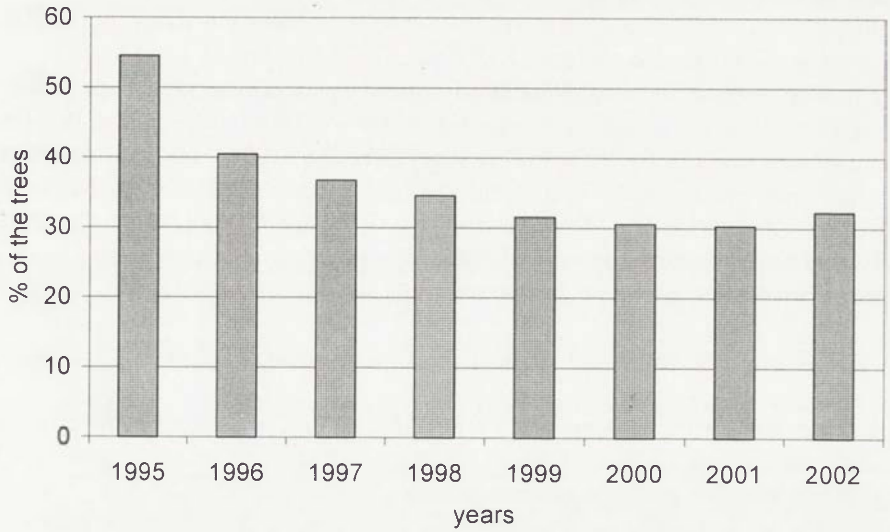
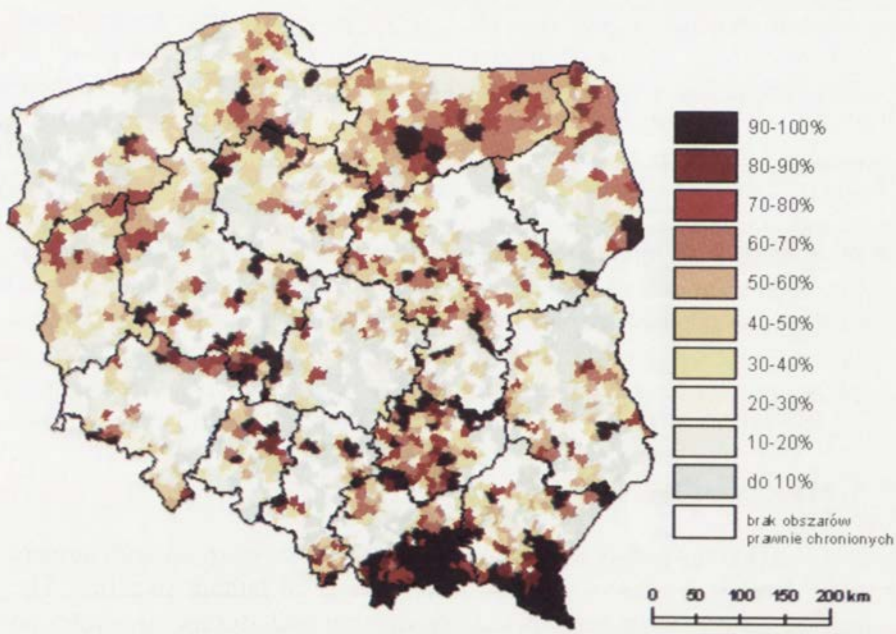


Fig. 8. Content of protected area in the total area of commune in 2000 (according to Węcławowicz et al., 2002)



The system NATURA 2000 constitutes an instrument closely associated with the spatial, regional and structural policy of the European Union, allowing for the protection of the most valuable elements of nature. The system, established on the basis of the directive EC/43/92 constitutes a sovereign initiative of the Union. It became obligatory in Poland at the instant of accession.

Concerning the management of natural space at the landscape level the countries of the European Union are bound by the stipulations of the Pan European Landscape and Biodiversity Strategy (PELBS, 1995), the European Landscape Convention (ELC, 2000) and the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP, 1999). The membership in the EU requires from Poland a clearly defined spatial system of landscape protection, which would fulfil the twofold protection needs, related to nature and to cultural heritage.

4. The strong and the weak sides of the Polish natural space

Conform to the concept of harmonious and sustainable development, Polish natural space constitutes an element, which can serve to generate the socio-economic development, and which is not fully utilised yet. Likewise, activities are necessary for strengthening the strong sides of Polish nature and for evening out or liquidation of the weak sides. The most important of the strong sides include (1) the differentiated surface relief, (2) a significant share of forest areas in total area of the country, (3) a high biodiversity of the forest, meadow and field ecosystems, (4) a high typological diversity of the soil cover, (5) an important fertility potential of soils, (6) a high degree of purity of soils in terms of the heavy metal contents, (7) a large number of lakes, (8) the long and sandy seacoast, (9) the landscape diversity (with numerous objects of material culture heritage as the abiotic component and the legally protected natural objects). On the other hand, the weak sides include: (1) a poor sanitary state of surface waters, (2) small water resources and low retention capacity, (3) flood hazard, existing in both the watershed areas of Vistula and Odra rivers, (4) low degree of use of the renewable energy sources and intensive extraction of the non-renewable resources, (5) despite an improvement, poor health status of the forest stands, (6) young age of trees in the forests, (7) low compactness of the forest areas, (8) high potential threat with wind and water erosion of soils, (9) low buffer capacity of a large portion of the soil cover.

5. Main hazards for the environment

Relations between man and environment are charged with numerous hazards, brought by the civilisation development of human societies. The fundamental sources of hazard include production and storage of waste, noise and ionising radiation.

5.1. Waste production and utilisation

Minimisation of the volume of waste produced and conduct of a rational economy of this waste have been for years among the most important directions of environmental protection in the highly developed countries. This is due to the associated potential hazard with respect to all the elements of the environment: surface of the earth, surface and underground waters, and air. Environmental hazard occurs at practically all the phases of waste economy, starting with their production and accumulation, through transport, re-utilisation and neutralisation, and ultimately the final storage in dumps.

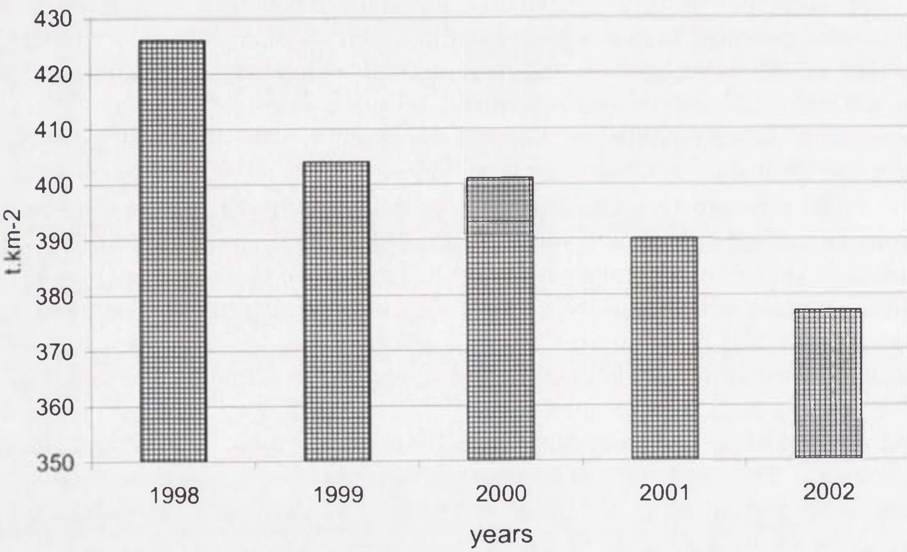
The advance in waste economy in Poland is much smaller than in the protection of the atmosphere and waters. Despite the decrease of waste production in Poland from 430 tons per sq. km in 1998 down to 378 tons per sq. km in 2002, meaning a decrease by 80 kg per capita per annum (Fig. 9a), the total amount of waste is still on the increase. As of the end of December 2002 the volume of waste accumulated in Poland amounted to 2.1 billion tons (Fig. 9b). One of the causes of this situation is also low use of waste for both industrial and non-industrial use (recycling), which amounts, on the annual scale, to, respectively, 51% and 49% (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). The most common manner of getting rid of the waste is to dump it. Until today no solution was found for the neutralisation of the pesticide waste stored in some 350 identified covered dumps. Likewise, the issue of the industrial dumps, which frequently constitute pollution hazard for the underground waters, has not been positively resolved (Węcławowicz et al. 2002).

Realisation of the programs of improvement of the situation in storage and utilisation of waste is also the consequence of the obligations adopted in the negotiations concerning the accession of Poland to the EU. In more detail, this applies to:

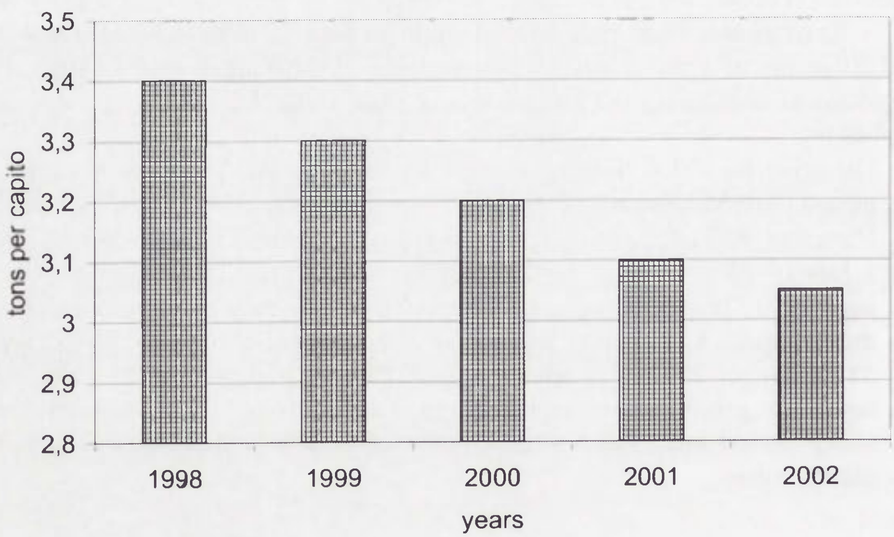
- Directive 94/62/EC dealing with packaging and package waste (transitory period until 31 December 2007),
- Directive 99/31/EC dealing with storage of waste (transitory period until 1 July 2012)
- Instruction 259/93/EC on supervision and control of waste transport within the European Community and to the outside areas (transitory period until 31 December 2007). For some groups of waste, meant for re-use, from the so-called „green and orange list" there is a possibility of extending the transitory period until 2012 after a preliminary justification with respect to plastic waste.

Fig. 9. Trend of waste generated during a year in the period of 1998 – 2002
(a – per km^2 b – per capito)

a)



b)



5.2. Noise

Side by side with waste, noise constitutes the second most important environmental hazard in terms of health effects. The state of acoustic climate in towns undergoes progressing worsening, this being the consequence of the systematic increase of pressure from vehicle ownership and use, increase of the travel speed of vehicles and construction of new streets and roads. Consequently, road noise reaches the areas free of this phenomenon until now. The increase of noise in Poland is due to an extremely rapid growth of car ownership, coupled with the worsening condition of road surfaces. There has been a steep growth of intensity of the road cargo and passenger transport, both in terms of the local traffic and the transit traffic over international connections. It is estimated that the reach of the arduous impact from the road transport affects approximately 15 million people in Poland. The forecasts of the traffic indicate that further increase of traffic intensity ought to be taken into consideration (Węcławowicz et al. 2002).

The hazard from railway noise is much less of a problem. It applies to a bit more than 1 million inhabitants of Poland. The situation is worse, though, with respect to the levels of noise in the vicinity of civil and military airports. Air traffic, which is still relatively little intensive, has a tendency towards rapid growth, which may entail an even quicker worsening of the acoustic climate in the neighbourhood of the airfields (Węcławowicz et al. 2002). The issue emerges, as well, of the threat to acoustic climate from the side of sport, service, occasional, sanitary and tourist aviation (sightseeing flights, etc.). The aircraft used for this kind of purpose operate usually at relatively low altitudes, and their landing grounds are frequently situated close to residential housing, requiring protection against noise.

The recent years brought a slowdown in the upward trend as to the pressure from industrial noise on the state of acoustic climate. This is caused, on the one hand, by the application of effective means of protection against noise by the existing industrial plants, and on the other hand – by the bankruptcy of some of the most onerous industrial plants. The restructuring of the economy, though, brings also a negative side effect in the domain of protection against noise, which is associated with the appearance of the facilities featuring relatively low acoustic emissions, but located closer and closer to the residential structures. Despite installation of modern equipment these facilities produce an excess emission of noise to the environment. Such facilities include mainly commercial objects, like wholesale centres, and in particular the large shopping malls.

According to the survey conducted by the public opinion bureau CBOP in August 1999, 42% of respondents declared that they were annoyed by the onerous noise in their place of residence (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003).

5.3. Ionising radiation

Ionising radiation – essentially the X-ray and nuclear radiation – causes directly or indirectly ionisation of the atoms and particles. This radiation is harmful for living organisms (Skłodowska, Gostkowska 1994; Hrynkiewicz 2001). The ionising radiation occurs also in natural conditions (deposits of the radioactive minerals), but may, as well, be the effect of the incidents in nuclear power plants, or of the improperly functioning medical equipment. The regulation of activities aiming at the protection of the society against the ionising radiation is defined in the Directive 97/43/Euratom, dealing with protection against radiation originating from the medical sources, which is obligatory for Poland, though we have been granted the transitory period until 31 December 2006.

6. International collaboration of Poland in the domain of environmental protection

International collaboration is an element strengthening the implementation of the ecological policy in the bilateral, regional and global aspects. This collaboration is carried out within three blocks of issues: (1) conservation activities, (2) logistic activities concerning creation of consistent goals for protection, conform to international law, (3) planning activities encompassing elaboration in each of the neighbouring countries of a consistent environmental planning and management system.

Poland has repeatedly expressed on the international forum the will of observing the principles of a harmonious and sustainable development, this will being demonstrated, in particular, by:

- Signing of the final documents of the UN Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, 1992), including the set of recommendations concerning the actions oriented at securing the harmonious and sustainable development – AGENDA 21;
- Respective stipulation written down in the Association Treaty with the European Communities (Article 71, item 2, of 16 December 1991), which requires that the implementation of the social and economic development policy in Poland ought to follow the principle of sustainable development,
- Signing and ratifying more than 40 regional and global ecological conventions,
- International collaboration in the framework of the program Environment for Europe, including adoption of the documents of the Ministerial Conference in Lucerne (1993) and in Sofia (1995).

Poland is active on the international forum, participating in the efforts of the global community aiming at the sustainable development, with main emphasis being placed on the European collaboration. Polish authorities have signed until now the agreements on collaboration in the domain of environmental protection with almost all neighbours of Poland and the majority of the European countries, as well as USA and Canada. Our country participates also actively in numerous programs on the regional level. These programs encompass, in particular, co-operation in the region of Baltic Sea, Eastern Carpathian Mts., Karkonosze Mts., or the Lower Odra river catchment area.

A particular form of international collaboration is constituted by the transboundary collaboration (Degórska 1996; Degórski 2002). The problems associated with this kind of collaboration are reflected in the prerequisites for the ecological policy of the European Union. The transborder collaboration in environmental management conform to the principles of sustainable development is also facilitated by the international biosphere reserves, established by UNESCO. There are now four international biosphere reserves on the territory of Poland, including the sole in the world tripartite reserve, namely:

- Karkonosze Mts. Biosphere Reserve (with the Czech Republic),
- Tatra Mts. Biosphere Reserve (with Slovakia),
- Eastern Carpathians Biosphere Reserve (with Slovakia and Ukraine),
- Western Polesie Biosphere Reserve (with Ukraine).

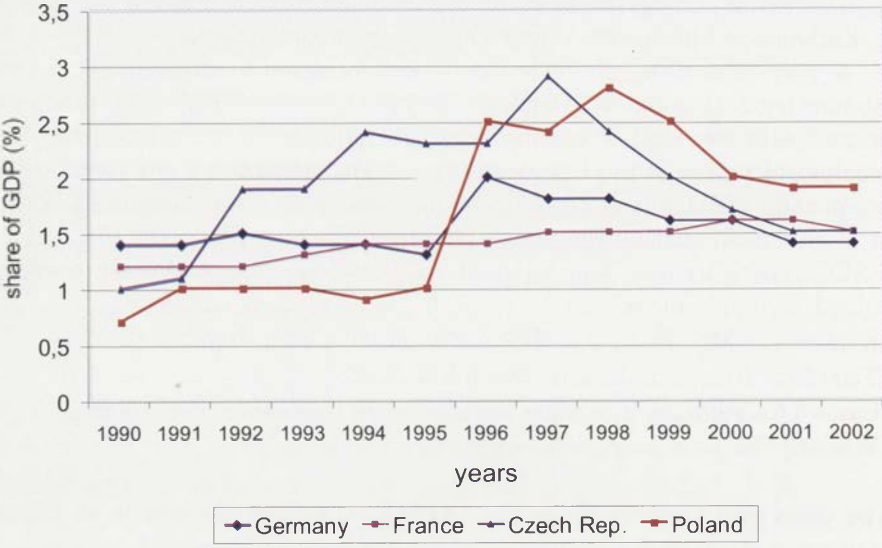
7. The costs and benefits from the adaptation of the standards of Polish ecological space to the standards of the European Union

The costs of implementation of the *acquis* by Poland are being estimated as equal between 22.1 and 42.8 billion €, depending upon the adopted scenario of solutions serving this implementation. This is equivalent to enormous investment outlays into environmental protection and management. Alas, during the recent years we can observe a distinct decrease of the investment outlays into environmental protection and water economy, and of their share in the GDP, as well as of the total real expenditures spent on environmental protection and water economy. While in 1998 these expenditures amounted to 9 and 2 billion PLN, respectively, which was equivalent to approximately 2.5% of the GDP, in the years 2001-2003 they dropped below 2% of the GDP (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). It should be emphasised, though, that these levels are still among the highest in Europe (Fig. 10).

During the last decade a part of environmental projects were financed from foreign sources. The foreign assistance granted for carrying out such projects in the years 1991-2000 amounted to 590.3 million €, of which we made use of only 287.1 million €. The difference between the means granted and used results primarily from the very limited use of the structural funds of the European Union (*Ochrona Środowiska* 2003). A part of the financial means used by our country for the realisation of the objectives of the ecological policy, roughly

100 million €, originated from the so-called debt-for-nature-swap or eco-conversion deals.

Fig. 10. Environmental protection expenditures (investment outlays and current costs) in selected countries in the period of 1990-2002



Poland, similarly as other countries of central and eastern Europe, undertakes activities aiming at the improvement of the state of natural environment and spends enormous amounts of means for purposes related to nature protection, counting for the return from the outlays borne. The former candidate countries would gain the highest benefits from the implementation of directives concerning air quality – approximately 62-63.5%, depending upon the scenario of solutions adopted. In case of Poland these values are even higher and amount, respectively, to 63-72%. The entire value of the benefits for the central-eastern European region in the years 2000-2020, calculated under the assumption of attaining the complete conformity with the *acquis* by 2010 and the discount rate of 4% would amount to between 134 and 681 billion €, and for Poland – between 41 and 208 billion €.

Clean environment, correct use of its potential and correctly functioning transport infrastructure, as well as accommodation facilities, constitute the chances of development of the tourist sector. This applies, in a particular manner, to the seaside, mountain and lake district communes, but is also an opportunity of development for many other communes, especially those located close to the intensively urbanised areas (agro-tourism). An additional advantage of the Polish space, which is conducive to the development of tourism, is the existing network of 43 spas situated in twelve provinces (Kozłowska-Szczęsna et al. 2002) and the still existing potential of the environment, allowing for the establishment of the new spas.

8. Summing up

Poland, being a country, whose territory encompasses a lot of areas that are still little transformed by human activity and are characterised by a high biological and landscape diversity as well as extremely valuable natural assets, brings undoubtedly a huge „ecological capital" into the European Communities. This capital ought to be managed and utilised in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Yet, as we assess the state of the environment in Poland, we cannot overlook the fact that the period of the previous system left behind it numerous problems associated with the quality of the environment. These problems must be resolved as soon as possible in order to liquidate the consequences resulting from the negligence for the correct functioning of the environment. These problems were articulated in the chapter on the „Environment" of the Accession Treaty, signed by Poland in 2002, along with the transition periods granted the Polish side for the resolution of these problems, in conformity with the criteria defined in the existing directives of the European Union.

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Streszczenie

STAN ŚRODOWISKA POLSKI W DZIEŃ AKCESJI Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ – BILANS OTWARCIA

Na temat stanu środowiska przyrodniczego Polski sformułowano w ostatnich latach ogromną liczbę opinii, często bardzo rozbieżnych. Przyczyn tak różniących się między sobą ocen stanu sanitarnego środowiska Polski należy upatrywać w małej reprezentatywności obszarów badań w stosunku do regionów czy też terytorium całego kraju oraz budowanych przez lata bardzo negatywnych sądów, które urosły do rangi stereotypów, bezkrytycznie powtarzanych, a tym samym upowszechnianych. Często głoszone opinie z punktu widzenia aksjologicznego miały niemal wymiar katastroficzy. Oczywiście nie ulega wątpliwości fakt, że okres minionego ustroju pozostawił po sobie wiele

problemów związanych z jakością środowiska, które trzeba jak najszybciej rozwiązywać. Problemy związane z poprawnym funkcjonowaniem systemu przyrodniczego w Polsce zostały między innymi wyartykułowane w rozdziale „Środowisko" Traktatu Akcesyjnego podpisanego przez Polskę w 2002 roku wraz z określonymi dla naszej strony okresami przejściowymi na ich rozwiązanie, zgodnie z kryteriami istniejących dyrektyw Unii Europejskiej.

Celem artykułu jest próba oceny stanu środowiska Polski w dniu akcesji z Unią Europejską, pokazanie zarówno mocnych jak i słabych stron polskiej przestrzeni przyrodniczej oraz zaprezentowanie wysiłku polskiej strony w harmonizacji polskich standardów środowiskowych do standardów Wspólnoty. Praca stanowi zatem pewnego rodzaju syntetyczny bilans otwarcia dotyczący polskiej przestrzeni przyrodniczej w dniu akcesji do Unii Europejskiej.

Na jej podstawie wykazano, że Polska jako kraj posiadający jeszcze na swoim terytorium dużo obszarów mało zmienionych w wyniku działalności człowieka, charakteryzujących się dużą różnorodnością biologiczną i krajobrazową oraz ogromnymi walorami przyrodniczymi, wnosi niewątpliwie olbrzymi „kapitał ekologiczny" do Wspólnoty Europejskiej. Kapitał ten powinien być zarządzany i wykorzystywany zgodnie z zasadami rozwoju zrównoważonego. Niemniej jednak oceniając stan środowiska Polski nie sposób dostrzec faktu, że okres minionego ustroju pozostawił po sobie wiele problemów związanych z jakością środowiska, które trzeba jak najszybciej rozwiązywać, ażeby niwelować skutki zaniedbań dla prawidłowego jego funkcjonowaniu. Problemy te zostały wyartykułowane w rozdziale „Środowisko" Traktatu Akcesyjnego podpisanego przez Polskę w 2002 roku wraz z określonymi dla naszej strony okresami przejściowymi na ich rozwiązanie, zgodnie z kryteriami istniejących dyrektyw Unii Europejskiej.

SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF EU ACCESSION REFERENDUM RESULTS IN POLAND

Mariusz KOWALSKI

Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw

Introduction

The results of elections in Poland after 1989 prove a strong and spatially consolidated differentiation of the Polish society in the area of electoral behaviour. This relates to both the electoral activity and political preferences. This differentiation is usually explained by socio-economic and cultural conditions. It is typically associated with the distinctness of particular regions, the reason for which lies in the past, sometimes very distant. The researchers emphasize mainly the long-lasting adhesion of different parts of Poland to other states. This refers both to the area of three so called partitions, and the particular status of the Western Lands. Another important element perceived as a differentiating agent in electoral behaviour is the occurrence of regional groups, distinguished by cultural distinctness (ethnic or religious). The last important aspect would be the differences between the city and the countryside (cf. Florczyk & Żukowski, 1990; Żukowski, 1993; Zarycki, 1997, 2002; Raciborski, 1997; Kowalski, 2000; Węcławowicz, 2002; Bartkowski, 2003).

The historical and cultural conditions allow us to distinguish five regions (Tab. 1), distinctly different from one another (cf. Kowalski 2003)[1]. In order to make the analysis more detailed, it is also possible to distinguish a number of characteristic socio-cultural sub-regions. In Upper Silesia, the distinctness of Opole region is visible, resulting from the fact that it belonged to the German state for a long time, as well as from a large percentage of inhabitants declaring German nationality. In the former Russian partition territory (the Congress Kingdom and western part of Bialystok area), an aggregation of regional Mazowsze minor gentry descendants can be distinguished. The former Galicia

[1] It is also possible to distinguish six if we divide the Prussian partition into Pomorze Gdańskie and the rest (cf. Kowalski 2003)

territory has a region inhabited by the Highlanders. Finally, part the former Prussian partition has been populated by Kaszuby folk for ages (Picture 1, 2, 3 & 4; Tab. 1).

Table 1. Referendum results in historical-cultural regions

Region	Total			urban counties			urban-rural counties			rural counties		
	Entitled to vote	**Atten-dance**	**„YES"**	**Entitled to vote**	**Atten-dance**	**„YES"**	**Entitled to vote**	**Atten-dance**	**„YES"**	**Entitled to vote**	**Atten-dance**	**„YES"**
Congress Kingdom	11702907	57,11	72,41	5972188	63,67	81,16	1907971	53,48	68,84	3822748	48,67	56,38
Galicia	4221466	59,86	74,79	1707630	65,15	81,32	903126	59,01	73,65	1610710	54,74	67,21
Prussian partition	4033542	61,84	77,58	1864207	66,14	83,85	1267940	59,34	74,45	901395	56,44	66,94
Western Lands	6838218	59,05	83,54	3504274	64,06	85,72	2016857	55,31	82,20	1317087	51,44	78,50
Upper Silesia	2882961	59,78	85,90	2061190	61,94	87,19	363711	54,56	83,38	458060	54,22	81,27
„Orthodox"	92597	43,21	75,06	40030	49,07	79,93	2631	45,31	67,53	49936	38,40	70,51
POLAND	**29771691**	**58,80**	**77,40**	**15149519**	**63,96**	**83,37**	**6462236**	**56,03**	**75,63**	**8159936**	**51,42**	**65,06**
Including: Subregions												
„Gentry"	291007	50,91	55,11	87475	55,15	75,68	49107	50,71	58,39	154425	48,58	40,70
Highlands	443913	56,76	75,72	102767	63,17	80,84	21198	58,86	74,04	319948	54,56	73,93
Kaszuby	499090	65,22	76,61	328886	68,23	82,69	47333	60,50	66,48	122871	58,99	61,76
Opole	1132498	53,66	87,77	683991	58,14	89,36	225403	48,27	85,54	223104	45,40	83,95

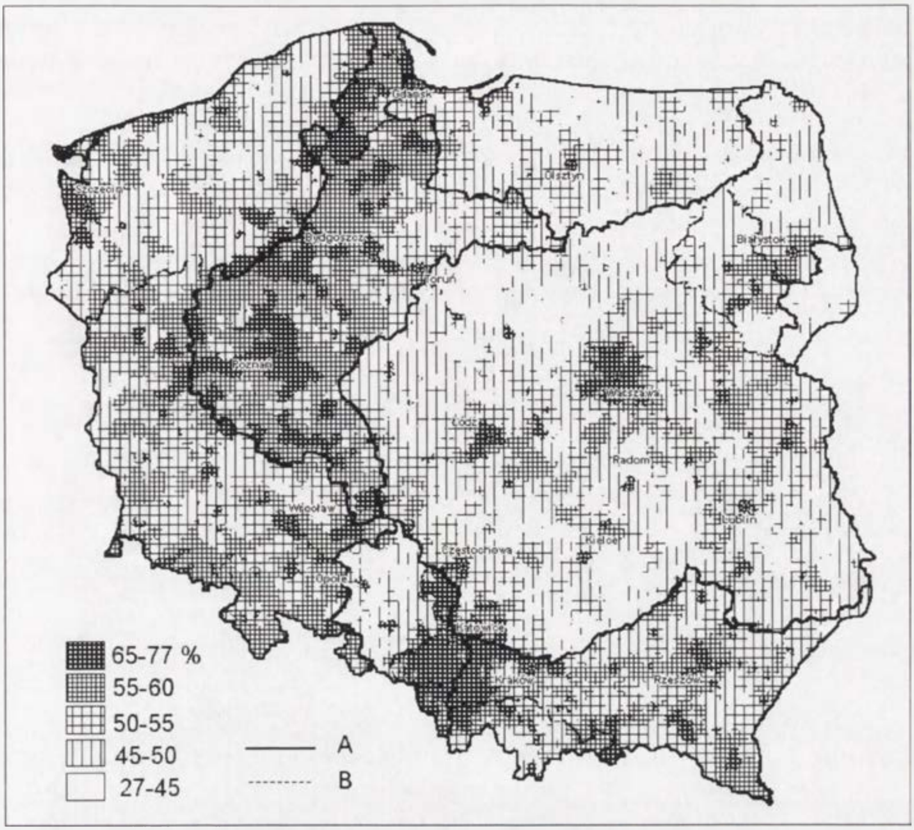
Source: Description prepared by author based on data from State Electoral Commission (http://referendum.pkw.gov.pl/arkusze/prot-gm.xls)

The experience of previous elections shows that particular regions and subregions permanently distinguish themselves in terms of electoral behaviour. A superficial analysis of accession referendum results points to an important role played by conditions related to historical and cultural regions. Due to those conditions they seem a perfect frame of reference for referendum results analysis.

Referendum results

A preliminary look at the map presenting accession referendum results from June 8, 2003, confirms the prominent role of historical and cultural conditions as the agents of spatial differentiation in electoral behaviour. The highest attendance was noted in big urban units and on the territories that used to belong to the Prussian state in the years 1815-1920. The attendance was slightly lower in the areas that used to belong to the Habsburg state in 1772-1918, as well as in Upper Silesia. The next region in terms of attendance rating was the Western Lands, and then the former Congress Kingdom. The lowest attendance was in the „Orthodox" region (Picture 1, Tab. 1).

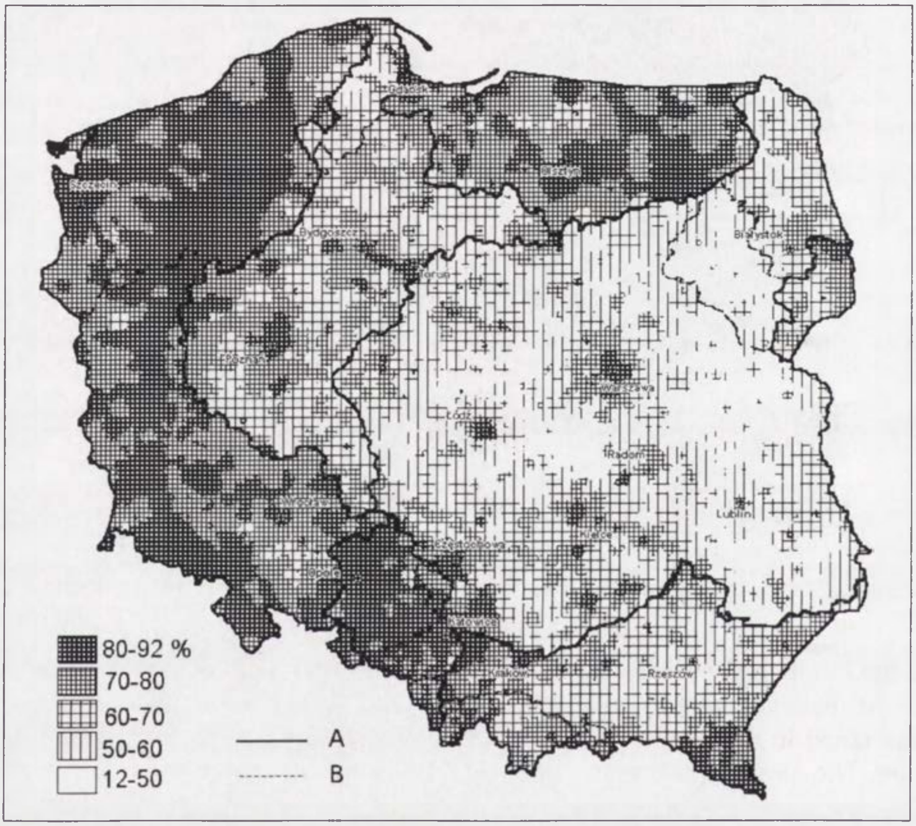
Picture 1. Voter attendance in EU accession referendum. 1 – borders of historical-cultural regions; 2 – borders of historical-cultural sub-regions



The intensity of support for integration with EU also seems to be related to the former border lines, the division into urban and rural areas, and occurrences of regional cultural groups (Picture 2, Tab. 1). The lowest level of support was noted in the former Congress Kingdom territory and the „Orthodox" region. The idea of integration gained slightly stronger support in the former Galicia, but it was also below the country average. The support close to the country average was noted in former Prussian partition, whereas the regions where the rate of positive answers in the referendum was much higher than country average were the Western Lands and Upper Silesia (highest support). In terms of sub-regions, the span of referendum results is very big, ranging from 55% in the „Gentry" area to 88% in Opole region.

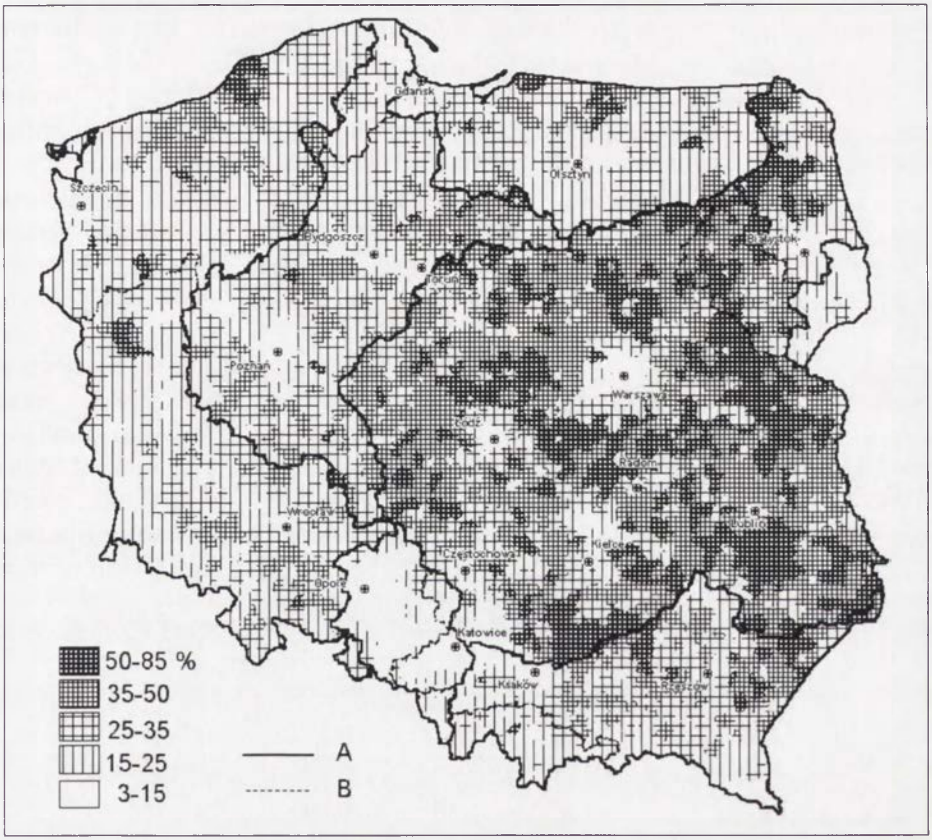
The data analysis on the level of distinctive regions and sub-regions makes it visible, that in each of the regions, the urban voters expressed stronger support for the integration than the rural voters. It is also noticeable that the differences between regions were more prominent in the rural areas. Besides, independently of the urban/rural distinction, the eastern regions were less supportive of the EU than the western ones (Tab. 1). However, the communities where the level of support was below 50% are located not only in the former Congress Kingdom and Galicia, but also on the territory of the former Prussian partition (e.g. in Kaszuby).

Picture 2. Percentage of votes supporting Poland's accession to the EU in the referendum. 1 – borders of historical-cultural regions; 2 – borders of historical-cultural sub-regions



Although the spatial differentiation of EU support is linked to the historical and cultural conditions, it is distinctly different from the spatial division of the main Polish political options influence, the left and the right. In this traditional layout, Galicia would be located on one pole (strongest support for the right wing) and the Western Lands and religious and national minorities (except the German minority) on the other (strongest support for the left wing). Besides parliamentary, presidential, and local government elections, this regularity was also perceived in referendums: in 1996 (regarding popular affranchisement) and in 1997 (regarding the new constitution project). Spatial differentiation of EU referendum results is linked to the second axis of political division, separating the liberal from the peasant option (cf. Żukowski 1993, Raciborski 1997, Zarycki 1997, Kowalski 2000). It is connected to the division into urban and rural areas, as well as the western (more urbanized) and eastern (more agricultural) parts of the country.

Picture 3. Votes for peasant parties (PSL, Samoobrona) in 2001 parliamentary election. A – borders of historical-cultural regions; B – borders of historical-cultural sub-regions



The influence of political preferences

The opinions of particular electorates regarding Poland's accession to the EU changed along time. In the period of AWS[2] government, the right supporters

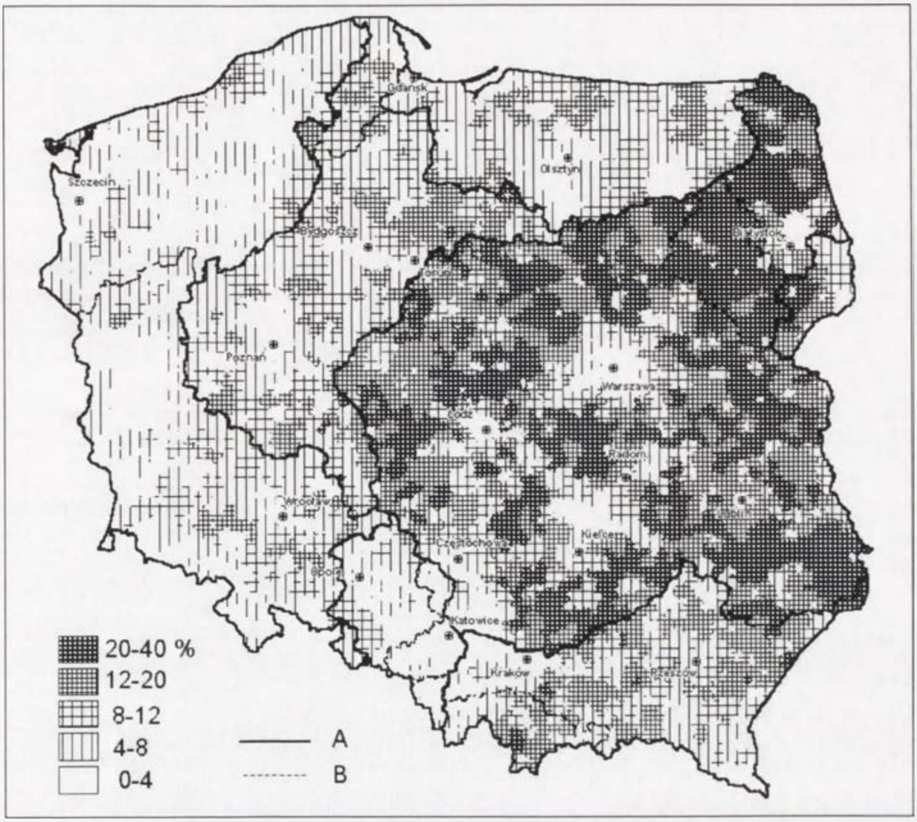
[2] Abbreviations of Polish political parties' names:

were more pro-EU than the left supporters. During SLD-UP government, the situation was quite opposite. One might suppose that the popularity of integration concept among certain electorates was influenced by the composition of the current government, as it was the government that was mostly responsible for promoting the EU idea. The peasant (PSL, Samoobrona) and liberal (PO, UW) party voters had a firmer stand on this issue. The former were permanently and strongly against the EU, whereas the latter were permanently and strongly pro-EU. Based on the analysis before the referendum, one could expect that the strongest support for the EU will occur in the areas with strong liberal influence (urban areas and the western, more urbanized part of the country), and the weakest support in the areas of the largest concentration of peasant parties supporters, namely the former Congress Kingdom. The prognosis for spatial differentiation of referendum results prepared by the author in 2002, based on previous election results and public opinion surveys regarding „EU preferences" among particular electorates, was generally in concordance with the final spatial differentiation of the referendum results (cf. Kowalski 2002).

The statistical analysis on the level of counties (correlation coefficient) may confirm the hypothesis of strong relationship between political preferences and the level of support for EU (Tab. 2). The highest and simultaneously negative linear correlation coefficient occurs between positive votes in the referendum and the support for PSL in the last parliamentary election (2001). The correlation coefficient between the referendum results and Samoobrona election results is also significant and negative. A visible concurrence between weak support for EU and high aggregated support for peasant parties is also noticeable. High negative correlation can be also perceived in the case of LPR. After summing up the results of the three parties above, the biggest correlation coefficient with the referendum results can be received. One might speak of mutual spatial completion of those parties (which could be called „anti-EU") in relation to the spatial differentiation of referendum results.

PO – Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform)
UW – Unia Wolności (Union of Freedom)
SLD – Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (Democratic Left Alliance)
PiS – Prawo I Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice)
AWS – Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (Electoral Action Solidarity)
PSL – Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party)
Samoobrona – Self-defense
LPR – Liga Polskich Rodzin (League of Polish Families)

Picture 4. Percentage of county inhabitants whose main source of income is agriculture (1996). 1 – borders of historical-cultural regions; 2 – borders of historical-cultural sub-regions



The highest positive correlation with positive referendum votes was visible in the SLD results, and next in PO, UW, and PiS. The AWS results also showed positive though minor correlation. Also in this case, the total results of the above parties (which we will call „pro-EU"), showed the strongest correlation with the referendum results (tab. 2).

The presumed correlations between political preferences and the vote in referendum are confirmed by social opinion surveys conducted while it lasted. There were least EU supporters among the peasant (Samoobrona, PSL) and right-wing (LPR) electorate. EU accession received strongest support from the liberal (PO, UW) and left-wing (SLD) electorate (Tab. 3). The surveys also show that the highest number of people unsatisfied with the effects of pre-accession negotiations between Poland and the EU existed among peasant and right-wing parties electorate (Tab. 4).

Table 2. 2001 Election results and accession referendum results in counties (linear correlation coefficient)

Party	Positive votes		
	Counties total	Urban counties	Rural counties
SLD	0,628	0,468	0,558
AWSP	0,060	-0,146	0,068
UW	0,452	0,368	0,403
Samoobrona	- 0,563	-0,132	-0,448
PiS	0,166	-0,209	0,094
PSL	- 0,707	-0,484	-0,637
PO	0,456	0,033	0,417
LPR	- 0,302	-0,634	-0,285
Peasant parties (Samoobrona, PSL)	-0,790	-0,421	-0,735
”Anti-EU” partie (LPR, PSL, Samoobrona)	- 0,843	-0,660	-0,800
”Pro-EU” partie (SDL, PO, UW, PiS, AWSP, „Germans”)	0,843	0,663	0,800

Source: Description prepared by author based on data from State Electoral Commission (http://www.pkw.gov.pl/a/17707/GMLIS.XLS, http://referendum.pkw.gov.pl/arkusze/prot-gm.xls)

Table 3. EU accession supporters among electorate of main political parties who took part in the referendum

Declared political preferences	% of EU support in the referendum
PO	91,7
UW	91,0
SLD	90,3
PiS	80,7
AWS	80,5
PSL	72,9
Samoobrona	50,3
LPR	35,8
Other parties	71,1
Total	**81,7**

Source: public opinion surveys prepared by Social Research Laboratory (PBS) for TVP (PAP news agency, June 8, 2003) (http://www.warszawa.platforma.org/news/n305.html)

The main slogan of EU accession opponents was the threat for agriculture and national traditions. The parties that most explicitly emphasized that threat were LPR and Samoobrona. PiS and PSL expressed conditional support for the accession but even in those parties some activists joined the anti-EU campaign.

Other smaller „anti-EU" parties (e.g. UPR), emphasizing other threats linked to Poland's accession to EU had smaller possibilities of influencing the society.

Table 4. Opinion of potential party electorates regarding pre-accession negotiations with the EU

Potential party electorates	Do you think in the pre-accession negotiations		
	Polish interests were properly secured	Polish interests were not properly secured	Difficult to say
	in %		
SLD	50	20	30
PO	46	25	29
PiS	30	40	30
Samoobrona	19	40	41
PSL	15	46	39
LPR	18	66	17

Source: Opinion on pre-accession negotiation results – Research statement, Warsaw, January 2003, Center for Social Opinion Research (CBOS).

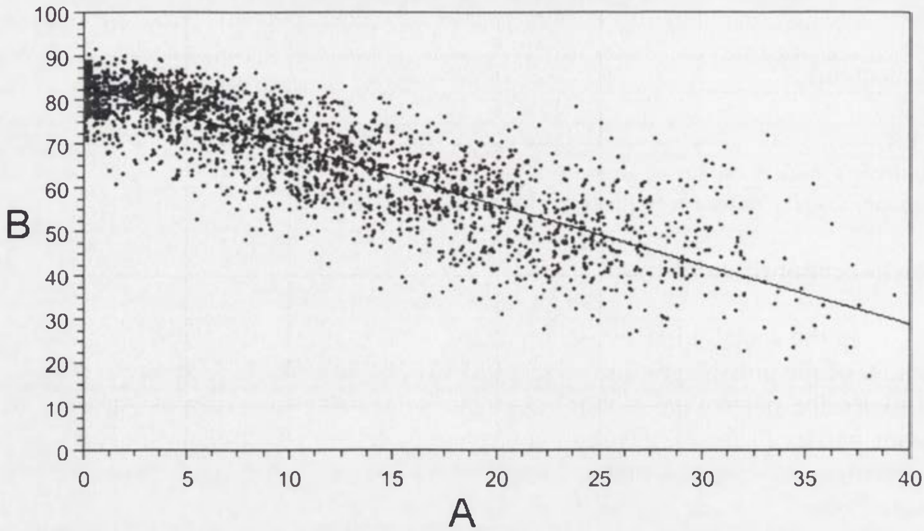
Socio-economic conditions

In the social mind, peasant parties (Picture 3) are considered the main defender of the polish agricultural sector. This is confirmed by a strong correlation between the percentage of rural population and the percentage of votes for peasant parties (Tab. 2). The co-occurrence of EU opponents and peasant party supporters may suggest that an important reason for voting against the accession were Poland's strong ties with the agricultural sector. A high correlation coefficient between the number of people earning their living from farming (Picture 4) and the referendum results may confirm this relationship (Picture 5, Tab. 5). A strong positive correlation of the accession support level with the former existence of PGRs (state-owned farms) (Tab. 5) might suggest that the fears could only be felt by people involved in individual farming. Former employees of state-owned agricultural sector, at present mostly unemployed, due to their social status were probably not interested in the fate of individual farmership.

The influence of ties to individual farming on the referendum results is visible on the example of the Orthodox Białystok region inhabitants. In terms of social and professional status, they are no different from their catholic neighbours (strong ties to individual farmership). However, in contrast to their neighbours, who vote for right-wing and peasant parties, they have since 1989 been the most faithful electorate of the former communist left. One might suppose that, as opposed to the former PGR employees, it is not related to their socio-economic status, but rather to the cultural distinctiveness (Kowalski 1998).

Most „Orthodox" region inhabitants who took part in the referendum supported the accession (similar to most of SLD electorate) but the support level was not proportional to the influence of SLD in the region. Besides, the attendance was particularly low this time (Tab. 1). Presumably, as in the case of the rest of the country, ties to individual farming influenced lowering the support level for EU accession. One might suppose that a large number of the Orthodox inhabitants of Bialystok region was not willing to vote against „their" party's recommendation, so they decided not to take part in the vote (the reason for low attendance).

Picture 5. Percentage of farmers among the country inhabitants (A) and the support for EU accession in the referendum (B). Linear correlation coefficient -0,846.



Calculations and graph created using CurveExpert 1.3

A similar phenomenon, related however to the traditional right-wing electorate, can be perceived in the Kaszuby region. In three counties of the region, the accession opponents won, although there is no tradition of strong peasant parties influence in the region, and the anti-EU right (LPR) remains in the shadow of the pro-EU right (PO, PiS). Also in this case the effect of strong ties to individual farming may be presumed. Individual farming is especially prominent in the Kartuzy district, which the three counties above belong to (Picture 4).

The results of the correlation between election outcome and the occurrence of individual farming and peasant parties (Samoobrona, PSL) electorate, as well as the characteristic „disobedience" to the party recommendations of the right and left wing voters involved in agriculture, may prove that the spatial differentiation of referendum results in the rural areas was mostly based on the conservative attitude of individual farmers.

Table 5. Co-occurrence analysis results (linear correlation)

	Farmers	PGR
SLD	-0,529	0,554
AWSP	- 0,153	- 0,139
UW	-0,434	0,302
Samoobrona	0,628	- 0,161
PiS	- 0,333	- 0,134
PSL	0,747	-0,459
PO	-0,535	0,173
LPR	0,042	- 0,336
Peasant parties (Samoobrona, PSL)	0,850	-0,438
„Anti-EU" partie (LPR, PSL, Samoobrona)	0,830	-0,520
„Pro-EU" partie (SDL, PO, UW, PiS, AWSP, „Germans")	- 0,832	0,522
„TAK" („YES")	-0,846	0,630
Farmers	1,000	-0,568
PGR	-0,568	1,000

Source: Prepared by the author based on different sources

The percentage of individual farmers among the inhabitants of particular counties may explain the differences in the level of support for the EU accession between the city and the village. It could also explain the differences between regions. In the Western Lands, the rural areas used to be dominated by state owned farms (PGR). After they collapsed, the share of people involved in agriculture largely diminished. The number of individual farmers has always been small. This mostly refers also to the former Prussian partition, especially Great Poland (Wielkopolska) and Kujawy region. However, there have always been more individual farmers there than in the Western Lands, which might explain weaker support for the accession. In Galicia, traditional ownership structures have been preserved, whereas functional transformations took place. A multifunctional development is sometimes mentioned regarding the rural areas of this region (Górz 1998, Bański & Stola 2002). The number of people supporting themselves from farming is continually diminishing. Although the EU accession support in the former Galicia was lower than in the Western Lands, it was still higher than in the rural areas of the former Congress Kingdom (cities showed similar support level).

The rural nature of Polish countryside, connected with the individual ownership, was best preserved in the Congress Kingdom territory (Picture 4). This is where the strongest influence of peasant parties in Poland results from, and, due to the relationships mentioned above, the lowest in Poland EU accession support in this area.

Cultural conditions

The opinion survey data (Tab. 3 & 4) and the analysis of co-occurrence between right-wing preferences and referendum results may suggest that the ties to agriculture were an important, but not the only agent differentiating the referendum results. The fears that EU accession could become a threat to traditional national values may have also played its part. A proof of this thesis is the co-occurrence of lower EU accession support and a large quota of right-wing electorate in urban counties (Tab. 2), where it is hard to speak of ties to agriculture. This could explain the different levels of support between the cities in the eastern and the western part of the country, since right-wing parties traditionally have strongest influence in the east (former Congress Kingdom and Galicia). The right-wing influence in Poland – and not only here – is usually explained by strong influence of tradition on behaviour in the local communities. It was mostly preserved in the eastern part of the country.

Conclusions

The spatial differentiation of referendum results became a subject of a number of commentaries. A well-known sociologist, P. Śpiewak, noticed that the largest number of EU accession opponents „occurred right where one could expect them: in the post-gentry villages in southern Bialystok region (those people always took active part in elections, always opposed the communism, and always supported the national-catholic ideology) and in the area of Janów, Zamość and Tomaszów districts, i.e. where anti-EU PSL activists, as well as Samoobrona have strongest influence. Therefore, the more urbanized regions, closer to the western border and often inhabited by resettled people, who were forced to show more creativity and action, succeeded, whereas traditional regions, where only small pieces of land are owned by individuals and the social structure has not changed for generations, were defeated" (Śpiewak 2003).

The above opinion is very suggestive, yet it is hard to fully agree with it. It presents reality through a very simple, one-sided frame. The author studies the referendum results through the prism of political party preferences of EU accession opponents (as well as his own pro-EU preferences). If the analysis presented in this paper is accurate, those preferences are only indirectly linked to the referendum results. The present analysis allows us to consider the strength of ties to individual farmership and the strength of traditionalism as the main factors of the spatial differentiation of EU accession referendum results. The first factor affects mostly the rural areas, whereas the second is active in the urban areas. Besides, one should not forget that communities of individual farmers are usually highly traditional.

Retaining private land ownership was a positive agent in the preservation of traditional rural communities and their culture. In the areas where agriculture is dominant, preference for peasant parties usually occurs, whereas in the areas where conservatism is a result of peasant tradition, but is not directly linked with agriculture, right-wing influence is dominant. The differences in EU accession support between the traditionally peasant former Congress Kingdom and the traditionally right-wing Galicia suggest that the preservation of traditional rural communities accompanied by a continually major role of agriculture in them had most influence on lowering the EU accession support level. This probably explains such huge disproportion between the conservative, but at the same time having strong agricultural ties „gentry" sub-region in the Congress Kingdom, and the similarly conservative but with weaker ties to agriculture „Highlander" sub-region in Galicia. The restraints in EU accession support in the case of Kaszuby folk (with right-wing preferences and agricultural ties) probably had the same reason.

The referendum results analysis does not confirm Śpiewak's thesis that anti-EU votes come mostly from national-catholic ideology supporters. This is true in the case of minor gentry descendants, but not in the case of strongly national-catholic Highlanders. The correlation between referendum results and the electoral result of peasant parties shows that weak EU accession support does not refer only to Lublin region, but to all regions with strong influence of the peasant parties. The opposition to integration among post-gentry, as well as Kaszuby region farmers who do not own only little land (as opposed to the pro-EU Highlanders) but some of the largest farms in Poland, and are not ideologically linked to Samoobrona or the anti-EU part of PSL, clearly shows that the anti-EU attitude results mostly from ties to agriculture. This is the single factor that unites the PSL and Samoobrona supporters from Lublin region (and not only), the Kaszuby folk, minor gentry descendants from Podlaskie and Mazowieckie voivodships, and basically – visible in the correlation – everyone linked to agricultural production (also in the western part of the country) in the opposition against EU integration. On the other side, there is the majority of Polish society, whose ties to agriculture are weak or do not exist at all. This refers to the Highlanders, former PGR employees, and city dwellers. Conservative mindset was among the main factors influencing the differences in support level for EU accession within this group. Therefore, weaker support in the cities was perceived in the more traditional, eastern part of the country. However a much stronger agent affecting the spatial differences were undoubtedly the agricultural ties. It were not resettlements, forced creativity (it is hard to speak of creativity in the case of former PGR employees), nor the lack of traditional attitudes that pressed for stronger accession support in the western parts than in the east, but rather a smaller number of people employed in individual farming.

The relationships perceived allow us to suppose that if not for the size of individual farming sector and strong bond with traditional values resulting from it, the EU accession support in Poland (77,45%) would have been much stronger and probably closer to countries like Hungary (83,76%), Slovakia (93,71%) or Lithuania (91,04%). It would be difficult not to notice that in those countries, individual farmership was liquidated in the Soviet period. Besides, the disintegration process of traditional communities took place to a much greater degree there than in Poland. Hence, comparing the referendum results in Poland to the results in the above mentioned countries, may emphasize the conclusions from analysis of conditions influencing the EU accession support in Poland. Besides, a slightly paradoxical relationship needs to be mentioned: the territories where socio-economical aspects of rural life were less influenced by the communist system expressed weaker support for the EU accession.

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Streszczenie

PRZESTRZENNE ZRÓŻNICOWANIE WYNIKÓW REFERENDUM EUROPEJSKIEGO W POLSCE

Wyniki wyborów w Polsce są tradycyjnie silnie zróżnicowane pod względem przestrzennym. Dominują dwie osie podziałów: lewica-prawica (zazwyczaj dominująca) oraz liberałowie-ludowcy. Ta ostatnia wiązana jest z odmiennością interesów mieszkańców miast i wsi. Przestrzenne zróżnicowanie wyników referendum wyraźnie nawiązuje do tej ostatniej osi podziałów. Przy ogólnie wysokim poparciu (77 %) dla akcesji Polski do UE, najsłabsze poparcie wyraziły społeczności silnie związane z rolnictwem (korelacja –0,846). Zróżnicowanie wynik referendum można w dużym stopniu tłumaczyć postawą producentów rolnych, obawiających się swej przyszłości w ramach UE. Mapa poparcia dla akcesji stanowi w dużym stopniu negatyw map przedstawiających udział ludności utrzymującej się z rolnictwa oraz zróżnicowanie poparcia dla partii ludowych, postrzeganych jako obrońcy interesów rolników. W przypadku miast słabsze poparcie dla UE wystąpiło z silnym poparciem dla LPR. Obok rolnictwa duży wpływ na obniżenie poparcia dla UE miał prawdopodobnie światopogląd katolicko-narodowy i obawy o los związanego z nim systemu wartości. Na obszarach wiejskich te dwa czynniki - rolnictwo i konserwatyzm światopoglądowy – występują zazwyczaj jednocześnie.

Translation by Wojciech Tworkowski

CONTEMPORARY DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES IN THE POLISH RURAL AREAS

Jerzy BAŃSKI

Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw

Introduction

The period of Poland's preparation for European Union membership was rich in a number of new processes, as well as social and economic phenomena. They took place mostly in urban areas, but the countryside, although to a lesser degree, was also changing its image.

Among the contemporary transformations in rural areas, population changes play an important role. Some of them became visible only recently, due to transformation processes. They include mostly changes in employment structure and in migration directions. The aim of the present paper is to identify and evaluate these phenomena.

Changes in population number in the rural areas

The population growth in Poland lasted throughout the post-war years until the early 1990's, and the rate of this growth was one of the fastest in Europe. Towards the late 90's, for the first time in post-war history, a decrease in population number was noted.

In rural areas, presently constituting 93% of the country's area, the population number remained stable through all the post-war period (Figure 1). The continuing urbanization process resulted in migration of rural settlers to the cities, but it was compensated by a relatively high birth-rate in the villages. Nonetheless, the rate of rural population in total population of the country dynamically decreased from 66% right after the war to 38% in 2000.

Mostly young and relatively better educated people migrated to the cities. The „sucking out" of the below-30 age group was too massive in some areas. In consequence, the birth-rate was decreasing and „depopulation areas" were created (Banski 2002). Long-term processes of population decrease are the strongest in Podlasie, Mazowsze, Swietokrzyskie Mountains and Lublin Upland.

In the 1990's, due to shrinking job market and rising cost of living, the number of people migrating from villages to cities diminished (Figure 2). In the south-eastern part of the country, where a large group of bi-professional people existed, a return to agriculture was sometimes noted.

Fig. 1. The change in rural (a) and urban (b) population number and the percentage of rural population (x) in the years 1946-2002

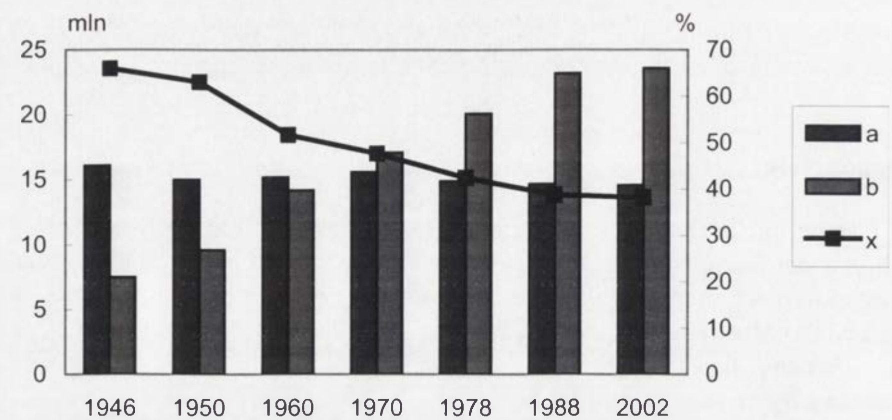
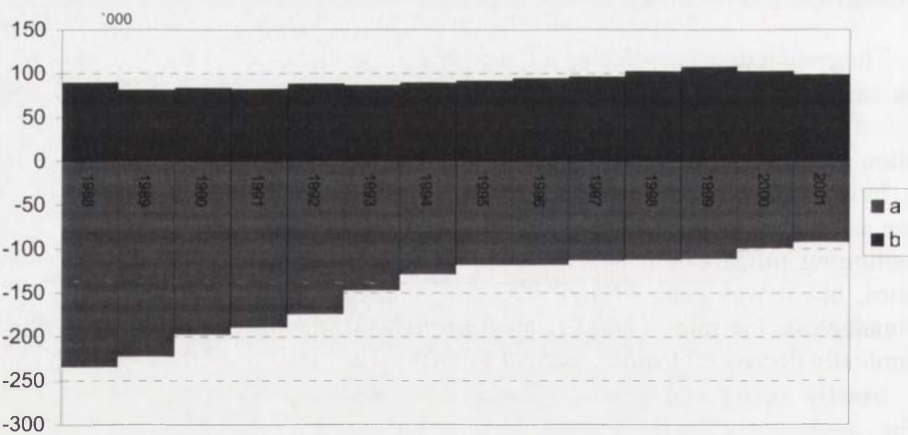
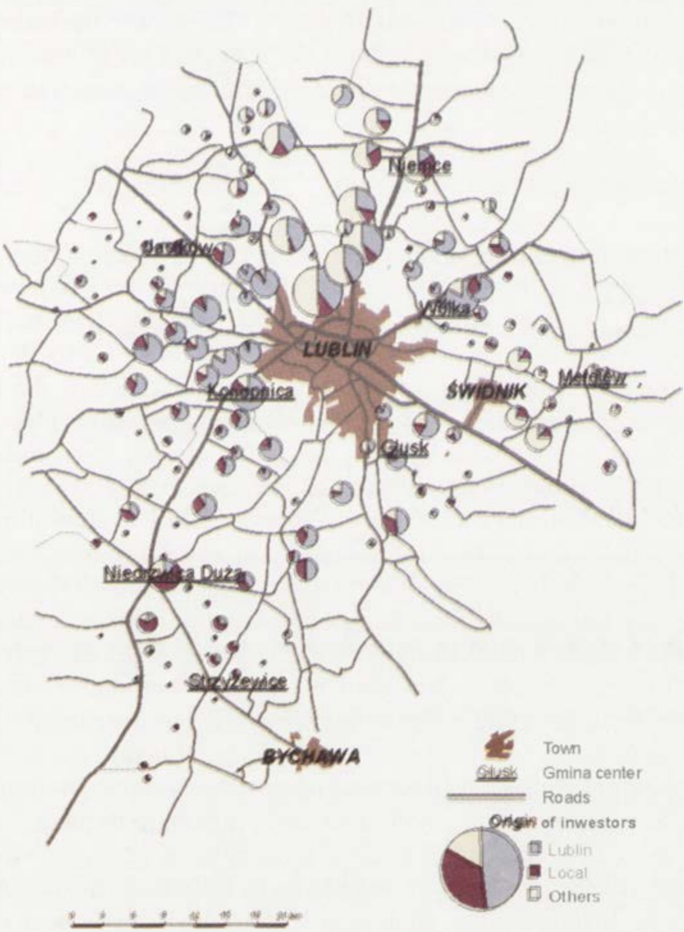


Fig. 2. Internal migrations from the countryside to cities (a) and from cities to the countryside (b)



The change of population number in the last decade mainly influenced by migrational processes, since the birth-rate in that period was usually quite low. Therefore, in 1990's, the rate of population concentration in the cities visibly decelerated. The last two Population Censuses show that in the period 1988-2002, the rural population diminished only by 84,000 people, and its percentage in the total country population by 0.6%. The changes were caused mainly by expanding the administrative borders of the cities. Otherwise, results would show that the rural population actually slightly increased.

Fig. 3. Housing construction permits issued in 1995-2001



An interesting phenomenon, new for Poland, is the emerging tendency for migration of urban population to the villages. Usually, it is the affluent and well-educated people who decide to leave the city. Very often they move their enterprises to the villages. This creates positive environment for the development of rural areas, and fosters the improvement of technical and social infrastructure, which must fulfill the high expectations of new rural inhabitants. This process refers mostly to areas around big urban centers and regions having good transportation routes with big agglomerations. This is confirmed by the research of M. Wesolowska (2004) regarding housing construction in Lubelskie district. It shows that in the suburban communes, the largest group of investors comes from Lublin. Outside the suburban area, the number of construction permits issued is much smaller, and the investors are mostly local citizens (Figure 3).

The peripheral regions, in turn, continue to witness the deflux of population, although it is becoming less dynamic. Therefore, the rural population changes in the 90's took two directions. In suburban areas, the migration balance was positive, and its value gradually diminished to negative when moving towards the peripheral regions.

Sex and age structure

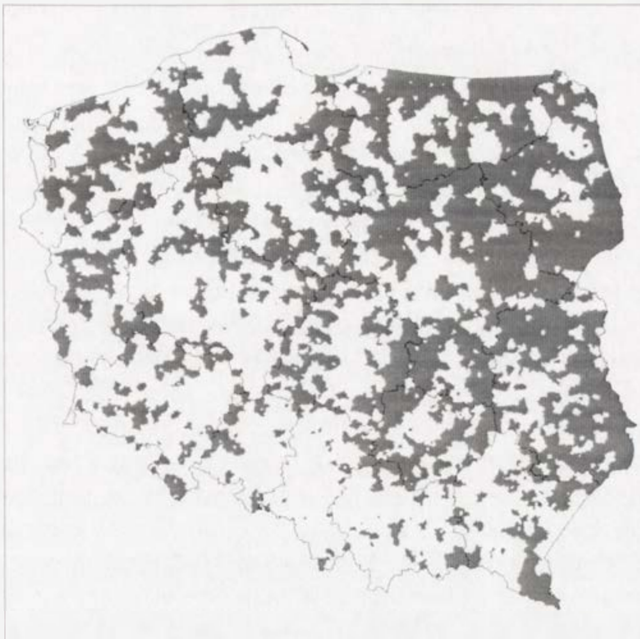
On the country scale, the number of men and women in the village is stabilized. Detailed data, however, show strong spatial differentiation of this phenomenon. Special attention needs to be paid to population in matrimonial age (age 20-29), on which the natural demographic growth is mostly dependent. The lack of women in matrimonial age results in less marriages, which causes decrease in birth number and fosters population ageing processes (Bański 2003).

In Poland, the number of men in the 20-29 age group exceeds the number of women, but in urban areas, the balance between them is usually maintained. On the other hand, in the rural areas, a clear deficit of women in the matrimonial age is usually noted. This refers mainly to eastern regions of Poland, that have long been identified as depopulational and ageing areas (Figure 4).

Over the last two decades, this situation in the rural areas has visibly improved. The value of feminization coefficient in the 20-29 age group rose from 85 in 1980 to 92.4 in 2002. The growth was slow but stable. According to I. Frenkel (1997), in the 1990's, the deficit of women in matrimonial age became less significant due to less migration to the cities. Nonetheless, a large number of men in the rural areas remain with no possibility of starting a family.

The level of education among women is important in natural development of population. In general, it may be said that the better a woman's education is, the less children will she give birth to. According to I. Frenkel calculations (2003), in 1995, a woman living in a rural area, aged 15-59, who has ever been married, with higher education, would have on average 2.74 children, whereas a woman with no education or below primary education would have 3.48 children.

Fig. 4. Areas with a shortfall of women aged 20-29, 2001



Although the last two decades witnessed positive processes in terms of sex structure in the rural areas, the population age structure changes were rather negative. Due to the translocation of demographic booms and drops in the birth-rate through different age groups, the period 1988-2002 was characterized by a growing number of population in productive and post-productive age in relation to the youngest age group (Table 1).

Table 1. Population structure according to age groups in 1988 and 2002 (%)

Specification		Age groups		
		Pre-productive	Productive	Post-productive
Total	2002	23,2	61,8	15,0
	1988	29,9	57,6	12,5
Urban	2002	21,1	64,2	14,7
	1988	29,2	59,6	11,2
Rural	2002	26,5	57,9	15,6
	1988	30,9	54,5	14,6

Source: Report on results of National Population and Housing Census 2002, 2003, GUS (published on the Internet – http://www.stat.gov.pl /)

Changes in education level

The level of population education in the rural areas, although improving, continues to remain much lower than that of urban dwellers. According to GUS data, in 2002, the rate of persons with above-primary education in rural areas was 56% (39% in 1988), including only 4% with higher education. This differs from data obtained during field study, which focused on ca. 2,500 rural households. Among surveyed, ca. 80% declared above-primary education, including 7% with higher education. Research by Institute of Public Affairs, in turn, performed on 1,043 rural inhabitants, shows that ca. 60% of them had above-primary education, including 7% with higher education (Kolarska-Bobinska 2002).

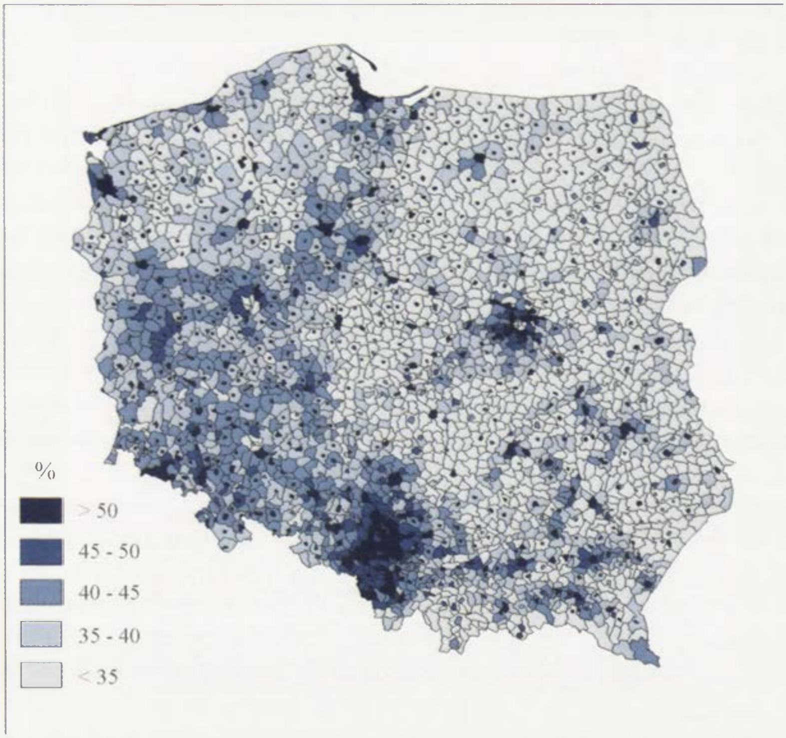
A relatively lowest level of education is found with the rural population of eastern parts of Poland (Figure 5). The spatial differentiation of this indicator is a result of past and present socio-economic relations. Already in the partition period a visible differentiation in population education occurred. In the Prussian and Austrian partition, youth education was considered much more important than in the Russian partition. Hence, it does not come as a surprise that spatial differentiation of rural population education level is largely in concordance with the former partition borders (Kowalski 2003).

The lowest level of education is found among rural population working only within their own household. Therefore, a lot of farms are not able to accept the contemporary challenges. Without proper qualifications, it is impossible for them to form non-agricultural enterprises.

In terms of farmer education, the regions of Great Poland, Kujawy, Lower Vistula and Lower Silesia, where the rate of people with above-primary education exceeds 50%, clearly stand out. The least educated, in turn, are the farmers in north-eastern Poland, Karpaty Mountains, and a large part of Mazowsze.

The rural areas, to a much bigger degree than the cities, were left to themselves in dealing with educational issues. In the early 90's ca. 15,000 primary schools were functioning in the rural areas. The drop in the birth-rate and economic problems of the country resulted in closing a number of them. Until 1999, 1,600 units were closed, i.e. 11% of all primary schools in rural areas. The necessity to travel to school, sometimes over a dozen kilometers, is often wearisome and discourages children from learning. The accessibility of above-primary education is even more limited. Financial issues and distant location of above-primary schools create an unfavorable structure of rural youth educational aspirations. Most young people want to quickly gain a profession, therefore few decide to continue education in general education secondary school (*Liceum Ogolnoksztalcace*). Nevertheless, in 1990's, the percentage of youth choosing general and vocational high schools (*liceum* and *technikum*) grew in relation to vocational schools.

Fig. 5. Share of post-primary school graduates in the total number of household members on private farms (1996)



The issue of rural education becomes especially important now, on entering the European Union, when the necessity for economically activating the rural areas is emphasized. Without well-educated rural inhabitants, it will be difficult to achieve proper development of the rural areas. Without well-educated farmers, dynamic structural changes in agriculture are impossible.

Socio-professional activity of rural population

The issue of employment structure of population has been raising debates for a long time. Data on employment level in different branches of industry are usually estimates, which results in differences between them. Besides, the discrepancies are also caused by chaos in notion standards and permanent changes in rules of data gathering in Central Statistical Office (GUS). An example might be a debate regarding the share of people employed in agriculture. According to GUS data, in 2002, 4,230 thousand people were employed in agriculture, which constitutes ca. 29% of total employment. Researchers of this issue often claim that employment in agriculture is much lower. I. Frenkel (2003), for instance, estimates employment in agriculture at 19% of total employment. W. Orlowski (2001), in turn, estimates the value at 16%, but he does not include in this number the so-called social sector, created by persons achieving most of their income outside agriculture.

It has to be assumed that, among the total number of people employed in agriculture quoted by GUS, only part of them works there on full-time basis. According to 2002 National Agricultural Census, 1,899 thousand people worked only or mainly on a farm. For the others, work in agriculture was an additional source of income, to a larger or smaller degree. Taking into account only those, who support themselves only or mainly through farm work, employment in agriculture can be estimated at 13%. If persons who work in agriculture part-time are included, the final value will not exceed 18%.

In 1988, the average rate of people professionally active in agriculture in rural areas was estimated at 56%. In the 90's it systematically diminished to 51% in 1996 and 44% in 2000. This shows that an increasing share of rural population becomes employed in non-agricultural spheres of economy. It is confirmed by the results of the last National Agricultural Census in 2002, according to which, between 1996 and 2002, a major decrease occurred in the number of people working only or mainly on their own farm (*Report...* 2003).

A new phenomenon in the last dozen years is unemployment. In 2003, rural unemployed made up for almost 42% of total unemployed number. The group is made larger by persons redundant in agricultural farms but not registered as unemployed – an issue referred to as hidden unemployment in agriculture. According to I. Frenkel's (2003) estimates, the number of persons redundant in agriculture, in 1996, was 900,000, of which 440,000 completely redundant. This refers mainly to the south-eastern parts of the country, with a very fragmented agrarian structure and relatively large share of bi-professional population, who in the first turn lost their jobs in restructured companies. For instance, in Podkarpackie district, in 2003, hidden unemployment in rural areas was estimated at ca. 140,000, i.e. almost 80% of all registered unemployed in the district.

The highest registered unemployment rate (30% and more) was noted in the regions where state farms used to dominate the job market, i.e. Western Pomorze and Pojezierze Mazurskie. Those areas are poorly populated, but a high rate of unemployment has continued there, caused mainly by closing the state-owned farms (PGR), economic recession, and low dynamics of local entrepreneurship development.

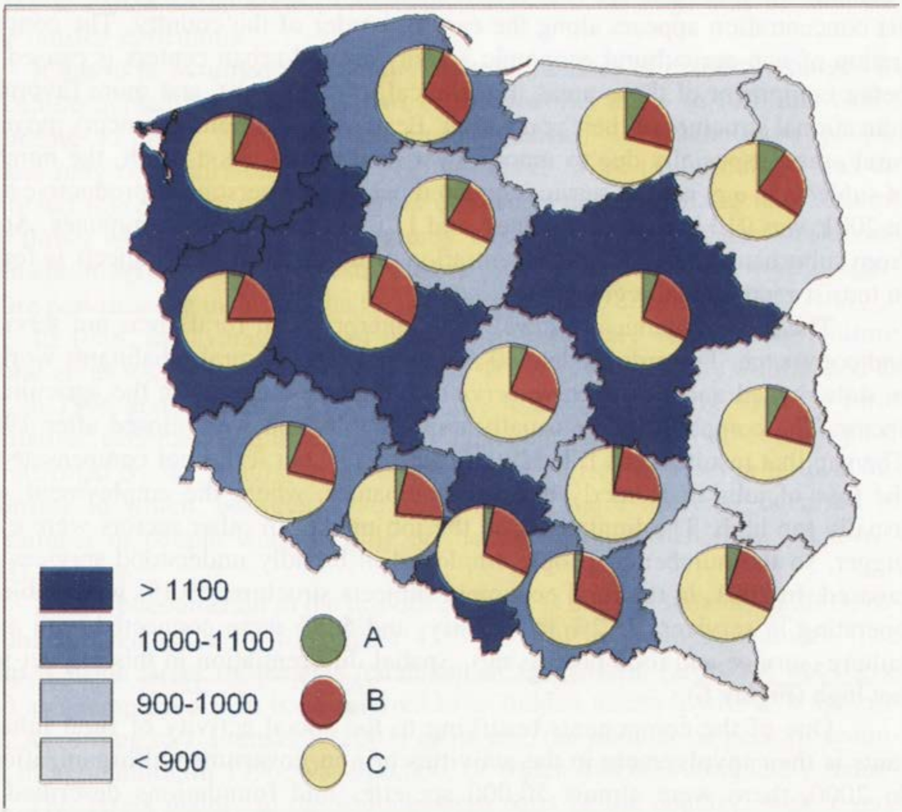
The change to market economy in the last decade resulted in improved economic activity of rural population, but it was not satisfactory enough. Subjects involved in non-agricultural economic activity remain a very small group among rural households.

The highest concentration of subjects leading non-agricultural activity is perceived in the territories around big urban centers (e.g. Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan), whereas there are very few of them in the peripheral regions. The lowest concentration appears along the eastern border of the country. The concentration of non-agricultural economic activity around urban centers is caused by better equipment of those areas in technical infrastructure, and more favorable educational structure of their population. Besides, a lot of entrepreneurs move to rural areas, especially due to much lower land prices. As a result, the number of subjects in e.g. market services counted per 10,000 persons in productive age, in 2001, was 910 in rural communes, and 1,205 in rural-urban communes. Apart from suburban zones, a high concentration of non-agricultural subjects is found in tourist-recreational regions.

The most dynamically developing enterprises in rural areas are services and commerce. Towards the late 80's, a large group of rural inhabitants worked in state-owned and co-operative services companies, mostly in the agricultural sector. The companies were usually unprofitable, and were closed after 1989. The gap that resulted was filled by private sector, but it did not compensate for the loss of jobs in formerly existing companies, where the employment was usually too high. The limitations on the job market in other sectors were even bigger, so the number of people employed in broadly understood services increased. In 2001, in the rural economic subjects structure, 69.1% were subjects operating in services, 25.2% in industry, and 5.7% were connected with agriculture (service and food processing). Spatial differentiation in this respect was not high (Figure 6).

One of the components testifying to the social activity of rural inhabitants is their involvement in the activities of non-governmental organizations. In 2000, there were almost 50,000 societies and foundations described as NGOs. Around 20% of them operated in rural-urban communes, 16% in rural communes, and the rest in the cities. In the years 1995-2000, the number of NGOs per 10,000 inhabitants in rural areas grew from 1.2 in 1995, to 9.1 in 2000 (Kolodziejczyk 2003). The rate of growth was, therefore, higher than in the cities (analogically from 7.3 to 16.6) but that was related to a low initial value.

Fig. 6. Sectoral classification of economic entities and their number per 10,000 people of productive age in rural areas, 2001. A – agriculture, B – industry, C – service



Conclusions

The 1990's and the beginning of the 2000's brought a number of interesting population-related phenomena in the rural areas. Due to the diminishing job-market and growing unemployment, the number of people migrating from villages to cities decreased. This trend is still most prominent in peripheral areas, whereas in suburban areas the opposite process is taking place, i.e. the flow from the city to villages is dominant.

The dynamics of natural population change in rural areas has declined. The population quantity is currently more influenced by migrational processes, although their pace also declined in comparison to the 70's and 80's.

The rural areas are usually characterized by a significant deficit of women in matrimonial age. In the last two decades, the situation has improved in this respect, but this is probably mostly due to problems with finding employment in the cities and growing costs of living there.

The educational level of rural population, although improving, is still much lower than that of urban inhabitants. Closing a lot of primary schools and limiting the number of vocational secondary schools seems not to foster improving the education level of the rural youth. Financial issues and distant location of above-primary schools create an unfavorable structure of rural youth educational aspirations.

In the 1990's, the percentage of population professionally active in agriculture was systematically decreasing. On the other hand, the number of employed in other sectors of economy, especially services and commerce, was growing.

The change to market economy in the last decade resulted in improved economic activity of rural population. Subjects involved in non-agricultural economic activity, however, remain a very small group among rural households.

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Streszczenie

STRESZCZENIE PROCESY DEMOGRAFICZNE OBSZARÓW WIEJSKICH W POLSCE

Okres przygotowania Polski do członkostwa z Unią Europejską obfitował w wiele nowych procesów oraz zjawisk społecznych i gospodarczych. Szczególne natężenie miały one na obszarach miejskich, ale również wieś, aczkolwiek w stosunkowo mniejszym stopniu, zmieniała swoje oblicze. Wśród współczesnych przekształceń na obszarach wiejskich, ważne miejsce zajmują zmiany ludnościowe. Część z nich ujawniła się dopiero niedawno pod wpływem procesów transformacji i objęła przede wszystkim zmiany w strukturze zatrudnienia oraz kierunkach ruchów migracyjnych.

W wyniku kurczenia się rynku pracy i rosnącego bezrobocia, coraz mniej osób migrowało ze wsi do miast. Nadal największe natężenie tego zjawiska występuje na obszarach peryferyjnych. W sąsiedztwie dużych aglomeracji ma miejsce proces odwrotny, tj. przeważa napływ ludności z miasta na wieś.

Osłabła dynamika ruchu naturalnego ludności na wsi. Dużo większy wpływ na zmiany liczby ludności mają obecnie procesy migracyjne, chociaż ich tempo w stosunku do lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych również osłabło.

Wieś cechuje na ogół wyraźny niedobór kobiet w wieku matrymonialnym. W ciągu ostatnich kilkunastu lat sytuacja w tym zakresie uległa poprawie, ale wiązać to trzeba przede wszystkim z trudnościami w znalezieniu pracy w mieście i wzrostem kosztów życia w mieście.

W latach dziewięćdziesiątych systematycznie zmniejszał się odsetek zawodowo czynnych w rolnictwie. Jego kosztem rosła liczba zatrudnionych w innych działach gospodarki, przede wszystkim w usługach i handlu.

Dzięki urynkowieniu gospodarki w ostatniej dekadzie wzrosła aktywność gospodarcza ludności wiejskiej. Gospodarstwa prowadzące pozarolniczą działalność gospodarczą stanowią nadal bardzo niewielką grupę gospodarstw wiejskich.

CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING IN POLAND DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION THE SPATIAL REACH OF THE PHENOMENA

Halina POWĘSKA

Department of Agrarian Policy and Marketing
Agrarian University of Warsaw

Introduction

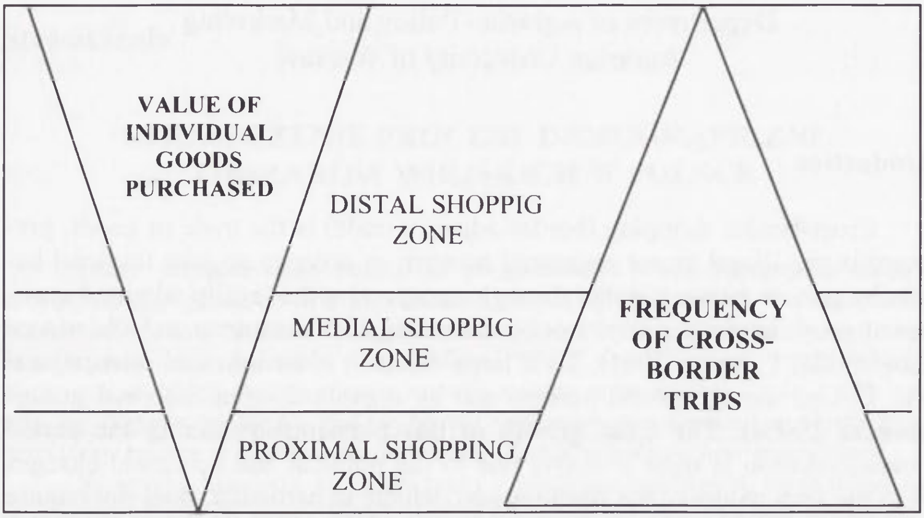
Cross-border shopping (border-adjacent trade) is the trade in goods, performed in the illegal or not registered manner, in order to acquire financial benefits by private persons, either through transporting the legally admitted quantities of goods across the border or by exceeding customs norms and allowances (Komornicki, Powęska 2001). To a large extent it is an informal international trade, carried out by natural persons and by organised, often informal groups (Powęska 1995a). The rapid growth of this phenomenon during the period of transformation is most probably due to the political and economic changes and to the very nature of the phenomenon, which, in particular, does not require high financial outlays, can be carried out without previous establishment of trade contacts and without making use of the financial services, etc (Dąbrowski 1996, Malinowska, Wyżnikiewicz 1998, Peterlik 2000, Powęska 2002a, 1997, Szul 1999, Tomalak, Wyżnikiewicz 1999).

The spatial reach of the cross-border shopping during the period of transformation

Cross-border shopping is the subject of interest of many researchers in various regions of the world (Nielsen 2002, Wang 2004). Attempts are made of constructing definite theoretical approaches, allowing for the study of the nature and the character of the phenomenon of border-adjacent trade, especially on the areas, where it brings tangible financial benefits, contributing to the improvement of economic situation of the borderland areas, when compared with the rest of the country, like, for instance, in Mexico (Anderson 2003). From among the model-oriented approaches, known from the literature, the model proposed by the Canadian scholars deserves a special attention (Timothy, Butler

R.W 1995). The authors define three zones of intensity of the phenomenon and show that the frequency of trips undertaken for the purpose of shopping is the function of distance from the border. This model, developed by Timothy and Butler, has also a bearing for the Polish situation, with the reservation, though, that the three zones distinguished are modified by the transport-wise accessibility, and their spatial reach undergoes more frequent changes than in Canada (fig. 1).

Figure 1. Characteristics of Cross-Border Shoppers



Source [23]

The cross-border shopping emerged in Poland during the period of transformation and, similarly as the retail and wholesale trade, went through rapid changes, especially as regards the quantity and the quality of the network of trade outlets, as well as their ownership forms, scale and organisation (Komornicki 2000, Pilarczyk 1997, Werwicki, Powęska 1993, Powęska 2001, Taylor 2000). The transformations in the domain of the cross-border shopping took place with varying intensity in different periods (Powęska 2002). The spontaneous border-adjacent trade exchange became in a short period of time the dominating function of numerous administrative units located close to the borders (Jałowiecki 1999), as well as on the areas situated farther from the borders. This fact was expressed, in particular, through: (1) increase of intensity of the bazaar and marketplace trade; (2) appearance of the specific system of supply with everyday products, particularly frequently made use of by the most poor; (3) creation of jobs and decrease of unemployment, which contributed to improvement of the living conditions in many regions (Powęska 1995).

A differentiation of the intensity of cross-border trade was observed in Poland, depending upon the border segments – western, eastern, southern and maritime, as well as within the confines of these segments (Kokot, Tomalak 1998, Konecka, Weltrowska 1995, Powęska 1998, 1996, Powęska, Komornicki 1996, Werwicki 2000). The western and the maritime segments were the least differentiated, in view of their physical homogeneity (maritime boundary) and political homogeneity (border with just one country, Germany). On the other hand, the eastern segment was the most internally differentiated, in view of the uneven rate of the socio-economic transformations in the particular states having emerged to the East of the border after the disintegration of the USSR. Along the southern segment the differences in intensity of cross-border trade between the Czech and Slovak parts are of lesser significance.

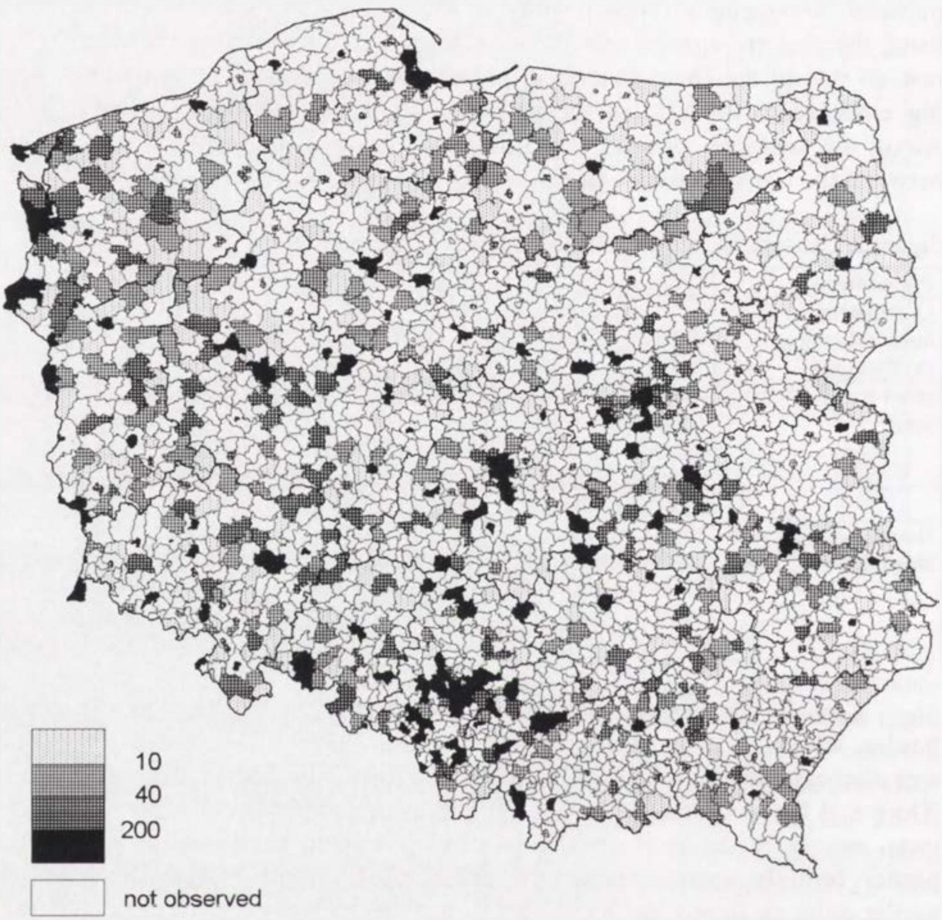
Figure 2. Causes, reaches and impacts of cross-border shopping

<table>
<tr><th>Phenomena</th><th>Causes</th><th>Reaches</th><th>Impacts</th></tr>
<tr><td>Unregistered cross-border shopping (trafficking)</td><td rowspan="3">Economic factors: differences in the development levels of the neighbouring countries in prices, tax systems, market supplies, behaviour of large trade companies; political factors: freedom to cross the border after 1989</td><td>Border zone</td><td>Entire country, mainly on the bazaar areas</td></tr>
<tr><td>cross-border shopping</td><td>The administrative units (regions) neighbouring upon the state boundaries in both countries</td><td>Border-adjacent territories in both countries and the bazaar areas in hole countries</td></tr>
<tr><td>Border-adjacent shopping</td><td>The administrative units (regions) neighbouring upon the state boundaries in one country</td><td>Border-adjacent territories in one country and the bazaar areas in hole country</td></tr>
</table>

Cross-border shopping developed most rapidly along the Polish-German border, where, side by side with the economic factors, the settlement system was also conducive to the development. The towns divided by the border rivers (Odra and Nysa) became after 1989 the areas of establishment of the trade contacts, mainly on the basis of quickly growing bazaars on the Polish side of the border. Initially, mass contacts were observed of, first of all, the citizens of the border-adjacent towns and localities. With time, the participation of population from the localities situated farther away, both among the buyers and sellers, started to be observed. On the other hand, within the eastern borderland, the sparse settlement system and the lack of larger urban centres in this area caused that the dominating destinations of the trade trips were the localities situated at some distance from the border, including, as well, such towns as Warsaw and Łódź. Generalising, we can state that within the Polish-German borderland the border-adjacent trade was mainly determined by the distance from the border, while within the eastern one – by the population number, constituting the potential purchasing power of the goods brought in.

Figure 3. The number of permanent stands on the marketplaces and bazaars in 2000 year in the setting of communes

The number of permanent stands in communes



It was stated on the basis of long-term studies of the cross-border shopping (Powęska 2000) that the spontaneous trade exchange within the Polish borderlands in the period of transformation is highly differentiated, both in space and in terms of problems arising, and that there are actually three phenomena, which compose it: (1) unregistered cross-border trade exchange, (2) cross-border shopping, situated on the both side of the border and (3) border-adjacent shopping, situated on the one side of the border. These phenomena were subject to analysis from the standpoints of their causes, reaches and impacts (fig.2).

The reasons for the three kinds of phenomena listed above are essentially the same, and they are mostly economic, that is – the differences in the development levels of the neighbouring countries, in prices, tax systems, market supplies, as well as behaviour of large trade companies on the particular national markets. Political factors, of which the most important was gaining of freedom to cross the border, played an important role, as well.

While the reasons for the three phenomena distinguished are the same, the reaches of appearance and influence are different with respect to each of them. The unregistered cross-border shopping exchange takes place directly at the border and can be identified with trafficking, while the reach of influence of this phenomenon is differentiated and depends upon many factors, including supply-demand relations for the goods transported over the border, economic profitability of the activity conducted, broader demand background, and transport costs, and within this context is not limited to the border-adjacent territories, but frequently encompasses the space of the entire country, impacting mainly on the bazaar areas. The zone of influence of the unregistered cross-border shopping exchange was differentiated in time. It was most pronounced in Poland in the years 1994-1997 and encompassed with its reach almost entire country, which was apparent, in particular, through the dynamic increase of the number of permanent stands at the bazaars (fig.3).

The cross-border and the border-adjacent shopping appear within the borderland areas, that is – the administrative units neighbouring upon the state boundaries. The reach of their influence, though, is wider than the reach of their appearance, since many people working at the bazaars located along the border actually live outside of the zone, often on the areas several hundred kilometres away. The difference between the border-adjacent and cross-border shopping is that the cross-border shopping encompasses the border-adjacent territories of two or more countries, while the border-adjacent shopping – of only one country.

Final remarks

The spatial reach of the cross-border shopping during the period of transformation changed over time and had different intensity along individual segments of the boundary. This intensity depended upon the local and national factors. The national factors are mainly the economic ones (differences in prices, incomes and taxation systems of the neighbouring countries), while the local factors include, in particular, infrastructure (transport-wise accessibility) and administration (consent from the local authorities to the conduct of shopping). Besides, one should point out that the spatial dimension of the border-adjacent trade is hard to identify, since an important part of the trade takes place within the grey zone of the economy.

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Streszczenie

HANDEL PRZYGRANICZNY W POLSCE W OKRESIE TRANSFORMACJI. ZASIĘG PRZESTRZENNY WYSTĘPOWANIA ZJAWISKA

Handel przygraniczny jest przedmiotem zainteresowania wielu badaczy w różnych regionach świata, szczególnie w obszarach, gdzie przynosi wymierne korzyści finansowe. Wskazuje się, że częstotliwość odbywania podróży w celu dokonania zakupów jest funkcją odległości od granicy co ma swoje odniesienie również do warunków polskich. Żywiołowa wymiana handlowa na obszarach przygranicznych w Polsce w okresie transformacji była bardzo zróżnicowana, zarówno przestrzennie jak i problemowo i faktycznie istniały trzy zjawiska wchodzące w jego skład: (1) nierejestrowana transgraniczna wymiana handlowa, (2) handel transgraniczny i (3) handel przygraniczny. Przyczyny, zasięg występowania i oddziaływania wyróżnionych zjawisk w okresie transformacji były zmienne w czasie i zachodziły ze zmienną intensywnością na poszczególnych odcinkach granicznych. Intensywność ta zależała od czynników lokalnych (przyzwolenie lokalnych władz na prowadzenie handlu, dostępność komunikacyjna) i ogólnokrajowych (różnice w cenach, dochodach i systemach podatkowych w sąsiadujących przez granicę państwach). Ponadto wskazać należy na fakt, że przestrzenny wymiar handlu przygranicznego jest trudny do określenia, ponieważ znaczna część tegoż handlu odbywała się w szarej strefie gospodarki.

ADAPTATION MECHANISMS FOR TRANSPORT AND SHIPPING COMPANIES IN EUROPEAN MARKET CONDITIONS

Maria MICHAŁOWSKA
Janusz FIGURA

The Karol Adamiecki Academy of Economics
in Katowice
Department of Transport

Introduction

The process of structural transformations being currently realised in Poland includes practically all areas of economic activity. One of the central areas of interest for service recipients is the market of transport and shipping services as well as the state's transport policy. With close attention, methods of action by subjects dealing with transport and shipping are observed, whose functioning and development depend on their ability to adapt to transformations occurring in the market environment. The process of object and subject-based transformations taking place in the Polish transport and shipping market is closely related to the European market. The strength and directions of changes occurring in the European transport market and its surroundings determine the conditions for realisation as well as the level of competition for transport and shipping processes, both in relation to object and subject-based aspects of the market game.

The research issues related to transformations occurring in the area of transport and shipping both in object and subject-based approach, in Polish language and foreign literature is, despite what it may seem, are not extensive. Most of the publications concern the issues of transformations limited only to issues, sometimes extremely detailed, related to integration with the European Union. The issue of integration has been addressed by many researches, conferences and more or less scientific studies. The evident domination of concerns related to integration with the European Union in the transport literature of the past decade is usually approached with regard to its application and analysis, however, the presented studies show no attempts of a complex look at the issue of integration. Authors addressing those matters most often tried to present the problematic areas, in which transport presented from different angles was treated objectively. Most often, technological conditions of transport were analysed and it was rarely that studies of the subjective side of the phenomenon of transport could be found.

Business entities dealing with transport and shipping, independent of whether they are at the moment of establishing, development, heyday, or just the opposite – stagnation, reorganising or closure, have to adjust accordingly to the conditions imposed by the transport business environment. Undoubtedly, the choice of appropriate solutions and adaptation mechanisms conforms to the assumed goal of transport entity's activity. But the essence of the value of adaptation will always be the consciously chosen shape, form or structure of the set of adaptation characteristics enabling best preparation for conditions imposed by the transport market environment.

1. The Essence of Adaptation Mechanisms for Transport and Shipping Companies

An adaptation mechanism for transport and shipping company is not a collection of single-form characteristics or even ones providing the effect of clear-cut cognition in the form of transparent arrangements or relations. On the contrary – because of the fact that it is mostly a mental, conceptual creation, thus characterised by large dynamics of change forced by the continuity of transformations of the reality – its structure is undoubtedly complex and multiform[1]. It depends on:

– complexity of socio-economic environment in which a transport company operates,
– conventional division (stage) of development, on which a given transport company finds itself,
– awareness, skills and abilities of individual persons who became – as a part of their fulfilment of management functions – the creators of the adaptation mechanism for a transport company,
– numerous formal and structural conditions of the transport company itself, resulting– to state that synthetically – from the attributes of time and space typical for its activity.

Opinions concerning conditions of adaptation mechanisms are deeply divided among authors researching the issues of company adapting. From the hypothesis formulated in the Sixties by classics T. Burns and G.M. Stalker, who proved that if a change in the environment becomes a necessity of the moment to which it is necessary to adapt, that is for example when evolving technical

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[1] G. Nizard: *Metamorfozy przedsiębiorstwa. Zarządzanie w zmiennym otoczeniu organizacji.* (Company Metamorphoses. Management in a Changeable Organisation Environment.) WN PWN, Warsaw 1998, pp. 17-20.

and market conditions bring new problems and challenges, open and flexible organisation and management styles are necessary, to the contemporary ones represented also by Polish scientists G. Nizard, J. Gościński and R. Gajęcki, who through applying situational approach in their research of company organisation and management formulate new hypotheses such as J. Gościński, who claims that organisational characteristics change in respective life stages and can be subject of measurements performed according to criteria (...) characteristic of each stage of life[2]. This means that when a company changes attributes (characteristics) of its own adaptation mechanism in accordance with the stage of life cycle, in which it finds itself at a given moment. Then, R. Gajęcki considers the idea that with such assumption and based on research of company development, a further hypothesis could be formed, that the higher stage of company development, the more complex and universally operating its adaptation mechanism should be[3].

Company adaptation mechanisms differentiate internally and introduce hierarchies mainly under the influence of company's transformations through consecutive stages of the development cycle on the one hand – as it is claimed by the group of authors researching subjective aspects of adaptation phenomena (G. Burrell and G. Morgan)[4], or the changes occur under the influence of the environment – as it is suggested by another group of authors (Pfeffer and Salancik[5], Scott[6] and Thompson[7]).

Campbell, Quinn and Rohrbauah's model assumes four elementary life stages of an organisation[8]:

- stage I – internal orientation;
- stage II – operational flexibility;
- stage III – external orientation;
- stage IV – controlled operations.

These stages are certainly model findings of both theoretical considerations and empirical experiments. However, their practical exemplification can differ and be subordinated to research purposes. For J.W. Gościński, the dimen-

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[2] J. Gościński: *Cykl życia organizacji.* (Organisation's Life Cycle) PWE, Warsaw 1989, p. 31.

[3] *Rozwój firmy. Teoria przedsiębiorstwa.* Wprowadzenie. (Company Development. Company Theory. Introduction.) Editor R. Gajęcki. SGH, Warsaw 1999, pp. 57-74.

[4] G. Burrell, G. Morgan: *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis,* Heinemann Educational Books, London 1979.

[5] Pfeffer J. Salancik G.R.: *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective,* Harper and Row, New York 1978.

[6] Scott W.R.: *Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems,* Prentice – Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1981.

[7] Thompson J.D.: *Organizations in Action,* McGraw-Hill, New York 1967.

[8] J. Gościński: op. cit., pp. 33-34.

sions of organisation's life stages are constituted by factual actions in the range of respectively[9]:

- stage I – building and formation of structures („rooting"),
- stage II – relativisation of environment („growth"),
- stage III – introducing management hierarchy („stability"),
- stage IV – strategic choices („overcoming inertia and acceleration").

From the point of view adaptation mechanisms for a transport company, the following stages of the life of an organisation have, according to the model by Campbell, Quinn and Rohrbauqh, also their strictly applicational dimension. They enable to trace the necessary evolutions of dimensions of their internal construction and the forms of consumptional abilities of companies, which those units have to acquire along with the following life stages.

From the point of view of the mechanisms of balance, K. Szałucki distinguishes four stages of life of a transport company[10]:

- stage of originating and shaping of structures,
- stage of learning market environment,
- stage of shaping the ability to make fully rational economic choices,
- stage of improving company's functioning.

Stage I in the activity of a transport company connected to its originating and shaping necessary organisational structures, for adaptational attributes will mean appearance of skills connected to regulation. Regulation is a process of securing of desirable variable values essential in the functioning of an object[11] and will be the simplest adaptation mechanism. It will facilitate taking over of the basic internal orientations and will enable to begin current activity regarding providing transport services[12].

Stage II in the activity of a transport company will be mostly a stage of learning market environment. Thus it is an activity with the goal of achieving assumed economic status. For functional mechanisms of a transport company this will mostly mean the necessity to master the skill of adaptation. Adaptation is an object's ability to change having a result in the environment, characterised by variable properties[13], especially by the sequence of processes correcting errors and irregularities of functioning[14]. This will enable flexible economic activity, and, most of all, overcoming external threats to existence and develop-

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[9] Ibid, pp. 60-61, 78-81, 60-102, 114-116.

[10] K. Szałucki: op. cit., pp. 43-45.

[11] *Słownik matematyki i cybernetyki ekonomicznej.* (The Dictionary of Mathematics and Economic Cybernetics) PWE, Warsaw 1985, p. 608.

[12] K. Szałucki: op. cit., s. 43.

[13] J. Szczepański: *Elementarne pojęcia socjologii.* (Basic concepts of sociology) PWN, Warsaw 1972, p. 477.

[14] A.K. Koźmiński: *Zarządzanie. Analiza systemowa procesów i struktur.* (Management. Systemic Analysis of Processes and Structures) PWE, Warsaw 1977, p. 189.

ment, which will be identified by the transport subject as irregularities or disturbances.

Stage III in the activity of a transport company is shaping the ability to make fully rational economic choices. In adaptation mechanisms, a set of functional rules be introduced, consisting in the optimisation skill. Optimisation is a method of acting directed at finding the best possible solution to a problem in a given situation[15]. These are the optimisation skills which will enable to efficiently use the whole potential owned by a transport company through taking effective decisions on all levels of company management. This will have result in, from one side – internal development in the area of planning realisation of transport services, and from the other side – internal stabilisation of the transport company as a whole.

Stage IV in the activity of a transport company will be the highest level of improving company's functioning. This results from the fact of dominating the mechanisms of strategic issue adaptation. Strategy is a method, in which a company intends to realise its mission as well as the procedure for achieving success, plan for action presenting the way, in which the company intends to achieve its long-term goals, making choice regarding resource allocation and realising the directions of its development with a close connection to the current and future environment, in order to achieve the goals in the best possible way, ensure the possibility of expansion and even advantage over the competition. These are strategic actions that are above average economic growths or effective method for controlling the activity of chosen market environment.

Observations and analyses of life cycles of transport companies imply a compelling conclusion that specific economic units can, in the evolution of their activity, go through only a limited scope of model stages of existence. The vast majority of subjects in the transport area, when going through the primary stages stop their development or disappear from the market structures. Only few dare and take advantage of optimisation skills, and authentic strategic attitudes are rare. But this fact does not raise practical doubts; on the way to strategic positions in transport, no preceding stage can be omitted; the values and skills connected to regulation enable efficient adaptation and without proficient practice of adaptation, the multi-criteria optimisation will be impossible, which strictly conditions strategic behaviours[16].

The environment of a transport company is characterised by a certain number of fundamental features, such as:

– the degree of stability or changeability,

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[15] *Encyklopedia organizacji i zarządzania.* (Encyclopaedia of Organisation and Management) PWE, Warsaw 1982, p. 319.

[16] K. Szałucki: *Przedsiębiorstwa transportowe. Warunki i mechanizmy równowagi.* (Transport Companies. Conditions and Mechanisms for Balance) Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 1999, p. 45.

- homogeneity or heterogeneity,
- mutual connections between elements,
- abundance or shortage of basic resources,
- standards for resource properties,
- competition, symmetry or asymmetry of mutual relationships,
- political, legal, technical, economic, social and market conditions.

A lot of attention in the conducted research is also paid to the level of turbulence and insecurity of environment, dependence on resources and special features of the context of company functioning in an environment[17].

Adaptation processes of transport companies are complex phenomena, with their essence verging various issues. The essential problem when researching phenomena of adaptation results from the fact that the complexity and degree of sophistication of thinking used by researchers cannot match the degree of complexity and sophistication of the reality experienced by a transport company. It seems that this statement is true both in relation to the world of organisation and widely regarded economic life, in which transport subjects participate. As a result, conducted research often attempt to oversimplify.

Grasping and understanding multiple meanings of situations in which transport companies find themselves undoubtedly encourages to oppose the contradictions and paradoxes destroying cohesion of adaptation processes. Understanding of the surrounding reality from the point of view of transport companies using adaptation approach in their operation helps a deeper grasp of economic phenomena to which a transport company is a subject. The methods of perceiving an economical reality are usually limited. Adaptation is an approach, which tries to explain mechanisms and relationships influencing a transport subject in its surrounding economic reality. It is true that this is a merely fragmentary dimension of comprehending economic reality, but without it, our cognition would be even poorer. Therefore, using adaptation conception, it is possible to considerably extend, shape and have a wider understanding of the spectrum of economic phenomena surrounding us in the belief, that this process can give us a chance for new horizons of understanding to emerge. In the process of adaptation, new qualitative kinds of understanding are shaped and come into being. Along with increased understanding of operation and functioning of transport subjects and its dynamically evolving environment, a deepened view of those issues is achieved. The very way of perceiving transforms our understanding of the character of adaptation phenomena.

[17] R.H. Hall: *Organizations: Structure and Process,* Prentice – Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1982.

2. Regulation Mechanisms in Transforming Transport and Shipping Subjects

Transformations of transport companies are most of all connected to remaining in a specified market sector. A transport subject functioning in a dynamic environment of the transport market should acquire a collection of information necessary for survival, ensuing from[18]:

- the economic law system currently in force in the country, especially regarding the norms of financial law for economic entities[19],
- goals and transport policy tools realised by the state, especially with regard to the prerogative consisting in „influencing the development of transport companies, diversified with relation to their ownership and structure, ensuring optimal functioning of transport services market"[20],
- external conditions of functioning of transport companies specifically on the transport services market,
- current economic events occurring in the structures of transport companies, regardless of their typology and range of occurrence[21].

On the basis of information configuration, within a transport company a certain internal area is created being a subject to transformation, understood as a structurally separated set of rules: procedures of conduct enabling to process any piece of information concerning economic management related to a given subject into a specific management decision. Thus, a transformation system in a transport company carries out a number of functions:

- identifier of problems connected to transformation of transport company's system or one of its subsystems,
- system for evaluating significance of specific economic events from the point of view of the planned aspects of transformations,
- management decision maker with regard to the transformation process in a transport company.

The model of transport and shipping company regulation in the conditions of transformations is presented in the figure 1.

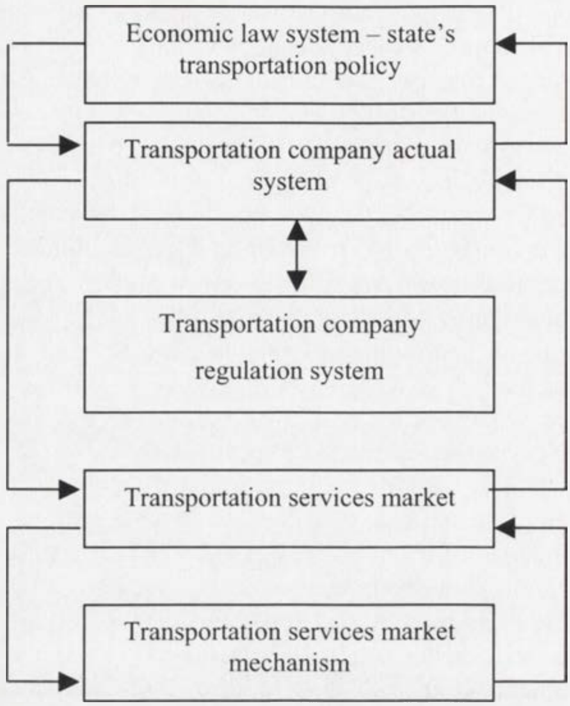
[18] K. Szałucki: op. cit., p. 47.

[19] A Majrzycka-Guzowska: *Finanse i prawo finansowe.* (Finances and Financial Law) WN PWN, Warsaw 1996, pp. 12 – 13.

[20] W. Grzywacz, K. Wojewódzka-Król, *Polityka transportowa.* (Transport Policy) UG, Gdańsk 1994, p. 18.

[21] D. Misińska: *Podstawy rachunkowości.* (Accounting Basics) WN PWN, Warsaw-Wrocław, 1995, pp. 25-33.

Fig. 1. The model of functioning for a transport company the transformation process.



Source: own study.

The formation of a transformation process in a transport company system will mean that a subject operating in conditions of changed environment will adapt to the requirements set by users, since the mechanism of transformations is a dynamic process of information exchange enabling to construct and retain relations with an open market environment[22].

The system of transformation for transport companies is highly diversified. It should be noted though, that this diversification results from specified conditions. It is mostly the result of the premises of standardisation, which postulate that any analytical system should be analysed in action with regard to the subsystems it consists of, and these in turn – in subsequent approaches – should refer to the universal rules of management or organising[23].

[22] Por. J. Gościński: *Cykl życia organizacji.* (Organisation's Life Cycle.) PWE Warsaw 1989, pp.46-47.

[23] M. Bielski: *Organizacje. Istota, struktury, procesy.* (Organisations. Essence, Structures, Processes.) UŁ, Łódź 1992, pp. 84-96.

Practically, the system for transformation of transport companies presents itself as a mechanism of action, shaped by the processes, which commonly and identifiably are present in economic units. Evidently, the functioning of transformation processes for subjects dealing with transport relates to the following systems:
- management,
- economic/financial,
- marketing.

The dominating aspect of functioning of the transformation systems present in transport companies are their management systems[24]. This results mostly from the fact of ubiquity of different aspects of management in the structures of transport subjects. If the transformation process operates in a transport company, it cannot operate in isolation form the management process. If we understand the management process as a set of actions including planning, organising, leadership and controlling focused on organisation's resources (human, financial, information-related, material), performed with the aim of achieving organisation's goals in an efficient manner, then the transformation process will be a collection of detailed tools employed to carry out the management of a transport company. The transformation system though has to have the nature of a solution of a universal model. The goals and resources of a transport unit are subject to significant changes, transformed are also the values and levels of executive actions, but the standard model, to which those variables should be assigned to, should remain unchanged.

The second area of functioning of the transformation systems appearing in practice in transport companies are economic/financial systems. Their functioning ensues from the necessity of realising service tasks in accordance with the requirements of economic activity and the duty of measurement and accounting of economic activity in terms of values. The essence of the economic/financial system is in such shaping of economic conditions of transport company functioning, so that it is interested in effective management and the possibilities of raising its level[25]. The structure of economic/financial system in transport company will be filled with instruments and procedures for effectuating, which are to ensure effective actions. Similarly to the management systems, the economic/financial systems constitute a certain standard for behaviour, universal for various decisive economic events in the course of the transformation process. The relations between the management and economic/financial system

[24] W. Bąkowski: *Podstawy organizacji i zarządzania w transporcie.* (Basics of Organisation and Management in Transport) WKiŁ Warsaw 1987, pp. 61-67.

[25] A. Szewczuk: *Struktury decyzyjne a system ekonomiczno-finansowy przedsiębiorstwa transportu samochodowego.* (Decisive Structures and Economical/Financial System of a Car Transport Company) Przegląd Komunikacyjny 1985, issue 2, p. 27.

in transport company transformation process are most evident in the marketing system.

The marketing system of transport companies is another example of functioning of a transformation process. The activity of this unit is a result of learning by the company of trends and regularities that are formed on collectively created segments of the transport services market.

The structure of the marketing system can thus be brought to „creating appropriate composition of elements and linking them depending on: the product sold, market character, character of recipients or sales methods used"[26]. The transformation factors of marketing systems will be universal, commonly used instruments of shaping market decisions, of which specific forms or values can affect the environment[27].

The distinguished systems for generating transformations in the activity of transport companies on the following levels: management structures, economic/financial relations and marketing conditions are the fundamental instruments of shaping transformation mechanisms on the regulation level in a transport company. Certainly, the regulation systems in a transport company do not exhaust the issue of transformation. However, addressing the statistical domination of events for typical economies[28], it can be justified that exclusive, complementary and substitutional functioning of the management, economic/financial and marketing systems within the framework of a synergically understood company regulation system, includes potentially all transformations of economic events into management decisions.

Conclusion

Economic subjects in the transport and shipment sector, functioning in competitive and highly changeable market environment are subject to various trends, whose strength and direction result from internal and external conditions. Dynamically changing transport market, and in fact the needs of transport service recipients pose to transport and shipping companies the requirement of taking various actions with the aim of positive acceptation of the volume and quality level of services provided. The satisfaction of the recipients of transport and shipping services is not only a result of positive evaluation of structure, quality and price of the offered services, but, most of all, their adaptation. The characterisation of transformations occurring in the transport and service sector

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[26] *Leksykon marketingu.* (Lexicon of Marketing) Editors J. Altkorn and T. Kramer. PWE, Warsaw 1998, p. 250.

[27] R. Niestrój: *Zarządzanie marketingiem. Aspekty strategiczne.* (Management in Marketing. Strategic Aspects) WN PWN, Warsaw 1998, p. 250.

[28] M. Okólski, I. Timofiejuk: *Statystyka ekonomiczna. Elementy teorii.* (Economic Statistics. Elements of Theory.) PWE, Warsaw 1981, pp. 15-20.

should be made with respect to such aspects as: influence of the globalisation process on the Polish transport and shipping sector, the directions of development of the European transport and shipping services sector, the course of integration processes of the Polish transport and shipping sector with the European Union and the form of economic subjects dealing with transport and shipping.

Within the area of transport and shipping market development, a tendency to create oligopoly structures can be observed, i.e. that an increasingly domineering position on the European market will be assumed by big transport and shipping companies providing complex services. The future of small and medium-size transport and shipping companies will greatly depend on their flexibility on the one hand, and specialisation in specific areas of demand for transport and shipping services on the other hand.

The basic trend currently in the area of Polish transport and shipping sector is the process of adapting companies and services for the conditions present in the European Union regarding realisation of logistic services. It should be clearly stated, that almost 75% of income from logistic services is connected to activity in the transport and shipping sector, while the scope of income from remaining services is respectively: storage - 12%, distribution - 8%, customs services - 3%, cross-docking - 2%, logistics solutions consulting - 1%, other - 1%. Such structure of income distribution from respective fields of activity clearly shows, that the Polish market of transport and shipping services is yet to undergo the adaptation process towards logistic services. It is estimated that current share of logistic services in the transport market is 20% (rising), the remaining part are transport services - 35% (falling) and shipping services - 45% (rising). These facts should be taken into consideration both by economic subjects and creators of Polish transport policy.

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Streszczenie

MECHANIZMY ADAPTACJI PRZEDSIĘBIORSTW SPEDYCYJNO-TRANSPORTOWYCH W WARUNKACH RYNKU EUROPEJSKIEGO

Transport i spedycja należą do tych segmentów polskiego rynku, które w okresie powstawania, rozwoju i ekspansji stosunków rynkowych podlegały procesowi gwałtownych i głębokich przeobrażeń prowadzących do ukształtowania nowych warunków funkcjonowania operujących na nim przedsiębiorstw, różnych od tych, które znane były w okresie poprzedzającym transformację. Sama produkcja transportowa, ze względu na jej zmienność w czasie i przestrzeni, obfituje w różnorodność zdarzeń gospodarczych, a w związku z tym i wartości poznawczych. Jeżeli dodać do tego dynamikę kształtowania się sytuacji rynkowych w świetle integracji z Unią Europejską spektrum obszarów poznania jest praktycznie nieograniczona.

W artykule skoncentrowano uwagę na doborze odpowiednich rozwiązań i mechanizmów adaptacyjnych w przedsiębiorstwach transportowo-spedycyjnych, przedstawiając analizę funkcjonowania procesów przekształceń podmiotów realizujących transport i spedycję w sferze systemu zarządzania, systemów ekonomiczno-finansowych oraz systemu marketingowego. Powołano się tutaj na statystyczną dominację zdarzeń dla gospodarek typowych, uzasadniając, że wyłączne, komplementarne i substytucyjne funkcjonowanie wymienionych elementów, w ramach synergicznie rozumianego systemu regulacji przedsiębiorstwa, obejmuje potencjalnie wszystkie przekształcenia zdarzeń gospodarczych w decyzje kierownicze.

SYSTEMIC POSITION OF NATIONAL BANK OF POLAND AFTER POLAND'S ACCESSION TO EUROPEAN UNION

Bartosz KITOWSKI

Higher School of Administration
and Management in Przemyśl

After Poland's accession to the European Union, our country profits from the so-called principle of derogation, consisting in participation in the 3rd stage of economic and currency integration, but without joining the single currency. In this way, the National Bank of Poland became a member of the European System of Central Banks, but without possibility to carry out the common monetary policy. In this context, attention should be turned to the fact that contemporary banking systems usually consist of two levels. On the first one is the central bank, the other one consists of commercial banks, acting on the area of a given state, The banking system itself is a concept that serves to specify the total of organisational units, engaged in banking activity in a given country, and the principles, according to which such an activity is executed, and to describe mutual relations between such entities[1]. The two-level character of the banking system means that there is one central bank, playing the role of the state's bank, the so-called bank of banks, and the bank of issue that affects all the economy by specific instruments applied to commercial banks; it holds their bank accounts and services the account of the state budget. Whereas the second level of the banking system consists of commercial banks of uneven character. Contemporary central banks are one of the main financial instruments in the national economy. Fulfilling specific tasks, they affect the monetary and credit policy of operational banks. By means of them the state regulates the currency market as well. Moreover, very important is the role of the central bank as a financial institution servicing organisational units of the State and representation of it in external contacts[2]. The central bank is to fulfil in the national economy several important tasks, connected with the circulation of money and supply of the economy with credit. It is primarily responsible for inflow of cash money to the economy and creation of credit money by commercial banks. In addition to this, it creates conditions for an efficient course of money clearings,

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[1] Bień – Kacała A (in:) Witkowski Z. (ed.) *Prawo konstytucyjne.* Toruń 2002, p. 610
[2] Węcławski J. *System bankowy w Polsce.* Rzeszów 2000, p. 47

made through banks. While executing its basic tasks concerning the monetary policy, the central bank is directed by the entrusted goals that are of universal and timeless character[3]. There are often important controversies around their contents and the way they are formed; such controversies reflect the economic doctrine governing a given country and are the way to implement the economic policy. In the contemporary developed market economies the unquestioned goal of the long-term policy of the central bank is stability of the money. Realisation of the goal is carried out by means of monetary policy instrument, applied by the bank. The fact that the central bank may undertake activities in this direction requires that regulations concerning its position in the system of state authority agencies should be placed in a normative act of the supreme legal power, i.e. in the Constitution. It has acquired a specific meaning after 1st May 2004, when Poland became the member of the European Union, and the National Bank of Poland – the member of the European System of Central Banks.

The European System of Central Banks consists of the European Central Bank and national central banks. In order that the whole system could operate effectively the full cohesion of structures and tasks of all those institutions is indispensable[4]. The single money requires carrying out the common monetary policy. Thus on the single market of money it would be absurd to increase interest rates in one country with parallel lowering them in another one. Hence statutes of national central banks, their goals and tasks must be made uniform. For the present shape of regulations concerning central banks the greatest meaning has the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union, signed on 7th February 1992[5]. The requirement of complying with the common activity rules was reflected in the same provisions of the Maastricht Treaty[6]. According to the Treaty each national central bank willing to participate in the Eurosystem must be independent of the political authority, and the main goal of its activity should be to maintain stability of prices. Independence of the national central banks prior to accession to the European Union was evaluated according to the same criterion as in the case of the European Central Bank, i.e. institutional, personal, functional and financial independence. Institutional independence is expressed by the fact that the only entity authorised to take decisions concerning monetary policy are authorities of the central bank, which in their activity may not be directed by any instructions, suggestions or orders by the government, parliament, president, or any other state or international institutions. On the other

[3] Węcławski J. *System bankowy w Polsce.* Rzeszów 2000, p. 48

[4] Wierzba R. *Europejski Bank Centralny.* Warszawa 2003, p. 69

[5] Wojtaszek – Mik E., Mik C. *Traktaty Europejskie.* Kraków 2000

[6] Art. 109/*108* of the Maastricht Treaty provides that each member-state ensures, the latest until the date of establishing the European System of Central Banks, compliance of the national legislation, jointly with the statute of the national central bank, with this Treaty and the Statute of the European System of Central Banks.

hand, personal independence is expressed by ensuring presidents of national central banks stability and time perspective for execution of their missions, consisting, first, in shaping and realisation of the monetary policy. For this purpose a requirement was introduced so that heads of central banks from states participating in the Eurosystem should be appointed for at least 5-year terms, during which they could not be dismissed unless on their own request or in cases of committing a major crime, confirmed by a court judgement. Functional independence is reflected in the fact that banks are provided with due powers and tools, enabling taking actions, both of administrative and economic character. Such actions are to be taken by banks in an independent and effective way, and the purpose of them is to shape and realise the monetary policy. A supplement for functional independence is financial independence. This means that money resources, indispensable for execution of its tasks by the central bank may not depend on decisions by other institutions[7].

For showing the place of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) and its bodies in the Polish law an important meaning will have statutory regulations. The Statute on the NBP contains provisions that confirm a thesis that the National Bank of Poland is not a state-owned enterprise. The Statute specifies, however, the seat of the central bank of the State as the Capital City of Warsaw, which is characteristic for an entrepreneur rather than for an office of the state administration agency[8]. Moreover, the Statute provides that bankruptcy of the NBP cannot be announced[9], which is also characteristic for an entrepreneur and not for an office. At the same time the Statute allows possibility of the NBP being a member of international banking and financial institutions, which is of vital meaning in the aspect of Poland's accession to the European Union and of the NBP – to the European System of Central Banks.

For the systemic position of the NBP it will be very important to show the basic premise followed by the Polish constitutional legislators, indicating the place of the NBP in the system of the state authority agencies. Here I mean the statement that similarly as the principle of the democratic state of law makes the law a system of rules, binding both the governing and citizens, and does not allow making law only a tool for realisation of specific political goals by the currently governing orientation, the principle of the social market economy, declared in the contents of the Constitution as the base for the Polish economic system, requires making the money functioning in the country a real determi-

[7] Baka W. *Bankowość centralna.* Zarządzanie i finanse. Warszawa 2001, p. 282 and others.

[8] Kosikowski C. *Pozycja Narodowego Banku Polskiego i jego organów w prawie polskim (stan obecny i postulaty na przyszłość).* Państwo i Prawo 2002, No. 11, p. 15

[9] Cf. art. 58 of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz.U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

nant of commodities, services and all material goods value[10]. In order to obtain such a condition a similar operation had to be made in the Constitution as in case of the law sources. Namely, I mean here separation of the monetary system from authority of an equip that governs each time and making the money a similarly objective measure of value as the law has been made an objective complex of behaviour rules. The Government and the Parliament that want to carry out the proper economic policy must reach for the money that has relative stability and use it as an instrument of objective value, independent of actual needs of such bodies. Money, similarly as law, concerns both the governing and citizens, and as law it may not be dependent only on persons who have power in the state. Similarly, only the money that has relative stability allows measuring objectively effects of the economic policy that is carried out.

It is very important to distinguish from the legislator the subject that carries out the State's policy – this is, of course, the Government and its specialised agencies. Similarly to the latter one should distinguish an institution that has been appointed to create the monetary system of the country, which is responsible for the money value and stability, and at the same time is not responsible directly for the economic development of the State. This is of course the National Bank of Poland that is the institution creating the monetary system in Poland. It is, firstly, the entity issuing money in the amounts established by itself, and secondly, it takes several other decisions that aim at maintaining a good condition of the money in our country. I mean here, *inter alia,* establishing of the interest rate, establishing of the money reserve amount, of which banks cannot dispose any more, or establishing exchange rates for foreign currencies.

In this way the National Bank of Poland executes its constitutional task of responsibility for the value of the Polish money[11]. A critical appraisal should be applied to a conclusion, as if art. 227 of the Constitution provided for the right to exclusive establishment and execution of the monetary policy. The second sentence of art. 227, par. 1[12 *] consists of two parts joined by a conjunction between two sentences"as well as" („oraz"). Exclusiveness has been restricted only to the first part of the sentence, concerning issue of the money. In the second part of it, after the conjunction"as well as" („oraz") there is no reference to granting the NBP exclusiveness concerning establishment and execution of the

[10] Sarnecki P. (in:) Sarnecki P. (ed.) *Prawo konstytucyjne RP.* Warszawa 2004, p. 320

[11] Cf. art. 227 par. 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 78, item 483).

[12] Art. 227, par. 1 sentence 2":… shall be entitled to the exclusive right of money issue, as well as (oraz) establishment and (i) execution of the monetary policy."

* Translator's note: the Polish conjunction „oraz" may mean both „and" and „as well as," whereas the Polish conjunction „i" means „and" (the latter may also be a particle and have other meanings then).

monetary policy[13]. This means that the rights in this respect also belong to the Government. A vital meaning has the fact that the grammatical interpretation of the provision of art. 227, par. 1 sentence 2 of the Constitution does not give any grounds to conclude that the NBP and the Government create two economic policies independent of each other[14].

Despite independence of the National Bank of Poland of the Ministers' Council, the Statute on the NBP provides that the National Bank of Poland has a duty to support the economic policy of the Government, provided that this does not restrict the basic goal of the NBP, i.e. maintaining a stable level of prices[15]. Here it is possible to notice concretisation of the recommendation placed in the Introduction to the Constitution, namely, building procedures for the authorities' co-operation. This is also an adaptation of the regulation included in the Maastricht Treaty and the accompanying Statute of the European System of Central Banks[16]. Thus the National Bank of Poland has a double character, on the one hand it is a traditional bank, carrying out financial activity that is characteristic for such institutions and on the other, its agencies are at the same time the State agencies, appointed to execute important public competences, which can be included among proper competences of the executive's agencies, i.e. the so-called second power. The NBP is a bank, and it is neither an office nor a classical entrepreneur. What is more, the NBP is not an operational bank, although it executes some operational activities (holding bank accounts, granting re-financing credits, granting warranties and guarantees). Thus it is not a subject to general rules of banking activity established by the Banking Law[17]. It is the central bank of the State, which generally means a position separate from other banks and from other legal entities. That is why any comparisons of the NBP's position with other entities are not justified and hence they become pointless. On the other hand, it is important whether the organisational and legal form of the NBP ensures its independence of the Government and enables performance of the functions of the State's central bank. By the way, this is a worldwide problem[18]. The novelty of the constitutional regulations is specification of the legal status of the managing bodies of the NBP as well as its

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[13] Tupin R. *Sprawa nadrzędna – gospodarka.* Rzeczpospolita daily 2001, No. 11, p. 2

[14] Tupin R. *Niezależność NBP a obowiązek dbałości o stan gospodarki narodowej (uwagi krytyczne i de lege ferenda).* Przegląd Ustawodawstwa Gospodarczego 2002, No. 6, p. 14

[15] Cf. art. 3, par. 1 of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

[16] Cf. art. 105, par. 1 of the Maastricht Treaty and art. 2 of the Statute of the European System of Central Banks.

[17] (Dz.U. – Journal of Law from 1997 No. 140, item 939.)

[18] Kosikowski C. *Pozycja Narodowego banku Polskiego i jego organów w prawie polskim (stan obecny i postulaty na przyszłość).* Państwo i Prawo 2002, No. 11, p. 15

competence[19]. The agencies of the National Bank of Poland are the Monetary Policy Council (MPC), the Board of the National Bank of Poland, and the President of the NBP, heading the two before-named agencies. The main constitutional body of the NBP is the Monetary Policy Council, holding its meetings at least once a month and it takes its resolutions by majority of votes in presence of at least 5 members of the Council, including its chairperson. The constitutional task of the Council is to establish yearly some premises of the monetary policy, and then being guided by such premises, to take some steps aiming at stabilisation of the money, including passing of legal regulations[20]. The Monetary Policy Council consists of the President of the NBP and three members appointed by each of the following: the Sejm, the Senate and the President of the Republic of Poland (the President of the RP). We may notice here some care by the legislator not to allow that the Monetary Policy Council should become and agency of one policy, hence its composition must be decided by three different entities[21]. The term of individual members of the MPC begins at the same time, lasts for 6 years and is of one-time character. The power of the President of the RP that authorises him to elect three members of the MPC does not require the countersignature by the President of the Ministers' Council to be valid, which means that the Government has no influence on the composition of the Monetary Policy Council. The agencies appointing individual members may dismiss them, but only in case they have resigned of their function, been convicted by the final court sentence for a crime, suffer of a disease disabling permanently performance of their function and if contrary to the disposition included in the contents of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland they have not suspended their activity in a political party or a trade union[22]. Members of the Monetary Policy Council are not subject to constitutional responsibility before the Tribunal of State.

The Board of the NBP executes resolutions by the MPC and implements its statutory tasks. Its activity concerning realisation of monetary policy premises is subject to control by the MPC. The Board of the NBP consists of the President of the National Bank of Poland, two vice-presidents and from 4 to 6 members. All of them are appointed by the President of Poland on the motion of the President of the NBP. Despite the fact that this official act by the President of the RP has not been covered by the contents of art. 144 of the Constitu-

[19] Skrzydło W. *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Komentarz.* Zakamycze 2000, p. 306

[20] Cf. art. 12, par. 2,3,4, art. 24, art. 46, art. 65, par. 5 of the Statute in the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

[21] Skrzydło W. *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Komentarz.* Zakamycze 2000, p. 307

[22] Cf. art. 14, par. 2 and art. 13, par. 5 of the Statute in the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

tion, it may seem that the countersignature by the President of the Ministers'Council will be required for its validity. Yet, due to the principle of the NBP's independence of the Government and due to logic of the described situation, i.e. lack of the countersignature requirement in case of appointing members of the MPC, i.e. a higher level body, it must be assumed that appointment of the Board members of the NBP, i.e. a lower body should be relieved from the duty of countersignature[23].

The president of the NBP has first of all representative functions. Besides he has the right to make property declarations in the name of the NBP[24]. The President of the NBP also represents the Polish State in international banking and financial institutions[25]. Yet, his main role is that he chairs the MPC and the Board of the NBP, which entrusts him important participation in decisions by those bodies. Besides he is the supervisor of all employees of the NBP, and he also heads the revision committee in the NBP. Moreover, the President of the National Bank of Poland is the *ex officio* chairperson of the Banking Supervision Committee (BSC), which, despite this, is not a statutory agency of the NBP. It is a collective state agency, acting beside the structure of the NBP's agencies[26], having at the same time an extra-constitutional character[27]. It should be also mentioned that despite the fact that the regulations establishing the BSC are included into the Statute on the NBP, which would indicate an organisational connection with the central bank, this is, however, not confirmed by respective regulations of both this Statute and the Constitution[28]. According to the provisions of the Constitution and the Statute on the NBP, the Banking Supervision Committee is not listed among agencies of the central bank.

The President of the National Bank of Poland is elected by the Sejm, but on the necessary motion of the President of Poland, for a six-year term, and the same person may be re-elected only once. The President of the NBP is an officer of a great degree of independence and not great responsibility to the Sejm.

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[23] Sarnecki P. (in:) Sarnecki P. (ed.) *Prawo konstytucyjne RP.* Warszawa 2004, p. 322

[24] Cf. art. 11, par. 2, art. 56 of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

[25] As per the contents of art. 11 of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938), the President of the National Bank of Poland represents interests of the Republic of Poland in international financial institutions unless the Ministers' Council decides otherwise.

[26] Tupin R. *Status prawny i kompetencje prawotwórcze organów Narodowego Banku Polskiego i Komisji Nadzoru Bankowego.* Przegląd Ustawodawstwa Gospodarczego 1998, No. 7-8, p. 2

[27] Pracz K. *Status prawny Komisji Nadzoru Bankowego.* Przegląd Ustawodawstwa Gospodarczego 2001, No. 11, p. 2.

[28] Kaszubski R.W. *Komisja Nadzoru Bankowego- nowa jakość w administracji publicznej.* Glosa 1998, No. 11, p.5

He may be dismissed only in case he has failed to fulfil his duties, if he suffers from a long-lasting disease, has been convicted by the final court sentence for committing a crime, and by the Tribunal of State to a penalty of injunction to hold managerial posts or performing public functions connected with great responsibility[29]. To dismiss the President of the NBP a motion by the President of Poland is not required any longer.

To sum up the above a stress should be placed on several questions. Firstly, the President of the National Bank of Poland, despite the fact that he is the chairperson of the two remaining agencies of the NBP, cannot enforce his will upon them, because they are collective bodies and they need not share the point of the President of the NBP, while voting. On the other hand, the President is the only officer who is not legally responsible before the Tribunal of State according to provisions of the Statute on the NBP. Secondly, the Monetary Policy Council that establishes premises of the monetary policy either is not to be appraised by the remaining agencies of the NBP, or by the State agencies and it is not legally responsible for the contents of the monetary policy premises. Thirdly, the MPC may appraise negatively the activity of the Board of the National Bank of Poland concerning implementation of the monetary policy premises, also including the activity of the President of the NBP as the chairperson of the Board. Fourthly, the Board of the NBP does not appraise activity of the remaining agencies of the NBP. In the literature it is raised that relations of that type are not completely correct, especially from the viewpoint of legal responsibility for the overall activity of the National Bank of Poland[30].

The monetary policy premises, passed by the MPC, are presented to the Sejm, but only for information[31]. This means that they are not approved by the Sejm; they cannot be amended or rejected. Their goal is, so to speak, to make the Sejm understand at what condition of the money it may carry out its economic policy, and primarily, how it may shape the budget. It should be added, that such premises are presented parallel to introduction by the Ministers' Council of a Bill for the State budget. Thus, we may notice here synchronisation of activities of the Monetary Policy Council and the Ministers' Council. The Statute on the NBP also requires sending by the President in the name of the MPC drafts of the monetary policy premises to the Ministers' Council and the Minister of Finances, observing the due term, so that they can be considered while preparing the State budget. On the other hand, the Budgetary Bill is given an opinion by the Monetary Policy Council, and this opinion is presented to the

[29] Cf. art. 9, par. 5 of the Statute on the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).
[30] Kosikowski C. *Pozycja Narodowego banku Polskiego i jego organów w prawie polskim (stan obecny i postulaty na przyszłość).* Państwo i Prawo 2002, No. 11, p. 15
[31] Art. 227, par. 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 78, item 483).

Ministers' Council (the Sejm is omitted here). The Council presents the Sejm report on execution of the monetary policy premises, within 5 months since the end of the budgetary year. This deadline is identical with date when the Ministers' Council has to present the Sejm the report on the budget execution and is similarly controlled by the Supreme Supervision Chamber (SSC). The SSC presents the Sejm an analysis of the monetary policy execution[32].

The main systemic idea concerning the position of the National Bank of Poland after Poland's accession to the European Union is its independence of the Parliament and the Government. Such independence may be referred to by the name of political independence, consisting in lack of possibility to express disapproval concerning activity in merits of the NBP, and first of all in lack of possibility to make any personal reshuffling in compositions of its agencies and to affect the change to the course of action. On the other hand, it is the SSC that has powers to control the National Bank of Poland, based on the Statute on the Supreme Supervising Chamber of 23rd Dec. 1994[33]. This control is of course of no political character, but it is professional and on merits. Any charges by the SSC against the President of the NBP are to be presented to the Sejm[34]. What is interesting, legal consequences of such occurrence are not regulated by law. Of course, the agencies of the National Bank of Poland are subject to control concerning law abiding and must suffer possible consequences of violation of it. A special attention here must be turned to constitutional responsibility of the President of the NBP before the Tribunal of State[35].

Lack of dependence of the NBP's organs on the Sejm and their independence of the Ministers' Council does not exclude numerous links between those organs. This is realisation of the constitutional premise on co-operation of authorities, developed in the contents of the Statute of the National Bank of Poland that states a requirement of co-operation with competent state agencies in shaping and realisation of the economic policy, and in particular conveying them, besides monetary policy premises, information concerning realisation of such a policy as well[36]. On the other hand, organs of the NBP may give opinions on Governmental Bills on economic policy and of importance for

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[32] Art. 204, par. 1, item 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 78, item 483).

[33] (the final version Dz. U. – Journal of Law from 2001, No. 85, item 937 with amendments.)

[34] Cf. art. 2, par.1, art. 7, item 6 of the Statute on the Supreme Supervising Chamber of 23rd Dec. 1994 (the final version Dz. U. – Journal of Law from 2001, No. 85, item 937 with amendments).

[35] Art. 198, par. 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 78, item 483).

[36] Cf. art. 21 of the Statute of the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).

the banking system. The President of the NBP presents the Sejm quarterly information on the balance of payments and yearly balances of dues and liabilities of the State. Moreover, attention should be turned to necessity of co-operation with the Minister of Finances, resulting from the Statute, in preparation of financial plans[37]. Reversing the situation as well some duties of the Ministers' Council should be indicated. The duty to shape by the Ministers' Council the currency policy in agreement with the Monetary Policy Council will be very important here, and in particular establishing within this agreement the exchange rate of the zloty in relation to foreign currencies[38]. Yet the most important competence of the Ministers' Council towards the National Bank of Poland is the right of the Government to analyse and approve the yearly financial report by the NBP[39]. Lack of the required approval results in necessary to present the report once again, without any discrepancies, early criticised by the Ministers' Council.

Thus it is possible to state that the solutions applied in Poland guarantee independence of the central bank in the listed questions and are convergent with standards of independence of this institution of other State agencies, accepted by the European Union. We may, of course, also quote arguments against granting the central bank such advanced independence. First of all, the monetary policy is an element of the economic policy, so it should be cohesive, which may be undoubtedly difficult due to forming and realising this policy by organs that are independent of each other[40]. To sum up, we can state that autonomy of the central bank, having the basic meaning for the systemic position of that institution after Poland's accession to the European Union is decided by several factors. Using an analogy we can compare independence of the central bank with the position of the judiciary in a democratic state of law. The goal of the central bank is to take care of the social value – the stable money. Thus the bank, while realising this goal must be independent of the executive. The factors that decide the autonomy of the central bank may comprise specification of the goal for activity of the bank and the way of realising it, the way of appointing the bank authorities and involvement of the bank in financing the State budget. The EU regulations in this respect require that regulations concerning such factors should be included in a normative act of duly high rank, i.e. the Constitution in the best case, which in the Polish system of law sources is met without any doubt. This has connection with recognition of the role and func-

[37] Art. 21, item 2 of the Statute of the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).
[38] Art. 24 of the Statute of the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).
[39] Art. 69 of the Statute of the National Bank of Poland of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 140, item 938).
[40] Węcławski J. *System bankowy w Polsce.* Rzeszów 2000, p. 52

tion currently played by the central bank in the national economy, and in particular concerning establishment and realisation of the monetary policy.

A separate problem, raising some anxiety, is a fact that the Polish constitutional legislator assumes superiority of the Constitution over the community law *(acquis communautaire).* Art. 91, par. 3, referring to the so-called derivative *acquis communautaire* provides that "If this results from an agreement constituting an international organisation, ratified by the Republic of Poland, the law passed by it is directly applied, having priority in case of conflict with Statutes". In the regulation, quoted above there is a reference only and exclusively to priority in case of conflict with Statutes, and there is no reference to conflict with the Constitution. On the other hand, in the community law there is a principle of priority of *acquis communautaire* over all domestic law. In case of conflict of norms of the community law, e.g. concerning the central bank and the Constitution, the only way to implement both principles that are mentioned above would be either a change to the constitutional norm, or a change of the norm of the *acquis communautaire.* The problem does not concern the so-called original community law, where art. 91, par. 1 and 2 of the Constitution will be applicable. According to those regulations, a ratified international agreement, after promulgation in the Journal of Law, constitutes part of the domestic legal system and is applicable directly unless application of it is subject to passing of a statute. It should be noted that the Constitution of the Republic of Poland allows transferring, based on an international agreement, competence of the State authority agencies in some cases to an international organisation or an organisational organ[41]. In this way, we may perceive here some quantitative limitation, thus the State may not transfer all or even majority of its competence[42], which means that anxiety concerning loss of independence by the National Bank of Poland is not justified.

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[41] Art. 90 of the constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 78, item 483)

[42] Wojtyczek K. (in:) Sarnecki P. (ed.) *Prawo konstytucyjne RP.* Warszawa 2004, p. 427

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Statute – Banking Law of 29th August 1997 (Dz. U. Journal of Law No. 140, item 939)
Statute on the Supreme Supervising Chamber of 23rd December 1994 (final version Dz. U. Journal of Law No. 85, item 937)

Streszczenie

POZYCJA USTROJOWA NARODOWEGO BANKU POLSKIEGO PO WSTĄPIENIU POLSKI DO UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ

Po wstąpieniu Polski do Unii Europejskiej nasz kraj korzysta z tzw. zasady derogacji, polegającej na udziale w trzecim etapie integracji gospodarczej i walutowej, ale bez przyjęcia wspólnej waluty. Tym samym Narodowy Bank Polski stał się członkiem Europejskiego Systemu Banków Centralnych, ale bez możliwości prowadzenia wspólnej polityki pieniężnej. Współczesne banki centralne są jednymi z głównych instytucji finansowych w gospodarce narodowej. To, że bank centralny może podejmować działania w tym zakresie wymaga, aby regulacje, dotyczące jego pozycji w systemie organów

władzy państwowej znalazły się w akcie normatywnym o najwyższej mocy prawnej, czyli Konstytucji. A szczególnego znaczenia nabiera to po 1 maja 2004r.

Naczelną ideą ustrojową dotyczącą pozycji Narodowego Banku Polskiego po wstąpieniu Polski do Unii Europejskiej jest jego niezależność od parlamentu i rządu. Tą niezależność możemy określić mianem niezależności politycznej, polegającej na braku możliwości wyrażenia dezaprobaty, co do merytorycznej działalności NBP, a przede wszystkim braku możliwości dokonywania dowolnych roszad personalnych w składach jego organów i wpływania na zmianę linii postępowania.

Pomimo niezależności Narodowego Banku Polskiego od Rady Ministrów ustawa o NBP stanowi, że na Narodowym Banku Polskim ciąży obowiązek wspierania polityki gospodarczej Rządu, pod warunkiem, że nie ogranicza to podstawowego celu NBP, jakim jest utrzymanie stabilnego poziomu cen. Można w tym miejscu dostrzec konkretyzację zalecenia umieszczonego we wstępie do Konstytucji, a mianowicie budowania procedur współdziałania władz. Jest to również adaptacja regulacji zawartych w Traktacie z Maastricht oraz towarzyszącego mu Statutu Europejskiego Systemu Banków Centralnych. Narodowy Bank Polski posiada zatem podwójny charakter, z jednej strony jest tradycyjnym bankiem, prowadzącym charakterystyczną dla tych instytucji działalność finansową, z drugiej strony jego organy są jednocześnie organami państwa powołanymi do wykonywania ważnych kompetencji publicznych, które możemy zaliczyć do kompetencji właściwych dla organów władzy wykonawczej, czyli tzw. drugiej władzy. Organami Narodowego Banku Polskiego są Rada Polityki Pieniężnej, Zarząd Narodowego Banku Polskiego i Prezes NBP stojący na czele dwóch w/w organów.

Można zatem stwierdzić, że zastosowane w Polsce rozwiązania gwarantują niezależność bankowi centralnemu i są zbieżne z przyjętymi w Unii Europejskiej standardami niezależności tej instytucji od innych organów państwowych.

Osobny problem, budzący pewien niepokój, stanowi fakt, że polski prawodawca konstytucyjny przyjmuje nadrzędność Konstytucji nad prawem wspólnotowym. Art. 91, ust. 3, który odnosi się do tzw. prawa wspólnotowego pochodnego stanowi, iż „Jeżeli wynika to z ratyfikowanej przez Rzeczypospolitą Polską umowy konstytuującej organizację międzynarodową prawo przez nią stanowione jest stosowane bezpośrednio, mając pierwszeństwo w przypadku kolizji z ustawami". W cytowanym wyżej przepisie jest mowa tylko i wyłącznie o pierwszeństwie w przypadku kolizji z ustawami, nie ma tu mowy o kolizji z Konstytucją. Z kolei w prawie wspólnotowym przyjmuje się zasadę pierwszeństwa prawa wspólnotowego przed całym prawem wewnętrznym. W przypadku kolizji norm prawa wspólnotowego, dotyczących np. banku centralnego z Konstytucją, jedynym sposobem na realizację obu wyżej wymienionych zasad byłaby albo zmiana normy konstytucyjnej, albo zmiana normy prawa wspólnotowego.

SPATIAL DIVERSIFICATION OF HIGH TECHNOLOGIES ENTERPRISES

Zbigniew MAKIEŁA
Roman FEDAN
Arkadiusz BUZIEWICZ

University of Pedagogy
Cracow

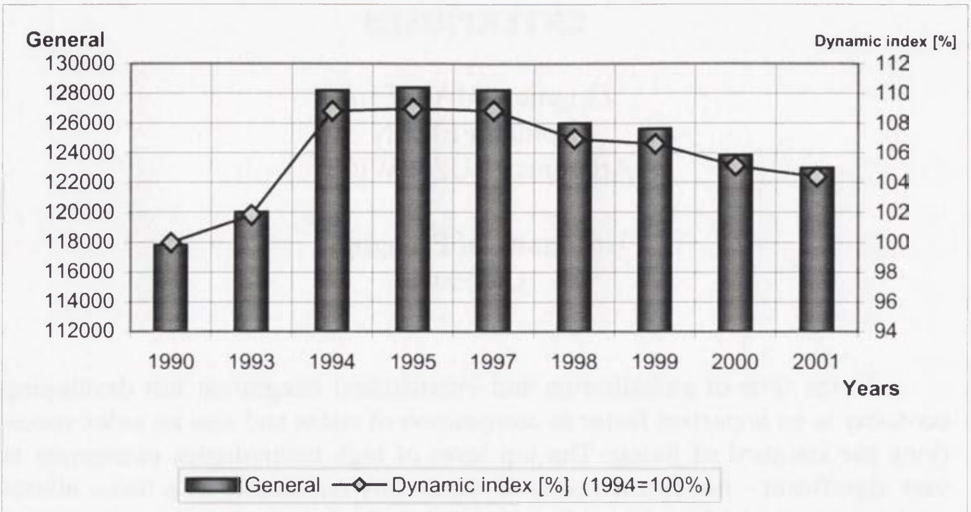
In the time of globalisation and international integration fast developing economy is an important factor in competition of states and also an index specifying the standard of living. The top level of high technologies enterprises is very significant – not as a measure of modernity but mainly as a factor allowing to obtain the high position of competitiveness.

Enormous advancement of high technologies industries results not only from the key role played in the contemporary process of technology development but also or even more from exceptionally good economy features. In the context of international development of economy the influence of technological progress on evolution of competition of individual countries is stressed and the importance of technological superiority for increasing the enterprises activity abroad.

An important increase factor of high technologies enterprises share is the development of scientific research that in decide on the speed and scale of the development of enterprises. In Poland in 1994-2002 we observed the constant financial expenditure on research –development activities (R&D). In the period in question employment in the sector R&D was on the similar level and increased from 117 823 in 1994 to 122 987 in 2002 which is 5164 people – 4%. In 1996-1998 the number of people employed in research- development sector was set at 128 thousand which is the employment index 109%. From 1998 we observed the decrease of the index to 122,9 thousand employees in 2002.

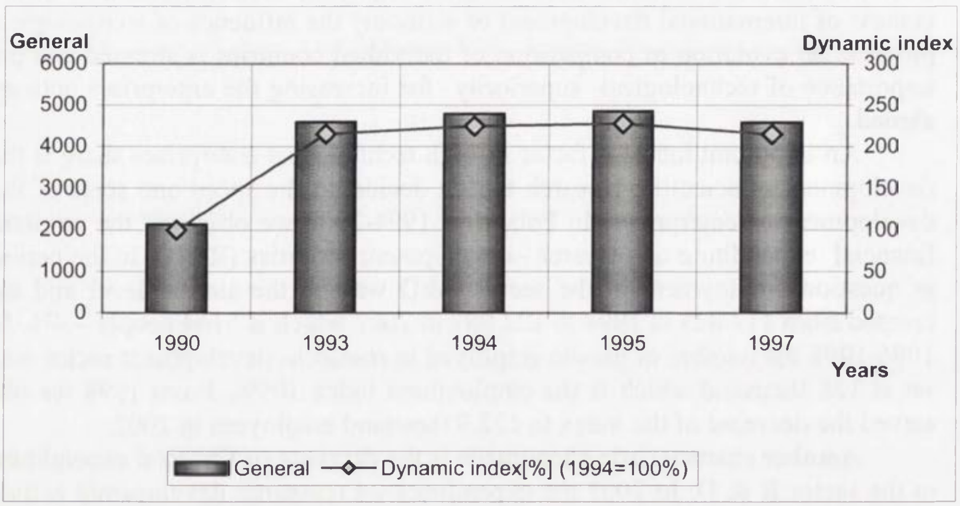
Another characteristic phenomena is the decrease of financial expenditure in the sector R & D. In 2002 the expenditure on reasearch developemnt activities were 4.582,7 mln zlotych and were lower at about 5,7%. Considering the fact that the world tendency of financial expenditure in R&D are of progressive character we have a very unfavourable tendency in Poland. If the tendency remains in the long period of time one should presume that the importance of high tech industries will go down worsening the unfavourable relation in the structure of Polish industry.

Chart 1 . Employment in research – development sector in 1994- 2002.



Source: self-prepared on the basis of [Nauka i technika......., 2004]

Chart 2. Expenditure in research-development activities in 1995-2002.

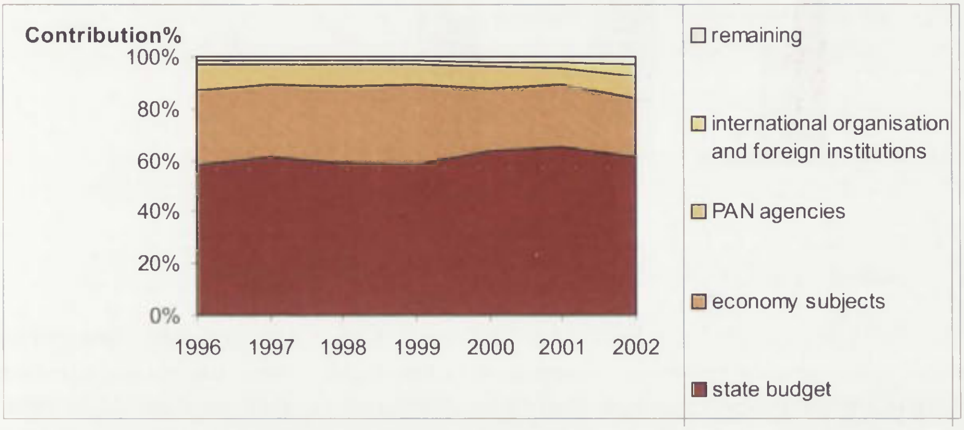


Source: self-prepared on the basis of [Nauka i technika........., 2004]

In 1996-2002 the structure of R&D expenditure showed the domination of resources from the state budget.

In 2002 it was the amount of 2800,2 mln zlotych which was 61,1% of general expenditure. If out of the budget resources are considered the main contribution belonged to economic subject – 22,7%. The tendency was decreasing since 1999 when it amounted to 30,8%. The resources from scientific agencies PAN in 2002 were 8,2%.

Chart 3. The structure of expenditure in R&D according to financial resources in 1996-2002



Source: self-prepared on the basis of [Nauka i technika....... , 2004]

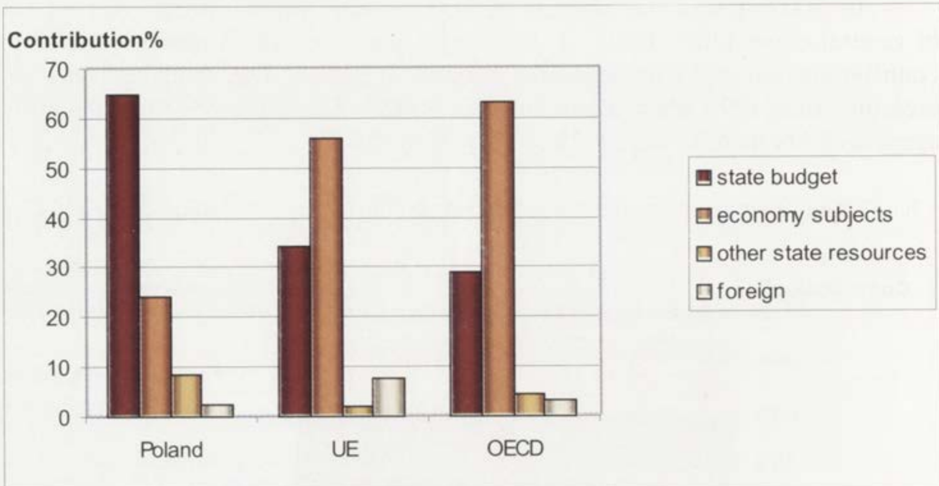
The positive fact is the increase of resources coming from international and foreign institutions from 1,8% in 1996 to 4,8% in 2002.

The comparison between Poland and EU and OECD allows to observe a serious difference in reversing the proportions concerning financial resources of R&D in 2001.

The basic financial resources in R&D in Poland are those from the state budget up to 65%, whereas in UE and the countries belonging to OECD they come from economic subjects – 56% and 63%. The role of the state budget resources in UE and OECD is much lower and amounts to 34% and 29%.

In Poland the situation in research and development is very unfavourable. The number of employees and expenditure is decreasing the financial structure of R&D is exactly opposite to that considered by western experts as the optimal one from the point of scientific research effectiveness, which means their application in economy. According to the latest decisions taken by Ue and OECD experts the optimal proportion of funds considered as private ones and public ones is 65 : 35.

Chart 4 . The structure of expenditure in R&D according to financial resources in 2001 in Poland, UE and OECD.



Source: self prepared on the basis of : [Nauka i technika....., 2004]

Unfavourable tendencies in R&D activities reflect both the state policy and little interest of private enterprisers in that field. Observing such a situation in our country and European tendencies Podkarpackie province should be mentioned. The province features can be the factors attracting the interests of both Polish and foreign investors. The border territory, the fartherest estern and southern point in the country combines the essential location factors that accompanied by a good investment climate, business infrastructure, economic transfoirmation effectivity, tourist attraction and developing absorptive market in Ukraine and Slovakia will play an important role in the nearest future.

The basic and the most important location factors are:

2. In 16 High Schools of Podkarpackie Province there are almost 50 000 students learning in humanities , educational and technical departments, including the only one in Poland pilotage in civil not military school. The centre of high education in the region is Rzeszów accompanied by better nad better other educational institutions and consulatation points in the region.
3. Rzeszów Institute of Technology has the leading role in the research development infrastructure of the province. The institute carries scientific researches and implementation of modern technologies of plastics and new solution in automatic control engineering. It also has acreditated laboratories that check the ISO 9000. The Institute also has its own Invention and Patent Protection Centre.

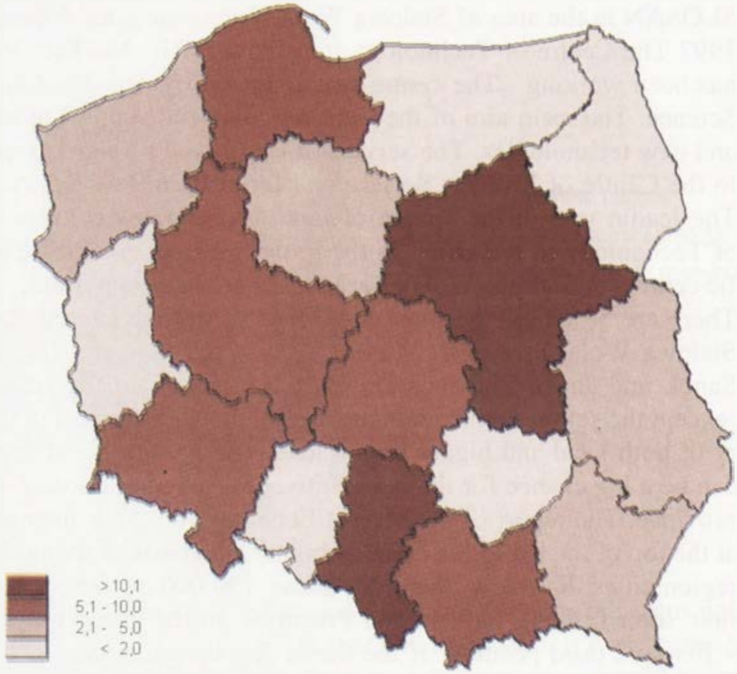
4. There are two special economic zones : Special Economic Zone EURO-PARK Mielec in Mielec and Special Economic Zone EURO-PARK WISŁOSAN in the area of Stalowa Wola, Tranobrzeg and Nowa Dęba. Since 1997 The Centre of Technology transfer at ARR' MARR' S.A. in Mielec has been working . The centre is acreditated by The Fundation for Polish Science. The main aim of the Centre is financial support of of innovations and new technologies. The service of Polish and foreign investors belongs to the Centre of Investor Service and Innovation RARR S.A. in Rzeszów. The leadin role in the sphere of new technologies is taken by Institute of Technology in Rzeszów. In the process of technologies transfer scientific centres of Stalowa Wola i Tarnobrzeg are very important.
5. There are 53 cities- the most important except the capital Rzeszów- are : Stalowa Wola, Przemysl. Mielec, Tarnobrzeg, Krosno, Dębica, Jarosław, Sanok and Jasło. The location of those centres in the region is regular (except the southern mountain areas) and they are connected by traffic artery of both local and bigger importance. The proper use of region potential can be a big chance for the competitiveness and attraction of Podkarpackie province. The report of the Market Economy Research Institute shows that at the top of the list of the cities of higher standards of living there are three region cities: Rzeszów- the cities above 150 000 citizens- (thesecond position after Lublin), Krosno and Przemyśl- in the group to 75 000 citizens – first and third position. If the thesis that investors pay more attention to the standards of living in the cities and friendly natural environment is confirmed , it could result in the inflow of external capital to the region, perceived nowadays by hte investors as less interesting region.
6. The province is located in the existing or potential traffic arteries of European range. Rzeszów, located at the crossing of historical transport routes palys an important role as the transport knot in the South- east part of the country. The maost important transport routes are three national roads (No 4, No 9, No 19) ,railway road of international character (No 91) and underestimated Metallurgical – Sulfuric Line (LHS) and located in Trzebownisko area, not far from Rzeszów, national airport prepared for international passenger traffic.

Analysis the sector of high tech industries the spatial location of the high technological companies should be specified within the country and Podkarpackie province. For the purpose of the following study the high tech enterprises have been selected on the basis of OECD[1], belonging to four class of EKD[2]:

[1] Classification of industry areas on the basis of R&D contribution, prepared by OECD for 1980-1995 period

[2] NACE Nomenclature generale des Activities Economiques dans les Communautes Europeennes- Europejska Klasyfikacja Działalności Gospodarczej

Chart 5 The province participation in national number of high tech enterprises (%)



Source: self-prepared on the basis of TeleAnderson and GUS data

- 24.4 – Production of pharmaceutics, medical chemicals and plant-origin agents
- 30 – Production of office machines and computers
- 31- Production of radio, television and communication equipment and systems
- 35.30- Production of aircrafts and spacecrafts

In November 2003 according to TeleAnderson data there were 2265 high tech enterprises in Poland. More than 25% were located in Mazowieckie Province. Another Śląskie province had 16%. Next five provinces were in 5-10 % (Dolnośląskie 9,6%, Wielkopolskie 8,9%, Małopolskie 8,3%, Łódzkie and Pomorskie 6,4%). The remaining ones had very low number of contribution in national number of high tech enterprises- below 5 %. It means that 7 provinces has 80% of the analysed subjects. Podkarpackie province is o 11 position which is 2,1% of all high tech companies in Poland.

There are 46 registered enterprises of high tech. They are located mainly in three cities: Rzeszów, Mielec, Krosno (38).The most numerous group from

32 section EKD- Production of radio, television and communication equipment and systems (21 companies) 13 out of them are in Rzeszów and Mielec. The least numerous group is the one of office machines and computers (three only).

The short attempt at characteristic of the province in the aspect of high tech enterprises in connection with good location of those companies in the region allows to state that the region is not in the lost position and can compete with other provinces.

The duplication of high tech enterprises in the province will allow to strenthen its position in all high tech enterprises in Poland(nowadays it is 8 position). Howeevr, strong regional policy of the province is inevitable together with cooperation of local authorities and the will of enterprisers and foreign investirs. The region cannot count on any special help from the central authorities which in correaltion with division of the country into modern and marginal areas is a specila stimulus fro the region. Podkarpackie province has good basis to chnage the undustrials tructure from heavy industry to high tech but the cooperation of scientists and enterprisers is necessary to propagate the only important branch , in the times of information technologies, which is high tech.

Streszczenie

ZRÓŻNICOWANIE PRZESTRZENNE PRZEDSIĘBIORSTW WYSOKICH TECHNOLOGII

Podjęta w opracowaniu problematyka dotyczy problematyki rozmieszczenia i funkcjonowania firm „high tech" na obszarze Polski, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem regionu rzeszowskiego. Badane firmy wykazują wyraźną tendencję do koncentracji w województwie mazowieckim oraz w miastach wojewódzkich i dużych ośrodkach miejskich, które w przeszłości były także ważnymi centrami przemysłu lub położone są w zapleczu dużych aglomeracji miejskich. Ważnym zagadnieniem godnym podkreślenia jest to, że badane firmy zdobywają coraz ważniejszą pozycję w strukturze przemysłu dużych miast. Należy wnioskować, że tendencja wzrostu pozycji przemysłu „high tech" w Polsce wskazuje na przekształcenia struktury przemysłu, powolnego odchodzenia od dominacji przemysłów tradycyjnych na rzecz przemysłów wysokich technologii. Niezmiernie istotnym czynnikiem jest również to, że przemysły nowoczesne lokowane są w obszarach Polski Południowo Wschodniej, określanej często w literaturze przedmiotu, jako obszar peryferyjny.

ASSESSMENT OF THE INFLOW OF DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT INTO POLAND ON THE EVE OF POLAND'S ACCESSION INTO THE UE

Justyna KĘDRA

Uniwersity of Rzeszów

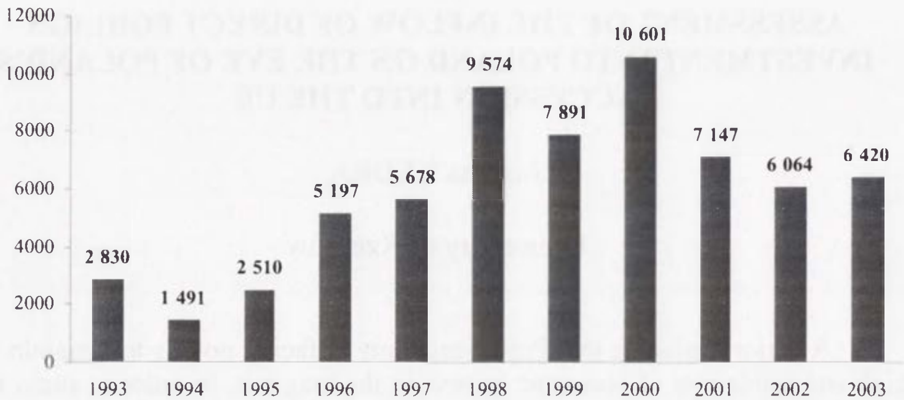
A major challenge that Polish economy is facing now is to maintain the high and stable rate of economic growth in the long run. In order to attain this goal, Poland needs a high level of investment. As investments cannot be funded from the state savings, because they are low in Poland at present, we have to resort to foreign savings. Direct foreign investments constitute a form of foreign savings, and they are used to supplement, to a smaller or larger degree, the scarce domestic resources. Although the phenomenon of direct investment is world-wide, direct foreign investment appeared in Poland as late as the 1990s, after the initiation of the political and economic transformations. It was only then that Poland started to create favorable legal, political and infrastructure conditions for investors. Our becoming member of the OECD in 1996, joining NATO in 1999 and recent accession into the EU have improved the conditions for investing in Poland to a large degree. This in turn caused an increase in the number of foreign investors willing to invest in Poland and a noticeable inflow of foreign capital into Poland.

As can be seen from the drawing, Poland saw an inflow of foreign capital amounting to USD 6,42 billion. This amount is higher that in 2002 by nearly USD 360 million, but at the same time 40% smaller than in the year 2000. The year 2000 was a record break in terms of foreign investment, not only in Poland but also elsewhere in the world.

In the first six months of 2003 the inflow of capital to Poland amounted to USD 2,52 billion, whereas in the second half of the year, the inflow of direct foreign investment amounted to USD 3,89 billion.

The decrease in the value of investment in Poland over the recent years is a result of the global recession, the considerable slowdown of the privatization process in Poland and the takeovers of foreign capital companies by Polish companies.

Figure 1. Inflow of direct foreign investment into Poland in the years 1993 – 2003 (expressed in USD billion).



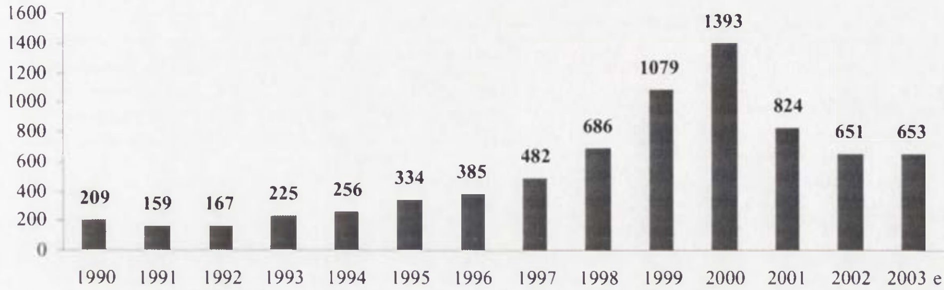
Source: PAIiIZ (Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency) 2004.

The increase in the inflow of FDI makes us believe that the unfavorable tendency has been stopped. This is even more obvious in view of the fact that, as is suggested by the data provided by UNCTAD the global value of the flow of FDI in 2003 amounted to USD 653 billion, which gives an increase of 2 billion in comparison with 2002.

The countries of Eastern and Central Europe are undoubtedly an exception to this general trend. While the world saw a decrease in the flow of FDI, our region, as the only one, can boast a steady increase in the amount of direct foreign investment since 2001. Its value in 2002 amounted to USD 28,7 billion and USD 30,3 billion in 2003.

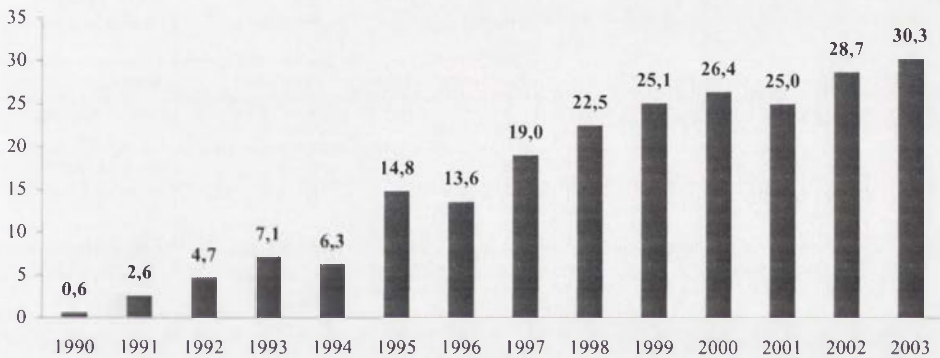
It should be stressed, however, that despite the general tendency of growth, the amount of investment in the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia and Hungary, which received the majority of direct foreign investment within the last decade, decreased. The fall in these countries was balanced by an increase in the other parts of the region, in particular in the Balkans. The positive tendencies for Eastern and Central Europe will most probably continue. This will be in particular on account of the inflow of capital into the CIS, where the inflow of direct foreign investment in the first half of 2003 nearly doubled.

Figure 2. The flow of direct foreign investment in the world in 1990-2003 (expressed in USD billion, according to UNCTAD).



e – preliminary data
Source: as in Figure 1.

Figure 3. The inflow of direct foreign investment into the countries of Eastern and Central Europe in 1990-2003 (expressed in USD billion, according to UNCTAD).



Source: as in Figure 1.

Since 1993, when PAIiIZ published for the first time the list of the biggest foreign investors in Poland, we have witnessed a fast and dynamic growth of their number. In 1993 PAIiIZ listed 193 companies, 362 - in 1995, 585 in 1997, 714 in 1998, and 881 companies in 2000. At present, we can see a noticeable slowdown, and the number of foreign investors on the Polish market is not growing so fast as it used to in the early 1990s. In the year 2002 the List of the Biggest Foreign Investors contained 979 companies, and in 2003 – 996 companies from 35 countries. The largest group of investors is made up of German companies. The United States comes the second, the Netherlands the third, and

France the fourth. It is worth noticing the fact that the list has investors from very distant countries, such as the Republic of Philippines, the Republic of South Africa and Israel.

Table 1. The largest foreign investments in Poland in 2003.

Investor	Inflow in 2003	Country of registration	Country of origin	Activity
Fiat-GM Powertrain B.V.	432,2	The Netherlands	International	Automotive
GE Capital Real Estate/Heitman Central Europe Property Partners	254,7	International	International	Real estate
Europolis Invest	237,3	Austria	Austria	Real estate
General Motors Corporation	210	USA	USA	Automotive
Deutsche Bank AG	183,3	Germany	Germany	Banking, real estate
ITI Media Group NV	160	The Netherlands	The Netherlands	Media and entertainment
Electrabel S.A.	145,4	Belgium	Belgium	Power, gas and water supply
Lafarge	140	France	France	Manufacture of other non metal goods
KBC Bank N.V.	135,5	Belgium	Belgium	Banking
Vattenfall AB	110	Sweden	Sweden	Power, gas and water supply
Krono-Holding AG	105	Switzerland	Switzerland	Manufacture of wood and wooden product
United Technologies Holding S.A.	95	France	USA	Automotive
Toyota	90	Belgium	Japan	Automotive
Electricite de France Internationale (EDF)	77	France	France	Power, gas and water supply
Ball Packaging Europe	73,4	USA	USA	Manufacture of metals and metal products

Source: as in Figure 1.

The value of investment made by the fifteen largest foreign investors in the year 2003 amounted to nearly USD 2,4 billion, which accounts for nearly 38% of the total value of the capital invested in Poland in the last year (Table1). In the year 2003 the largest amount of investment was made by corporations from the Netherlands (USD 2,06 billion), before international corporations (USD 986 million) and Germans(USD 806 million). The fourth largest group of investors is composed of French companies (USD 616 million), and the fifth of American companies (USD 535 million).

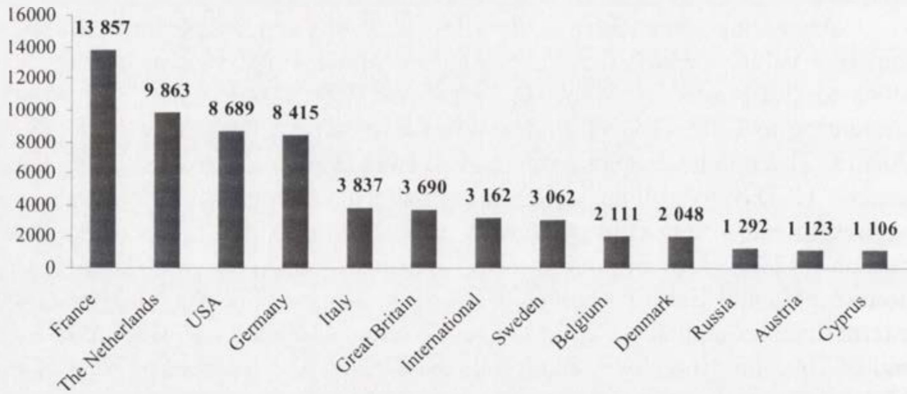
The foreign investment made in Poland in the period in question was made to a large extent by the EU states. It should be pointed that an increasingly large number of investors based in the USA or Asia make investments in Poland through their representations in European countries. Most often it is the Netherlands that acts as an intermediary in such investments.

Analyzing direct foreign investments from the point of view of their cumulative value, we will see that the largest amount of investment in the years 1990 to 2003 was made by French companies. Their capital contribution amounting to USD 13,9 billion translates into 20% of the total value of FDI in Poland. The second largest group of investors are companies from the Netherlands – USD 9,86 billion, which amounts to a 14% share in the total amount of investment. The next to come on the list are the United States (USD 8689,3 million - 12%), Germany (USD 8414,7 million - 12%), Italy (USD 3837,4 million - 5,5%) and Great Britain (USD 3689,8 million). The top ten also includes international companies and firms from Sweden, Belgium and Denmark. By the end of 2003 the first 20 companies on the list invested the total amount of USD 67,3 billion in Poland. The investments made by the remaining 15 countries amounted to USD 2,4 billion. As can be seen from the PAIiIZ data, the total foreign capital invested in Poland in the years 1990 - 2003 exceeded USD 72,7 billion. The amount of direct foreign investments in Poland whose individual value exceeded USD 1 million amounted to USD 69,4 billion. According to the estimates, the amount of investments whose individual value was smaller than USD 1 million amounted to USD 3,26 billion.

The above breakdown of investors for 2003 differs slightly from the situation as at the end of 2002. In 2002 France was also the dominating investor country (12,7 billion), but the subsequent positions were occupied by the United States (USD 8,7 billion), Germany (USD 7,8 billion), the Netherlands (USD 5,8 billion), Great Britain and Italy. As can be seen from the data, the top positions on the list are occupied by the same countries, only their positions on the list change.

By looking at the breakdown of the cumulative value of FDI in terms of the basic sectors of the economy, we will see that foreign investors preferred to invest into the production sector. Within the past 13 years, they invested into the production sector, understood in very broad terms, the total USD 27,7 billion. The greatest investment in this group was made into the production of transport equipment (USD 6,58 billion), production of foodstuffs (USD 6,24 billion), production of other non-metal materials (USD 3,9 billion) chemicals (USD 2,5 billion) as well as electric and optical equipment (USD 2,0 billion). Although the direct foreign investment into the production sector constitutes the largest share among all of the economy sectors, we can see its systematic decrease over the period in question. In 1997 the direct foreign investment in this sector exceeded 62%, in the following year 58%, in 1999 over 10% less, and as at the end of 2002 the share amounted merely to 40%.

Figure 4. Accumulated value of foreign direct investment in Poland with regard to the country of origin of the investor – data as at 31.12. 2003 (in USD million).



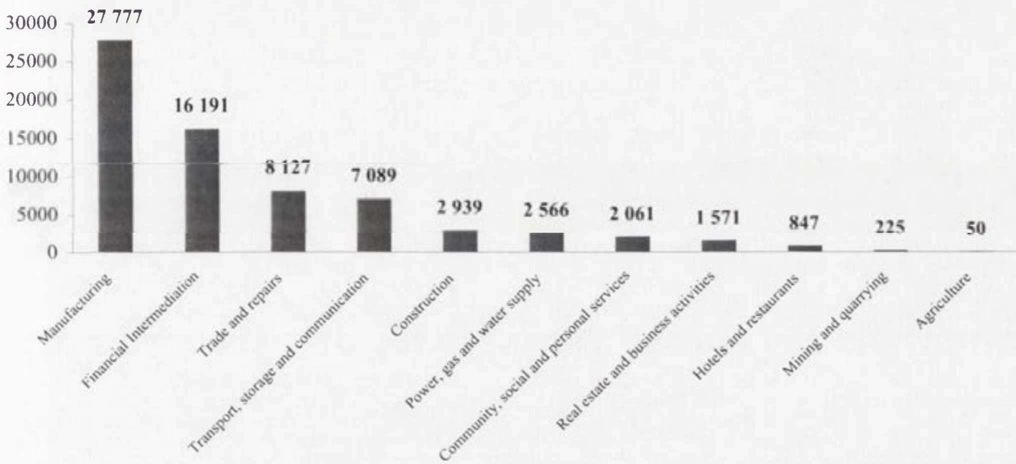
Source: on the basis of PAIiIZ data

The second largest sector is the financial intermediation sector, which saw investment of USD 16,2 billion over the period in question. The subsequent positions are occupied by: trade and repairs (USD 8,1 billion), transport, storage and communication (USD 7,1 billion), construction industry (USD 2,9 billion) and power, gas and water supply (USD 2,56 billion). The smallest amount of capital was invested into agriculture (USD 49,6 million), mining and quarrying (USD 224,5 million) and hotels and restaurants (USD 847,2 million).

The breakdown of FDI in 2003 into particular sectors of economy shows slight changes as to the preferences for allocating foreign capital.

In total, the direct foreign investment in Poland amounted to USD 6,42 billion, most of which was made in the production sector – USD 2,96 billion and 46% of the total investment in the period. The production of chemicals constituted the largest share in the total amount of investment in the production sector (9%). The investment in the production of other non-iron materials amounted to 8%, electric and optical equipment to 6% and foodstuffs to 5%. What comes next is the production of transport equipment (5%) as well as metals and processed metal products (4%).

Figure 5. The accumulated value of foreign direct investment in Poland according to Polish Classification of Economic Activity – state as at 31.12. 2003 (USD million).



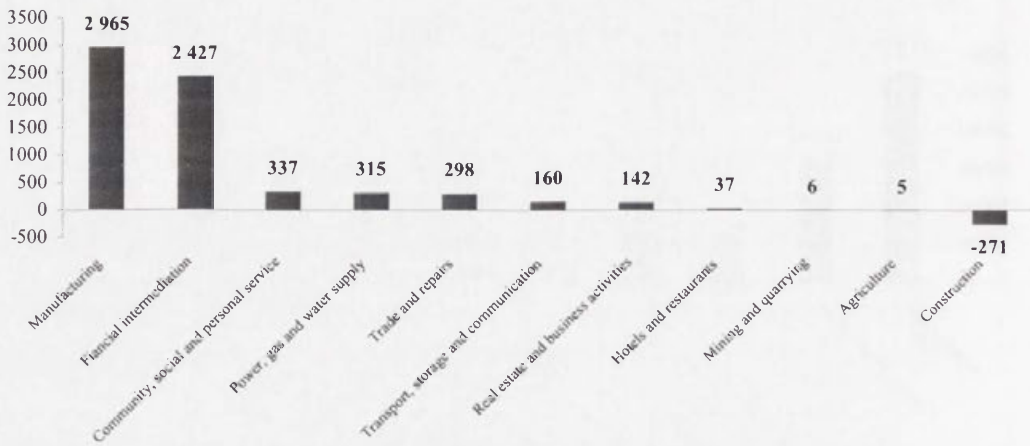
Source: as in Figure 4.

The second position is occupied by the financial intermediation sector – USD 2,4 billion (38%), the third by community, social and personal service (5%). The subsequent positions are held by power, gas and water supply services (5%), trade and repairs (5%), transport, storage and communication (2%), real-estate management (2%) as well as hotels and restaurants (1%). The smaller amount of investment was made in the construction industry (-4%), agriculture (0%) and mining and quarrying (0%).

Foreign investors most often base their enterprises in large cities. This is because they offer suitable technical and transport infrastructure. The greatest amount of foreign capital is invested in the voivodships with the best developed industry and infrastructure.

However, estimating the amounts of capital invested in particular regions of Poland is extremely difficult, and neither PAIiIZ nor the Central Statistical Office have the relevant data. The most basic problems which make this estimation impossible is the fact that investors place their company headquarters (this refers mainly to production companies) in Poland's major cities, and the productions facilities in other parts (voivodships) of Poland.

Figure 6. Inflow of direct foreign investment according to the sectors of the Polish Classification of Economic Activity in 2003 (in USD million).



Source: as in Figure 4.

According to PAIiIZ data as at 30.06.2003 the greatest number of direct foreign investments were made in the Mazowieckie Voivodship – 813. The subsequent positions are occupied by the Śląskie, Wielkopolskie, Dolnośląskie, Łódzkie and Pomorskie Voivodships.

As can be seen from the Table 2, the distribution of foreign capital varies from voivodship to voivodship, which is mainly a result of the large differences between the regions. Apart from voivodships which manage to attract high amounts of foreign capital, there are regions attracting very small amounts of foreign investment. Among these underprivileged regions is the Podkarpackie Voivodship. The small amount of direct foreign investment there – 66 gives it the tenth position among the other regions. This is a result of the low attractiveness of Podkarpacie for investors, which is mainly the result by the insufficient transport infrastructure, specific character of the market, low absorption capacity of the market, distance from the western and eastern border and many other factors.

The largest percentage of foreign investors in Podkarpacie come from the United States, the Netherlands, Germany and France (Table 3).

As can be seen from the GUS data for 2002, Podkarpacie received foreign capital amounting to PLN 1025 million, which was PLN 128,5 million more than in 2001 and PLN 144,4 million more than in the year 2000. Table 4 shows the foreign capital in the years 1999 – 2002 broken into the country of origin.

Table 2. Number of investment locations in Poland between the years 2001 – 06.2003.

Voivodship	No. of locations[a] in 2001		No. of locations[a] in 2002		No. of locations[a] as of June 2003	
		%		%		%
Dolnośląskie	195	8,1	203	7,6	208	7,69
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	93	3,9	100	3,8	113	4,18
Lubelskie	70	2,9	71	2,7	60	2,22
Lubuskie	53	2,2	59	2,2	63	2,33
Łódzkie	135	5,6	141	5,3	158	5,84
Małopolskie	136	5,7	141	5,3	133	4,92
Mazowieckie	661	27,6	790	29,6	813	30,06
Opolskie	51	2,1	49	1,8	47	1,74
Podkarpackie	65	2,7	75	2,8	66	2,44
Podlaskie	30	1,3	39	1,5	37	1,37
Pomorskie	156	6,5	175	6,6	153	5,66
Śląskie	309	12,9	350	13,1	389	14,38
Świętokrzyskie	57	2,4	57	2,1	56	2,07
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	52	2,2	60	2,3	56	2,07
Wielkopolskie	245	10,2	259	9,7	257	9,5
Zachodniopomorskie	89	3,7	97	3,6	96	3,55
Total	2 397	100	2 666	100	2 705	100

[a]exclusively investments exceeding USD 1 million
Source: as in Figure 4.

An analysis of the investments made in the countries which acceded into the EU before Poland shows that in the period directly preceding the accession and shortly after it, the acceding countries saw substantial growth in the inflow of direct foreign investment. This was caused by their improved attractiveness for investors, reduction of the risk connected with setting up economic activity and by making company environment similar to conditions in EU countries. Most probably Poland will not see such a growth. If it does occur, its impact will be much weaker. This results from a few important facts:
– the benefits of participating in the inflow of direct foreign investment into Poland were discounted by many investors in the 1990s. At the time the value of the inflow of capital into Poland in the form of direct foreign investment was rising quickly and steadily.
– according to foreign investors, the atmosphere for investment in Poland is getting worse and worse. It can be concluded from the research conducted by The Institute for Economic Conjunctures and Foreign Trade Prices that the conditions for investing in our country are unfavorable on account of the numerous barriers

and limitations. Undoubtedly the obstacles include the underdeveloped infrastructure, legal and administrative barriers and lack of incentives for investors.
In the opinion of The United Nations Development Program analysts the so-called „second wave" countries are gaining on the rest of Europe in the most basic areas of economic reforms and establishment of the law. If we add to this a decrease in the inflation rate and stable debt indicators (according to Fitch and Standard & Poor's ratings) we will see a picture of countries with ideal conditions for attracting foreign investors. In the face of this, in order not to lose the race for foreign capital, Poland must make certain changes in its economy and modify its policy for supporting investment and increase investors' trust. We should also reduce bureaucracy and improve the rules regulating companies' activities. Otherwise, our neighbors will benefit from foreign capital more than we will.
– at present we see a general recession in the world and the dynamics of capital transfer is getting weaker, which will certainly not influence in a favorable way the amount of direct foreign investment flowing into Poland.
- the list of attractive privatization offers is getting shorter, which makes foreign investors lose interest in Poland.

Table 3. Number of investments locations in Podkarpackie Voivodeship in 2000 – 06.2003.

Country of registration	No. of investments in 2000	No. of investments in 2001	No. of investments in 2002	No. of investments as of June 2003
Austria	1	1	2	4
Belgium				1
Czech Republic	2	2	2	
Cyprus		4	4	3
Denmark		1	1	5
France	2	6	8	6
Greek				1
Spain				1
The Netherlands	8	10	10	10
Canada		1	1	1
International	2	1	1	
Germany	4	11	12	10
Norway	9	9	10	
Switzerland	1			
Sweden	1	1	1	1
Great Britain	3	5	5	6
USA	14	13	13	17
Total	47	65	70	66

Source: as in Figure 4.

Table 4. Foreign capital of companies[a] in 1999 – 2002 broken down into the country of origin (in PLN million)

Countries	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total of which :	828,6	880,6	896,5	1025,0
Cyprus		133,0	148,6	200,8
France				93,2
The Netherlands		322,6	247,1	155,8
Germany	110,4	81,4	159,8	184,8
Switzerland				13,6
Sweden	11,1	11,2	11,4	11,4
USA	165,1	176,3	177,3	186,2

a) Regardless of the number of employees. Including companies which have committed capital but not yet begun basic activity.

Source: On the basis of statistical yearbook for the Podkarpackie Voivodship for the years 2001and 2003

According to various estimates, we should expect that in the years to come, the direct foreign investment in Poland will amount to USD 8-12 billion, which means that the tendencies observed in the recent years will merely be maintained.

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Streszczenie

PRÓBA OCENY NAPŁYWU BEZPOŚREDNICH INWESTYCJI ZAGRANICZNYCH DO POLSKI U PROGU UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ

Wśród współczesnych form międzynarodowych stosunków gospodarczych coraz większe znaczenie odgrywają zagraniczne inwestycje bezpośrednie. Każdego roku na rynku światowym przepływy bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych osiągają wartość kilkuset miliardów dolarów. W Polsce zjawisko bezpośrednich inwestycji zagranicznych pojawiło się w zasadzie dopiero po zainicjowaniu procesu transformacji naszego ustroju w kierunku nowej gospodarki rynkowej. Według danych Polskiej Agencji Informacji i Inwestycji Zagranicznych zagraniczny kapitał zainwestowany ogółem w Polsce w latach 1990 – 2003 przekroczył wartość 72,7 mld USD. W tym okresie najwięcej kapitału zaangażowały w naszym kraju korporacje z Francji (13,9 mld USD), Niderlandów (9,86 mld USD), Stanów Zjednoczonych (8,7 mld USD) oraz Niemiec (8,4 mld USD). Branżą zdecydowanie preferowaną przez inwestorów zagranicznych była działalność produkcyjna, która skupiła ponad 40% ogółu zagranicznych inwestycji w omawianym okresie. Drugą pod względem poczynionych wydatków była branża pośrednictwo finansowe (23%), trzecią handel i naprawy (11,7%), a czwartą transport, gospodarka magazynowa i łączność (10,2%). Kapitał zagraniczny z różnym stopniu angażowany był w województwach, co w głównej mierze spowodowane jest znacznym zróżnicowaniem między regionami. Obok tych, którym udało się przyciągnąć bezpośrednie inwestycje zagraniczne o znacznej wartości (m.in. mazowieckie, śląskie, dolnośląskie, wielkopolskie) są również takie, do których napłynął kapitał zagraniczny w bardzo małej skali (m.in. województwo lubelskie, lubuskie, podkarpackie, opolskie). Według różnych szacunków w nadchodzących latach należy spodziewać się napływu BIZ do Polski o wartości 8-12 mld USD rocznie, co oznaczać będzie zaledwie utrzymanie dotychczasowych tendencji.

INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE INSTRUMENTS UPON COMPETITIVENESS OF SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES

Wanda KARPIŃSKA-MIZIELIŃSKA
Tadeusz SMUGA

Institute of Economic Situation and Prices in Foreign Trade
Warsaw

In the years 2002–2004 at the Institute of Economic Situation and Prices in Foreign Trade in Warsaw, a research project was carried out under the title *„Wpływ instrumentów pomocy publicznej na konkurencyjność małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw. Polska-Unia Europejska. Studium Porównawcze" („Influence of Public Assistance Instruments upon Competitiveness in Small and Medium Enterprises. Poland-European Union. A Comparative Study").*[1] The essential purpose of the works was to identify operational barriers for Polish small and medium enterprises (SME) and evaluation of their influence on competitiveness of such entities on the EU market. It was assumed that the costs that such businesses would incur in connection with the EU integration, at specificity of their operation, and especially capital weakness, would be factors that additionally – especially in a short time – might contribute to weakening of their competitiveness. Thus, overcoming barriers occurring in operation of such businesses requires support of economic policy by the State, including especially an active use of public assistance instruments. Within the works, the project participants made a comparative analysis of instruments and structure of public assistance in Poland and in the EU, and evaluated influence of such

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[1] A research project *„Wpływ instrumentów pomocy publicznej na konkurencyjność małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw. Polska-Unia Europejska. Studium Porównawcze" („Influence of Public Assistance Instruments upon Competitiveness in Small and Medium Enterprises. Poland-European Union. A Comparative Study")*, directed by T.Smuga was financed by the Committee of Scientific Research. In its realisation participated the following: W. Burzyński, J. Grabowski, W. Karpińska – Mizielińska, A. Marzec, J. Niemczyk, K. Marczewski, D. Sielski , P.Ważniewski,

a support on operation of SME. They also were acquainted with opinions and expectations by entrepreneurs, addressed to the system of public assistance.

Public assistance policy in the EU and Poland

In the EU practice, granting public assistance to an enterprise constitutes the main form of State's interventionism. The solutions binding in the European Union allow granting of such assistance only exceptionally, in strictly defined situations.[2] Applied exceptions are treated as a deviation from the general rule and are interpreted very narrowly. The rules are also binding in Poland, and since May 2004, the European Commission has taken over supervision over the system of public assistance.[3]

Criteria for admissibility of public assistance for entrepreneurs in Poland are presently regulated by:
- directly binding EU regulations,
- the accession treaty,
- the statute *on procedure in cases concerning public assistance* of 30[th] April 2004.

A comparative analysis of amounts and instruments of public assistance in Poland and the EU indicates that there are vital differences in this area.[4] They concern, for example, applied instruments of public assistance. As far as in the EU clearly dominant is active assistance, in Poland, despite favourable changes that oc-

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[2] The Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC) introduced a general ban of public assistance in economy (art. 87), stating that each assistance granting by the State or originating from State sources (regardless of the form) that disturbs competitiveness by privileging some enterprises or economy branches, is treated as not to be reconciled with the rules of the single market.

[3] *Ustawa o warunkach dopuszczalności i nadzorowaniu pomocy publicznej dla przedsiębiorców (Statute on admissibility conditions and supervision over public assistance for entrepreneurs)* of 27[th] July 2002 r. (Dz. U. – Journal of Law No. 141, item 1177) was rescinded on 31[st] May 2004, on the day when the statute of 30[th] April 2004 *O postępowaniu w sprawach dotyczących pomocy publicznej (On procedure in cases concerning public assistance)* (Dz.U. –Journal of Law from 2004 No. 123, item 1291) came into force.

[4] In 2002 public assistance amounted in total to 10,277.6 m zł, out of which horizontal assistance – 3,450.7 m zl (33.6%), sector assistance jointly with assistance for agriculture – 3,602.3 m zl (35.1%) and regional assistance – 469.6 m zl (4.6%). The remaining part of the assistance – 2,755.0 m zł (26.8%) consisted primarily of assistance being compensation for an entrepreneur for realization of public tasks. Cf. *Raport o pomocy publicznej w Polsce udzielonej przedsiębiorcom w 2002 r. (The report on public assistance in Poland granted to entrepreneurs in 2002)* Urząd Ochrony Konkurencji i Konsumentów (Office for Protection of Competition and Consumers), Warsaw August 2003 and own calculations.

curred in recent years, dominating is still passive assistance. For example, in 2002 in Poland in the structure of public assistance for 2002 direct expenditures, such as for example grants amounted to only ca. 38%, whereas 62% were depletions of budget revenues (including tax exemptions or abandoning tax collection); in the EU the relation was reversed.

Substantial differences were also observed in directions of public assistance distribution. In Poland it is the sector direction of granted assistance that is maintained; a small role is played by assistance directed to those areas that are of the primary meaning in the EU, such as development of the SME sector, research and development activity, environmental protection and regional assistance. Moreover, most means are allocated to restructuring of the economy, and the decisive part of sector assistance is received by mining (e.g. in 2002 - over 90%). The policy of public assistance in Poland is also featured by concentration of substantial part of expenditures on a small number of businesses. The EU public assistance is featured by granting it generally within wider projects (programmes) and direction to realisation of important goals of development character, whereas in Poland a great role is still played by *ad hoc* assistance, allocated to saving specific businesses.

An analysis of the EU legal regulations showed that public assistance for small and medium enterprises was not treated as a threat for competition. The European Commission treats granting of such assistance less restrictively than assistance allocated for other goals.[5] Whereas in Poland, despite consciousness how much public assistance addressed to small and medium enterprises means, assumptions included in numerous governmental programmes are not sufficiently reflected in the amounts of means allocated for development of such businesses. In 2002 means allocated for development of such businesses within the horizontal assistance were small and amounted to only 1.3% of the total assistance value (compared with 0.6% the year before).

An analysis of public assistance management in Poland, carried out within the project, showed that such a structure was very extensive. It consists of three groups of entities – central offices (ministries), agencies and specialised funds, and agencies of local government. Such a structure of public assistance causes that costs of managing it are very high, financial means for entrepreneurs - very dispersed, and decisions and criteria of distribution of them are insufficiently transparent. It is especially visible when assistance is discretional and granted *ex post* and not *ex ante*. A great number of the agencies make difficult monitoring and control of using public assistance means and co-ordination

[5] It is granted on the basis of art. 92.3 c. of the Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC).

of decisions and, consequently, this limits possibilities of carrying out a coherent policy in the area.

Public assistance as evaluated by entrepreneurs

Research carried out in enterprises confirmed that entrepreneurs – especially small ones – expected that after Poland's accession to the EU their access to public assistance would increase.[6] In the analysed population a substantial group of entrepreneurs – almost 40%, made use of such assistance. The assistance was granted more often to medium entrepreneurs rather than to small ones, and to businesses from the Podlaskie Province rather than from the Pomorskie Province. During the research some differences that were observed resulted from greater accessibility of assistance programmes in weaker developed regions.

Entrepreneurs usually used assistance allocated to development of SME, including chiefly: subsidising participation in fairs, covering part of certificate acquisition costs, financing training costs, refunding promotion costs, and subsidising investment realisation costs. Moreover, some entrepreneurs received assistance allocated for creation of jobs and financing of advisory services.

Effects of the granted assistance for operation of their businesses were usually referred to by the examinees as small or even meaningless. Negative opinions were formed more often by medium entrepreneurs rather that small ones, and also exporters in comparison to all the examinees in the regions. The meaning of such a support was evaluated more favourably by the entities from the Podlaskie Province - businesses from that region were more frequently beneficiaries of public assistance, and they better evaluated the influence of it on operation of their businesses.

Barriers of acquisition of public assistance means primarily consist of: complicated procedures, bureaucracy and attitudes of officers, lack of own financial means, lack of information about such assistance, and connections and acquaintances.

Empirical research showed that a group of entrepreneurs being beneficiaries of public assistance is relatively numerous. It seems especially important, however, an observation that support granted from public means was mainly

[6] Within the programme empirical research was carried out on a purposefully selected sample of entrepreneurs employing 10–249 persons. The research was carried out on two populations: a) selected in two provinces – the Podlaskie and the Pomorskie, and b) among exporters (selected from the database on exporters at the Institute of Economic Situation and Prices in Foreign Trade). In total 267 entities were examined.

used by medium enterprises and exporters, that is businesses that are more expansive, more active and able to use better the opportunities existing in the economic system. Although the influence of the acquired assistance on operation of enterprises was evaluated as slight, but this must be linked primarily with a great number of public assistance receivers, and as a consequence, with great dispersion of available means and limited amounts granted to individual businesses. They were not much available for small enterprises, acting primarily on the local market. Based on this, we may suspect that availability of such support for micro businesses will be even smaller, although in case of such entities assistance of even small value could bring favourable economic effects.

Competitiveness barriers for small and medium enterprises

Operation of Polish small and medium enterprises on the EU market, i.e. in conditions of sharp competition puts in front of them a challenge of improving economic effectiveness and operational efficiency. A great role in that field, confirmed by experience of the EU countries, is played by public assistance, properly addressed, strictly controlled and used according to its allocation. It may facilitate overcoming barriers occurring in activity of businesses, and as a consequence, stimulate growth of their competitiveness on international markets. Thanks to transfer of public means to enterprises in the EU the following economic goals were successful *inter alia:*

- growth of flexibility on the labour market thanks to assistance for SME and employment;
- an increase in employees' qualifications obtained primarily by means of grants for training;
- development of research and development works as an effect of grants for R&D, tax reductions and exemptions (subsidies) and preferential loans;
- diffusion of product and technological innovations, supported by such instruments as in case of research and development works and support for SME;
- stimulation of investment activity by using instruments of the tax system within assistance for SME, environmental protection and energy saving.

In empirical research carried out within the project an attempt was undertaken to identify barriers hampering operation of businesses and to evaluate opportunities and threats for them on the market of the European Union. From the viewpoint of adaptation by Polish companies to new conditions it was considered especially important that those businesses should have some experience in operation on the EU market. It was assumed that enterprises exporting their products on the EU market would not only have a better knowledge on the subject but they would also be better prepared to meet norms and standards, indispensable to operate on that market.

Entrepreneurs most frequently indicated two groups of barriers for their activity: a) external, connected generally with the economic policy, carried out by the Government, and b) internal, resulting from features of the enterprise and owned resources (e.g. qualifications of the personnel or financial means). High taxes and obligatory encumbrances were thought to be the primary barrier. They also included to barriers of development: delayed settling of their dues by contractors, instability of legal regulations, insufficiency of financial means, a great competition on the market and insufficient demand for manufactured products. They were mainly linked with the State's economic policy (tax encumbrances) and the situation on the market (e.g. hold-ups in payments, "grey zone," insufficient demand).

The entrepreneurs expressed their opinions that they were unable to tackle development restrictions by themselves. In such a situation they counted on assistance of external institutions in overcoming such restrictions. The expectations concerned primarily undertaking actions that would favour:

a) improvement of the financial situation in enterprises (such as: lowering taxes and simplification of the tax system, facilitation in access to credits, creation of warranties and guarantees, and assistance in acquisition of investors),
b) stabilization of operational conditions (especially of legal regulations),
c) assistance in contacts with the environment (e.g. in initiating contacts with co-operators or receivers of produced goods).

The key research problem was to answer the question which of the barriers for SME development, existing now, would become permanent in the future and appear during operation on the EU market. Answers collected in the research confirmed that approaching to the moment of Poland's accession to the single European market had enforced in many businesses undertaking of restructuring and adaptation activities. Such initiatives were declared by over 70% of the polled entrepreneurs. Medium businesses and exporters undertook them most frequently.

The competitive position of economic entities on the EU market will be essentially decided by their innovativeness. It is determined by many various factors and among them the important meaning have: the technical condition of the assets, access to a development base (R&D works), but also a high level of uncertainty (risk) connected with launching new products on the market. The polled entrepreneurs found lack of financial means as the most important barrier for innovativeness growth. This is connected with difficulties in financing innovations both from external means (e.g. from a credit) and from internal ones (insufficient own means). The research showed that most Polish SME, despite declaration on introduction of many changes, are businesses of a low level of innovativeness, especially in comparison with similar units in the EU countries.

To the most important (contrary to the opinions by the polled entrepreneurs) barriers for operation of businesses from the SME sector that may play a vital role in establishment of their real position on the EU market we may include variables of internal character. The most important among them are:

- capital weakness, deciding on the limited scale of investing;
- a low level of innovativeness, which causes, as a consequence, that quality and modernity of the offered products is unsatisfactory;
- management that is efficient in an insufficient way, and accordingly small flexibility in operation and lack of strategic thinking about the enterprise;
- insufficient knowledge on rules of operation on the single market and assistance means and procedures to apply for them.

Overcoming such barriers may contribute to building elements of permanent competitive dominance of small and medium enterprises. However, SME entities are unable to do it by themselves. It is vital in this area especially to create stable law, regulating operational conditions and governmental assistance, consequent and directed to achievement of specific goals (elimination of barriers).

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The analysis that was carried out on development barriers of small and medium enterprises and comparison of the system and policy in the field of public assistance in Poland and the EU allowed indicating indispensable directions of changes in instruments of supporting businesses in such a way that assistance that they receive should be more effective and successful in animation of their competitiveness on the single European market.

It was considered as necessary such direction of the State policy carried out in the field of public assistance so that it should stimulate competitiveness of Polish enterprises to enable them individual competition on the single European market.

Insufficiency of financial means imposes necessity to use them rationally, and especially to carry out an active economic policy, enabling enterprises not only to overcome current problems that they have to face on the market, but also such a policy that would facilitate restructuring them, and primarily would launch internal adoptive, pro-development and pro-innovative mechanisms.

In this situation it is indispensable in the economic policy to put a greater stress on increasing the role of support granted within wider programmes, and going away from treating public assistance as a way to obtain means by an entrepreneur. Allocation of means should be concentrated on strictly defined (most important but complying with public assistance rules) goals (projects) whose implementation on a longer run will bring permanent economic and social effects.

In practice of granting such assistance this means on the one hand necessity to concentrate means on such fields as: development of small and medium enterprises, research and development works and operation of the labour market, and on the other – selection of such instruments of public assistance that will allow measuring its economic effects.

The change should also apply to the proportion between assistance controllable *ex post* and assistance controllable *ex ante*, in favour of the former one. Assistance should be granted after a prior application of an enterprise and after approval of the programme to be implemented with such allocation of means.

Streszczenie

WPŁYW INSTRUMENTÓW POMOCY PUBLICZNEJ NA KONKURENCYJNOŚĆ MAŁYCH I ŚREDNICH PRZEDSIĘBIORSTW

Przedmiotem referatu jest prezentacja wyników analiz przeprowadzonych przez autorów w ramach projektu badawczego, finansowanego przez KBN pt. *„Wpływ instrumentów pomocy publicznej na konkurencyjność małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw. Polska-Unia Europejska. Studium Porównawcze"*. Na podstawie przeprowadzonej analizy porównawczej instrumentów i struktury pomocy publicznej w Polsce i w UE oraz badań empirycznych zrealizowanych wśród przedsiębiorców wskazano na najważniejsze problemy funkcjonowania systemu pomocy publicznej w Polsce i polityki gospodarczej prowadzonej na tym obszarze. Zidentyfikowano także bariery funkcjonowania i konkurencyjności polskich małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw na rynku UE oraz oceniono wpływ pomocy publicznej na ich działanie. Badania wykazały, że większość polskich MSP, to podmioty o niskim poziomie innowacyjności, zwłaszcza w porównaniu z podobnymi jednostkami w państwach Unii Europejskiej. Przeprowadzona analiza pozwoliła na wskazanie niezbędnych kierunków zmian w instrumentach wspierania podmiotów gospodarczych tak, aby pomoc, którą otrzymują była bardziej efektywna i skuteczna w pobudzaniu ich konkurencyjności na jednolitym rynku europejskim.

SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE COMPANIES AFTER THE ACCESSION OF POLAND TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

Krzysztof MAŁACHOWSKI

University of Szczecin

1. Situation of small and medium companies after the accession of Poland to the European Union

The competition on the free market is characterized by existing of a great number of small and medium size companies. They usually represent approximately 90 % of the total number of functioning firms on the market. Therefore, the care and attempts which are taken by particular countries to improve the conditions of functioning of such firms are justified. This situation also occurs in Poland where actions of further governments are aimed in the direction of speeding up for the drawbacks which have their source before the year 1989, and also they are forced by the accession of Poland to the European Union.

There are different conditions of setting up and running commercial activities in Poland as compared to those in different countries of the European Union as well as the pure definition of small and medium companies. (tab.1)

Table 1. Criteria concerning the size of small and medium companies in Poland and in the European Union

		Small company	**Medium company**
European Union	Employment	Up to 50 employees	From 50 to 20 employees
	Turnover	Up to 7 mln EUR with the balance sum up to 5 mln EUR	From 7 to 40 mln EUR with the balance sum up to 27 mln EUR
Poland	Employment	Up to employees	6-0 employees (in construction industry) 6-20 in transport, trade and services
	Turnover	Up to 100 mln PLN	From 100 -500 mln PLN

Source: P. Chańko, E. Flejterska: *Economic conditions of functioning of small and medium companies on the Polish and German market.* Szczecin 2003, In 2003 small and medium companies represented 99,6% of the total number of Polish companies. They were characterised by a substantial diversity which was reflected in a great share of very small companies (up to 9 employees) summed up to 95,0% and little share of small companies (10-49 employees) 3,7% and medium ones (50-249 employees) - 0,9 %.

The most small and medium companies (approximately 35,7%) functioned in the following branches as wholesale and retail, repairs of mechanic vehicles, motorbikes, and articles of home and personal consumption. In farther areas there are: real-estate services, industrial processing, and construction works.

In recent years the contribution of the small and medium companies sector in creation of gross national product has been increasing. The basic factors characterising this sector in Poland are similar to the European Union factors, however, unfortunately, as for technical advantages and staff, Polish companies are considerably weaker if compared to their European Union counterparts[1]. The basic weaknesses embrace:

- Unstable legislation
- Permanent lack of financial resources for running commercial and trade activities (i.e. due to the low accessibility to financial outsourcing
- Limited possibilities for conducting export activities
- Low level of knowledge among management staff and lack of skills to implement it
- Low level of the Internet usage in commercial activities
- Little usage of quality management system due to its time-consuming characteristic and expressivity

In order to improve the sector of small and medium companies in Poland, the Polish Government has set forth to stimulate commercial activities in this area which is related to the increase of employment and the increase of its competitiveness and ability to function on the United European Market. This aim will be achieved by:

- Supporting of undertakings aiming to the development of small and medium companies
- Improvement in legal, administrative and institutional area
- Supporting of commercial attitudes, patterns in the society
- Supporting of companies' integration and activities on the international forum

[1] 4th February 2003 Government of Republic of Poland passed on the document entitled: „The course of action towards small & medium companies from 2003-2006.

The costs of those activities are covered from the state budget, Phare programs, Structural Funds, credits from the World Bank and loans from the Bank for Development of the European Council.

Poland shows the greatest discovered competitive abilities in traditional sectors, where the unqualified labour force has a dominant position. The export of produced goods based on derived natural resources is also of significance. What distinguishes Poland from the European Union is the technological development, which is reflected in i.e. low share in production and in exchange of goods of high added value input. Pre-accession and structural funds system is the instrument of equalizing the levels of Polish and European enterprises competitiveness. Financial assistance for particular branches of industry and agriculture should contribute to the development of Polish economy. The European funds are the most important position on the list of fund transfers from thee side of the European Union to the benefit of Poland. (tab. 2)

Table 2. Financial transfers after the accession of Poland to the European Union

Years	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**
European money for Poland (EUR in millions) in this:	3051	4669	5209
Pre-accession funds	970	823	509
Structural funds	969	1970	2313
Agriculture	421	1505	1924
Internal objectives(i.e. administration)	154	266	359
budget compensation	433	0	0
Polish fee to the EU	1576	2429	2495
Balance	1475	2240	2714

Source: *„To be or not to be"*, Gazeta Wyborcza, no. 290.4198/2002

The European Union is one of the most competitive markets in the world. It is defined by such criteria as i.e. production costs, quality, compliance with the safety and security requirements, ecological feature of goods and production process. Marketing and financial conditions of sale are also of a great importance[2].

[2] Z. Wysokińska: *Strong and weak point of Polish enterprises on the unified market,* http://web.gov.pl/portalout/zasoby, p. 3

The European Charter of small companies passed on the summit of the EU in Lisbon in 2004 outlines ten general goals of the European Union policy towards small & medium companies (SMC) for the years 2001-2005[3]:

- Supporting of education and schooling on commercial enterprise
- Improving by making the process of company registration easier
- Simplifying of legal regulations
- Development of Professional and constant training
- Improvement of accessibility of electronic services
- Improving of companies functionality on the united European Market
- Simplifying of tax collection system and making the accessibility to financial outsourcing easier
- Supporting of new technologies
- promotion of e-business usage and new system of supporting companies
- Improved representation of entrepreneurs interests on the state and European level

The most important instrument of financial supporting of small and medium companies in EU is credit granted by European Investment Bank which finances 1/3 of all granted credits in EU.

Poland accession to the European Union represents potential chances and threats for all kinds of companies. Small and medium companies can be affected in smaller degree than larger companies due to its specific characteristics[4]:

- Lack of market and political influence which larger companies can exercise
- Limited internal resources, especially financial ones
- Costs of adjusting for smaller companies are higher and in a short time it can shake their financial situation

Therefore the consequences of accession of Poland to the European Union for small and medium companies depend on their abilities to adopt to a new external surrounding, and this depends on the social and economic policy which should support small and medium companies in reaching competitiveness

This competitiveness depends on production conditions in which the country is equipped with as: qualified labor force, infrastructure and demand conditions specifying the character of the domestic demand or the existence of relevant branches of industry or supporting ones.

[3] J. Maziarski, M. Maszek, *Small & Medium companies In the European Union.* http://www.mg.gov.pl

[4] B. Piaseczki, A. Rogut, D. Smallbone: *Influence of integration of Poland with the European Union on sector of small and medium companies.* Polish Fund for Promotion and development of small and medium companies, Warszawa 2000, p. 237-238

2. Chances and menaces for development of small and medium size companies after the accession of Poland to the European Union

One of the most important tasks of Polish foreign diplomacy after the year 1989 was inclusion of Poland into the economical and political structures of Western Europe. It is concerned with restructuring of the Polish economy and increase of the life level of the Polish society. That means the easier access of Polish goods and services to the European markets, access to the modern technology, opportunity of big financial support that could be used for restructuring of Polish economy (especially of the economical branches characterized by technological and development delay i.e. agriculture, metallurgy or mining) and also the easier access of Poles to the Union's job markets. Polish accession to EU causes numerous contestations between the political, intellectual and government elites as well as between the „common" citizens, families or professional societies. This is the result of the potential profits and looses after the Polish accession to the EU. The succeeding Governments of Republic of Poland take into consideration the general interest of the society and the separate citizens pay their attention to their own benefits, for instance they are afraid, that during the initial period of our membership the unemployment can grow rapidly and their economical status can get worse.

To discuss the chances and menaces for development of small and medium size companies, their conditions of functioning in Poland shall be taken into consideration. The institutional surrounding has the most significant meaning here but the political and economical ones are no meaningless, too. The institutional surrounding has the basic meaning for activity of those companies in EU. The most important regional institutions are regional, local and provincial self-governments, different non-government institutions supporting the businessmen in their region, banks and leasing companies, and also Tax Offices and Chambers. The entrepreneurs, due to facilitation of their investments in progress, are expecting from the local authorities the precise plans of urban development, and particularly the localization of the grounds appropriated for the residential building and economical activity[5]. Providing the media to the areas intended for the economical activity is also a part of an expected support given to the entrepreneurs. The form of the small and medium size companies is determined not only by the local demand but also by the level of the local rents, medias and taxes. The next factor from the institutional surrounding, having an influence on the development of those companies is politics of banks and financial institutions. Small and medium size companies often

[5] Mechanisms of European Integration towards Competitiveness of the Regions. Studies and Materials. Department of Management and Administration of Swietokrzyska Academy in Kielce, 2002, p 388-389.

face the numerous obstacles in credits' accessibility like plenty of protections and very high number of necessary documents, which obtaining is consuming a lot of time. The sources coming from the funds supporting economic initiatives are affected by the very low attraction due to unattractive terms of their distension. Tax Offices and Chambers shall provide the clear and obvious criteria of application and interpretation of economic rules. Unfortunately instead of having support the companies often become the subject of numerous suspicions and accusation.

A very important problem concerning accession of Poland to EU and connected with these chances and threats is the very low level of innovations in our companies. This is the one of the most basic sources of economical development and competitiveness. Especially because „the innovativeness – in the light of the new strategy of European Union – has to be the one of the principle elements of consolidation of Union cohesion and regional development[6]". Nowadays, for Polish companies the most important matters are the technological innovations, which „rely on the production and launching of the new product or on the industrial application of the new processes of obtaining of the products known before[7]". Leading of the constant process of innovations in the company generates the costs which will be covered not before the sale level gets the break-even point. Those expenses include the technical, organizational, marketing and sale activity. Those innovations concern both the products and the processes. „Innovation climate" in the company for which its main management is responsible is also very important. To build an effective competitiveness in the company, the possessed resources of the financial, material and most of all human nature together with their all experience and knowledge shall be joined together. Our country needs changes in the area of development of the research and science background and development of the educational system of the university level.

Our country has minor chances to rival the Union companies. The great reform of the Polish companies' innovativeness support system and of the Polish tax system which is not very business friendly is more than necessary. The support of innovations in Polish small and medium size companies from government side is not sufficient.

Small and medium size companies it is the great potential that can bring Poland to the next development level and can cause the maintenance of the partnership with EU countries. So far the conditions of their activity on the Polish market are difficult. Growing competition, variable preferences of the consumers and macro economical factors require the activity improvement in all

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[6] J. Jezierski, *Innovative Policy of EU.* Seym Office, Bureau of Studies and Expertises. Information no 630/1998, p. 1

[7] *Economics of Innovation* under editorship of J. Czupiał. Academy of Economy of Oscar Lange in Wroclaw.

aspects of functioning of those companies. The key is to defeat the obstacles and difficulties existing on the market and also the ability of adaptation of the company structures to the market changes and to the continuously changing environment. As the most dangerous obstacles the following factors are always listed: to high taxes, difficult access to credits, low market demand, unclear regulations, poor economic situation and disadvantageous national politics. More seldom the entrepreneurs complain of the lack of link with big enterprise, difficulties with the access to the foreign markets, lack of the access to the new technologies, lack of qualified labour and lack of the information concerning the mutual Union policy.

The factor analysis that has been done shows the existence of four elements, around which the discussed obstacles concentrate[8].

- „Loneliness" in the market game. The fear of the competition from the side of Polish and foreign companies, the lack of relations and cooperation, especially with big enterprises, no access to the foreign markets,
- „Institutional loneliness" in relations with government or specialized departments acting organizational, informational and crediting part. Unfulfilled expectations towards country, which shall lead more insistent informational and organizational activities, the lack of support in adaptation of the branch to the EU standards, the lack of information concerning the possible effects of the integration for small and medium size companies.
- „3xP" rule (from Polish: Podatek-Przepis-Popyt): to high taxes, complicated regulations, low market demand. Those are the institutional and financial difficulties.
- Difficulties with gaining good and qualified labour.

Small and medium size companies hold in the national economics a very important position due to economical, sociological and political respects. They have a significant importance as employers, especially in the small cities, where they are very often the only employer and the only chance for unemployment reduction. In Poland, in that sector 66% of all employees are hired there (most of them in small companies – in 2002 - 46% on average, and about 20% in the middle ones). This sector creates almost 50% of the GNP and notwithstanding with its very important part in the national economy its possibilities still remain highly unused[9]. So its continuous stimulation to make it more effective and competitive, for the profits of all national economy is necessary. The system of institutional supporting of small and medium size companies consisting of Polish Agency of Initiative Development (PARP) and the centres of National System of Services (KSU) has a significant meaning. KSU integrates about 140

[8] W. Kozek, P. Mielczarek, *Opinions of enterprenuers of smal land medium size companies sector on running comercial activities,* Polish Fund for Promotion and Development of small and medium companies, Warszawa 2000, p.3

[9] L. Oktaba, *Small and medium less competitive,* Rzeczpospolita, 12/02/2003

institutions in Poland which provide advisory, schooling, financial, and information service. The system embraces Regional Development Agencies, Employers Organisations, Funds, Societies, and Support Centres for business and consulting points. PARP is responsible for activities improving competitiveness of small and medium companies based on foreign financial assistance especially Phare funds.

One of the main factors hampering development of small and medium size companies are a limited access to funds and existing tendency for financing mainly by the own resources. The National Fund of Credit Guarantees in the Bank of National Economy offering the guarantees via cooperating banks is very important for functioning of the small and medium size companies. Moreover, there are local and regional funds offering guarantees and loans, helping the entrepreneurs (especially the smallest ones) in gaining bank credit.

The active support system for small and medium size companies, on one hand provides the access to the financial support, advising and necessary information, but on the other hand is still too weak in spite of the constant development. The document accepted by the Government: „The directions of Authorities' activity towards small and medium size companies from 2003 till 2006" is a piece of hope for improvement. As the prior goal the government established: „stimulation of economical activity in the sector of small and medium size companies, assuring employment growth in that sector and growth of its competitiveness and ability for functioning on the Unified European Market".

That document took under consideration the directions determined in European Card of Small Companies, undersigned by Poland in April 2002. It shows, among other things, the difficulties that small and medium size companies have with the access to information and assumes the extension of the advisory system for entrepreneurs in all spheres connected with running the business and assumes the improvement of the access for small and medium size companies to the information essential from the economical activity point of view, by creation and facilitation of the appropriate data bases.

The majority of the Polish small and medium size companies support the integration with EU because they see a good business in it. And even if our businessmen are afraid of something – that is mainly the strong foreign competition. Better regulations and access to the greatest market, acceptable credits, easier access to new technologies and know-how, these are the arguments for European Union. Big percentage of companies taking part in the questionnaire made by The Polish Confederation of Private Employers, between advantages given by our membership in EU, mentions financial support from EU for investments and advising for the entrepreneurs[10].

[10] http://www.ciop.pl

The European Union assumes that it will be supporting development and cooperation of small and medium companies. Therefore it is worth as soon as possible for Polish small and medium companies to adopt themselves to the new conditions of Union.

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Streszczenie

MAŁE I ŚREDNIE PRZEDSIĘBIORSTWA PO AKCESJI POLSKI Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ

Małe i średnie przedsiębiorstwa stanowią zwykle około 90 % ogólnej liczby firm funkcjonujących na rynku. Podobnie jest w Polsce, gdzie przedsiębiorstwa te cechuje

znaczne rozdrobnienie, co przejawia się wysokim udziałem (95%) firm bardzo małych (do 9 pracujących)

Polskie małe i średnie przedsiębiorstwa są znacznie słabsze technicznie i kadrowo od unijnych. Mają małe szanse na konkurowanie z nimi. Dlatego niezbędne są zmiany w systemie wspierania innowacyjności polskich przedsiębiorstw, w polskim systemie podatkowym i prawnym oraz w dostępie do korzystnych kredytów. Duże znaczenie ma system instytucjonalnego wspierania tych firm w skład którego wchodzą: Polska Agencja Rozwoju Przedsiębiorczości oraz ośrodki Krajowego Systemu Usług.

Dla poprawy sytuacji małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw w Polsce Rada Ministrów 4 lutego 2003 r. przyjęła dokument pd.: „Kierunki działań Rządu wobec małych i średnich przedsiębiorstw od 2003 do 2006 roku. Jako nadrzędny cel Rząd przyjął pobudzenie aktywności gospodarczej tego sektora zapewniającej wzrost zatrudnienia oraz wzrost jego konkurencyjności i zdolności do funkcjonowania na rynku wspólnotowym. Unia Europejska zakłada, że będzie wspomagać rozwój i współpracę małych i średnich firm. Dlatego też warto jak najszybciej dostosować polskie małe i średnie przedsiębiorstwa do unijnych warunków.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE MICRO-COMPANIES IN THE TOWNS IN SOUTH-EAST POLAND IN THE YEARS 1994-2003

Wioletta KAMIŃSKA

University of Pedagogy
Kielce

Introduction

The process of social, economic and civilization development creates presently different circumstances for changes happening in particular countries and in different space arrangements on various scale than it used to be (Zioło 1999).

In Poland at the turn of 20 and 21st century the circumstances are mainly linked with systems transformation and European integration. Under the new conditions the ability to prompt adjustment to the space arrangements takes a new and special meaning, as well as it does as far as the adjustment of the business entities to the shifting surroundings is concerned It can be proved, among others, by the attention given to increase competition of the towns and regions (Domański B and al.2000, Dutkowski 2000, Kuklinski 2000, Węcławowicz 2002) and increase in flexibility of actions being undertaken by all actors of the economic life (Stryjakiewicz 1999, Markowski 2000). Town competitiveness results form the location advantage over the other towns (Gruchman 1999). In recent research on attractiveness of Polish towns the focus was mainly put on the analysis of their location advantage for big domestic and foreign companies (Swianiewicz, Dziemianowicz 1988, Domański B et al. 2000, Nowosielska 2001) There is little research concerning the towns attractiveness conducive to locating small and, particularly, micro-companies (for example: Dębski 2002, Kaminska 1999. 2004). This matter is particularuy important in the town with a sudden emergence of the small private companies which will soon constitute a meaningful power helping in the market balance rebuilt and changes in the structure of the assortment production. Presently, there are over 2 mln companies of the kind, 70% of which are located in the towns of different size.

Private micro-companies are of the great significance in EU economy – there were over 18 mln such companies at the end of the nineties of the 20^{th} century, what constituted 93% of the total number of the private companies in EU.

Also, in the employment structure private micro-companies are an important element, involving over 1/3 of the total employees working in the private companies in the EU.

In the EU reports it is assumed that micro-companies are such business entities which employ from 0 to 9 persons. Thus, it can be stated that in Poland private micro-companies are then companies of the physical persons.

In the light of the above observations the aim of the article is to present the differentiation of the development of the companies of the physical persons (private micro-companies) in the cities of south-east Poland in the years 1994-2003. Research has involved all the towns situated within the area of the present provinces, such as: Podkarpackie, Malopolskie and Swietokrzyskie.

2. Information sources

The analysis has been performed on the base of the data available in GUS concerning the number of the companies of the physical persons registered in the REGON system in the communies. For the time being it is the only accessible source in the country.

However, it should be stressed that the data is doubtful. REGON`s critics claim that the system is not complete and not up-to-dated, what results from the fact, that not all the liquidation cases are reported to the statistic offices, so they are not removed from the REGON system. Furthermore, business entities do not have the obligation to up-to-date the data concerning the company. However, comparing the data achieved from the REGON system and the data made available by the tax offices in the years 1995-1998, the differences amounting at 3-6% are noted (Kamińska 2004). It is worth adding that the data coming form tax offices are higher than these achieved from the REGON system.

The REGON system involves only information concerning the number of the companies of the physical persons. The index, as M. Jasiulewicz points out (2002, p. 216), „has a major disadvantage, i.e. size and employment incomparability." Nevertheless, the research shows (Kaminska 1998, 2004) that the majority of the business entities of the physical persons are small companies with the average employees` number equal to 2.03. Additionally, one should agree with P. Glikman (2000, p. 345) that „the number of the business entities in the REGON system has a cognitive value and the information should not be dismissed, for it proves the readiness to implement initiatives in entrepreneurship and the growing movement in the field."

The article concerns only the business entities registered in the REGON system. The gray area has been omitted, which, according to different estimations , involves from over dozen to several dozens percent of the global product (Wyżnikiewicz 1993, Glikman 2000)

3. Private micro-companies potential in the towns of south-east Poland in the year 1994.

In the year 1994 in south-east Poland in the REGON system 116 848 companies of the physical persons were registered in the REGON system. In the structure of the physical persons companies it was 10.7%, whereas the area concentrated 17,1% inhabitants of the country.

Generally, the towns which involved 69,8% of all the companies of the researched area and 46,7% of inhabitants were the most attractive as far as location of the private micro-companies is concerned (tab1). The rural areas gathered 30,2% companies of the physical persons and 53,3% of the inhabitants.

Table 1. The number of companies of physical persons registered in the REGON system in the rural and urban areas in south – east Poland in the year 1994

Specification	The number of companies of the physical persons	Structure [%]	The number of the inhabitants [in thousands.]	Structure [%]
towns	81604	69,8	3085,1	46,7
villages	35244	30,2	3527,2	53,3
Total	116848	100,0	6612,3	100,0

Source: The author`s own estimation based on GUS data.

The particular towns were of a different attraction to locate private micro-companies. In the space structure of the companies of the physical persons in south-west Poland, Krakow significantly prevailed. (tab.2, print.1). In the year 1994 it concentrated 29%companies of the physical persons registered in the towns of the researched area and 24,2% of inhabitants. The second was Rzeszów (7,4% entities and 5,2%inhabitants). Jointly at the end of the year 1994 both towns concentrated over 1/3 (36,4%) of the total number of the private micro-companies registered in the towns of the researched area and 29,4% of inhabitants.

Significantly less attractive appear 3 next towns: Kielce, Przemyśl and Tarnów, which included 14,8%of companies and 13,1% of inhabitants. The greatest representation concerned the towns with the least potential of the companies of the physical persons – up to 500. In the year 1994 in the researched area the group consisted of 93 towns, which jointly concentrated 17%of the companies of the physical persons and 23,4% of inhabitants of the south-east Poland.

Table 2. The number of the companies of the physical persons in the towns of south-east Poland in the year 1994.

	Number of the companies of the physical persons	Number			Structure [%]		
		towns	companies of the physical persons	population	towns	Companies of the physical persons	population
1	0 - 500	93	13 903	723 076	75,0	17,0	23,4
2	500-1 000	15	10 711	454 986	12,1	13,2	14,7
3	1 000-2 000	11	15 183	596 814	8,9	18,6	19,4
4	2 000-5 000	3	12 092	404 241	2,4	14,8	13,1
5	5 000-10 000	1	6 033	159 943	0,8	7,4	5,2
6	10 000-20 000	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	20 000-50 000	1	23 682	746 008	0,8	29,0	24,2
	total	**124**	**81 604**	**3 085 068**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**

Source: The author`s own estimation based on GUS data.

It can be assumed that the particularr towns were characterized by the different conditions conducive to the development of the companies of the private micro-companies. These diverse conditions were strongly linked with functions and the level of the socio-economic development of the particular towns. The best conditions had Kraków, which showed to have the greatest socio-economic potential (Hausner, Kudłacz, Szlachta, 1995) and performed its service functions (Zioło 1994). Also, it belonged to so called transformation leaders characterized by the various socio-economic structure, high development degree and good capital availability (Gorzelak, 1994). Krakow had low unemployment rate (below 10%), educated labor force and well developed infrastructure (Gorzelak, 1994, Hausner, Kudłacz, Szlachta 1995).

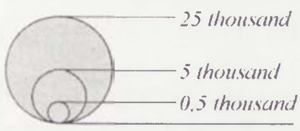
Slightly worse conditions were observed in former provinces performing service and industrial functions (Kielce, Rzeszów), service functions (Nowy Sącz) or industrial-service functions (Tarnów) {Zioło 1994}. These towns had medium development degree and weak capital availability (Gorzelak 1994, Hausner, Kudłacz, szlachta, 1995). The worst conditions, however, were seen in the regions connected with the towns with a lower level of the socio-economic development.

In the space structure the potential of the companies of the physical persons show some regularity. Three zones can be observed, which prove different concentration degree concerning private micro-companies. The greatest concentration is seen in the central area. It includes the towns located pararelly along the communication routes: Kraków-Tarnów-Rzeszów-Przemyśl (print 1). Northwards and southwards from the area there are towns with less concentration. The north area streches out from Kielce through Ostrowiec, Sandomierz, Tarnobrzeg to Stalowa Wola. Kielce plays the prevailing role. The south area includes Zakopane, Nowy Targ, Gorlice, Jasło, Krosno to Ustrzyki Dolne and it is marked with the least concentration of the companies of the physical persons. The dominant towns in the area are Nowy Sącz, Krosno and Sanok.

Print 1. The number of the companies of the physical persons in towns south-east Poland in the year 1994

—— the borders of the researched area
—— the borders of the provinces in the year 1994

The surface of the circle proportional to the number of the companies of the physical persons



Intensity index showing the number of the companies per 1000 inhabitants illustrates the differentiation of the conditions conducive the emergence of the companies.

Table 2. Intensity of the companies of the physical persons in towns of south-east Poland in the year 1994 r.

Number of the companies per 1000 inhabitants	Number			Structure [%]		
	towns	companies	population	towns	companies	population
up to 10	19	597	82006	15,3	0,7	2,6
10-20	37	11864	780321	29,8	14,5	25,3
20-30	39	20344	847125	31,5	24,9	27,4
30-40	17	35789	1087763	13,7	43,9	35,3
40-50	11	12868	285549	8,9	15,8	9,3
60-70	1	142	2304	0,8	0,2	0,1
total	124	81604	3085068	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: The author`s own evaluation based on GUS data.

Table 4. Intensity index concerning companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland in the year 1994 – examples.

Intensity index					
up to 10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	60-70
Skarzysko-Kam	Tarnobrzeg	Lesko	Maków Podhalański	Łańcut	Iwonicz - Zdrój
Rudnik	Końskie	Proszowice	Rzeszów	Kalwaria Zebrzyd.	
Kazimierza Wielka	Wąchock	Bochnia	Rymanów	Przemyśl	
Stary Sącz	Nisko	Sieniawa	Sławków	Wolbrom	
Ulanó	Starachowice	Sucha Beskidzka	Brzesko	Zakopane	
Zator	Dębica	Myślenice	Mszana Dolna	Olkusz	
	Oświęcim	Brzozów	Bukowno	Dukla	
	Nowy Sącz	Tarnów	Radymno	Sędziszów Małop.	
	Połaniec	Sandomierz	Przeworsk	Jarosław	
	Chęciny	Niepołomice	Jasło	Limanowa	
	Opatów	Busko-Zdrój	Kolbuszowa	Krosno	
	Ostrowiec Św.	Kielce	Wieliczka		
	Pilzno	Rabka	Ropczyce		
	Jędrzejów	Wadowice	Leżajsk		

In the year 1994 the index in south-east Poland was between 9.3 in Zator to 61.6 in Iwonicz Zdrój (tab.3,4). The highest index was observed:

– in small towns with high tourist and spa values (Iwonicz Zdrój, Łańcut, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Zakopane, Limanowa, Dukla)
– in towns located close to the border crossing in Medyka (Przemyśl, Jarosław). Both towns catered the majority of eastern tourists (accommodation, bazaars), what resulted in activity increase leading to companies of physical persons emergence (Kamińska 1999)

Big towns of south-east Poland had medium intensity index; Kraków - 31,7, Kielce 21,8, Rzeszów 37,7. However, it is worth mentioning that in the big towns usually bigger companies are established.

The least number of the companies per 1000 inhabitants was registered in small towns located peripheral in comparison to the main settlement centers of the researched area.

4. Private micro-companies dynamics in the town in the south-east Poland in the year 1994-2004

In the years 1994-2003 in towns of south-east Poland, the increase of the companies of the physical persons registered in REGON system was observed - from 81 604 to 261 119, ie. to 320%. The increase was faster in the towns of the researched area than averagely in the all towns in Poland. (tab.5)

Table 5. Dynamics of the companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland in comparison to Polish towns in the year 1994-2003

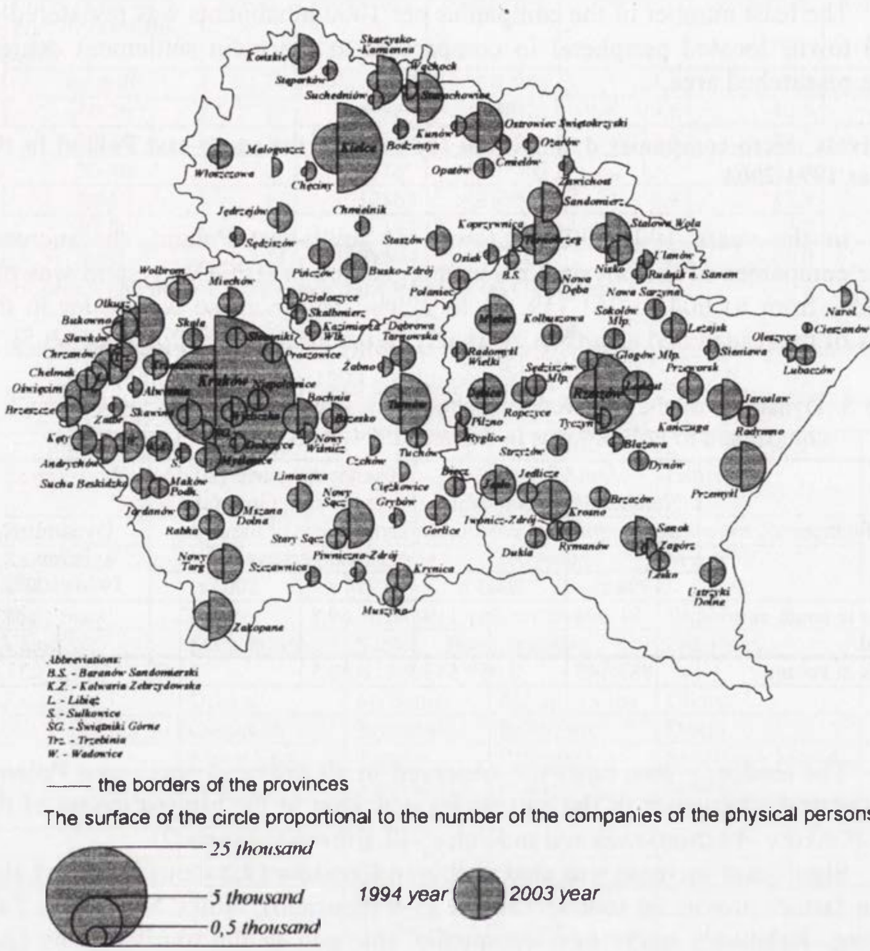
Specification	Number of the companies of the physical persons		The towns' participation in the structure of the companies of the physical persons [%]		Dynamics index 1994=100%
	1994 r	2003 r.	1994 r.	2003 r.	
Towns in south-east Poland	81 604	261 119	69,8	62,1	320,0
Towns in Poland	883 143	2 059 532	80,5	73,5	233,2

The tendency was, however, observed in all towns in south-east Poland. The greatest emergence of the companies was seen in the biggest towns of the area: Kraków -49 thousands and in Kielce -17,1 thousand (print2)

Significant increase was also visible in Rzeszów (7,2 thousands) and also in the farmer provincial towns: Tarnów (5,4 thousand), Nowy Sącz (4,5) Tarnobrzeg. Relatively many new companies emerged in the tourist towns (Zakopane, Nowy Targ, Wieliczka, Busko Zdrój, Wadowice) and on the areas where special economic zones were created (Starachowice, Mielec, Tarnobrzeg). The least number of the emerging companies was observed in:

Small villages, which were characterized by the high intensity index in the 1994 (Iwonicz-Zdrój, Dukla). Too high competitiveness became the obstacle in the development of the activity of the physical persons.

Print 2. Dynamics of the company of the physical persons in towns of south-east Poland in the year 1994-2003



In small towns located on the outskirts of their provinces (Ulanów, Rudnik, Cieszanów),

In small towns situated in so called „shadow zone" of the biggest towns (Chmielnik, Chęciny, Słomniki, Niepołomice, Skała, Głogów Młp, Tyczyn).

5. Private micro-companies potential in the towns of south-east Poland in the year 2003

In the towns of south-east Poland there were 261119 companies of the physical persons were registered in the REGON system, what was 62,1%of the total number of the companies in the researched area. (tab. 6). In comparison with the year 1994 the towns` participation in the structure of the companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland decreased by 7,7%, whereas the rural areas jointly included 37,9 % of the companies of the physical persons (in comparison with the year 1994 increase by 7,7 %.).

Table 6. The number of companies of physical persons registered in the REGON system in the rural and urban areas in south-east Poland in the year 2003

Specification	Number of the companies of the physical persons	Structure [%]	population [in thousands]	Structure [%]
towns	261119	62,1	3069,5	46,2
village	159552	37,9	3568,6	53,8
total	**420671**	**100,0**	**6638,1**	**100,0**

Source: Autor`s own estimation

The different dynamics of the companies of the physical persons in the particular cities influenced changes in the space structure. In the year 2003 in the space structure of the private micro-companies in south-east Poland still Krakow dominated (tab.7, print 3), which concentrated 27,9% of the companies registered in the towns of the researched area and 24,7% inhabitants. It confirms the view widely known in the professional literature that small companies are attracted to the urban-industrial centers. The leading role of big agglomerations is apparent. Kraków, as all big Polish agglomerations is the centre which is the best adjusted to post-Ford organization of the production and consumption (Gorzelak 1995). A. Kukliński, A. Mync i in. (1997) consider Kraków to be one of „the main winners" in the transformation process. It can be proved by good salaries, law unemployment rate, the influx of the foreign capital. Inhabitants change their qualification and as being better educated is are more susceptible to innovations.

Furthermore, Kraków is a town being the most attractive for location for business activity. P. Swianiewicz and W. Dziemianowicz (1998) count it as A class. It comes not from the fact that it is well equipped with technical and social infrastructure and its dwellers are better qualified than on the different areas. It is connected with the differentiation of its functions. Intraregional co-operative possibilities are much higher than in the other towns of south-east Poland. Also, the financial infrastructure and the institutions which support entrepreneurship are good. There is Park Technologiczny in Kraków (Technological Park): also Centrum Informacji Europejskiej, Centrum Transferu Technologii, Polsko-Amerykański Klub Przedsiębiorczości, Fundacja Promocji Gospodarczej Regionu Krakowskiego, institutions of Krajowy Systemu Usług for the small and medium entrepreneurship, Business Information Network, entrepreneurship incubators, fairs areas (Dębski 2002) should be mentioned among the institutions supporting entrepreneurship.

Print 3. The number of the companies of the physical persons in towns south-east Poland in the year 2003

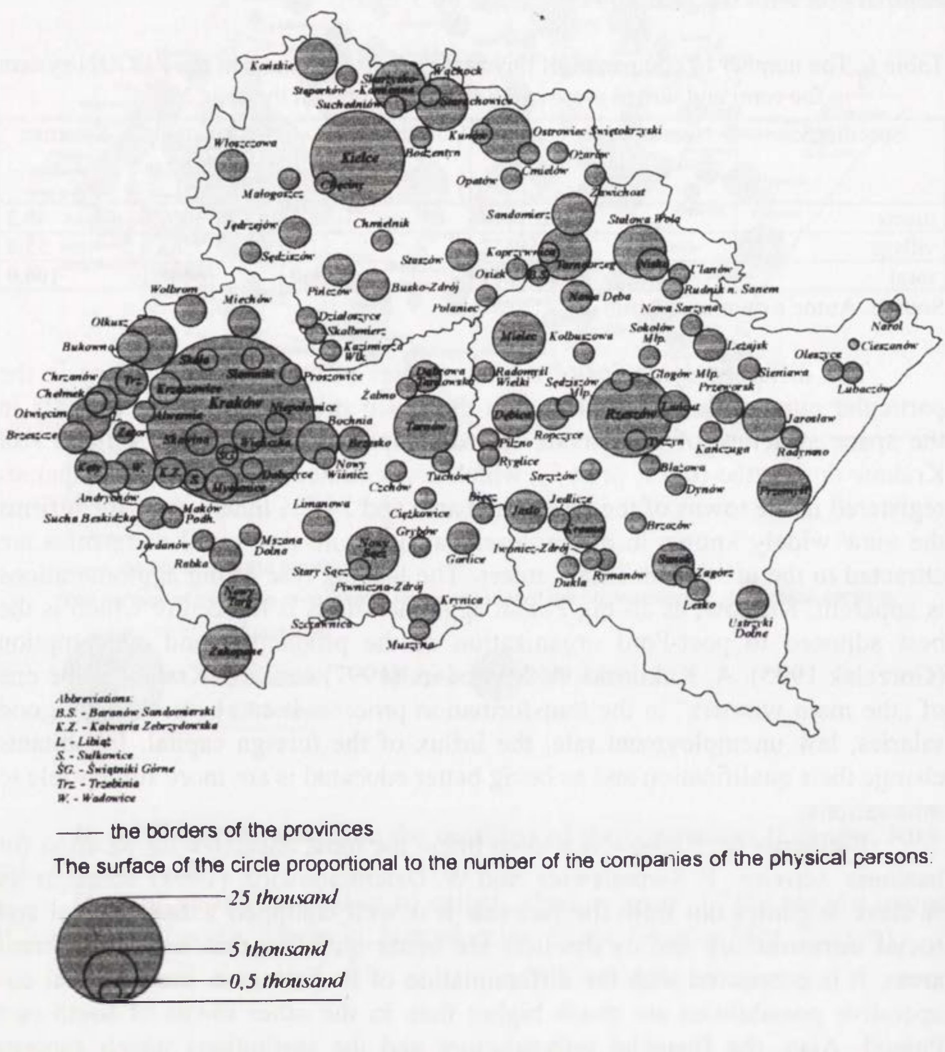


Table 7. Number of the companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland in the year 2003

	Number of the companies of the physical persons	Number			Structure [%]		
		towns	the companies of the physical persons	population	towns	the companies of the physical persons	population
1	0 - 500	54	13138	204224	41,5	5,0	6,7
2	500-1 000	33	23816	314002	25,4	9,1	10,2
3	1 000-2 000	18	27630	319098	13,8	10,6	10,4
4	2 000-5 000	19	67846	823873	14,6	26,0	26,8
5	5 000-10 000	3	20730	279247	2,3	7,9	9,1
6	10 000-20 000	1	13292	159791	0,8	5,2	5,2
7	20 000-50 000	1	21712	211810	0,8	8,3	6,9
8	50000-80000	1	72955	757547	0,8	27,9	24,7
	total	130	261119	3069592	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: The author`s own evaluation based on GUS data.

Second place belongs to Kielce (8,3% companies and 6,9% population). Third is Rzeszów (5,2% companies and 5,2% population). These are provincial towns possessing better developed infrastructure than the rest of the towns in south-east Poland. Both towns have higher education schools, are connected to the nets, such as TELENEGRO and TELEBANK, possess offices of Krajowy System Usług for small business and other institutions supporting business. In Rzeszowski region there is Karpacki Euroregion, which has a stimulating effect on the economic development of Podkarpacie region (Dębski 1999) and Rzeszów itself.

The 3 mentioned towns at the end of the year 2003 had a dominant importance for the structure of the companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland and jointly concentrated 41,4 % total number of private micro-companies registered in the towns of the researched area and 36,8% inhabitants. Their participation in comparison to the year 1994 slightly decreased (by 0,7pp.).

Significantly less important have been 3 next towns: Tarnów, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski and Nowy Sącz, which jointly included 7,9% companies of the physical persons and 9,1% inhabitants. The town, concerning their investment attractiveness are qualified to C and D class (Swianiewicz, Dziemianowicz1999). They are higher education centers with many institutions supporting small business. The stimulating factor of private micro-companies emergence was privatization of the state companies (Zakłady Azotowe in Tarnów and steel company in Ostrowiec Św.). Group layoffs, property sale (the total or partial) of the privatized companies and tendencies toward vertical de-concentration became a motivating factor for the local people to establish their own companies.

The greatest representation concerns the towns with the least potential – to 500. In the year 2003 they constituted 54 towns on the researched area (in the year 1994 r and 93), which jointly concentrated 5,0% of the companies of the physical persons and 6,7%of theinhabitants of south-east Poland (in 1994: 17,0% and 23,4% respectively). These are commonly small towns (up to 10 thousands inhabitants) situated on the outskirts of the provinces, far from the main communication routes or in the distance of several kilometers from the main urban centers. In the latter case one may assume that they are situated in the area of big towns washing. Big centers are not only the attractive ready market, but also job market, what results in the influx of the better educated and more active people from the villages.

The intensity index for the year has been evaluated showing the number of the companies per 1000 inhabitants (tab. 8,9). In 2003 in the towns of south-east Poland the index was between 35,8 in Cieszanów to 175,4 in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. In the all towns of the researched areas the index went up. Still, the lowest index was maintained in small towns with high tourist and spa values and in the towns being the centers for religious pilgrimages (Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Zakopane, Wadowice Wieliczka, Busko-Zdrój, Nowy Targ). In towns, however, located close to the crossing borders in Medyka (Przemyśl, Jarosław) the index value was moderate (Przemyśl 68,8, Jarosław 85,2). It resulted from the fact that the tourist movement from the east border was limited. The moderate index was also observed in the towns with special economic zones (for example Mielec-75,2, Starachowice 73,6). Shortly after establishing SSE more prolific emergence of the companies was noted, but at present it slowed down markedly.

The biggest towns in south-east Poland were characterized by relatively high indexes, but not the highest: Kraków - 96,3, Kielce 102,5, Rzeszów 83,2. It shows that in the big centers of the region there are still not used possibilities to set up and develop private micro-companies.

The least number of the companies per 1000 inhabitants was registered in the small towns (usually up to 5 000 inhabitants) situated in the outskirts of the main centers of the researched area and the communication routes. It can be supposed that the main factor which limits the development of the companies is the demand barrier.

Table 8. The intensity of the companies of the physical persons in south-east Poland in the year 2003 .

number companies of the physical persons	Number			Structure [%]		
	towns	companies	population	towns	companies	population
30-40	4	521	14040	3,1	0,2	0,5
40-50	8	1581	34084	6,2	0,6	1,1
50-60	16	7184	126621	12,3	2,7	4,1
60-70	26	31286	464250	20,0	11,9	15,2
70-80	26	39684	538466	20,0	15,2	17,5
80-90	18	39918	474879	13,8	15,4	15,5
90-100	13	89825	936822	10,0	34,4	30,5
100-150	18	50325	475898	13,8	19,3	15,5
150-200	1	795	4532	0,8	0,3	0,1
total	130	261119	3069592	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Author`s own estimation based on GUS data.

Table 9. Examples of the towns of south-east Poland with intensity indexes higher than 60 in the year 2003.

Intensity index					
60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	100-150	150-200
Brzozów	Ostrowiec Św.	Ustrzyki Dolne	Wolbrom	Zakopane	Kalwaria Zebrzyd.
Sanok	Skawina	Czchów	Myślenice	Pilzno	
Oświęcim	Ożarów	Krynica	Iwonicz-Zdrój	Świątniki Górne	
Nowy Sącz	Niepołomice	Dobczyce	Sandomierz	Maków Podh.	
Przemyśl	Skalbmierz	Jędrzejów	Kraków	Nowy Wiśnicz	
Piwniczna	Stąporków	Krzeszowice	Lesko	Busko-Zdrój	
Sokołów	Skała	Chmielnik	Miechów	Słomniki	
Limanowa	Rymanów	Szczawnica	Skarżysko-Kam.	Wieliczka	
Małogoszcz	Krosno	Andrychów	Łańcut	Końskie	
Trzebinia	Sędziszów	Jarosław	Jordanów	Dąbrowa Tarn.	
Dębica	Leżajsk	Radomyśl	Opatów	Nowy Targ	
Bukowno	Działoszyce	Tarnobrzeg	Sucha Beskidzka	Olkusz	
Bodzentyn	Baranów Sand.	Kęty	Brzesko	Kielce	
Brzeszcze	Mielec	Rzeszów		Wadowice	

5. Summary

In the years 1994-2003 the participation of the private micro-companies registered in towns of south-east Poland in the total number of such entities in towns of Poland increased from 9,2 % to 12,7% i.e. by 3,5 pp. In the towns of the researched area 17% of the total population of Poland lived. It means that the towns have not taken advantages of the possibilities they possess as far as location of the companies of the physical persons are concerned.

The growth rate concerning the number of the private micro-companies in south-east Poland was higher the averagely in towns of Poland. The number increased 3,2times, whereas in Polish cities 2,3 times.

The private micro-companies are of a great significance in the area of south-east Poland, as they provide people with at least 261 000 job places (for the owners, not counting labor force as the data is not available), what is very important now, when unemployment is so high. What is more, underdeveloped industry and services in the small towns result in emergence of the conditions conducive to the development of the private micro-companies which are often the only chance to get a regular income for some people. The companies of the physical persons are 68% of the total business entities registered in south-east Poland. In many centers the percentage grows up to 80%.

The importance of the private micro-companies cannot be underestimated, as they are short-living and do not hale too big incomes if compared to legal persons business.

In the years 1994-2003 the attractiveness of the towns of south-east Poland to locate the companies decreased, contrary to the attractiveness of the rural areas. In the year 1994 towns concentrated almost 70% of the total number of the companies registered on the researched area, in the year 2003 – 62,1%

The space structure of the private micro-companies is not stable and supposedly will still be shifting.

The changes in the space structure resulted from the different degree of the attractiveness of the particular settlements units. Private micro-companies potential is linked with the development level of the regional and interregional centers.

The most attractive as far as the location of the private companies is concerned are big towns of south-east Poland. It is not only connected with the ready market, but also with qualified staff and well developed social, technical and economic infrastructure. Furthermore, there is business environment in the towns, what undoubtedly has great influence on the development of the private initiatives.

The dominant regional centers did not create conditions conducive to the development of the private micro-companies in neighboring towns. The regularity can be observed that in the neighborhood of the biggest centers of south-east Poland there are towns less attractive for location of the private micro-companies. It is particularly important in the neighborhood of Kraków, where the closest towns have low potential for companies of physical persons.

It could be assumed that growth of the socio-economic potential of towns in south-east Poland is accompanied by the growth of their attractiveness for location of private micro-companies.

In the years 1994-2003 the biggest increase in the number of private micro-companies were seen in towns where the potential was high in the year

1994. To some extend, it confirms the thesis on structures self-multiplication and it is a tendency observed in the scale of the country.

High intensity indexes of the private micro-companies are seen in the towns of the high tourist attractiveness, also in the towns being the pilgrimage centers and in the towns being special economic zones..

Relatively low intensity indexes concerning private micro-companies in the towns situated close to the east border are doubtful. It may be connected with the gray area functioning there. It seems, however, that the towns do not take advantage of their good location. The area adjacent to border crossings is exceptionally comfortable to establish and develop business linked with trade, catering, private transport and financial agencies (exchange offices) etc. Apparently, it comes from the fact that on the east order there are no hikers.

The further development of the business entities will depend on the need for the particular products and services. Thus, it can be presumed that the demand barrier will be the limiting factor and the increase in financial resources of the local arrangement will have an impact on the further development.

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Streszczenie

ROZWÓJ MIKRO FIRM PRYWATNYCH W MIASTACH POŁUDNIOWO-WSCHODNIEJ POLSKI W LATACH 1994-2003

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie zróżnicowania w zakresie rozwoju zakładów osób fizycznych (mikro firm prywatnych) w miastach Polski południowo-wschodniej w latach 1994-2003. Badaniem objęto wszystkie miasta położone w obrębie obecnych województw: małopolskiego, podkarpackiego i świętokrzyskiego.

APPRAISAL OF FINANCIAL CONDITION OF BUSINESSES IN THE PODKARPACKIE PROVINCE AT THRESHOLD OF POLAND'S INTEGRATION WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION

Jerzy KITOWSKI

University of Rzeszów

In the paper, an attempt has been undertaken to appraise in a synthetic way the financial conditions of businesses in the Podkarpackie Province in the years 2001-2003. The Author has also tried to balance, in the aspect of the undertaken problem, achievements of the province in the field of proprietary transformations, and to show a specific role of current conditions of the economic and financial situation in the polled businesses, such as: an achievement balance of special economic zones (of Mielec and Tarnobrzeg), the phenomenon of reprivatisation, an outflow of the national capital to the special economic zone in Yavoriv in Ukraine, attempts of companies to make debuts at the Stock Exchange in Warsaw, as well as opportunities for dynamic development of companies in the aircraft industry from the area of a newly established „Aircraft Valley" (*inter alia* in Rzeszów, Mielec and Sędziszów Małopolski)[1].

In the Podkarpackie Province, the number of commercial companies increased in the years 2001-2003 by 25.6%, in the field of trade and repairs by 31.5%, of industry by 23%, of servicing real estates and companies, and of sci-

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[1] The listed problems have been discussed, *inter alia,* in the following works by the Author:

1. *Międzynarodowe implikacje kondycji finansowej spółek giełdowych regionu transgranicznego (na przykładzie województwa podkarpackiego)* [in:] Problematyka geopolityczna Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej. Rzeszów 1999, pp. 475-499.
2. *Operation of Special Economic Zones in Poland – and Account of Achievements, Opportunities and Threats* [in:] Spatial Dimension of Socio-Economic Transformation processes in Central and Eastern Europe on the Turn of the 20[th] Century. Rzeszów 2001, vol. I, pp. 179-217.
3. *Specjalne strefy ekonomiczne w Polsce – dokonania, szanse i zagrożenia* [in:] Czynniki i bariery regionalnej współpracy transgranicznej – bilans dokonań. Rzeszów 2002, pp. 325-346.
4. *Threats for Operation of Special Economic Zones in Poland Versus Controversy with European Union* [in:] New Arrangements of Socio-Economic Links in Central and Eastern Europe. Rzeszów 2002, pp. 167-180.

ence by 21%, and of building by 10.2% inclusively, whereas the number of co-operatives slightly dropped (by 4.1%), and the number of state-owned enterprises was reduced only by 24 (out of 44 in 2001 – cf. table 1).

Table 1. Entities of national economy in the Podkarpackie Province according to selected legal forms

Years	State-owned enterprises					Co-operatives		
	In total	Including				In total	Including	
		Industry	Building	Trade and repairs	Transport, warehouse and communication		Agriculture, hunting and forestry	Industry
2001	44	18	9	5	8	828	169	90
2002	31	12	8	3	5	809	165	87
2003	24	9	6	2	5	794	156	85

Cont.

Years	Co-operatives			Commercial companies				
				In total	Including			
	Building	Trade and repairs	Servicing of real estate and companies, science		Industry	Building	Trade and repairs	Servicing of real estate and companies, science
2001	31	201	242	4 219	1 107	460	1 693	457
2002	29	199	244	4 902	1 281	506	2 039	506
2003	32	196	241	5 298	1 364	507	2 222	554

Source: *Biuletyn Statystyczny* za lata 2002-2003. GUS, Warszawa oraz *Biuletyn Statystyczny Województwa Podkarpackiego* 2002, No: 12 and 2003, No. 12.

The research covered 731 businesses, employing at least 50 persons, including 82.1% businesses belonging to the private sector (table 2). In the years 2001-2003, we could observe (except for businesses belonging to domestic individuals and foreign businesses) a decrease in the number of businesses employing at least 50 persons (including especially businesses belonging to other domestic private entities – a drop by 74 companies).

Companies of the private sector provided in 2003 almost ¾ of sales receipts of the Podkarpackie Province, including 24.3% by foreign businesses, i.e. almost as much as the share of the public sector. Slightly over 2/3 of the total sale receipt volume in the analysed province was provided by industrial enterprises, including almost 49% - by the private sector. A still higher share index distinguished the private sector in the structure of export sales receipts – it was slightly over 92%, including the share of foreign enterprises of 63%. In the said receipt structure, industrial enterprises were dominant – 98.5% (including those belonging to the private sector of 90.7%). The discussed structural relations determined the export sales share in all sales receipts. In the examined province the share amounted to slightly over 20%, including the private business index of almost ¼, i.e. this index was four times higher that the respective share of businesses belonging to the public sector. It is worth stressing that almost half of production value of foreign businesses (49.5%) was for export. For industrial enterprises, the said index was 28.2%, including 35.6% for private enterprises.

Table 2. Number of businesses covered by the research

Specification	Years		
	2001	2002	2003
In total	777	739	731
Public sector	158	143	131
Property of the State Treasury	35	33	31
Property of the state legal persons	86	73	64
Communal property	37	37	36
Private sector	620	596	600
Property of domestic individuals	236	252	286
Property of other domestic legal entities	345	306	271
Foreign property	39	38	43

Source: as in table 1.

Businesses of private sector had (in 2003) a three times higher share in import purchase value in receipts acquisition costs (11.75% versus 3.88%). For foreign companies this relation was over ¼ and, as it seems, this is an example of profit transfer. Foreign companies buy as a rule in a central warehouse located in the country and where there are seats of the company authorities, paying inflated supply prices, grossly deviating from prices established on the world supply market.

Interesting conclusions may result from a detailed analysis of cost structure according to their kind (table 3). We may notice, quite unexpectedly, that private sector businesses were featured by a clearly higher share of material and energy use costs (52.6%, including foreign companies – 57.9%) in comparison with the public sector (44.3%). Businesses of the private sector have a slightly lower share of remuneration costs – 21.3% (including foreign ones – 16.6%), in comparison with public sector companies (23.8%). This disproportion, to a certain extent, can be explained by substitution of live work with objectified work. A characteristic feature of the said cost structure by kinds is a clearly lower share of taxes and charges by private businesses (3.5%), than belonging to the private sector (8.1%).

Measures of the real ability of businesses to repay short-term liabilities are indices of financial liquidity (table 4). There is a conclusion from the quoted data, featuring the index of current liquidity[2], that businesses belonging to par-

[2] This is a relation between turnover assets (the sum of reserves, short-term dues, short-term investments, and short-term inter-periodical settlings) and short-term liabilities.

ticular proprietary sectors have a growing tendency of the examined index. The exception is made only by businesses belonging to state legal persons. Moreover, such businesses are unable to repay earlier short-term liabilities (0.891). The index of current liquidity may turn out to be an unreliable indicator of financial effectiveness evaluation of such businesses that face a barrier of owned reserve sales, or of dues execution. A greater diagnostic credibility has undoubtedly, the index of high liquidity as in its numerator the reserve value has not been considered. According to the said criterion, the private sector companies are also featured by a higher level of financial liquidity. However, we can notice quite unexpectedly that businesses belonging to the State Treasury, similarly as in case of the current liquidity index, have the highest level of the high liquidity index (1.275, in comparison with 0.952 for private companies and 1.199 for foreign companies). The high liquidity index may be inflated, in relation to real ability to repay short-term liabilities, by short-term dues that are difficult for execution. Let us use then an indicator of the highest diagnostic credibility, which is undoubtedly the cash liquidity index[3]. It turns out that businesses from the private sector have the same financial liquidity level as companies from the public sector (almost 0.27 each), with a reservation that enterprises belonging to the State Treasury maintained competitive advantage (0.556) in relation to foreign companies (0.435). We may also notice a catastrophic cash liquidity level of businesses belonging to state legal persons (for whom the said index is only 0.099).

It is also worth stressing that companies in the Podkarpackie Province are featured by a higher financial liquidity level (in the complete examined period) in relation to the national average, both in relation to high liquidity and cash liquidity.

In order to deepen an analysis of financial liquidity we use appraisal of activity indices, as they also inform on ability of a given business to exchange reserves and short-term dues for money means. Such an analysis leads to surprising conclusions (table 5). The reserve rotation index[4] is 10 days smaller in companies of the public sector than in companies of the private sector, and it is known that the shorter reserve storage, the lower their maintenance costs (the cost sum of the reserve financing, storing, and ageing). The highest indices of reserve rotation are in foreign companies and in private industrial enterprises (over 44 days). To some extent, this may be explained by high material consumption of technologies in those companies. As we remember, the share of material and energy consumption in costs of the system by kinds was almost 58% in foreign companies, and less than 59% in industrial enterprises of the

[3] This is a relation between short-term investments and short-term liabilities.

[4] The reserve rotation index has been calculated according to the following formula: reserves · 360 / sales receipts.

private sector. Moreover, let us notice that in all the analysed proprietary sectors and their segments (except for ownership by other domestic private entities) there is a decreasing tendency of the reserve rotation index.

Table 3. Cost structure by kinds in 2003 in %

Specification			Costs in total	Out of this				
				Depreciation	Material and energy consumption	Outsource ser-vices	Taxes and charges	Remu-neration costs
In total			100.00	5.6	50.4	14.9	4.7	21.9
	Public sector		100.00	7.2	44.3	15.3	8.1	23.8
		Property of the State Treasury	100.00	7.8	41.6	20.7	4.2	24.1
		Property of the state legal persons	100.00	5.3	49.5	11.0	12.7	20.6
		Communal property	100.00	11.8	34.5	10.2	6.2	35.3
	Private sector		100.00	5.1	52.6	14.7	3.5	21.3
		Property of domestic individuals	100.00	5.2	49.3	15.6	1.5	25.6
		Property of other domestic legal entities	100.00	4.1	49.3	14.2	5.5	23.1
		Foreign property	100.00	5.9	57.9	14.5	3.1	16.6
	Including:							
	Industry		100.00	5.7	55.7	11.8	5.2	19.7
		Public sector	100.00	7.1	47.2	13.6	9.1	22.0
		Private sector	100.00	5.2	58.8	11.2	3.7	18.9

Source: as in table 1.

Still higher disproportion between the public sector and the private sector is in the size of realization cycle of dues[5]. This size is almost 11 days, and between enterprises owned by the State Treasury and foreign companies – as long as 30 days, which results from the prolonged export settling cycle (almost half of those companies' output is exported). In the years 2002-2003 in all proprietary sectors, we can observe shortening of realization cycle of dues.

The sum of the reserve rotation index and the realization cycle of dues are called the operation cycle that measures the period elapsing from the moment when the company engaged its money means to the moment when it got them back. Companies of the public sector get back their money means 21 days faster (than the companies of the private sector). The said difference in relation to foreign companies is as long as 45 days. It is worth stressing that the operational

[5] The realization cycle of dues informs how many days after the sale date a company gets back the monetary means. It is calculated according to a pattern: short-term dues · 360 / sales receipts.

cycle was reduced for companies of the public sector in the years 2001-2003 by almost 21 days.

Table 4. Indices of financial liquidity

Specification	Years 2001	2002	2003
CURRENT LIQUIDITY INDEX			
The Podkarpackie in total	1.204	1.316	1.366
Public sector	1.192	1.276	1.243
Private sector	1.210	1.330	1.405
Foreign property	1.326	1.578	1.662
Including:			
Industry – the Podkarpackie	1.230	1.394	1.427
Public sector	1.192	1.315	1.266
Private sector	1.252	1.428	1.485
HIGH LIQUIDITY INDEX			
Poland in total	0.766	0.729	0.843
The Podkarpackie in total	0.786	0.878	0.933
Public sector	0.804	0.904	0.873
Private sector	0.778	0.869	0.952
Foreign property	0.827	1.067	1.199
Including:			
Industry – Poland	0.705	0.669	0.822
Industry – the Podkarpackie	0.784	0.910	0.961
Public sector	0.786	0.899	0.846
Private sector	0.783	0.914	1.002
CASH LIQUIDITY INDEX			
Poland in total	0.179	0.179	0.236
The Podkarpackie in total	0.152	0.199	0.268
Public sector	0.137	0.208	0.267
Private sector	0.159	0.195	0.268
Foreign property	0.266	0.297	0.435
Including:			
Industry – Poland	0.144	0.147	0.207
Industry – the Podkarpackie	0.150	0.213	0.288
Public sector	0.126	0.218	0.278
Private sector	0.164	0.211	0.291

Source: as in table 1.

Companies belonging to the public sector repay their short-term liabilities[6] after 77 days on average, i.e. 13 days earlier than companies of the private sector, whereas for private companies this period is over 108 days, (it is longer in case of companies owned by the State Treasury by almost 46 days).

[6] The liability repayment index is calculated according to a formula: short-term liabilities · 360 / receipts acquisition costs.

Table 5. Activity index per days

Specification	Years		
	2001	2002	2003
ROTATION OF RESERVES			
In total	34.49	37.60	34.80
Public sector	33.42	30.83	27.47
Private sector	34.92	40.08	37.34
Foreign property	44.52	51.78	44.32
Including::			
Industry	40.95	46.06	42.39
Public sector	39.56	40.86	36.74
Private sector	41.67	48.16	44.47
DUES REALIZATION CYCLE			
In total	56.73	60.51	55.96
Public sector	62.71	60.09	47.81
Private sector	54.34	60.66	58.79
Foreign property	58.19	79.53	76.23
Including::			
Industry	61.02	68.46	63.99
Public sector	67.94	69.50	52.76
Private sector	57.47	68.03	68.11
LIABILITY REPAYMENT INDEX			
In total	90.23	89.42	86.60
Public sector	92.59	81.72	77.12
Private sector	89.26	92.48	90.13
Foreign property	107.50	107.27	108.21
Including::			
Industry	97.37	98.58	98.72
Public sector	101.01	94.18	90.17
Private sector	95.42	100.57	102.17
OPERATIONAL CYCLE			
In total	91.22	98.1	90.76
Public sector	96.13	90.92	75.28
Private sector	89.26	100.74	96.13
Foreign property	102.71	131.31	120.55
Including::			
Industry	101.97	114.52	106.38
Public sector	107.50	110.36	89.50
Private sector	99.14	116.19	112.58
CASH CONVERSION CYCLE			
In total	1.00	8.68	4.16
Public sector	3.54	9.20	- 1.84
Private sector	0.00	8.26	6.00
Foreign property	- 4.79	24.04	12.34
Including::			
Industry	4.60	15.94	7.66
Public sector	6.49	16.18	- 0.67
Private sector	3.72	15.62	10.41
CREDITLESS GAP INDEX			
In total	- 16.99	- 9.95	- 4.94
Public sector	- 15.90	- 7.02	- 8.49
Private sector	- 17.43	- 11.10	- 2.71
Foreign property	- 11.89	8.82	24.76
Including::			
Industry	- 19.93	- 7.79	- 1.92
Public sector	- 20.41	- 8.60	- 12.34
Private sector	- 19.67	- 7.43	2.23

Source: as in table 1.

The cash conversion cycle[7] informs how many days must elapse from the date of short-term liability repayment, on average in a year, to the date when a given enterprise can execute its dues. Again, quite unexpectedly, the entities owned by the State Treasury present the most favourable situation (19 days), according to the analysed criterion, whereas for foreign companies the cash conversion cycle is almost 7 days shorter.

On the other hand, the creditless gap index[8] informs about ability of the analysed company to finance the fixed costs, corrected by depreciation, with turnover capital, reduced by reserves. The barrier of financial liquidity, which was earlier noticed, of businesses in the Podkarpackie Province gives reasons for the negative value of the analysed indicator (in the years 2001-2003). The analysed index is radically differentiated in particular sectors of the proprietary structure. Even in the private sector, for the analysed period, the negative value is taken, despite the fact that for almost 25 days a year foreign companies are able to finance corrected fixed costs with turnover capital reduced by reserves. This is decided by the financial liquidity barrier of companies owned by domestic persons and other legal entities. A relatively high level of the creditless gap index distinguishes enterprises owned by the State Treasury (slightly over 21 days).

The liability repayment ability index is an important criterion to evaluate the financial condition of a company[9]. The analysed companies in the Podkarpackie Province (table 6) were able, in 2003, to finance almost 19% of their liabilities with financial surplus (the sum of net profit and depreciation). The companies belonging to the private sector have a 3.5-time higher ability to repay their liabilities in relation to companies of the private sector. Quite unexpectedly, the highest ability to repay their liabilities have communal enterprises (42.2%), which is much higher than foreign companies (less than 28%). Industrial companies, including as many as 26% of private companies are able to repay with the generated financial surplus slightly over 1/5 of their liabilities, as the said indicator for the industrial enterprises of the public sector is over 3.5 times lower. Businesses belonging to state legal persons (64 companies) are unable to repay their debts. In the analysed period it is note-worthy the growing tendency for the analysed index in all sections of the proprietary structure (including especially over 10% in foreign companies).

To compare the total liabilities of the analysed companies amount to 30.5% of the aggregated sales receipts (what means that if all sales receipts

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[7] This is the difference between the operational cycle and the liability repayment index.

[8] The creditless gap index is calculated according to a pattern: (turnover capital – reserves) · 360 / fixed costs – depreciation.

[9] This is a relationship between the sum of net profit and depreciation (financial surplus) and the total amount of liabilities.

were allocated for debts repayment, this would take place after 110 days), and they are 1.6 times higher than export sales receipts.

Table 6. Index of ability to repay liabilities in %

Specification	Years		
	2001	2002	2003
In total	11.94	12.11	18.79
Public sector	8.30	- 2.19	6.61
Private sector	13.30	17.01	22.50
Foreign property	17.36	20.11	27.95
Including::			
Industry	13.96	13.53	21.03
Public sector	7.29	- 5.61	5.92
Private sector	17.12	21.44	26.02

Source: as in table 1.

The relationship between short-term liabilities and short-term dues seems interesting enrichment of the presented analysis. In 2003 (in the analysed province) one zloty of dues responded to 1.5 zl of short-term liabilities, including 1.46 zl in the private sector and 1.65 zl in the public sector. The greatest barrier of payment hold-ups is in: enterprises owned by state legal persons (1.93), industrial enterprises of the public sector (1.76) and entities owned by other (except for individuals) domestic private entities (1.65). Let us notice at the same time that as far as the share of credits in long-term liabilities in both proprietary sectors in 2003 was maintained almost at the same level (slightly over 71%), the said share of credits in short-term liabilities showed a much more aggressive strategic attitude of the private sector (almost 3-time greater disproportion), including especially foreign companies, for whom over 1/3 of short-term liabilities constituted credits (similarly as in case of private industrial enterprises – 34.5%).

A synthetic index of financial effectiveness evaluation of businesses' activity are undoubtedly profitability indices (table 7). In 2003, companies from Podkarpacie, according to the criterion of sales profitability[10], became almost equal to the national average, and industrial enterprises acquired a higher level of financial effectiveness for their basic activity. Moreover, it should be noted that in the analysed period there was a twofold increase in the analysed index. The private sector, concerning sales profitability, has a competitive advantage in relation to the public sector. The analysed indices acquired the highest level in private companies (10.5%) and in private industrial enterprises (8.4%).

[10] This is the relation between the sales financial result and receipts from sales of products, commodities, and materials.

Table 7. Profitability index – in %

Specification	Years 2001	2002	2003
SALES PROFITABILITY INDEX			
Poland in total	2.6	3.3	4.4
The Podkarpackie in total	1.8	2.6	4.3
Public sector	- 2.7	- 2.5	- 0.4
Private sector	3.6	4.4	5.9
Foreign property	7.5	8.4	10.5
Including:			
Industry – Poland	3.2	4.1	5.6
Industry – the Podkarpackie	3.0	4.2	6.5
Public sector	- 1.7	- 1.7	1.2
Private sector	5.4	6.6	8.4
GROSS PROFITABILITY INDEX			
Poland in total	0.7	0.8	2.8
The Podkarpackie in total	0.7	0.4	2.8
Public sector	- 1.7	- 5.6	- 2.4
Private sector	1.7	2.6	4.6
Foreign property	3.4	3.7	7.8
Including:			
Industry – Poland	0.6	1.2	3.8
Industry – the Podkarpackie	1.0	0.3	3.7
Public sector	- 2.3	- 8.3	- 3.1
Private sector	2.8	3.8	6.2
NET PROFITABILITY INDEX			
Poland in total	- 0.3	- 0.2	1.7
The Podkarpackie in total	0.1	- 0.2	1.9
Public sector	- 2.2	- 6.1	- 3.1
Private sector	1.1	1.9	3.6
Foreign property	2.7	2.6	6.4
Including:			
Industry – Poland	- 0.3	- 0.2	1.7
Industry – the Podkarpackie	0.4	- 0.5	2.5
Public sector	- 2.8	- 8.7	- 4.1
Private sector	2.0	2.9	4.9

Source: as in table 1.

Similar disproportion is maintained in appraisal of the gross profitability index[11]. The private sector generates gross profit (4.6%, including foreign companies - 7.8%), whereas the public sector – gross loss (-2.4%). A favourable phenomenon was an over-3.5-time increase in the analysed index in the years 2001-2003 for industrial enterprises in Podkarpacie, which assured that they almost got equal with the national average.

[11] This is the relation between the gross financial result and overall incomes.

Diagnostic credibility of the gross profitability index is inflated by the amount of income tax. A better appraisal criterion is the net profitability index[12]. According to the analysed criterion, businesses in Podkarpacie have a competitive advantage in relation to the national average (also including the field of industry). It is also worth indicating favourable tendencies of the analysed index, in comparison with 2002. It increased for all companies in the province from 0.2% to 1.9%, including industrial enterprises – from –0.5% to 2.5% respectively.

Financial effectiveness of the analysed businesses is determined by the index of cost level from overall activity[13] (table 8). The lower the level of the analysed ratio, the higher possibilities to generate the financial result (in this case – profit from the economic performance). Let us note that in the all analysed segments of the public sector and in the case of industrial enterprises in that sector the cost level index is higher than 100%, which of course means unavoidability of generating financial losses (receipts acquisition costs are higher than the amounts of generated receipts from overall activity).

Table 8. Cost level index from the overall activity in %

Specification	Years		
	2001	2002	2003
Poland in total	99.3	99.3	97.2
The Podkarpackie in total	99.2	99.6	97.2
Public sector	101.5	105.6	102.4
Private sector	98.3	97.4	95.4
Foreign property	96.5	96.3	92.2
Including:			
Industry – Poland	99.4	98.9	96.2
Industry – the Podkarpackie	98.9	99.7	96.3
Public sector	102.0	108.3	103.1
Private sector	97.3	96.2	93.8

Source: as in table 1.

The economic and financial system binding in Poland, as it results from the data quoted in table 9, clearly prefers companies from the private sector, including especially foreign companies. The best convincing is the effective relation between income tax and gross profit. In 2003 the rate for the private sector in the analysed province was 16.7% (including 14.7% for foreign companies), whereas it was almost twice higher (28.8%) for the public sector. The said disproportion in both proprietary sectors of industry was 1.75 times. To compare, the nominal rate of income tax for legal persons was 28% in the years 2001-2002, and in 2003 it was lowered to 27% (in lieu of the rate of 24%, en-

[12] This index is a relation between the net financial result and overall incomes.
[13] It is measured by the ratio of receipts acquisition costs to receipts from overall activity.

visaged as early as in 1999) Thus, as we have already got convinced the real burden with income tax is decided not only by tax rates, but also by ways of establishing taxing base, considering, *inter alia,* tax reductions and exemptions, provided for companies located in the area of special economic zones.

Table 9. Effective relation of income tax to gross profit - in %

Specification	Years		
	2001	2002	2003
In total	17.5	15.9	18.0
Public sector	26.2	29.2	28.8
Private sector	16.0	14.5	16.7
Foreign property	11.0	13.7	14.7
Including::			
Industry	16.1	15.3	17.3
Public sector	24.9	29.8	27.7
Private sector	14.7	14.1	15.9

Source: as in table 1.

It is worth mentioning here the perceivable methodical inconsistence of the Chief Statistical Office that publishes detailed statistical information concerning sales receipts (and the structure of such sales), turnover property and short-term liabilities, and financial liquidity and profitability, whereas it omits information on the sum of assets (or on fixed assets) and own capital. Publication of the data concerning the listed two categories would allow making an overall and detailed appraisal of the financial condition of economic organisations according to the variable structure of the European Classification of Performance, including application of synthetic methods, using equation of discriminating function, for example methods by E. Mączyńska, A. Hołda, as well as J. Gajdka and D.Stos.

Streszczenie

OCENA KONDYCJI FINANSOWEJ PODMIOTÓW GOSPODARCZYCH WOJEWÓDZTWA PODKARPACKIEGO U PROGU INTEGRACJI POLSKI Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ

W artykule podjęto próbę syntetycznej oceny kondycji finansowej podmiotów gospodarczych województwa podkarpackiego w latach 2001-2003. Starano się również zbilansować, w aspekcie podjętego problemu, dokonania województwa na niwie

przekształceń własnościowych oraz wykazać szczególną rolę aktualnych uwarunkowań sytuacji ekonomiczno-finansowej badanych podmiotów gospodarczych.

W województwie podkarpackim liczba spółek handlowych wzrosła w latach 2001-2003 o ponad ¼. Badaniami objęto 731 podmiotów gospodarczych, zatrudniających co najmniej 50 osób, w tym 82,1% podmiotów należało do sektora prywatnego.

Firmy sektora prywatnego dały w 2003 r. blisko ¾ przychodów ze sprzedaży województwa podkarpackiego, w tym 24,3% firmy zagraniczne. Jeszcze wyższym udziałem wyróżnia się sektor prywatny w strukturze przychodów ze sprzedaży na eksport (ponad 92%, w tym udział przedsiębiorstw zagranicznych stanowi 63%). Blisko połowa wartości produkcji podmiotów zagranicznych trafia na eksport.

Podmioty gospodarcze sektora prywatnego posiadają trzykrotnie wyższy udział wartości zakupów z importu w kosztach uzyskania przychodu. Dla firm zagranicznych relacja ta wynosi ponad ¼ i, jak się wydaje, jest przykładem transferu zysków.

Firmy województwa podkarpackiego legitymują się wyższym poziomem płynności finansowej (w całym badanym okresie), w stosunku do średniej krajowej, natomiast według kryterium rentowności zrównały się ze średnią krajową. Sektor prywatny posiada przewagę konkurencyjną w stosunku do sektora publicznego.

Obowiązujący w Polsce system ekonomiczno-finansowy preferuje firmy sektora prywatnego, w tym zwłaszcza firmy zagraniczne. Przekonuje o tym najlepiej efektywna relacja podatku dochodowego do zysku brutto, uwzględniająca, między innymi, ulgi i zwolnienia podatkowe przewidziane dla firm zlokalizowanych na obszarze specjalnych stref ekonomicznych.

Barierą w prowadzonych badaniach okazała się odczuwalna niekonsekwencja metodyczna Głównego Urzędu Statystycznego, który publikuje szczegółowe informacje statystyczne dotyczące przychodów ze sprzedaży (i jej struktury), majątku obrotowego i zobowiązań krótkoterminowych oraz płynności finansowej i rentowności, natomiast pomija informacje o sumie aktywów (lub o aktywach trwałych) oraz kapitale własnym. Opublikowanie danych dotyczących wymienionych dwóch kategorii pozwoliłoby na przeprowadzenie wszechstronnej i wnikliwej oceny kondycji finansowej organizacji gospodarczych według różnorodnej struktury Europejskiej Klasyfikacji Działalności, w tym na zastosowanie metod syntetycznych, wykorzystujących równanie funkcji dyskryminacyjnej, na przykład metody E. Mączyńskiej, A. Hołdy oraz J. Gajdki i D. Stosa.

EUROPEAN HEALTH POLICY
– CONDITIONING FOR POLAND

Ewelina BUREK

University of Rzeszów

European integration, which aims at creating Europe strong with unity and preserving independence of the countries, their national traditions and characteristic solutions, issues a great challenge for the member countries as well as for the candidates. It consists in taking the effort of creating legal, economic and social systems which would function effectively not only on the domestic grounds but which would be fully coordinated with the EU conditions.

The EU health policy is one of the most difficult areas of integration. National health systems, although they come from the same roots, have created very specific solutions throughout decades, which function perfectly in a given society and socio-political system but they are not acceptable in others. When Poland has become a member of the EU, it has accepted the rules of its functioning and in consequence that implies the necessity of conducting adjustment processes. According to *The World Health Report 2000* the health system consists of all organizations, institutions and resources that are designed for health actions. Therefore coordination applies to all of these elements.

EUROPEAN HEALTH SYSTEMS

In the EU countries two classic models of organizing and financing health protection are used: the insurance model and the budget model. The insurance model (the Bismarck model) assumes functioning of insurance institutions (e.g. insurance funds) and financing health care from premiums paid by both the employee and the employer. Insurance institutions, which are governed by independent boards of directors, make contracts with public and private service providers. Co-payment is a valid rule. The budget model (model Beveridge'a) is based on the state guarantee of common availability of health service and entitlement to these services is a civil right of every citizen. The system is financed from taxes and governed by state administration (central and local). The private sector plays a minor part here and there is a low level of co-payment.

The analysis of health systems in the EU displays many similarities as well as many departures from the classic models. Generally speaking all systems operating within the EU can be described as mixed systems with features of both insurance and budget models. Key legal solutions (the character of finance sources above all) determine the kind of system. The range of financing possibilities for health services is limited and amounts mainly to taxes, obligatory and voluntary premiums, which can be supplementary and private (established in terms of amount of money or related to salary or to the risk, paid in different proportions by the employer and employee), private financing – individually by the patient or by his employer. Co-payment and reimbursement, i.e. payments done at the moment of using the service with later refund of expenses (e.g. in France) are common in the EU.

Using the criterion of financing sources it has been assumed that the insurance model occurs in Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg and Austria, and the budget model is implemented in Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal. The character of national systems of health care originates from tradition, economic, social and political conditions. However, it is not dependent on the size of the country, its population and the distribution of the population.

Regardless of the way of financing, the health insurance in all EU countries is characterized by four basic features, i.e. it applies to all or almost all citizens, it is compulsory, it provides a wide range of service and it is financed to a large extend from state funds. In 1998 in Belgium, Luxemburg, Sweden and Great Britain over 80% of expenses for the health protection were state expenses. In the majority of EU countries such expenses make up from 75 to 80 per cent. Only in Austria, Greece, Portugal and Italy state expenses make up less than 75 per cent of total expenses for health care (the least being in Greece – 56.8 per cent). Expenses for voluntary insurance are relatively low in the European Union. They are the highest in France – making up 12.2 per cent of all health expenses – and in Holland – 17.7 per cent. They are the lowest – no more than 10 per cent – in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Luxemburg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Great Britain and Italy. Comparing expenses for voluntary health insurance in relation to total private health expenses they make up less than 50 per cent in all EU countries, except for Holland, where they constitute 70 per cent, and in France – 51.7 per cent.[1]

All European health systems have undergone a continuous process of reforms for many years, which is an obvious consequence of the sector's peculiarity. Its basic feature is dynamism. Continuous demographic and cultural changes, along with the civilization ones force the necessity of implementing

[1] G. Jasiński: *Ubezpieczenia dodatkowe w państwach Unii Europejskiej*, „Integracja Europejska – aspekty praktyczne w ochronie zdrowia, Falenty 29 – 30.05.2003", „Eskulap – Łódzki Informator Medyczny", nr 5(54)/2003, s. 187

new reforms, which have a strong political and social basis in Europe, being a consequence of adopting the idea of 'a protective country' on the continent.

The analysis of reforms implemented in countries belonging to OECD indicates three basic tendencies among the reformers. Suitable and fair access to at least minimal range of medical service for citizens is the most important issue. More and more attention is paid to economic efficiency on the macro scale – the costs of medical care should not go up beyond certain accepted amount of the National Gross Product – and on the micro scale – the resources being at institutions' disposal should be used in a way which enables to establish the most medically effective and satisfying for the receiver services at the lowest possible costs.[2] According to the WHO guidelines all member countries should establish mechanisms of constant financing and allocation of funds for the health systems until the year 2010, which should be based on the principles of equal accessibility, profitability, solidarity and optimal quality of health service. One of the most important features of a health care system should be its effectiveness in terms of health as well as economy.[3]

European health reforms are an attempt to combine the principle of public responsibility for social protection with the benefits from implementing the market mechanism – the negative influence of the market forces into the health sector should be leveled by suitable legal frames and mechanisms designed by the state. It is crucial to reconcile the necessity of preserving internally differentiated financial and organizational systems with the requirements of constructing integrated and coherent systems. The superior criterion of choices made is the need of reaching the equilibrium between perceived level of demand for health service and politically accepted level of expenses for health care.[4] The main reason for implementing reforms in European health systems is constant, more and more rapid increase in expenses for the health care, which surpasses the increase of the NGP. The factors influencing the costs are: the aging of society, greater detestability of disease (the costs of diagnosis and treatment), the costs of managing health care systems, growing patients' demands. In the health sector there is a continuous tendency for overproduction. No system is capable of providing such amount of health service that patients should consume.

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[2] „The reform of Health Care Systems. A Review of Seventeen OECD Countries", Health Policy Studies No. 5, OECD, Paris 1994, C. Włodarczyk: *Reformy zdrowotne. Uniwersalny kłopot,* Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2003, s. 48

[3] *Zdrowie 21 – zdrowie dla wszystkich w XXI wieku*, Centrum Systemów Informacyjnych Ochrony Zdrowia, Uniwersyteckie Wydawnictwo „Vesalius", Warszawa 2001, s. 177

[4] C. Włodarczyk: *Reformy zdrowotne. Uniwersalny kłopot,* Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2003, s. 123

Table 1. The character of UE countries before 1st May 2004 and Poland

UE countries	The area ('000 km^2)	The popula-tion (mln)	NGP (mld US$)	NGP per capita (US$)	The share of total expenses for the health care in NGP[a]	The share of public expenses for the health care in NGP[a]	The total expenses for health care per capita (US$[a])	The model of health system
Germany	357,0	82,5	1 984,1	24 199	10,6	8,0	2 748	insurance
France	551,5	59,7	1 431,3	23 987	9,5	7,2	2 349	insurance
Italy	301,3	57,5	1 184,3	20 614	8,1	5,9	2 032	budget
Holland	41,5	16,1	417,9	26 135	8,1	5,5	2 246	insurance
Belgium	30,5	10,3	245,4	23 871	8,7	6,2	2 269	insurance
Luxem-burg	2,6	0,4	21,0	46 667	6,4[b]	5,9[b]	1 613[c]	insurance
Great Britain	242,9	59,1	1 563,6	26 209	7,3	5,9	1 763	budget
Ireland	70,3	3,9	119,9	30 902	6,7	5,1	1 953	budget
Denmark	43,1	5,3	172,1	32 228	8,3	6,8	2 420	budget
Greece	132,0	10,0	132,8	12 493	8,3	4,6	1 399	budget
Spain	506,0	40,3	653,1	16 360	7,7	5,4	1 556	budget
Portugal	92,0	10,0	121,7	12 109	8,2	5,8	1 441	budget
Sweden	450,0	8,8	240,3	27 245	8,1[b]	6,9[b]	1 748[d]	budget
Finland	338,1	5,2	131,5	25 386	6,6	5,0	1 664	budget
Austria	83,9	8,1	204,1	25 291	8,0	5,6	2 162	insurance
Poland	**312,7**	**38,2**	**189,0**	**4 944**	**bd**	**4,2**	**558**	**insurance**

Elaborated by the author on the basis of Rocznik Statystyczny GUS 2002r., *Sfera społeczna w Polsce na tle Unii Europejskiej i krajów kandydujących (Wybrane zagadnienia)*, Rządowe Centrum Studiów Strategicznych, Warszawa 2003r., OECD Health Data 2002, [a] 2000, [b] 1995, [c] 1999, [d] 1998

COMMON HEALTH POLICY

Common European health policy has its beginning in the 80s. It is shaped by the European Union, the European Council (European Committee of Public Health) and EURO WHO.

The Amsterdam treaty from 1997 in article 152 describes actions of the Community as supplementary in relation to member countries' policies, supporting the regional actions with exclusion of the need to harmonize legislation and regulations of the member countries. The Community fully respects competence and responsibility of member countries in the area of organizing national health care systems. The objective of the EU rules is regulating coexistence of different systems so that all citizens have real health protection all over the EU (as well as in countries belonging to the European Economic Area – Island, Liechtenstein Norway). Full standardization of national health system is impossible due to great differences in standards of living existing among the EU countries but also because of deep differences in the structures of functioning systems, which result from national traditions.

The objective of the EU is *creating common market, economic and currency union and carrying out common policy and actions (...) aiming at harmonious and balanced economic development, stable (...) high standard of employment and social security, increasing the level and quality of life as well as establishing economic and social unity and solidarity among the member countries.*[5] This aim is to be achieved by a free flow of people, goods, services and capital, and in consequence also doctors and other health experts, patients, pharmaceutics, medical technology and products, services and investments in the field of health care and insurance.

The Community regulations in the area of health care are limited to giving the patients the right to health care in all member countries. This right has been described in the EEC Council's decree (1408/71 14th June 1971 and 574/72 21st March 1972).

On the basis of 1408/71 decree, at a given time a citizen is subject to the legislation of only one member country, independently from the fact in how many countries he lives or works. Social services to which the insured is entitled are a consequence of the regulations of the country where this person works. Member countries guarantee equality of rights and duties as regards the social protection for citizens of the given country.

The ways of accounting for the costs of medical service among member countries is described by the 574/72 decree (article 93-95). It allows two ways of accounting here: according to the real costs and according to lump sums. On the basis of the principle of refunding the real costs, the insurance institution in the country of a temporary stay of the patient passes the bills for his treatment to the proper institution in the amount set according to the rates no higher than those for people who are insured by this institution. This type of accounting must be made according to the price list accepted by the European Union Administration Committee for Social Protection of Migrating Workers.

The second type of account, i.e. refunding the costs according to lump sums consists in that the insurance institution in the country of temporary stay of the patient is entitled to receive the refund of the average monthly costs in the amount equal to the average costs of medical care provided for the appropriate category of people who are insured due to the legislation of that country. Flat-rate accounting applies only to certain groups of people, i.e., members of workers' or business owners' families, the retired and members of their families.

[5] A. Kozierkiewicz: *Perspektywy sprzedaży usług zdrowotnych za granicą przez szpitale polskie. Raport wstępny*, „Menedżer Zdrowia", nr 1/2003, s. 12

This way of accounting is called a family lump sum. It is accounted independently from whether the entitled person benefits from the medical care or not. The European Union Administration Committee for Social Protection of Migrating Workers must accept the amount of the lump sum.

Treatment in the EU member countries may also take place on the basis of the patient's insurance promise that allows him to leave for another country for treatment on the cost of the insurance institution but according to the rates of the target country. For the sake of confirmation of entitlement to medical service, on the basis of which the accounting is made, the 'E' forms are used, that are issued by insurance institutions of all member countries and since 1st June 2004 – the European Card of Health Insurance.

The precedential verdicts of the European Justice Tribunal in Luxembourg are crucial for the process of shaping the common health policy. Those verdicts have established a new procedure of obtaining health services abroad, which is not subject to the regulations resulting from the 1408/71 and 574/72 decrees. The Tribunal has assumed that medical service, despite different shapes of national health systems, are also subject to the principle of a free flow of people, goods, services and capital. In this situation all patients have the right to benefit from the medical service in the member countries according to the rates valid for those countries without having to receive promises. The interpretation of the principle of the free flow of people, goods, services and capital in the verdicts of the Tribunal may upset the delicate financial balance of specific national health systems. This situation will inevitably extract the necessity of even the slightest harmonizing the national health systems, the lack of which is more and more frequently described as the error of neglect of the responsible EU organs.

On the other hand it is of course underlined that the medical care at the international level may be highly beneficial, despite the additional costs which will follow it. Thanks to the international cooperation a possibility of reducing the time of expecting certain operations will occur. Another important aspect of the EU cooperation is the development of highly specialist international medical centres, which would concentrate on rare and at the same time requiring great competence health procedures, usually very expensive.[6]

The EU countries integration in the area of pharmaceutical policy has been displayed in the document 'Europe of the medicines'. The unified pharmaceutical policy of the EU consists in introducing common regulations in the extend of the rules regulating launching medicines onto the market, their distribution and advertising. The pharmaceutical policy is a very important part of the health sector because it is connected with large expenditure. Drug ex-

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[6] A. Kozierkiewicz: *Perspektywy sprzedaży usług zdrowotnych za granicą przez szpitale polskie.* Raport wstępny, „Menedżer Zdrowia", nr 1/2003, s. 16

penses are on the average about 1 per cent of the NGP in the EU. They are the lowest (less than 1%) in Denmark and Ireland and the highest – in Germany and France (1.6%).The share of expenses on medicines in the total of health care expenses is between 10.9% in Holland and 18.5% in Germany. The highest expenses per capita are noted in Germany and the lowest – in Greece and Portugal.

For the purpose of limiting expenditures on medicines, so called positive and negative lists of medicines have been introduced in the majority of the EU countries. Positive lists consist of medicines which costs are refunded from the patient's private means. Positive lists function in Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Portugal, Greece and Italy. Negative lists have been introduced in Germany, Ireland, Spain, Luxembourg and Great Britain. In some countries both types of lists function simultaneously. A tendency to limit the positive list and to expand the negative list has been observed. In all the EU countries, except for Holland, the system of co-payment exists, which is supposed to limit expenditure by limiting demand. Generally speaking there are free medicines, bought by means of flat-rate payments, with percentage discount, and fully paid. Most of the EU countries implement various control mechanisms in relation to the pharmaceutical industry, i.e., the control over the prices of medicines, the control over pharmaceutical industry profits, introducing so called credential system of prices for unpatented medicines, comparing costs of the medicines in a given country and in other EU countries.

The tax system is also supposed to serve the control over pharmaceutical market. This system imposes taxes onto sums spent on promotion of new drugs, which stops companies from launching pseudo-novelties onto the market. In all EU countries competitive import of medicines is limited to the greatest possible extend and domestic production is being supported because this is a cheaper solution.[7]

POLISH HEALTH SYSTEM – THE PRESENT STATE AND THE DIRECTIONS OF REFORMS

The directions of reforms of the health system undertaken in Poland were strongly correlated with the political system. In 1999 the Health Minister, Franciszka Cegielska introduced the insurance model and decentralized the system by means of establishing 17 insurance institutions (16 regional ones and a trade one for uniform service). In 2002 another Health Minister, Mariusz Łapiński, eliminated these institutions and established the National Health Fund, which also functions within the insurance model. The range of guaranteed services still

[7] M. Dziubińska-Michalewicz: *Polityka lekowa w wybranych krajach Unii Europejskiej - Informacja nr 621*, Kancelaria Sejmu, Biuro Studiów i Ekspertyz, Warszawa, s. 2

remained undetermined. Co-payment occurred at the level of extra standard services, orthopedic and auxiliary means and medicines.

In 2004 the next Health Minister, Leszek Sikorski had to face the necessity of immediate change of the system due to the verdict of the Constitutional Tribunal. On 7th January 2004 the Tribunal adjucated that the basic regulations of the act about the common insurance in the National Health Fund (23rd January 2003) concerning the organisation of the NHF (chapter 1,4), the rules of fulfilling health needs and organisation of providing health service (chapters 5,6,7,8), economic organisation (chapter 9) and the rules of monitoring and controlling the execution of the NHF objectives, are in contradiction with the Polish Constitution. It occurs due to the fact that *by establishing a public institution in a shape that prevents it from proper functioning the rules of the country in the extent of the constitutional right to access the health care services by all citizens are violated.* The questioned regulations will have lost their legal force by 31st December 2004.[8]

The assumption that the basic regulations of the NHF act are in contradiction with the Polish Constitution[9] means that re-establishing legal order here by partial amendment of this act is not possible. It is necessary to create a new total legal regulation of the health system. For this purpose the government has prepared a plan of organising the health care, which extends onto four areas: functioning of the health care, executing and financing the health care services, functioning of the National Health Fund and pharmaceutical economy.

The project of the bill about health care services financed from the public funds introduces many new ideas. It describes so called negative package comprising extra standard benefits which are financed from the patient's private funds and it establishes the principle of co-payment, i.e., flat-rate fees for doctor's appointments and hospitalization. It also anticipates introducing in 2007 the Basic Benefits Package: standard benefits – financed only from the public funds and recommended – financed partially from the public funds and partially by the patient.[10] In the light of the changes in the system presented above a concept of voluntary health insurance also appears. This would be complementary (for the higher standard) and additional (covering the costs of co-payment, the costs of recommended benefits and the negative package), what is supposed to institutionalize a part of present informal fees.

According to the project of additional health insurance, prepared by a group of experts appointed by the government, the informal financial flow

[8] Wyrok Trybunału Konstytucyjnego, sygn. akt K 14/03, Warszawa, 7 stycznia 2004r.

[9] Konstytucja RP, art. 68. ust. 2.: *obywatelom, niezależnie od ich sytuacji materialnej, władze publiczne zapewniają równy dostęp do świadczeń opieki zdrowotnej finansowanej ze środków publicznych*

[10] *Naprawa sytuacji w opiece zdrowotnej*, Ministerstwo Gospodarki, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, www.mgpips.gov.pl

makes up from 27 to 37% of private expenses for health care, which are estimated to be about 15 billion PLN (whereas the value of the whole health market is estimated to be 50 billion PLN). It means that informal expenses constitute from 4 to 5.5 billion PLN. Stationary health care is financed by about 80% of those in the form of 'gratitude gifts' for accepting to the hospital (12%), for advancing an operation (13%), for conducting the operation (23%) and for 'reliable care' (29%). According to the experts thanks to additional health insurance the system of public funds may profit from 0.8 to 1.8 billion PLN a year.[11] According to 'The Social Diagnosis 2003' the will to buy a voluntary health insurance policy is rather low – about 5%, and among those people who would be willing to buy one the largest percentage (12%) would spend no more than 100 PLN monthly on it.[12] The situation described above could be changed by encouraging people to buy an additional health policy by financing insurance from the Social Benefits Fund, re-establishing tax allowances connected with health care expenses, changes in classification of income costs.

Regulating the rules of financing the health benefits, tax allowances and other changes in different areas of the law should cause additional financial supply for the system and run institutionalized forms of its gathering.

The basic measure taken into consideration in the characteristics of the health care system in a given country, as well as in international comparisons, is the percentage share of the health care expenses in the National Gross Product.[13] The level of expenses for the health care is strongly determined by the level of the National Gross Product. In Poland in 2002 the NGP per capita was 4944 US$ and it was a few times lower than in all the other EU countries, for which the average NGP was 24913 US$. The situation is similar with the level of total health care expenses per capita: in Poland – 558 US$, in the EU – 1958 US$. The share of public expenses for the health care (defined as the sum of expenses of the state budget, local budgets and insurance institutions) in the total of public expenses is also relatively low. For the last few years it has amounted to less than 5%, in 2002 it dropped to 4.2%. Except for Greece (4.6%) for all the EU countries this factor amounts to more than 5%, and the European average is 6% (the highest being in Germany 8%).

The most characteristic change in the health care expenses in Poland in the period of transformation is the change in the relation between public and private expenses for this purpose, which consists in the decrease of public expenses and the increase of private household expenses for the health care.

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[11] K. Nyczaj: *Czy czeka nas kolejny niewypał?*, „Służba Zdrowia", nr 26-30/2004, s. 34

[12] J. Czapiński, T. Panek: *Korzystanie z opieki zdrowotnej i wydatki gospodarstw domowych w świetle „Diagnozy społecznej 2003"*, „Zdrowie i Zarządzanie", tom V, nr 6/2003, s. 106

[13] D. Kawiorska: *Narodowe rachunki zdrowia,* Kantor Wydawniczy „Zakamycze", Kraków 2004, s. 32

In the CASE report from 2002 the low level of financing the Polish health system from the public funds without any effects rationalizing the expenses is indicated as well as the tendency to deformation of the expense structure, i.e., medicine expenses pushing out other expenses, maintained high level of expenses for stationary health care, untransparencies and unconsequences in the system of public funds, also limited ability to control the system. It has also been indicated that the private means are not included in the rationalization of the system, although their part in the total financing is increasing.[14]

The trouble spot of the financing health care in Poland is the pharmaceutical policy. It results from a very high level of public and private expenditure on drugs. According to the Pharmaceutical Institute in Poland about 12,000 different medical products and patent medicines are sold at present, which are produced by 450 companies from all over the world, and every year there are on average 600-800 new ones launched onto the market. Polish pharmaceutical industry produces medicines from which about 95% are generic medicines. The patent laws do not apply to them and they can be produced as the cheaper counterparts of original trademark products. Generic medicines are usually 20-30% cheaper than trademark medicines. In 2000 in Poland 203.1 million trademark medicines were sold which is 12% of the market as regards the quantity, and 43% as regards the value. The sale of generic medicines was 735.9 million, which is 44% of the market as regards the quantity and 31% as regards the value. The costs of purchasing medicines in 2000 were 17 times higher than before the year 1994. The scale of co-financing the medicine costs by Polish patients is one of the greatest in the world and at present it is 60-65%. According to the WHO the threshold of the accessibility of the medicine for the patient is 40%. If it is higher it means that the country cannot assure full access to the medicines for its citizens.[15] According to *The Social Diagnosis 2003* 30% of Polish households do not buy medicines prescribed by the doctor for financial reasons.[16]

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[14] *Opieka zdrowotna w Polsce po reformie. Diagnoza systemu opieki zdrowotnej po trzech latach funkcjonowania reformy (1999-2001)*, Raport CASE, red. S. Golinowska, Centrum Analiz Społeczno–Ekonomicznych, Warszawa 2002r., „Menedżer Zdrowia", nr 1/2003, s. 72

[15] A. Pilc, P. Kawalec: *Rynek farmaceutyczny w Polsce*, „Menedżer Zdrowia", nr 1/2003, s. 46

[16] J. Czapiński, T. Panek: *Korzystanie z opieki zdrowotnej i wydatki gospodarstw domowych w świetle „Diagnozy społecznej 2003"*, „Zdrowie i Zarządzanie", tom V, nr 6/2003, s. 106

Table 2. The structure of public expenses for the health care in 1998-2002

	Inventory	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
1	Expenses from the state budget ('000 PLN)	20 919 498	6 312 645	4 300 019	4 600 760	3 420 668
	% share	14,97	4,56	2,85	2,66	1,88
2	Expenses from the local government budget ('000 PLN)	2 899 489	2 043 305	2 689 736	3 473 794	1 974 427
	% share	6,10	3,14	3,59	4,20	2,37
3	Expenses from insurance institutions ('000 PLN)	-	23 538 386	23 784 523	27 534 791	29 942 145
	Total public expenses for health care ('000 PLN)	23 204 114	28 589 383	28 781 428	32 840 172	34 118 346
	Share of public expenses for health care in NGP	4,19	4,65	4,20	4,37	4,42

Elaborated by the author on the basis of *Podstawowe dane z zakresu ochrony zdrowia*, GUS, Warszawa 1998r, 1999r., 2000r., 2001r., 2002r.

The realization of the governmental programme 'Medicine Policy of the State 2004-2008' is to serve the rationalization of the medicine policy. It anticipates e.g., introducing fixed prices for medicines used in hospital treatment, establishing the system of comparing the medicine prices with other EU countries as one of the criteria of fixing the official prices, with the use of the criterion of cost efficiency when putting on the list of the refunded medicines, negotiating profit margins while supplying the medicines with the pharmaceutical companies.[17]

CONCLUSIONS

The necessity of reforming Polish health system is most of all a consequence of the economic state of this sector but to the same degree it results from the integration processes in Europe. The basic principles of the new health care model, prepared on the basis of opinions of experts from the World Bank and World Health Organization, were accepted by the Polish Cabinet in 1990. It was assumed that this model should be characterized by decentralization of management and financial responsibility, differentiation of organizational structures, objective division of funds and increasing efficiency of their use as well as ex-

[17] *Naprawa sytuacji w opiece zdrowotnej*, Ministerstwo Gospodarki, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, www.mgpips.gov.pl

panding the sources of health care financing.[18] Some of those postulates have been partially realized. Unfortunately, the organization of social protection system has not been regulated yet, what leaves the disease and accident insurance along with the system of medical diagnosis (benefits, compensations, pensions) in the Social Insurance Institution and in Agricultural Social Insurance. In the classic European insurance model it is a standard to combine all categories of risks connected with losing health and the ability to earn a living within one insurance model.

It is indispensable to undertake proper adjustment actions as fast as possible and above all to create legally transparent system and to set the prices of health services on the basis of actual costs. The accessing treaty states unambiguously that in international accounting for medical benefits rates valid for Polish system of common health insurance will be respected. The payer will be either the state budget or the NHF, depending on the situation. According to the analysis made by PHARE-Consensus III experts Polish expenses for coordinating the system of social protection, in the part concerning health care, can be identified and classified in two groups: expenses for tourist insurance (about 70 million PLN a year) and flat-rate expenses for people who move permanently or temporarily abroad and still remain within the Polish system of social protection (600 million PLN). In this estimation treatment based on promises is not included.[19]

Apart from the danger resulting from integration regulations and especially from the precedential verdicts of the European Justice Tribunal concerning benefiting from health services abroad, European integration is a great chance for Poland. Many member countries have problems with providing medical service at a proper time and of proper quality for their own citizens at present, e.g., Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, Spain (so called ‘problem of queues’). Taking this fact into consideration, as well as the high level of Polish specialists and the rest of the medical staff and much lower costs, many countries will be interested in close cooperation with Polish benefit providers in the field of health protection. Such international cooperation will also be beneficial for the Polish patient because it will force the health care units to improve the quality of services provided. Polish offer for the EU citizens may include in particular surgical operations, e.g., cardiac ones, which are performed at a very high level with relatively low costs in Poland. Demand for such operations, due to aging of the European society, is growing. Moreover, it can be noticed that European patients are interested in rehabilitation and dental services (mostly German citizens) at present.

[18] *Transformacja społeczno–gospodarcza w Polsce*, Rządowe Centrum Studiów Strategicznych, Warszawa, lipiec 2002r., s. 259

[19] A. Kozierkiewicz: *Kolejki, koszyk i solidna kalkulacja kosztów*, „Menedżer Zdrowia”, nr 3/2003, s. 13

The low level of health benefits' costs, which may encourage cooperation with Polish service providers, at the same time will contribute to a negative balance in accounting with the EU member countries. The deficit will increase by not accounting for the flat-rate amounts by the NHF, which are due on the basis of the 574/72 decree. It is connected with the fact that Polish system does not have precise statistical data concerning average costs of treatment of different groups of people nor methods of accounting for the lump sums.[20]

All facts and arguments taken into consideration in this article lead to one obvious conclusion. The health system in Poland, totally malfunctioning, which does not have appropriate legal regulations, will not be able to function within the EU structures and the process of integration will only speed up its fall. The only chance is carrying out immediate reforms, which will not only organize the structure of the health system but also allow its coordination with the European systems.

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Streszczenie

EUROPEJSKA POLITYKA ZDROWOTNA – UWARUNKOWANIA DLA POLSKI

Artykuł jest próbą analizy aktualnej sytuacji prawno – ekonomicznej systemu zdrowotnego w Polsce. Autor zestawia przyjęte w Polsce rozwiązania z modelami klasycznymi stosowanymi w państwach członkowskich UE. W świetle analizy czynników warunkujących działanie systemów, podjęta jest próba oceny szans i zagrożeń wynikających z integracji europejskiej.

DOES THE CURRENT SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION OF WARSAW CONFORM TO THE PRECEPTS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

Bożena DEGÓRSKA

Institute of Geography and Spatial Organisation
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw

1. Introduction

The urbanisation process, which takes place in the metropolitan region of Warsaw and in other metropolitan areas, does not only disturb the natural equilibrium, but also frequently contributes to the lowered life quality. The uncontrolled expansion of residential housing construction, both in towns and around them, causes rapid shrinking of the natural base in the direct surroundings of the places of residence, while aggressive architectural forms frequently make up an amorphous landscape. Such an urban space is characterised by the lack of spatial order. Thus, the proliferation of the housing estates on the suburban areas, which, on the one hand, was supposed to secure close contact with nature for the inhabitants, but on the other hand destroys the order of nature, does not give rise to spatial structures friendly for people nor for the environment. Oftentimes, it does not secure the economic bases for environmental protection, neither, in view of the high costs of securing appropriate technical infrastructure.

Reconciliation of the spatial development of towns and urban regions with the proper shaping of landscape and environment belongs among the difficult problems of spatial planning, not just in Poland, but in entire Europe. That is why sustainable development of such areas is paid so much attention in the policy of sustainable development of the European Union.

The present paper attempts to provide the answer to the question whether the current spatial development of the region of Warsaw conforms to the precepts of sustainable development. Special attention is paid to the domains of spatial economy having direct bearing upon the state of the environment, and hence also on the quality of life, namely: urbanisation of space, management of open spaces, water economy and waste economy.

Elaborate prepared in the framework of the research project of the State Committee for Scientific Research, entitled *Contemporary changes of landscape and planning of spatial structure of open spaces in the metropolitan area of Warsaw.*

2. Sustainable spatial economy of an urban region in the precepts of the European Union

It is an important achievement of the spatial policy of the European Union that it is oriented at the sustainable development of urban areas, perceived in three dimensions: social needs, economic equilibrium and environmental equilibrium, and the development of definite functions and interrelations (*Charter of European Cities and Towns Towards Sustainability*, 1994). Even though the idea of shaping urban space in harmony with natural environment is not new, owing to the policy of sustainable and equilibrated growth it gained popularity anew. The report *Europe 2000* (1991) indicates the necessity of collaboration of the European countries for the purpose of sustainable development, including sustainable spatial development.

The possibility of bringing closer the systems of spatial planning in the countries of the European Union and the systemic approach to environmental protection in spatial planning were emphasised in the report *Europe 2000+* (1994). It is worth stressing that special attention was paid in this report to protection, strengthening and reconstruction of the network of ecological corridors, as well as to the development of green spaces in towns and in their direct vicinity, with the purpose of amplifying the regeneration and recreation functions.

Another important development-oriented document of the European Union – *European Spatial Development Perspective* (1999) – devotes ample room to spatial development of towns and urban regions in harmony with the environment. This report pays attention, in particular, to such problems as:

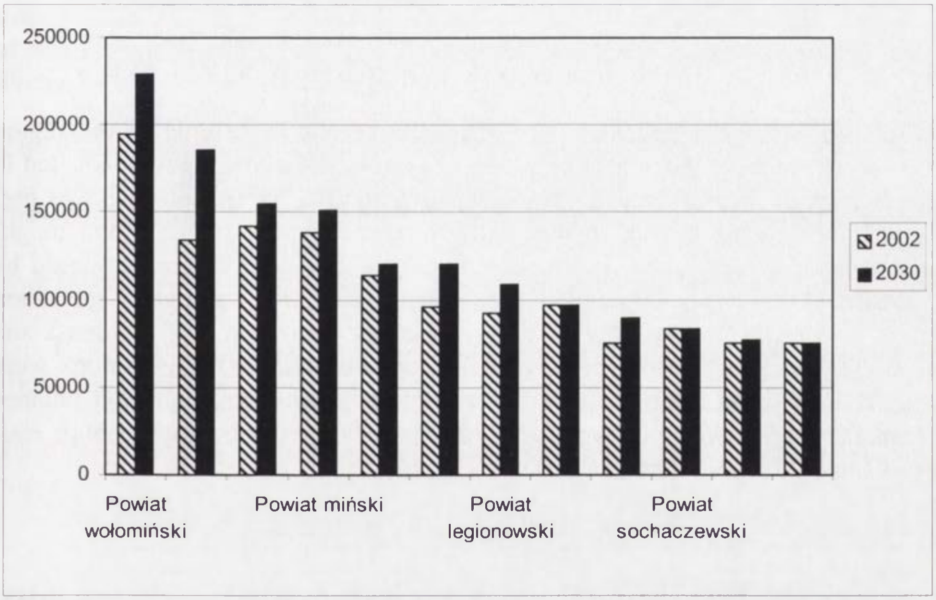
– management of the spatial development of towns and preventing uncontrolled expansion,
– increasing accessibility through appropriate location policy and development of integrated, environment-friendly transport,
– strengthening of attractiveness of the weaker regions by improvement of the economic base and support for the development of environmental and service infrastructure,
– rational and sparing management of the urban ecosystem, with special consideration of water, energy and waste economy,
– protection and development of natural and cultural heritage.

The *New Charter of Athens* (2003) emphasises, as well, the necessity of a systemic approach to the attainment of the ecologically conditioned urban development and the strengthening of the problem domains associated with protection of natural heritage, protection and shaping of landscape and open spaces, improvement of quality of life.

3. Demographic conditions for the development of the region of Warsaw

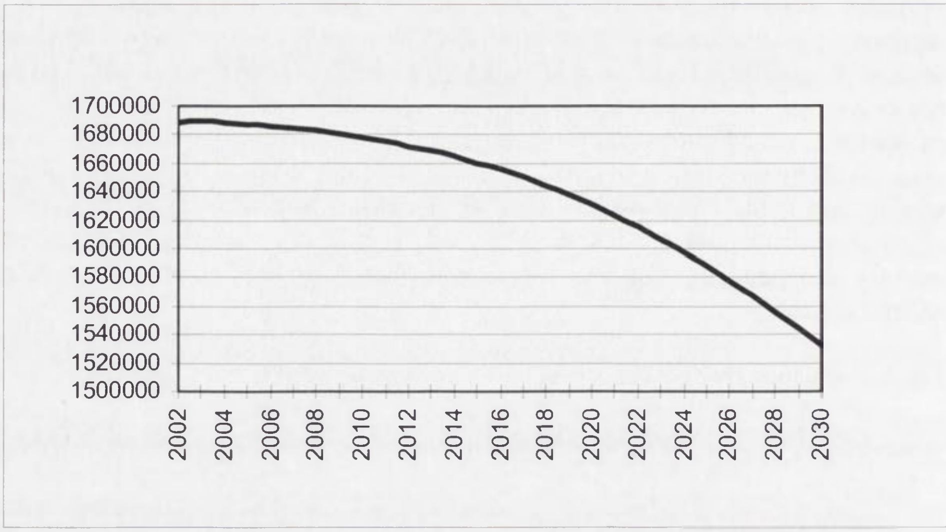
It can be expected, on the basis of results from the demographic forecasts of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), that until the year 2030 the free spaces in the vicinity of Warsaw will still constitute the place of further, highly intensive development of residential housing and other, accompanying construction projects. This is apparent through the expected trends of important population increase in all the counties bordering upon Warsaw (counties: Wołomin, Piaseczno, Pruszków, Mińsk Maz., Otwock, Warszawa Zach., Legionowo) and in the county of Grodzisk Mazowiecki (Fig. 1). Side by side with the closeness of location, an additional factor of residential attractiveness of these areas is constituted by the shift in the preferences of the population, with environmental quality and landscape aspect gaining an increasing significance in the choice of place of residence. Besides, the competitiveness from the side of agricultural activity dropped significantly, which contributed to the increase of supply of land for sale.

Fig. 1. Population changes in the counties, in the vicinity of Warsaw until the year 2030 (elaborated on the basis of data from GUS – *Prognoza demograficzna na lata 2003-2030*, GUS, Warsaw, 2003)



In spite of the envisaged decrease of the population number in the urban core (Fig. 2), one should not expect an end to the technical developments within the open spaces in Warsaw. The highest investment-wise attractiveness of the metropolitan region of Warsaw will continue to generate further demand for new construction land and the development of infrastructure.

Fig. 2. Population changes in the county of the capital city of Warsaw until the year 2030 (elaborated on the basis of data from GUS - *Prognoza demograficzna na lata 2003-2030*, GUS, Warsaw, 2003)



The general regularities of internal migrations, registered in the region of Warsaw, namely much higher inflow of population to the counties located in the vicinity of Warsaw than to Warsaw itself, and the population forecasts presented, indicate further extension of the urbanised space in the direct neighbourhood of Warsaw, that is – up to 20-30 km from the centre. It should be emphasised that the county of Piaseczno attained in 2000 the highest migration index in Poland (19.9‰). Compared to the cities of Poznań, Łódź, Gdańsk and Katowice, where negative values of the internal migration balance index were observed, Warsaw is also characterised by a high positive migration balance (*Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 2000-2001*), demonstrating high residential attractiveness of the capital of Poland.

4. The threats for the sustainable spatial development

The dynamic spatial development of the urbanised areas in the neighbourhood of Warsaw does not feature sustainability of the emerging spatial structures. The areas surrounding Warsaw and other centres of subregional significance are being usually developed in a chaotic and uncontrolled manner. Amorphous space arises, within which the areas free of structures, with exception of nature reserves, national and landscape parks, as well as protective forests, are mostly treated as potential construction land. If current trends of urbanisation of the suburban zone of Warsaw continue, the majority of forests may remain the isolated islands of greenery in the middle of overbuilt areas. Forests, though, are sometimes, as well, the locations of new construction projects, which have not spared even the Masovian Landscape Park. The plots situated in the direct vicinity of the landscape parks - Masovian and Chojnów, of the Kampinos Forest National Park and the Zegrze Reservoir feature the highest attractiveness in terms of investments (Fig.3).

The areas of residential functions develop nowadays in the absence of a vision for the shaping of the system of open spaces in the entire metropolitan area. The question therefore arises whether the new urban space is going to be constituted by the vast residential areas, mainly of family housing, filling in the free areas around large towns. Taking into account the current settlement processes taking place in the surroundings of Warsaw, such a scenario is, alas, quite feasible. This problem was also indicated by S. Gzell, who warned, simultaneously, against the North American model of urban development with the expanding suburban zone – „the American metropolis moved so close to us" (Gzell, 2002).

The emerging settlement structures, through the change in spatial relations of the open spaces and the urbanised space, impact upon the possibility of developing the natural system of the urban region and the ecological effectiveness of the open spaces.

In the vicinity of Warsaw, despite the spontaneous development of the settlement processes, there is still a broad natural background, allowing for a satisfactory design of the natural system of the metropolitan region (Fig.4). The current spatial structure of the open spaces, within the radius of 20-25 km from the downtown, is characterised by the wedge pattern. The wedges reach from the peripheries towards the centre of the metropolitan area. On the other hand, the main settlement belts of radial shape constitute increasingly tight barriers for the ecological connections between the particular wedges of greenery. The unbroken, ring-like structure of the open spaces appears at the distance of more than 20-30 km from downtown Warsaw. There exists, therefore, a possibility of developing the system of open spaces in the optimum manner, as the ring-and-wedge pattern.

Fig. 3. Expansion of the housing complexes in the region of Warsaw in the years 1992-2002

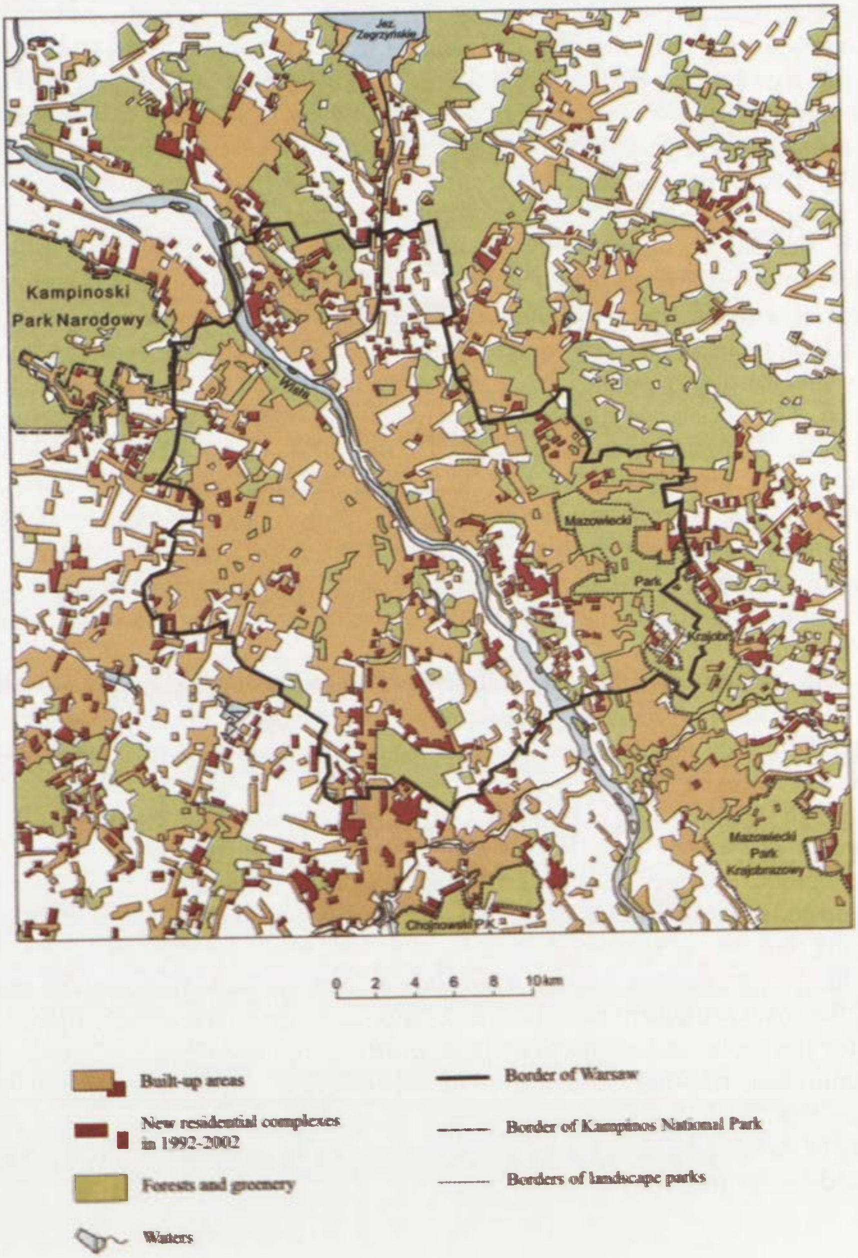
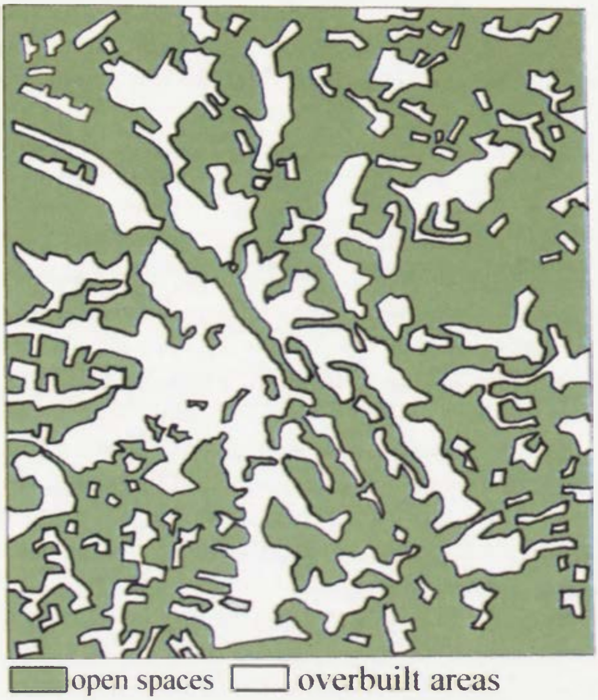


Fig. 4. The pattern of the open spaces and overbuilt areas in the region of Warsaw as of 1992; new complexes of housing structures from the years 1992-2002



Having in mind the threats for the natural connections between the wedges of greenery in the zone of the closest neighbourhood of Warsaw, it is most dangerous to cover with structures the free spaces separating the individual settlement units along the main outward roads and railway lines. Similarly, location of the new complexes of residential housing concentrically around Warsaw may lead to fragmentation of the particular wedges of greenery and the demise of connections with the more distant natural environment. One of the instances of such a threat is the dynamically urbanising space within the belt of Góra Kalwaria-Piaseczno-Pruszków. The natural system is subject to the threat of significant fragmentation on the areas surrounding Warsaw.

Despite the expansion of housing construction it is still possible to determine the system of open spaces, characterised by internal cohesion and external connections. Yet, in view of the lack of a new concept for the development of the open spaces in the metropolitan region of Warsaw, the opportunity of protection of numerous areas valuable in terms of nature and of preservation of the ecological corridors, both inside Warsaw and in its vicinity, is being nowadays wasted (Degórska, 2002a).

Another difficult problem is constituted by protection of the areas featuring recreational value, since potential investors display a particular interest in the attractive natural space. Securing of such areas for the developing urban region is a necessity. Still, lack of a long-term vision of the development of space in the region of Warsaw does not provide the foundations for protection of such areas against the direction of development that is contrary to the tourist use of these areas.

Definite development difficulties arise in connection with the shortage of underground water resources in the belt between Piastów and Grodzisk Mazowiecki, in the eastern part of the commune of Wiązowna, as well as in the communes of Tarczyn and Prażmów, where the lowest reserves have been registered (*Stan środowiska...* 2001). This is associated with the necessity of bringing in water supplies from farther distances. Besides, the low and very low discharges in the rivers of the region, except for Vistula and Narew, demonstrate the necessity of a very high degree of waste purification.

Alas, despite the limited capacity of self-purification of rivers and other flows, and the appearance of the areas of supply of the main aquifers and other areas with infiltration regimes, the present situation in the domain of water-and-sewage economy can be deemed highly improper. It resulted in pollution of surface waters and a part of underground waters. Thus, rivers of the first and second river purity classes are not observed in the metropolitan region of Warsaw. There are only polluted rivers, that is – of the third purity class and those outside of the purity classification. This situation is the effect of significant negligence in terms of infrastructure, especially in the domains of wastewater treatment, solid waste economy and agriculture.

The rational and sparing water, energy and waste economy belongs among the conditions, which in a direct manner influence the state of economy, and indirectly – the health status of the population. In addition, the development of pro-ecological infrastructure enhances the competitiveness of the region.

Of the total volume of liquid waste requiring treatment, which is produced in the region of Warsaw, as much as 45% is not treated, and only 1% is directed to the treatment plants with enhanced removal of the biogens, i.e. featuring the highest technical efficiency. In terms of the structure of wastewater treatment the worst situation exists in Warsaw, where more than half of liquid waste is not treated. This situation constitutes an enormous threat to the environment, since Warsaw introduces into the Vistula river the largest volume of the untreated waste in Poland (Degórska, 2002b). Notwithstanding the fact that in the metropolitan region of Warsaw the share of inhabitants serviced by the treatment plants has been increasing recently, in 10 out of 13 counties in question still less than half of the inhabitants are serviced by the treatment plants, and in the county of Legionowo – only 10%. The situation is much worse within the rural areas. It is worth stressing that the county of Pruszków attained the level comparable with the leading countries of the European Union, because as much as 93% of the inhabitants have their wastewater treated. This case, however, is the sole positive example in the region considered, which is very importantly lagging in terms of liquid waste treatment economy.

The municipal waste economy in Warsaw and in the entire metropolitan region, similarly as in the whole country, is highly inappropriate. It is characterised by a minimal share of recycling and low shares of composting and burning, which causes that as much as 85% of municipal waste produced in Warsaw is stored. Warsaw, is of course, the largest producer of municipal waste in Poland. Having in mind the volumes of waste produced in other large towns of the European Union and the current upward trends in Poland one should expect that the volume of municipal waste will increase significantly in the coming years. The volume of municipal waste per capita is on the average twice as big in the countries of the „old" European Union as in Poland. Given the low share of recycling and burning it can be expected that the problem of waste storage will get increasingly serious. The current bad situation in this domain is yet compounded by the lack of safeguards of a large part of dumps, frequently located in river valleys and on other permeable areas (in the Masovian province as much as 50% of waste dumps do not have any safeguards – see *Stan*... 2001), and hence they are the source of water pollution. Significant volumes of waste are still being dumped in the neighbouring woods and roadside ditches. The situation is better in the domain of the industrial waste economy.

Among the negative features and phenomena, taking place in the metropolitan region of Warsaw, associated with the increase of car numbers and air pollution as well as noise, produced by them, one should mention shortages in the domain of road infrastructure, which concerns mainly the system of thruways and ring roads, fulfilling the standards of the motorways, as well as the persisting low rate of introduction of the alternative transport means.

In programming of development not enough attention is still paid to the possibility of appearance of extraordinary hazards, originating mainly from the side of transport, energy and floods.

A separate group of problems arises in connection with the conflicts of interests, associated on the one hand with the necessity of preserving the areas excluded from construction projects for the purpose of establishment of the natural system for the metropolitan region and, on the other hand, the investment-oriented policy. These conflicts are often the consequence of the speculative land economy and lack of responsibility in the process of management of the open spaces. Such a situation results both from the low effectiveness of law enforcement and the lack of appropriate financial instruments meant to protect the environment, and from the persistence of low ecological awareness.

The future of the Vistula valley is very important for the attainment of sustainable development of the metropolitan area of Warsaw. This issue gives rise currently to numerous controversies, despite the fact that protection of the nature's assets existing in the natural valley of a large river ought to be a priority.

The positive changes include the decrease of pollution of the air and of the surface waters. Although the situation in the metropolitan region of Warsaw is constantly improving with this respect, the continuation of the trend requires large financial outlays.

5. Summary

The present way of managing space in the metropolitan region of Warsaw features an increase of conflicts between the socio-economic development on the one hand and the protection as well as proper shaping of the environment, conform to the requirements of sustainable development.

It appears that the biggest threat to the sustainable spatial development of the metropolitan region of Warsaw is linked with the uncontrolled expansion of residential housing construction. Although the process of extension of the urbanisation of space is unavoidable, yet the changes taking place nowadays constitute a threat not just for nature alone, but also for the quality of life of the present and future generations, in connection with degradation of the recreational areas. This problem is insofar highly significant as in the metropolitan region of Warsaw there exists a valuable natural background, which is currently being lost due to the unplanned spatial development of housing construction. The shaping of the spatial structures in harmony with the environment, and primarily the designation of the mutually linked areas of high natural value, inaccessible for construction purposes, with the objective of securing protection for the valuable natural resources as well as the aerating wedges and the air regeneration areas, ensuring adequate recreation surfaces – all these issues are accounted for nowadays in an insufficient degree in the process of programming of development of the metropolitan area.

Having in mind preservation of the environment in a good state and the improvement of quality of life in the urban region of Warsaw, the most important activities should be oriented at:

– designation of the natural system of the metropolitan area, excluded from construction purposes,
– strengthening of protection of biodiversity and landscape of the Vistula river valley and the use of the river and its neighbourhood for sports and leisure,
– protection against degradation and appropriate management of recreational areas,
– resolution of the problems associated with water supply and sewage economy and with waste economy,

- development of the alternative, environment-friendly transport means and construction of the system of thruways and ring roads,
- enhancement of ecological safety.

During recent years, despite a significant improvement of the state of natural environment in Warsaw and on the surrounding areas, the development of the entire region, and especially its spatial development, has not always been taking place in accordance with the principles of sustainable development.

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Streszczenie

CZY OBECNY ROZWÓJ PRZESTRZENNY REGIONU METROPOLITALNEGO WARSZAWY JEST ZGODNY Z ZAŁOŻENIAMI TRWAŁEGO I ZRÓŻNOWAŻONEGO ROZWOJU?

Pogodzenie rozwoju przestrzennego miast i regionów miejskich z właściwym kształtowaniem krajobrazu i środowiska, należy do trudnych problemów planowania przestrzennego nie tylko w Polsce, ale w całej Europie. W polityce przestrzennej Unii Europejskiej poświęca się coraz więcej uwagi rozwojowi zrównoważonemu obszarów miejskich.

W niniejszym artykule podjęto próbę uzyskania odpowiedzi na pytanie czy obecny rozwój przestrzenny regionu warszawskiego jest zgodny z założeniami zrównoważonego rozwoju UE. Szczególną uwagę zwrócono na te obszary gospodarki przestrzennej, które znacząco wpływają na stan środowiska, a zatem także i jakość życia, a mianowicie: rozwój terenów zabudowanych, kształtowanie terenów otwartych, gospodarkę wodną i gospodarkę odpadami. Opracowanie wykonano w ramach projektu badawczego Komitetu Badań Naukowych, pt. *Współczesne zmiany krajobrazu i kształtowanie terenów otwartych na obszarze metropolitalnym Warszawy.*

Występujący na obszarze metropolitalnym Warszawy dynamiczny proces urbanizacji przestrzeni, nie tylko narusza równowagę przyrodniczą, ale niejednokrotnie przyczynia się do obniżania jakości życia. Niekontrolowane zabudowywanie terenów otwartych zarówno w miastach jak i wokół nich powoduje szybki ubytek zaplecza przyrodniczego w bliskim otoczeniu miejsca zamieszkania, a agresywne formy architektoniczne tworzą często krajobraz amorficzny. Taka przestrzeń miejska charakteryzuje się brakiem ładu przestrzennego. Zatem rozwój osiedli mieszkaniowych w okolicach Warszawy, który z jednej strony miał zapewnić człowiekowi bliski kontakt z przyrodą, z drugiej burzy porządek przyrodniczy, nie tworzy także przyjaznych struktur przestrzennych ani dla człowieka, ani dla środowiska. Często nie zapewnia także ekonomicznych podstaw ochrony środowiska ze względu na wysokie koszty doprowadzenia infrastruktury technicznej.

Dla osiągnięcia zrównoważonego rozwoju obszaru metropolitalnego Warszawy bardzo ważne jest także rozwiązanie problemów transportowych oraz określenie przyszłości doliny Wisły, jakkolwiek w naturalnej dolinie dużej rzeki ochrona walorów przyrodniczych powinna być priorytetem.

Do pozytywnych zmian należy zaliczyć zmniejszenie zanieczyszczenia powietrza i wód powierzchniowych. Mimo znacznej poprawy stanu środowiska przyrodniczego w Warszawie i na terenach otaczających, rozwój całego regionu, a zwłaszcza rozwój zabudowy mieszkaniowej, gospodarka wodno-ściekowa, gospodarka odpadami, nie zawsze odbywa się z uwzględnieniem zasad zrównoważonego rozwoju.

TATRA EUROREGION IN INTEGRATING EUROPE

Stefan KAŁUSKI

The Faculty of Geography and Regional Studies
Warsaw University

The issue of European integration is a very common topic of scientific works in various fields as well as in public discussions. However, the evident growth of interest in the processes of integration does not signify that it is a new phenomenon. One might easily argue that the beginnings of the european integration date back as far as the ancient times. That is when contemporary euro-enthusiasts trace the roots of European Union stressing the unity of European culture and its Hellenic origin. Amog the theories formed in the 20th century it is worth pointing out the claim made by Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi which called for a unification of European countries within the framework of the so-called Paneurope. Its territory was to cover all European countries except for Great Britain, which was much more concerned with its global empire, and Russia, which was considered a Eurasian country. In 1929, the French concept of the integrated Europe was presented in the forum of The League of Nations. It assumed close cooperation without interfering in the sovereignty of individual states. In the post Second World War era, European integration was characterised by its dualism. In the east, countries affiliated with the Soviet Union formed one bloc, whereas, on the other side of the Iron Curtain, cooperation thrived within the framework of the European Economic Community basing on the principles of equal partnership. The process of integration intensified even more after the collapse of the Communist Bloc.

The dynamics of integration is characterised by the diversity of its forms. While the predominant role of European Union remains indisputable, it is accompanied by the development of various bilateral contacts, increasing cooperation of transport companies (especially airlines), growing revenue from foreign trade or overseas money transfers. However, for many years, the situation in the borderlands was quite the reverse. In spite of friendly relationships between governments, borders still formed natural barriers, especially with regard to infrastructure, e.g. transport or power engineering. There happened paradoxical situations, where a nature reserve was established on one side of the border, and, on the other one, a coking plant was built. In the late 1950s in Western

Europe, local communities were exerting influence on the development of transboundary cooperation which was accompanied by the implemantation of international legal regulations. It is worth pointing out that since the formation of the European Council many acts facilitating transboundary cooperation have been prepared. In 1974, Standing Conference of European Local Authorities was established under the auspices of the European Council, while, at the end of 1980, European Agreement on Trans-Border Cooperation was ratified.

Poland's participation in european efforts towards trans-border cooperation was made possible only after the structural transformation. The change of the political systems in the neighbouring countries played also an important part together with the historic phenomenon: increase in the number of Poland's neighbouring countries from three to seven within a short period of time.

Poland's pursuit of integration was manifested through the formation of euroregions along the Polish borderline. The focus of the central authorities was Tatra Euroregion, the creation of which was the subject of much controversy among the local communities. The reasons for such a reaction were the cultural significance of the Tatras for both nations, ethnic diversity and diversified functional structure of this region. First efforts to reach an agreemnet were made in 1991 in Zakopane. One year later, the agreement was signed. It proclaimed cooperation in the fields of ecology, economy and culture. In the next stage, the local authorities of Nowy Targ took the initiative. In April 2002, a conference on the Slovak-Polish trans-border cooperation was held in Preszov with the participation of both presidents. On September 31, 1993 Declaration of Polish and Slovak Local Authorities on the project of the foundation of the trans-border Tatra Region was signed. In the next year, the Foundation Congress of the Euroregion took place. Carried by the winds of change Poland and Slovakia faced a historic opportunity to base their future relationships on partnership. The authorities of the Euroregion were set the target of unification with regard to ecology, economy and culture.

According to the statute the main objective is to create conditions for trans-border cooperation in the fields of ecology and the development of tourist industry. It acquires even greater significance when, after May 1, 2004, Tatra Euroregion constitutes part of the territory of the European Union. In order for the Euroregion to meet its statutory tasks it is essential to take into account three significant problems:

- to correct the borders of the Euroregion
- to take into account its spatial and functional diversity in the concepts and plans of its economic growth
- to correct and improve transboundary transport service

All anthropogenic borders, including the borders of Tatra Euroregion, raise controversy. Suffice to mention the heated debates accompanying the introduction of the new administrative division in Poland. The border of Tatra

Euroregion was delimited along the administrative boundaries, which is the usual procedure in such cases. The problem is that it crosses areas of the territorial units of protected wildlife, e.g. on the Polish side it crosses Żywiecki and Popradzki Landscape Park and Gorczański National Park, whilst, on the Slovak side of the border it crosses Mała Fatra and Niżne Tatry National Parks. It is the more surprising, as the question of cooperation in the field of environmental protection is not only a priority statutory task[1] of Tatra Euroregion but, above all, is an unseparable feature of euroregion by its definition.[2]

The second statutory task of Tatra Euroregion is cooperation in the area of tourism. There are cases when the border of the Euroregion crosses cooperating and interdependent tourist centres which form functional complexes, such as Rytro – Piwniczna or Krynica – Muszyna. Borders delimited in this way require that additional consultations or corrections take place.

Another problem related to effective functioning of Tatra Euroregion results from its considerable size and spatial diversity. Its area covers 7000 sq km at present which means it is three times as big as Luxemburg and twenty-two times the size of Malta. Realizing the diversity of problems in such a large area the Region Council appointed four working committees: Economic Committee, Committee of Environmental Protection, Culture Committee, and, Information Committee. Another facilitation which may result in effective statutory actions is the division of Tatra Euroregion into administrative units, e.g. districts. However, the appointed committees as well as the existing division seems insufficient. A formation of a new, separate division solely for the purposes of the Euroregion would be costly and aimless. A reasonable solution could be to form units known as problem regions. A problem or a group of problems predominant in a given region would be the criterium of its delimitation. There are many examples of such territorial units, a belt of 2-4 km in width along both sides of the border, to name but one. Such areas are characterised by the smallest anthropopressure. Except for checkpoints, those areas are very sparsely populated. A precise assessment of these places should result in creation of territorial units of environmental protection before any decisions regarding their economic profile are made. A study on the prospect of unification of wildlife parks on both sides of the border is also called for. Wildlife parks of Zamagurze may serve as a good example of this phenomenon with the park of Carpathian Beech Niekieska on the Polish side of the border, and, the reserve of The Lake Osturniczańskie on the Slovak side. In the Polish wildlife park a fragment of Carpthian primeval forest was preserved with over 100 beech exceeding 3 metres in the perimeter of the trunk. In the vicinity of Slovak Osturnia several lakes can be found all surrounded with rare species of wetland vegetation. The

[1] Statut Związku Euroregionu Tatry, 1995

[2] Nowa Encyklopedia Powszechna. PWN. Suplement. Hasło Euroregion

forest between these reserves constitute backwoods of wild animals. Among the species dwelling this area are roe deer, foxes, boars, wolves, and even wild cats. The explanation comes from the fact that the forest is divided by the state border. Poachers doing much harm in other forest complexes stay away from the borderland in order not to risk an encounter with the border guard.

The valley of the Białka River is a good example of the aforementioned problem region in need of urgent action. Its river basin covers the area of 230 sq km and is situated within the boundaries of Tatra Euroregion. The river which is only 41 km long has its riverheads in the territory of Slovakia, then for 13 km stretches along the state border, and, finally, in the Polish territory delimits the boundary between Podhale and Spisz. The beauty of the landscapes of its valley adds to the river's various functions. In Pieniny clippen belt the Białka forms a river gap between Kramnica and Obłazowa which is protected as a nature reserve. Quick decisions must be made to ensure water cleanliness, to ban boulder harvesting from the river bed and to protect th environment of its whole river basin.

Natural conditions which should stimulate delimitation of a trans-border region include the occurrence of hot waters and the possibility to utilize geothermic energy on both sides of the border. The quality and quantity of those waters make it possible to use them for heating, medical and recreational purposes. So far, its utilization is minimal. It is being estimated that 1 cubic meter of water at the temperature of 72°C corresponds with the energy produced from 5 kg of crude oil or 10 kg of hard coal[3]. It is a fact of great significance because of ecological reasons – a crucial factor in Tatra Euroregion. Until now, the high cost of the enterprise formed an obstacle in the research on and the utilization of hot waters. Now that Tatra Euroregion belongs to the territory of European Union the subsidization of this project by European Union seems quite probable.

The growth of transboundary links should be taken into account in spatial management plans of the Lake Czorsztyńskie situated near the frontier and the Dunajec – boundary river. The assessment of recreational capacity (including Slovak tourists) of the region is essential as well.

Not only natural diversity can form the basis for the delimitation of smaller territorial units in Tatra Euroregion as it is also characterized by national and ethnic diversity. Besides the Polish and Slovaks the region is inhabited by Gypsies and Germans. The relationships between those groups were not always good. However, it is worth stressing that this was often the direct result of the so-called „big politics" – e.i. the actions by the governments of the interested countries. The creation of Euroregion itself and the fact that its area is situated within European Union should mitigate the remainder of the conflicts. One of the controversial issues is the problem of Germans in Spisz. German

[3] Janicz S. *Wody gorące, mineralne i lecznicze Podhala.* Szczawnica 1992

settlement dates back there as far as 13^{th} century. In 17^{th} century Germans still constituted majority in towns in Spisz. In the later years their number gradually dropped, mainly due to assimilation. In 1946 over 32000 Germans were displaced from Slovakia. The rest of people sharing German national identity was forced to conceal their origins. German language was banned in public places. The situation changed no sooner than after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. It was then that the Society of Carpathian Germans was founded in Slovakia. The formation of Tatra Euroregion should foster freedom to display one's national identity and the liberty of social or cultural activism.

Hopefully, the activities of the abovementioned organizations will lead to the complete appeasement of still persisiting national conflicts of various origins in Spisz and Orawa. After the Second World War, Slovaks inhabiting the Polish part of this region experienced a lack of interest in their fate on the part of the Polish Communist authorities. However, this was not a deliberate action against Slovak minority in Poland. Soon after the war activities ceased, the propaganda strove to make the Polish society accept territorial changes which were the consequence of the decisions taken at the conferences in Jalta and Poczdam. It was claimed that the territorial changes resulted in the homogeneity of the Polish society, and, the lack of problems with national minorities which marked the period in the Polish history between the First and the Second World War. Hence, the silence on the issues of Slovak minority in Spisz and Orawa.[4]

Slovak minority also shared the belief that their region is deliberately neglected with regard to infrastructure. Many villages were lacking in bus connections, healthcare or education. Some had not been electrified until the early 1960s. This state of things was also the result of the government's policy of that time as villages with National Farmland Holdings were given priority as far as the investements in infrastructure were concerned.

The regions in question, both in Polish and Slovak territory, also suffered from minor local conflicts which were unnecessarily publicised. Most frequently it was done by people trying to make their way in politics, hoping to gain popularity from local misunderstandings present in all parts of the world. In spite of all that, international cooperation in Tatra Euroregion, strongly supported by European Union, will, most likely, be a unifying factor for societies inhabiting this area.[5]

One of the most significant problems, which Tatra Euroregion is facing in its new geopolitical situation being an element of European Union, is transborder transport service. Train connections are definitely not sufficient. Not

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[4] Kałuski S. *Nature Related and Socio–Economic Conditions of Trans-Border Cooperation Between Polish and Slovak Spisz.* Geographica No ½. Bratislava 1999

[5] Koller D. *Orawa.* Bratislava 1999

much has changed for over 80 years when a tourist guide[6] included the following information: „To get across the Tatry to the Hungarian side by train one has to go in circles passing Szczyrbski Staw, Nowy Targ, Sucha Góra and Św. Mikulasz... In a straight line the distance amounts to 27 km and can be covered on foot across the mountains in 12 hours. By rail, the distance increases to 232 km (!) covered in 11 hours. There were many projects of connecting the northern and southern margin of the Tatry with railway track but none of them was implemented. Out of Count Władysław Zamoyski's inititaive a side-track of Zakopane – Chabówka line was constructed joining Nowy Targ, Podczerwone and Sucha Hora. After the Second World War trains reached only border stations (see map 2) and only until 1980. Ten years later railway embankments were even destroyed. The liquidation of this railway line deserves to be called absurd. Since it bypassed the Tatry it matched perfectly the purpose of passenger and freight transport. Why there are no plans afoot to reestablish this useful track remains an unsolved mystery.

On the other hand, the project of the rack railway connecting Zakopane and Liptowski Mikulasz (see map 1) allows some optimism. Moreover, European Union will participate in the cost of its construction. The rack railway will not be harmful to the environment, its route will enable passangers to admire beautiful landscapes, and it will connect towns situated on either side of the border offering a large variety of tourist attractions. The construction of this railway would accelarate the development of tourism in the eastern part of the Tatry.

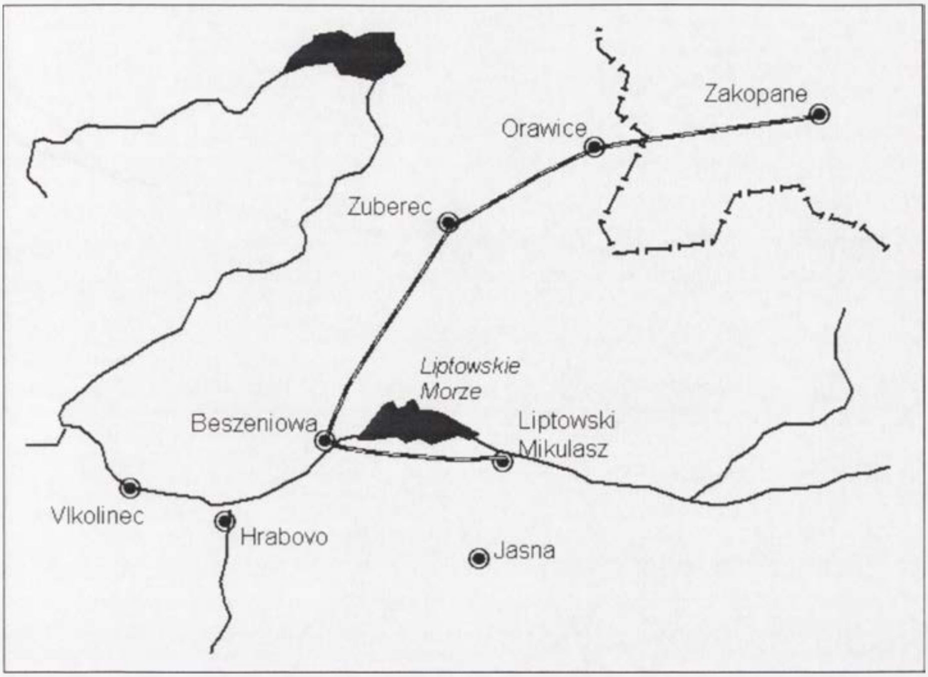
The net of motor roads in the Euroregion is neglected as well, given the standards of European Union.[7] What is the most alarming is the lack of plans or actions which would coordinate the construction and modernization of trans-border roads. Paradoxically, after local governments were created this region has witnessed a boom in local road development in both countries. However, they still constitute two separate traffic systems. There are no plans of closing a checkpoint in Łysa Polana (or turning the existing one into a tourist checkpoint) which lies in the territory of National Park and might be replaced with a checkpoint in Jurgów.

[6] Orłowicz M. *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Galicyi i Bukowinie, Spiszu, Orawie i Śląsku Cieszyńskim.* Lwów 1919

[7] *Spisz. Od Pienin po Raj.* Regiony transgraniczne. Kraków 2004.

Map 1. Itinerary of Planned Rack Railway

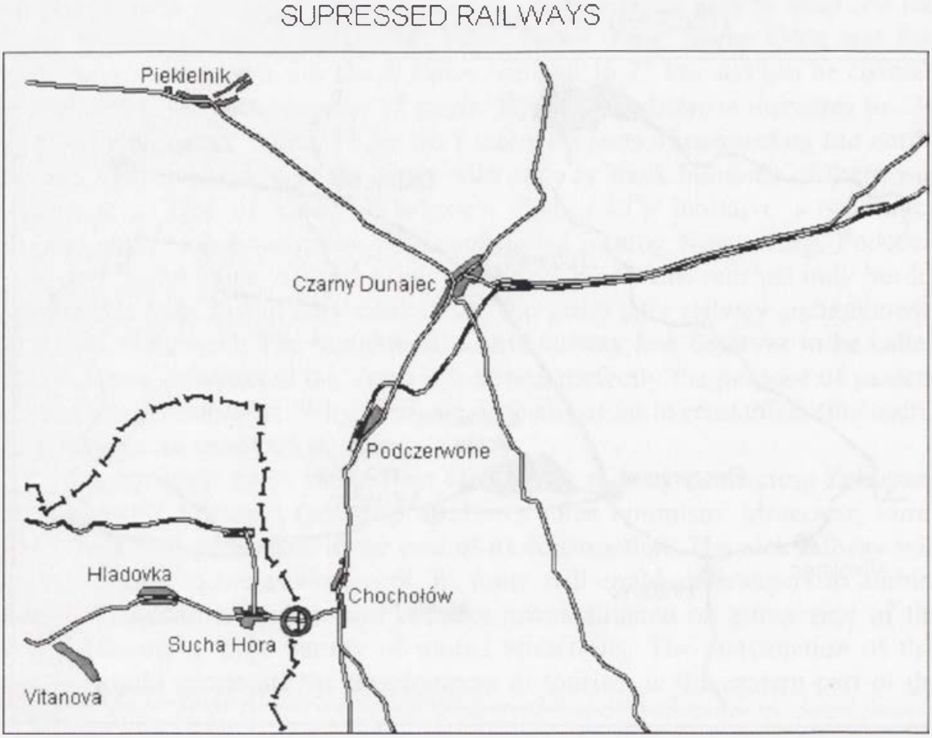
ITINERARY OF PLANNED RACK-RAILWAY



In the era of European integration, air services of the region are insufficient. The only operating airport lies on the Slovak side of the border in Poprad. Its present technical and operational parameters make it impossible to increase the number of flights. Besides domestic and international flights the airport is used by helicopters taking part in rescue operations. Potential benefits for Poland are limited by the lack of air connections with Polish airports as well as impeded road connections with Zakopane. On the northern side of the border, the plans to adapt a glider airport near Nowy Targ to a plane airport were not realized.

The three groups of the problems mentioned above are but an attempt to draw attention to the needs of the region. There are much more issues to be dealt with within each of the three categories. Nevertheless, one can hope that the effectiveness of trans-border cooperation in Tatra Euroregion will be increasing now that the region itself constitutes part of European Union.

Map 2. Suppressed Railways



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Streszczenie

EUROREGION TATRY W JEDNOCZĄCEJ SIĘ EUROPIE

Opracowanie „Euroregion Tatry w jednoczącej się Europie" to głos w dyskusji na temat określony tytułem konferencji „Europa Środkowa i Wschodnia u Progu Unii Europejskiej". Oceniając rolę euroregionów w jednoczącej się Europie dostrzegamy wyraźny dualizm ich funkcji. Jedna to działania zmierzające do aktywizacji więzi transgranicznych o znaczeniu regionalnym, druga to ich rola „poligonów" ogólnoeuropejskich procesów integracyjnych. Na przykładzie Euroregionu Tatry ukazano trzy grupy problemów istotne dla dwóch wspomnianych funkcji tych jednostek:

– problem przebiegu i korekty granic euroregionu, zapewniający jego statutowe funkcje
– konieczność uwzględnienia w procesach decyzyjnych zróżnicowania regionalnego obszaru Euroregonu Tatry
– problem modernizacji i koordynacji powiązań komunikacyjnych euroregionu.

THE POSITION OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN POLAND AT THE MOMENT OF ACCESSION TO THE EU

Andrzej RYKAŁA

Departament of Political Geography
University of Łódź

By accession to the EU Poland has joined the group of countries with stable political situation and well-developed economy in which social and cultural needs of their societies are satisfied. Poland became a part of an international structure characterised by great diversity of races, nations, ethnic groups, languages and religions.

Religious diversity accounts for a variety of systems of values existing within this political organisation. As H. Kubiak has expressed it: various systems of values co-exist in the name of humanity, which implies an individual choice of value hierarchy, free from any external pressure or imposition. The co-existence of different values requires a certain code. In its most general sense – according to Kubiak – this is the human rights code. The principle of 'freedom in diversity' is the cornerstone of European unification.

The European Community, although concentrated chiefly on economic issues, does not neglect the human rights and set international standards to be respected by all member states. As a matter of fact, membership in the Council of Europe and acceptance of democratic standards including human rights and minority rights imposed by this institution is prerequisite for joining the Community[1].

Poland, although dominated by one prevailing denomination, has to square with the religious diversity existing in united Europe. It is worthwhile to outline the situation of religious minorities in Poland at this crucial moment of accession to the EU.

In Poland, after centuries of traditional religious tolerance, the religious diversity suddenly ceased to exist as a result of Second Worl War, or more precisely such was the official socio-political doctrine. During the communist period it was very difficult, practically impossible, to pursue any researches on

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[1] The European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed by Council of Europe members on November 4, 1950 in Rome prohibits any forms of discrimination against ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (§ 14)

religious minorities. Today it seems highly desirable to summarise the available body of knowledge concerning religious minorities.

This task is rather difficult, as in Poland censuses – the basic and most reliable source of data – do not include questions regarding religious affiliation. Therefore, lacking reliable statistics, the knowledge on the religious structure of the Polish society is far from being exhaustive.

Minority Churches in Poland can be divided into 7 main groups: Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Beside Churches stemming from main religious families, there are some congregations belonging to other traditions (e.g. neo-pagan movement, Rosicrucianism, New Age) or combine elements derived from various backgrounds which are labelled here as 'other denominations' unrelated with any of main religions. In addition to this, some religions for which no reliable data was available, has been classified in this paper as new or unidentified denominations.

The Catholic Church in Poland, commonly identified with the Roman branch, in fact comprises also another 3 rites having different liturgy and traditions: the Greek-Catholic Church (Byzantine-Ukraine rite)[2], the Neo-Uniate Church (Byzantine-Slav rite), the Armenian Church (Armenian rite). United since 1596 with the Roman-Catholic Church, these Churches accept the pope's primacy and Roman Catholic doctrines, but have retained their own liturgy and liturgical language (except the Armenian Church).

A separate group within the Catholic denominations represent the Catholic Mariavite Church, the Old-Catholic Mariavite Church, the Polish Catholic Church and the Old-Catholic Church[3]. These Churches (except the first one) represent the Old-Catholic faction born in 1870 as protest against the dogma on pope's infallibility. These Churches are associated with the Utrecht Union of Old-Catholic Churches.

In 2002 the minority Catholic Churches in Poland aggregated 131,191 members (not including the Armenian Church), of whom 62.5% represented

[2] Registered in 1923, the Byzantine-Slav Church in Poland derived from the Uniate Church. it aggregated ex-Uniates from the former Russian sector of partitioned Poland who, have retained easter Orthodox liturgy, old-Slavonic language and claims pope being the head of the universal Church

[3] Separated from the Roman Catholic Church in Poland in 1906, the Mariavite Churches are founded upon the traditional Catholic tenets of faith and morals contained in the canonical books and in the early Tradition of the Universal Church as well as in the dogmas defined by the first seven Ecumenical Councils. The Mariavite Churches do not recognize the primacy and infallibility of pope

The Polish Catholic Church was founded in the late 19th century in the USA as a protest of a group of emigrants against German priests assigned by American ecclesiastic authorities to Polish parishes. This denomination was brought to Poland by re-emigrants who returned in the 1920s eastern rites, mostly the Byzantine-Ukraine rite (tab. 1). All three Eastern-Catholic Churches total less than 100,000 adherent.

Table 1. Number of believers and clergymen in the minority Catholic Churches (not including the Armenian Church) in Poland in 2002

Church name	Number of believers	Number of clergy
Greek-Catholic Church	82 000	65
Neo-Uniate Church	210	*
Polish Catholic Church	21 938	102
Old-Catholic Mariavite Church	24 158	27
Catholic Mariavite Church	2 490	15
Old-Catholic Church	395	9
Total	131 191	218[a]

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.
[a] not including the Neo-Uniate clergy
*data not available

The Orthodox Church, which developed within the Byzantine culture, has a long tradition in Poland. Since the 10^{th} century when this religion first appeared on Polish lands, the number of followers in Poland was steadily growing as the state territory expanded eastward. The situation has changed dramatically after Secon World War when as a result of border shifts 90% of Poland's Orthodox population was left outside its borders.

Nevertheless, the Polish Autocephaluos Orthodox Church remains the second Church in Poland. It was found in 1371 and since 1925 the Church is autocephalous or independent of foreign hierarchy.

The Eastern Old-Believers' Church is another congregation stemming from the Orthodox tradition. The Old Believers originated in the 17^{th} century as schismatics who rejected Patriarch Nikon's reform introducing new rituals and modifying holy books. Fleeing persecutions, they arrived in the 18^{th} century to north-eastern Poland where they established several, mostly rural, communities (table 2)[4].

[4] The Old Believers' Church is second after the Roman Catholic Church whose legal status is regulated by aseparate law from 1928

Table 2. Distribution of Old Believers in Poland in 1994

Suwałki-Sejny region		Augustów region		Mazuria region	
Locality	**Number of adherents**	**Locality**	**Locality**	**Number of adherents**	**Locality**
Wodziłki	27	Augustów	910	Wojnowo	16
Leszczewo	10	Gabowe Grądy	10	Gałkowo	12
Buda Ruska	9	Bór	113	Mrągowo	12
Głuszyn	9	Blizna	8	Piaski	8
Żłobin	7	Szczerba	4	Ruciane Nida	7
Romanowie	5	Karczewo	3	Ukta	6
Aleksadrowo	5	Białobrzegi	11	Śwignajno	3
Sztabinki	4	Białystok	5	Siniak	2
Hołny Wolmera	4	Gołdap	7	Zgon	1
Posejanka	1	Łomża	4		
Szury	6	Ełk	20		
Lipniak	3	Grajewo	5		
Płociczno Osiedle	3				
Suwałki	722				
Sejny	30				
Rosochaty Róg	5				
Total	850	Total	1220	Total	67

Source: author

Table 3. Number of adherents of the Orthodox Church (in 1999) and the Old Believers' Church (in 2002) by voivodships

Voivodship	Orthodox Church		Old Believers' Church	
	Number of adherents	**%**		**Number of adherents**
dolnośląskie	13500	2,4	-	-
kujawsko-pomorskie	6100	1,1	-	-
lubelskie	12100	2,2	-	-
lubuskie	9600	1,7	-	-
łódzkie	5600	1,0	-	-
małopolskie	8000	1,4	-	-
mazowieckie	18300	3,3	-	-
podkarpackie	19900	3,5	-	-
podlaskie	**355300**	**63,3**	**902**	**89,1**
pomorskie	20500	3,7	-	-
śląskie	18600	3,3	-	-
świętokrzyskie	18700	3,3	-	-
warmińsko-mazurskie	30800	5,5	110	10,9
wielkopolskie	8400	1,5	-	-
zachodniopomorskie	16000	2,9	-	-
Total	561400	100,0	1012	100,0

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.

In 2002 Churches of Orthodox lineage in Poland totalled 562,412 followers, of whom 99.8% belonged to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Although the geographical concentration of the Orthodox population is not anymore as definite as before WW II, they are still concentrated in some areas in eastern Poland, mainly in the Podlaskie voivodship, where (in 1999) 63.3% of the Orthodox population and 89.1% (in 2002) of Old Believers live (tab. 3).

The greatest internal diversity is among Protestant congregations. This term, originally referred to Churches originated from the Reformation (16th century), has been extended over all religions being in opposition to the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of far-reaching differences, there are some doctrinal foundations common for all Protestant Churches e.g. claiming Bible the only source of religious learning, emphasis on free acting of the Holy Spirit, the indulgence being possible only through the divine grace, the ministry performed by the faithful. Protestantism, which appeared in Poland in 1518, today is represented by the following lines:

- Lutheran Church – claiming that the only way to salvation is divine grace that can be vested on man by Word of God and sacraments
- Calvinist Church – claiming that anyone who believes in Jesus belongs to the Holy Universal Church, therefore institutional Church is not necessary for salvation
- Anglican Church – stemming form political considerations, doctrinally related to Calvinism, liturgically close to Roman-Catholicism;
- Methodist Church – based on 'methods of piety'
- Baptist Church – accentuating baptism of adults by immersion
- Adventist Church – orientated to near coming of Christ
- Pentecostal Church – emphasising baptism from the Holy Spirit and his gifts
- Researching Churches – focused on biblical studies
- Local reformist congregations – mixture of different Protestant doctrines, emphasis put on the community's headquarter as defining its organisational distinctness;
- Free Churches - not identifying themselves with any mainstream Protestant Churches, combining various Christian elements or rejecting totally the tradition; claiming Bible the only source of religious learning.

Big number of diverse Protestant congregations does not translate into big number of their adherents. All in all, the Protestants account for merely 160 106 (tab. 4).

Table 4. Protestant Churches in Poland in 2002

Lines	Church name	Number of adherents	Percentage in relation to whole Protestant community in Poland [%]
Lutheranism	Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland	79 050	49,4
Calvinism	Evangelical-Reformed Church in Poland	3 570	2,2
Anglicanism	Anglican Church in Poland	52	0,03
Methodist	United Methodist Church	4 380	2,7
Baptist	Baptist Union of Poland	4 537	2,8
	Bible Baptist Church	33	0,02
Adventism	Seventh-Day Adventist Church	9 484	5,9
	Seventh-Day Adventist Reform Movement	74	0,05
	Church of the Christians of the Sabbatic Day	30	0,02
	Reformed Seventh-Day Adventist Church	25	0,02
Pentecos-talism	Christian Pentecostal Community	1 600[a]	1,0
	Church of the Christians of Evangelied Faith	860	0,5
	Pentecostal Church of Poland	20 376	12,7
	Unity of Polish Brethren	221	0,1
	Church of Radical Christians in Poland	300	0,2
	Evangelic Pentecostal Community	508	0,3
	Biblical Centre ‘Christ is the Lord’	117[b]	0,07
	Church ‘Christ For All’	286	0,2
	Church of the Gospel of Grace	58	0,04
	Apostolic Church of Free Christians ‘Kanaan’	280	0,2
	Christian Church „New Covenant”	80[b]	0,05
	Cenancle Chrystian Congregation	195	0,01
Researching Churches	Bible Students Association in Poland	300	0,2
	Congregation of Free Bible Researchers	2 313	1,4
	Laymen’s Home Missionary Movement	1 665	1,0
	Apostolic Office of Jesus Christ	30	0,02

Table 4 cont.

Free Churches	God's Church in Christ	2 312	1,4
	New Apostolic Church	5142	3,2
	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons)	1 150	0,7
	Churches of Christ	5 092	3,2
	Church of Christ in Poland	3 413	2,1
	Evangelical Brotherhood	300	0,2
	Church in Poland Church of Free Christians	2 938	1,8
	Association of Christian	365	0,2
	Churches	25	0,02
	Christian Church	161	0,1
	Christian Church in the Spirit of Truth and Peace Evangelical	2 090	1,3
	Christian Church	81	0,05
	Life Centre Ministries	150	0,09
	Mission of Grace Church	35	0,02
	Reconciliation Christian Fellowship	80	0,05
	'Agape' Evangelical Church in Poznań	123	0,08
	God's Churches of the Seventh-Day Christians Christian Evangelical Fellowship	150	0,09
	Christian Community 'Christ is the Lord'	20	0,01
	Church of Free Christians	20[b]	0,01
	Church of Evangelical Christians 'Bethel'	20	0,01
	Evangelic Church 'Ichtus'	19[c]	0,01
	Christ Church in Warsaw	52[d]	0,03
	Pentecostal Church	72	0,04
	Evangelic Church 'Jeruzalem'	30	0,02
	Christian Church of Gospel Preachers	5 500	3,4
Local reformist congregations	Church in Wodzisław Śląski	84	0,05
	Christian Church 'Arka' in Poznań	107	0,07
	Jesus Christ Church in Werbkowice	25[e]	0,02
	Church in Radom	24[c]	0,01
	Christian Community 'Wrocław for Jesus'	52[b]	0,03
	Jesus Christ Church in Lublin	50[c]	0,03
Total		160 106	100,00

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.

[a] in 1994; [b] in 2001; [c] in 1999; [d] in 1998; [e] in 2000.

The broad spectrum of Protestant tradition gave rise to some more syncretic communities e.g. the New Life Movement (85 members in 2001) – a missionary organisation, not connected with any particular denomination, involving people of different religious background engaged in evangelisation.

Of even more syncretic character is the Community of Universal Unitarianists (289 members in 2002) which continues the tradition of the Polish Brethrens assuming, however, a more universal attitude. Accentuating freedom of faith and religious tolerance, the community does not compel its members to adhere to any specific doctrine.

In Poland, a country which has traditionally welcomed people of different faiths, there are some non-Christian religious communities. Jews – the followers of Judaism – are grouped in the Association of Jewish Religious Communities, which represent the Orthodox Judaism strictly observing the Pentateuch. With 9 communities and 3 branches (integrated with communities), the association aggregates 1,300 members (fig. 1). The association traces its lineage back to the 12[th] century when first Jewish congregations were established.

Fig. 1. Administrative-territorial division of the Association of Jewish Religious Congregations

Source: http://www.jewish.org.pl/polskie/gminy.html

From Judaic tradition stems also the Karaite religion that originated in the 14[th] century in opposition to the mainstream Judaism. Rejecting the Talmud, this belief has adopted some Muslim and Christian elements. The Karaites in Poland are grouped in 150-strong Karaite Religious Association.

Jewish and Judaic tradition includes also Havurah Lelimud Jadahut or the Brotherhood for Learning Judaism focused on keeping up Jewish rituals and customs thus helping its 45 members to self-identify as Jews.

Islam in Poland is represented by the Muslim Religious Association, which aggregates mainly persons of Tatar origin, an ethnic minority present in Poland since the 14^{th} century. The association is formed by the oldest traditional Tatar communities at Bohoniki and Kruszyniany, and the communities at Białystok, Gdańsk, Gorzów and Warsaw – founded in later times.

Table 5. Islam in Poland

Branch of Islam	Association name	Number of congregants	Number of clergymen
Sunnite	Muslim Religious Association	5 000	*
Shiite	Association for Muslim Unity	57	2
	Islamist Congregation Ahl-ul Bayt	52	2
Ahmadiya movement	Muslim Association Ahmadiya	38	1
	Total	5 147	5[a]

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.
*data not available
[a] not including the clergy of the Muslim Religious Association.

The divers Islamist groupings in Poland reflect the division of Islam into main branches.

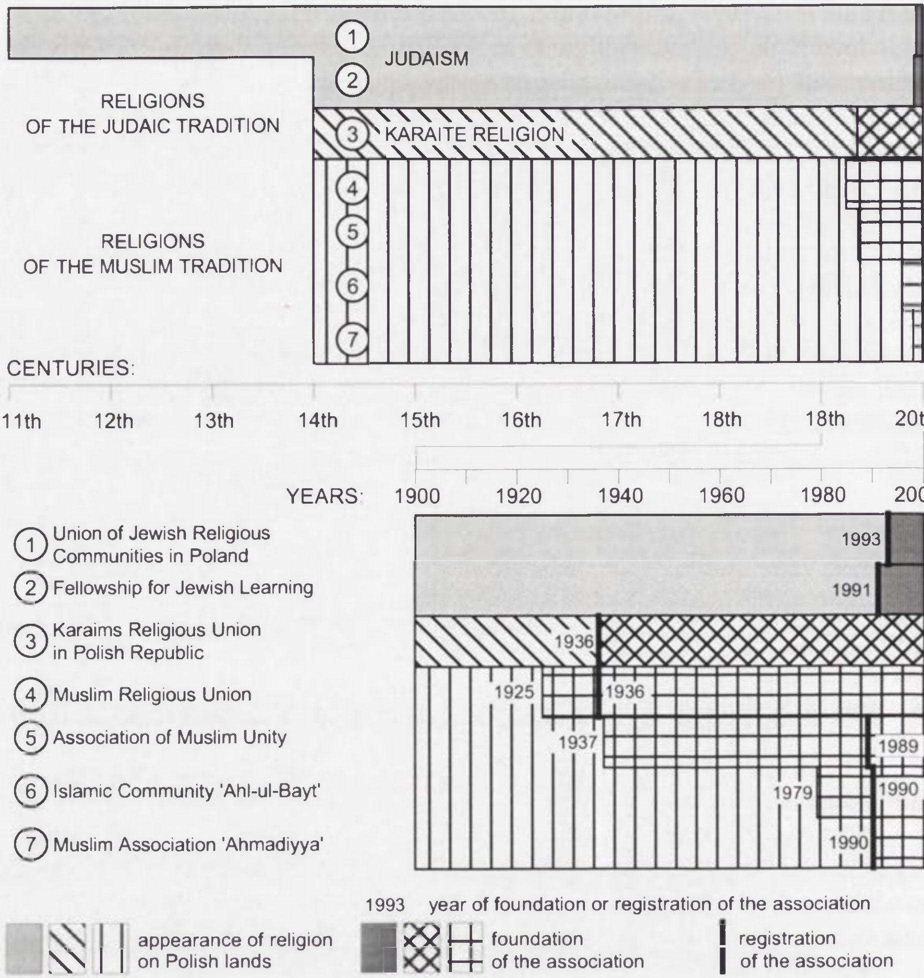
The Association for Muslim Unity, totalling 57 members, is a Shiite congregation claiming the Koran, Sunna, and learning of Shiite imams as religious foundations. The Islamist Congregation Ahl-ul Bayt is a grouping of Islam fundamentalists who believe in the ideas of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Founded by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), the Muslim Association Ahmadiya has 38 members who revere the association founder as a Messiah.

It should be stressed that for centuries Judaism and Islam have been elements of the religious composition of Poland (fig. 2).

To the contrary, the Hinduist and Buddhist religions appeared in Poland only recently, in the mid-1970s, echoing an interest in oriental cultures that spread in Europe and the USA.

Fig. 2. Denominations of Judaic and Islamist tradition in Poland in historical perspective.



The two religions have developed into multiple branches, particularly Hinduism, which is extremely diverse in sectarian practices (apart from mainstream Vishnuism and Shivaism), often of syncretic character. Buddhism, less susceptible to quasi-religious deviations, is generally represented by 3 main branches: Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana. The internal diversification of both religions translates into organisational structure of Hinduist and Buddhist congregations in Poland (tab. 6).

Table 6. Hinduism and Buddhism in Poland

Religious tradition	**Branch**		**Association name**	**Number of followers**	**Number of spiritual leaders**
Hindu tradition	Hinduism		Ajapa Yoga Association	109	–
			World Spiritual University 'Brahma Kumaris' in Poland	135	3
			'Shri Vidya' Religious Group	16[a]	1[a]
	Krishnaism		International Society for Krishna Consciousness	895	506
			Association for Consciousness of Spiritual Love in Poland	12	–
			Institute of Consciousness Learning – 'Chaitanii Mission'	1340	114
Buddhist tradition	Mahayana	Korean branch	Zen Kwam Um School	152	38
		Japanese branch	Zen Kannon Buddhist Community	94	5
			'Bodhidharma' Zen Buddhist Association	54	5
			Sangha 'Kandzeon' Buddhist Association	119	6
			Mumon Kai 'No-barrier Community' Buddhist Association 'Zen Rinzai'	57[a]	16[a]
	Vajrayana		Karma Kagyu Buddhist Association	1020[b]	12[b]
			Buddhist Association of Karma Kamtzang Tradition	1725	9
	'Beyond divisions'		'Three Refuges' Buddhist Mission	800	13
Total				6 528	728

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.
[a] in 2001; [b] in 1998.

Beside the above-mentioned Churches and congregations stemming from great world religions, there are some religious groups derived from other sources (e.g. neo-paganism) or mixing elements of different religions, thus forming a separate class (tab. 7).

In addition to this, there are 56 congregations which, for lack of reliable information on their doctrines and activities, have to be classified as new or unidentified religious groups.

The Churches and religious congregations mentioned above have legal personality and, according to Polish constitution, have equal rights and can not be discriminate by the state. It should be noted that religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution implies autonomy of each individual in the sphere of confession. Assuming impartial attitude, the state must therefore protect freedom of expression and action of any religious organisation, as far as they do not trespass against the law.

Polish legislation uses the term ‘Churches and other religious organisations’ to denote religious groups established to cultivate and propagate a confession, have their own status, doctrine and rituals.

Table 7. Religious groups with no connection with great world religions

Association name	Number of adherents
International School of the Golden Rosycross	246
Association for Christian Learning	35
Panmonist Congregation	15
Unity Church	261
Western Sufi Order	576
Bahaism	344
Learning Community of the Rosycross	16
Biblical Society Strażnica (stronghold)	124 294
Association for Fathers’ Faiths	169
Total	125 956

Source: author based on *Wyznania religijne. Stowarzyszenia narodowościowe i etniczne w Polsce 2000–2002*, GUS, 2003.

In Poland 158 Churches and religious organisations have legal status (as of October 10, 2003) and their relations with the state are defined by appropriate regulations, such as:

- international agreements – the Catholic Church;
- legislation on the relationship between the state and particular Churches or religious organisation – this is the case of 15 Churches (including the Catholic Church);
- act on Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Freedom of Religious Persuasion – this applies to 143 Churches and other religious organisations listed in the register.

It should be noted that different legal foundations are not in conflict with the principle of equal rights of all religious organisations.

Table 8. Churches and religious organisations in Poland whose status is regulated by individual laws

Church name	Legal foundation
The Catholic Church in Poland	Concordat between the Holy See and Poland of July 28, 1993
Latin rite Byzantine-Slav rite Armenian rite Byzantine-Ukrainian rite	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Catholic Church in Poland of May 17, 1989.

Table 8 cont.

The Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church of July 4, 1991.
The Evangelical-Reformed Church in Poland	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Evangelical-Reformed Church in Poland of May 13, 1994.
The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland of May 13, 1994.
The United Methodist Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the United Methodist Chuch of June 30, 1995.
The Old-Catholic Mariavite Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Old-Catholic Mariavite Church of February 20, 1997.
The Catholic Mariavite Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Catholic Mariavite Church of February 20, 1997.
The Eastern Old Believers' Church in Poland without ecclesiastic hierarchy	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Eastern Old Believers' Church in Poland without ecclesiastic hierarchy of March 28, 1928.
The Muslim Religious Association	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Muslim Religious Association of April 21, 1936.
The Karaite Religious Association	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Karaite Religious Association of April 21, 1936.
The Polish Catholic Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Polish Catholic Church of June 30, 1995.
The Seventh-Day Adventist Church	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Seventh Day Adventist Church of June 30, 1995.
The Baptist Union of Poland	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Baptist Union of Poland of June 30, 1995.
The Association of Jewish Religious Communities	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Association of Jewish Religious Communities of February 20, 1997.
The Pentecostal Church of Poland	Act on relationship between Polish State and the Pentecostal Church of Poland of February 20, 1997.

Source: author.

In 1990-2003, when the democratisation in Poland brought about freedom of association, 143 Churches and religious organisations entered the register (tab. 9).

Table 9. Churches and religious organisations registered in 1990-2003

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total
Number of registrations	49	8	8	6	9	12	15	
Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	
Number of registrations	19	9	-	2	2	-	4	143

Source: author based on www. centrum.k.pl/tekst/wyznania.htm

Table 9 shows that the greater part of new religious congregations were registered in 1990-1998 owing to liberal legislation that was in force during this period.

Admission to the EU was a proof that Poland meets international democratic standards including the citizens' rights to associate in Churches or religious organisations. It should be emphasised that in modern times human rights are not merely a philosophical concept; they represent a legal norm defined by the international law. Therefore the European integration is a chance to sanction the co-existence of different systems of values.

In Poland it remains desirable that implementation of democratic laws protecting human rights be followed by new thinking: religious or other minorities should be not only 'magnanimously tolerated' but fully accepted by the majority as 'our own, although different'.

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Streszczenie

SYTUACJA MNIEJSZOŚCI RELIGIJNYCH W POLSCE U PROGU WEJŚCIA DO UE

Wchodząc do Unii Europejskiej, Polska udowodniła, że spełnia kryteria stawiane przed państwem demokratycznym. Umożliwia ono swoim obywatelom korzystanie z prawa do organizowania się m. in. według kryteriów religijnych, a więc z wolności zakładania Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych.

Artykuł ten ma na celu przybliżyć sytuację mniejszości religijnych w Polsce, w tym szczególnym i przełomowym momencie dziejowym, jakim jest wejście Polski do UE.

Kościoły mniejszościowe występujące w Polsce reprezentują siedem podstawowych nurtów religijnych: katolicki, prawosławny, protestancki, islamski, judaistyczny, hinduistyczny i buddyjski. Obok Kościołów i związków religijnych wywodzących się z głównych nurtów wyznaniowych, istnieją w Polsce wspólnoty, które nawiązują do innych tradycji lub łączą elementy wielu różnych nurtów religijnych. Powoduje to konieczność wyodrębnienia dla tych wspólnot osobnej kategorii klasyfikacyjnej, o nazwie inne wyznania niezwiązane z żadną z wielkich religii. Ponadto brak danych, co do charakteru działania oraz udokumentowanej wiedzy o doktrynie, szczególnie części nowych wyznań, upoważnia do utworzenia grupy tzw. nowych lub nierozpoznanych związków wyznaniowych.

Według stanu na dzień 10 października 2003 r. 158 kościołów i związków wyznaniowych w Polsce posiadało osobowość prawną i jako Kościoły i inne związki wyznaniowe wchodziły w stosunki z państwem. Zgodnie z obowiązującymi przepisami prawnymi poszczególne Kościoły i inne związki wyznaniowe w Polsce posiadają następujące formy i podstawy regulacji statusu prawnego:

- umowę międzynarodową;
- ustawę o stosunku państwa do danego kościoła lub innego związku wyznaniowego;

– ustawę o gwarancjach wolności sumienia i wyznania (rejestr kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych).

Kościoły i inne związki wyznaniowe posiadające osobowość prawną są zgodnie z polską Konstytucją równouprawnione. Oznacza to zakaz wszelkiej ich dyskryminacji i nakazuje państwu ich równe traktowanie i wyposażenie w równe uprawnienia.

PART IV

COMMUNICATIONAL SYSTEMS IN THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL ARCHITECTURE

PROCESSES TAKING PLACE IN TELECOMMUNICATION OF INTEGRATING EUROPE

Maria KOZANECKA

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski
Cracow School of Further Education

Clearly seen changes going on dynamically in our surrounding have their source in a development of technics and technology. They touch actually all spheres of socio-economic life in world in regional and local aspects. They are clearly to be seen, most of all, in telecommunication, which leads the main role in forming civic and informative societies.

Telephony, mobile telephony, Internet and spatial pattern of europe -wide grid, broadband network have been chosen from technically and functionally integrated telecommunication as a subject of interest. Furthermore the attention has been paid to the progress of liberalisation of telecommunication market as an important element leading into reducing prices of given services. In estimation of the level of development of accessibility to telecommunication network the number of subscribes of telephony and Internet users per 100 inhabitants in 1995 and mainly 2002 was used.

The main aim of the paper is to show the changes, which have taken place in last years in the telecommunication of integrating Europe. Sometimes comparisons to other countries or world regions have been made to show the position of European countries in a process of progress. Indeed the distance that separates Middle - East European countries from countries of EU is still big when telecommunication is taking into consideration but very similar tendencies are seen in it's growth.

Between 1995 and 2002 the growth of telephony index was being observed in European countries, the biggest one was being done in Hungary and in Poland /table1/. In 2002 the level of this index was 42 joints per 100 inhabitants in Europe. The fifteen EU countries have about 60 joints, countries of access into EU about 40 with the lowest indexes to be seen for Slovakia and Poland – about 30 joints per 100 inhabitants.

The differentia of the region under consideration from other areas of the world is its high level of digital telephone exchanges. The countries of „old union" with Czechs and Slovenia gain the level of 100% digital telephone exchanges, in other countries it is, for example, 65% for Lithuania, 88% for Poland. It is worth stressing that almost 55% of potential digital exchanges of joints with the integration of telecommunication services is placed in Europe[1].

Table 1. Chosen elements of telecommunication

Countries	telephones per 100 inhabitants		mobile telephones per 100 inhabitants		personal computers per 100 inhabitants		Internet users in thousands		Internet users per 100 inhabitants	
	1995	2002	1995	2002	1995	2001	1999	2001	1995	2001
Czech Republic	23,6	38,0	0,5	62,0	5,3	14,6	700,0	1400,0	0,3	13,7
Estonia	27,7	35,2	2,1	45,5	0,7	17,5	200,0	430,0	0,4	31,5
Lithuania	25,4	31,3	0,4	25,3	0,6	7,1	103,0	250,0	0,0	7,2
Latvia	28,0	30,8	0,6	27,9	0,8	15,3	105,0	170,0	0,1	7,2
Poland	14,8	29,5	0,2	26,0	3,0	8,5	2100,0	3800,0	0,0	9,8
Slovakia	20,8	28,8	0,2	39,7	4,1	14,8	600,0	674,0	0,1	12,5
Slovenia	30,9	40,1	1,4	66,0	4,8	27,5	250,0	600,0	0,5	30,1
Hungary	18,5	37,4	2,6	49,8	4,0	10,0	600,0	1480,0	0,2	14,2
Finland	55,0	54,8	20,0	77,3	18,2	42,4	2143,0	2235,0	5,4	43,2
France	55,8	57,3	2,4	60,5	13,4	33,7	5370,0	15653,0	0,3	26,4
Germany	49,3	63,4	4,3	68,2	16,5	38,2	14400,0	30800,0	0,7	37,4
United Kingdom	50,2	58,8	9,8	77,0	18,6	36,7	12500,0	24000,0	1,0	40,3
USA	62,7	66,7	12,8	45,1	32,8	62,3	74100,0	142823,0	3,1	50,2
Japan	48,7	59,7	8,2	58,8	15,3	35,0	27060,0	34930,0	0,4	27,3
World	13,0	17,2	1,6	15,8	0,4	8,7	241864,0	501478,0		8,2

Source: The authors: World Development ...1977, s.272-275, 281-287; World Development ...2001, s.306-309;
World Development ...2003, s.294-297, 298-301; grejcz B., 2002, 682-690; Kozanecka M., 2003, s.20

Mobile telephony is the dynamically growing branch of telecommunication. The first GSM network developed in Great Britain in 1992. From that time the number of subscribers has been growing very fast. In 1995 there were 40 million users of mobile telephony, in 2000 – 480, in 2001 – 730 million and in 2002 – 950 million. In a relatively short time, in 2003 the number of mobile subscribers /1160 million/ was bigger than the number of telephone subscribers /1130 million/ in the whole world. Nearly 35% of users of mobile telephony live in Europe.

The highest density of mobile telephony in 1995 in the world was registered in Finland, the index equalled 20 per 100 inhabitants while in Poland it

[1] Grejcz B., 2002, s.684-687

was 0,2 per 100 inhabitants. Later, independently to the level of GDP per capita, in all European countries and especially in those joining EU /1st May 2004/ the mobile telephony rate of growth was very high. In 2002 the highest level of accessibility to this kind of telephony was characteristic for Finland /77 per 100 inhabitants/, Great Britain /77/ and the lowest for Lithuania /25/, Poland /26/ and Latvia /28/. In the beginning of 2004 in western European countries[2] the rate under consideration was oscillating from 99 in Luxembourg to 65 in France. Czechs with the rate of 68, Slovenia /75/ and Estonia /78/ came to the average of western Europe /68 subscribers per 100 inhabitants/ very fast and in fact have already overrun it. In Poland this rate came to 42 subscribers per 100 inhabitants. According to the publications of the prognosis committee of management office of PAN „Poland 2000 plus"[3] we were to reach this level in 2010.

Subscribers of mobile telephony in Poland in thousands in 1992-2003

1992	1993	1994	1995	1999	2001	2002	2003
2,8	13,6	38,9	75,5	3956,5	9604,5	13898,1	16000,2

Total index of network and mobile telephony in European countries is high with the comparison to other regions, however, it differs a lot in different parts of the world. For example, in Great Britain it is 138 per 100 inhabitants in total, in Slovenia 115 and in Latvia only 58. As the mobile telephony, with the characteristic high dynamics, influences it a lot, it should be expected that in the nearest future the rate of it will rapidly grow especially in new EU countries. The differences between European countries should become smaller.

This progress will be surely favoured by the process of demonopolisation of the countries markets of telecommunication services not only in term of local connections but also interregional and international connections. In nineties of the 20-century[4] countries of the western Europe were touched by this process while in turn of the 20 and 21 century other countries of the region under consideration follow that path[5]. The German, Italian, or Swedish experiences show that liberalisation of connections in network leads to radical reduces in prices for those services. Expenses of network telephony services for one minute call are two or three times higher in Slovakia, Hungary, Czechs and Poland than in Norway, Sweden or Great Britain[6].

[2] Janiec M., 2004, s.39
[3] Majewski W., Wierzbicki A P, 1999, s.116
[4] Szwedzik K., 2002, s.I-XII
[5] Kulisiewicz T., 2003, s.22-25
[6] Janiec M., 2004, s.39

In all countries competition of operators accompanied the development of mobile telephony since its beginning /in Poland from 1992/[7]. In Middle and Eastern Europe they create complicated network of connections. Interests of companies coming from different countries meet in this region. There were over 50 operator companies in access EU countries[8]. National operators still have an important role in Czechs, Poland and Hungary. In Poland in 2002 users of Era GSM network made 35%, Plus GSM – 33% and 32% Idea Centertel[9]. Telecommunication potentates mainly coming from western Europe, Scandinavia and USA are strategic partners for most middle-eastern operators as the mobile telephony is advanced and expensive technology.

Beginning from the 80-ies of 20 century a great progress has been seen in increasing number of Internet users. There were 47 million individual registered users of it in 1995, 250 in 1999 and almost 650 in 2002[10]. In that year next to the North America /USA 60 Internet users per 100 inhabitants/ high indexes were registered in European countries especially in Sweden /57/, Finland and Denmark /56 each/ and Norway /52/. Estonia /43/, Slovenia /30/ and Czechs /26/ have the highest indexes among new EU countries. There were 4-5 million Internet users in Poland which means that per 100 inhabitants there were about 12 of them.

Broadband access to the Internet has been getting more and more popular since 1998. There were 2 million users of this system in the world in 1999 and already 67 million in 2002. Most of them live in developed countries, however, even among them there are big differences. The highest index - 21 users per 100 inhabitants is registered in South Korea /table 2/. It has outdistance other highly developed countries of the world. European societies follow that modern direction but the number of users of broadband estimates from 9 /Denmark/ to 1,5 /Italy/. Among new EU countries Malta /4,5/, Estonia /3,4/ and Slovenia /2,8 per 100 inhabitants/ can be distinguished.

It can be presumed that extending adjustments between countries inside EU, as far as the spatial pattern of the main network is concern, has caused this delay in access to the broadband connections in Europe comparing to South Korea. Nevertheless in 1996 EU council oblige member countries to prepare plans of the development of the Media industry and the informative societies[11]. In 1999 the realisation of these plans started. Providing broadband and cheep access to the Internet was one of the crucial conditions.

Huge public and private corporations started investment works. In accordance to the plans during only two years 1999-2001, western European coun-

[7] Drużyńska J., 2001, s.27-30
[8] Szwedzik K., 2001, s.17-18
[9] Tallar-Zakrzewska B., 2003, s.32-33
[10] Starkowski M.T., 2003, s.7
[11] Meyer P., 2002, s.251-257

tries connected their national networks into European broadband system based on fibreoptic cables /fig.1/.

Table 2 Subscribers of the broadband Internet in 2002

Specification	Subscribers in thousands	Subscribers per 100 inhabitants
Korea, Rep.	10128	21,3
China- hong Kong	1009	14,9
Canada	3515	11,2
China Taiwan Province	2100	9,4
Denmark	462	8,6
Iceland	24	8,4
Belgium	870	8,4
Sweden	700	7,8
Netherlands	1170	7,2
Japan	9092	7,1
USA	19882	6,9
Austria	540	6,6
Switzerland	460	6,3
Singapore	230	5,5
Finland	274	5,3
Malta	18	4,5
Germany	3240	3,9
Estonia	46	3,4
Slovenia	57	2,8
Spain	1077	2,6
Portugal	259	2,5
France	1456	2,4
United Kingdom	1370	2,3
Israel	135	2,0
Norway	89	1,9
Italy	850	1,5

Source: M.T.Starkowski, 2003, s.6.

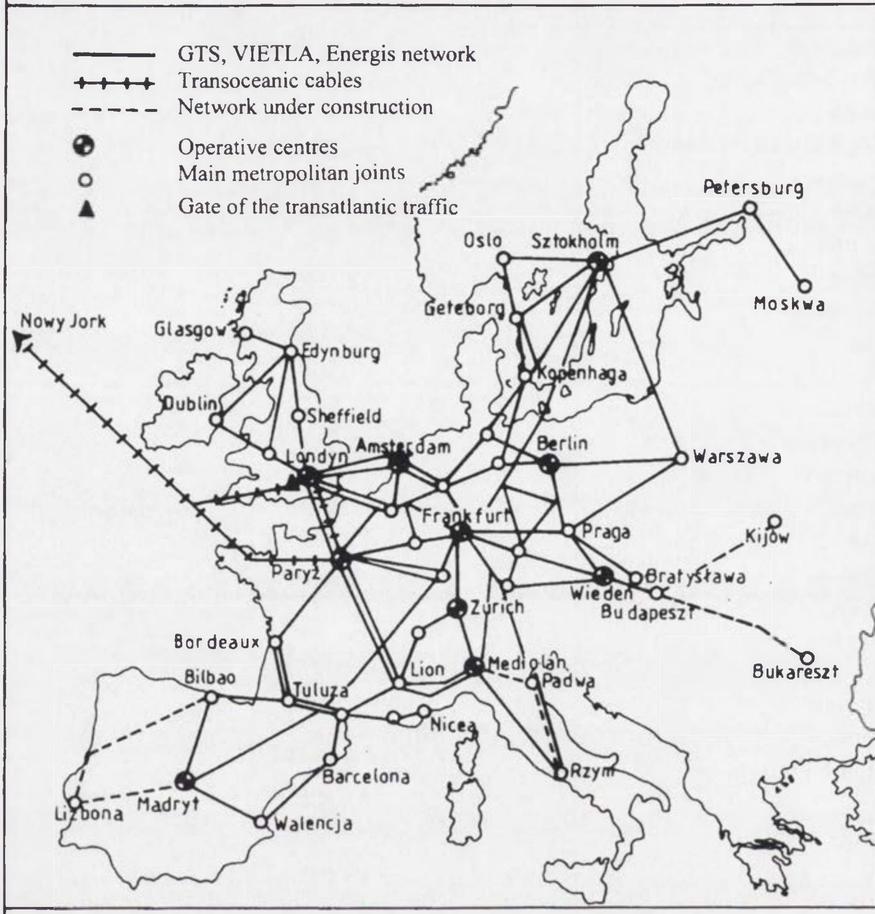
One of the europe-wide leaders of broadband transmission Global Tele-System Inc (GTS) in agreement with Tiscali /Italian operator/ built 20 thousand km of optical fibre network in EU, including one to Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv and Bucharest.

Viatel, American consortium, second big transatlantic potentate of transmission in European market built 11 thousand km of transmission network.

Energis Carries Services, which is also involved in building European telecommunication system, has a big potential of broadband network.

Fig 1. THE BIGGEST EUROPE - WIDE GRID, BROADBAND NETWORKS BASED ON FIBREOPTIC CABLES

THE BIGGEST EUROPE - WIDE GRID, BROADBAND NETWORKS BASED ON FIBREOPTIC CABLES



Source: Author's based on : Siwik Z., 2001; Ledwoch A., 2003.

Mentioned consortiums have also undertaken building optical fibre metropolitan networks in 53 cities in Europe. There is an inlet of transatlantic channel from New York on the main europe-wide network in London. There are operative centres of transforming and sending data and regional and metropolitan joints that divide network traffic into individual receivers through operators.

The first satellite joint with Stockholm was established by Poland, by the agency of NASK /Scientific and Academic Computer Network/ in 1992 after abolishing by USA the blockade on Internet connections in Poland in December 1991[12]. In 1996 Internet access number for companies and individual customers was given by Polish Telecommunication and in 2001 through the fibreoptic connection called neostrada. Poland was linked to modern European telecommunication system[13].

Those giant network investments have their adversaries and adherents. The last ones believe that in few years it will be rapid movement in europe - wide transmission network through two new sources. The transmission of signals of the third generation mobile telephony will be the first one. The second giant source of traffic can appear to be the famous Yamal fibreoptic cable. It would connect through the existing europe-wide network a huge market – tens of millions of Russians and few thousands of companies there.

In those giant multiaspect integrating processes it is worth to pay attention to Estonia. It is the country of the small demographic and economy potential but characteristic in terms of telecommunication. Its government in 1996, shortly after the decision of EU council about creation of informative societies, announced the National Programme of Tiger's Jump[14]. It was about the introducing the new informative and telecommunication technology into secondary schools. The connection of all the secondary schools to the Internet and offering the basic informative knowledge to all the teachers were among the main aims. The government programme was supported by local authorities, private investors including foreign ones. Investments in education, promotion of the access to the Internet in Estonian schools became the important element of the civilisation progress of the country. Six years after proclaiming the Tiger's Jump National Programme 35% of Estonians use the Internet, 38% use the computers and 90% of government institution computers are connected to the Internet. These data put Estonia at the top of the group of countries, which gain medium GDP per capita.

In conclusion it should be stressed that Middle Eastern European countries as far as the telecommunication is concerned, on the contrary to the other economic activity, made an important progress. Not only the main tendencies in the mentioned field are the same as in Western Europe but also the speed of the changes is similar or even higher. This is an optimistic element. It shows that societies of the integrating Europe begin new era of informative civilisation even if they are on different levels of growth.

The main role in this process is played by the rapid progress in terms of the technic integration of Media, the ways and systems of connections and transforming of the information. Specialists and scientists agree that without the

[12] Ledwoch A., 2003, s.38-40
[13] Kuśmierz M., 2004, s.26-34
[14] Starkowski M.T., 2003, s.6-7

investments into telecommunication infrastructure the economy and social progress is impossible.

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Summary

ZACHODZĄCE PROCESY W TELEKOMUNIKACJI JEDNOCZĄCEJ SIĘ EUROPY

Ze złożonej technicznie i funkcjonalnie telekomuniakcji przedmiotem rozważań uczyniono telefonię stacjonarną, komórkową, Internet oraz układ przestrzenny szkieletowej sieci szerokopasmowej paneuropejskiej /rycina 1/. Ponadto zwrócono uwagę na postęp w liberalizacji rynku telekomunikacyjnego, jako ważnej przesłanki prowadzącej do obniżki cen na świadczone usługi. W ocenie poziomu rozwoju dostępności ludności do sieci telekomunikacyjnej posłużono się liczbą abonentów telefonii i internautów na 100 osób w 1995 i głównie w 2002 r. /tabela 1,2/.

W wyniku przeprowadzonej analizy wykazano nie tylko duży postęp w omawianym zakresie w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, ale także podobne tendencje rozwojowe jak w UE. Wyrażają się one w rozpowszechnianiu telefonii, szczególnie komórkowej, wzrastającym stopniem penetracji różnych operatorów na rynkach krajowych telekomunikacyjnych oraz zwiększającą się liczbą osób korzystających z Internetu. Godnym zauważenia jest fakt, że w wyniku budowy sieci szkieletowej światłowodowej dokonał się ważny krok przyspieszający proces integracji społeczeństw europejskich.

Opinie naukowców i różnych specjalistów są zgodne, że bez nowoczesnej infrastruktury oraz usług telekomunikacyjnych niemożliwy jest dziś postęp gospodarczy i społecznej w żadnym obszarze świata.

AIR TRANSPORTATION IN POLAND AT THRESHOLD OF ACCESSION TO EUROPEAN UNION. OPENING BALANCE AND PERSPECTIVES

Marek SOBCZYŃSKI

Department of Political Geography
University of Łódź

Before the accession to the EU Poland had to adjust its aviation law to the European standards which implied the principle of reciprocation among all member-states. It means that Poland's air space opens for foreign airlines. With very poor infrastructure and underdeveloped air transportation, aviation in Poland will be faced with a heavy competition of foreign airlines.

The aviation infrastructure

The assessment of aviation infrastructure in Poland in 2004 is not an easy task because the information concerning this issue was largely undisclosed until quite recently. The aviation infrastructure comprises airports and air routes (*Informacja...* 2003) accompanied with technical facilities of air traffic control.
The aviation infrastructure in Poland is formed by one hub airport (Warsaw-Okęcie), one regional main airport (Cracow-Balice), 10 regional airports and 42 local airports and airfields. The distribution of civilian airports in Poland, served by the national airlines PLL 'LOT', is well known. This group includes only 12 airports, of which 3 are administered by the State Enterprise 'Porty Lotnicze' (Warsaw-Okęcie, Rzeszów-Jasionka, Zielona Góra-Babimost) while the remaining 9 belong to individual companies (tab. 1). State Enterprise 'Porty Lotnicze' is, however, a share-holder of all these companies except the Łódź Airport which is in 99.8% owned by the city of Łódź.

Although the airports at Szczecin, Rzeszów, Bydgoszcz, Łódź, Szczytno and Zielona Góra do not meet the criteria of regional airports, they have been classified as such by terms of a special regulation concerning airports situated more than 100 kilometres from an airport serving planes exceeding 10 tons of weight. It means that in fact only the airports at Wrocław, Poznań, Katowice and Gdańsk are regional airports. The airports at Wrocław, Bydgoszcz and

Szczytno are partly used by the army and the Zielona Góra airport is shared by a commercial company and PP 'PL'.

Table. 1. Civilian passenger airports in Poland in 2004

Location	Airport name	Place name	Administrator	Share held by PP 'PL' in %	Passanger traffic in thousands		Cargo traffic in tons	
					2003	2005	2003	2005
Warsaw	Warsaw Ferderic Chopin Central Airport	Warsaw-Okęcie	PP „Porty Lotnicze" Warszawa	100	4 937*		39887*	51600
Cracow	The John Paul II International Airport Cracow-Balice	Balice	„Międzynarodowy Port Lotniczy Kraków Balice" Spółka z.o.o.	85.84	593.2	1200	2071	6207
Tri-City	Gdańsk Lech Walesa Airport	Gdańsk-Rębiechowo	„Port Lotniczy Gdańsk" Spółka z.o.o.	38.07	365.0	727	1914*	3105
Poznań	Poznań-Ławica Airport	Poznań-Ławica	„Port Lotniczy Poznań-Ławica" Spółka z.o.o.	85.00	263.5	570	598*	5020
Upper-Silesian Industrial Region	Katowice International Airport	Pyrzowice	„Górnośląskie Towarzystwo Lotnicze" S.A.	33.10	257.9	487	2884*	4800
Wrocław	Wrocław Airport	Wrocław-Strachowice	„Port Lotniczy Wrocław" S.A.	47.78	237.7*	408	1193*	2329
Szczecin	Szczecin-Goleniów Airport	Goleniów	„Port Lotniczy Szczecin-Goleniów" Spółka S.A.	56.67	87.4	260	341	870
Rzeszów	Rzeszów-Jasionka Airport	Jasionka	PP „Porty Lotnicze" Warszawa	100	52.1*	-	309*	-
Bydgoszcz	Bydgoszcz Airport	Bydgoszcz-Szwederowo	„Port Lotniczy Bydgoszcz" S.A.	25.40	13.4*	38	0*	760
Zielona Góra	Zielona Góra – Babimost Airport	Babimost	PP „Porty Lotnicze" Warszawa	100	7.6*	-	0*	-
Łódź	Łódź-Lublinek Airport	Łodź-Lublinek	„Lotnisko Łódź Lublinek" Sp. z o.o.	0	1.9*	35	0	50
Szczytno	International Airport Szczytno-Szymany	Szymany	„Port Lotnicze Mazury Szczytno"	31.40	1.1*	60	0*	10

* in 2002

Source: author – based on *PP 'PL' Raport Roczny 2002* (2003), Litwiński (2003) and *Informacja...* 2003.

Table 2 shows the number of air operations (landings and takeoffs at Polish airports). It reveals an absolute domination of the Warsaw airport which accounts for 58% of the operation nationwide. The airports at Cracow and Poznań cumulate slightly over 8%, Gdańsk 7.5%, Katowice, Wrocław and Szczecin exceeds 4%, whereas the remaining airports have insignificant share in the total.

Table 2. Air operations at Polish airports in 2002

Airport	Air operations			
	Number	%	Share of airlines in %	
			Polish origin	Foreign origin
Warsaw	92403	57.69	73.1	26.9
Gdańsk	12104	7.56	68.3	31.7
Cracow	14115	8.81	79.0	21.0
Wrocław	6594	4.12	79.7	20.3
Poznań	13007	8.12	66.1	33.9
Katowice	8362	5.22	66.2	33.8
Szczecin	6425	4.01	81.1	18.9
Rzeszów	2362	1.47	70.4	29.6
Łódź	1252	0.78	67.6	32.4
Bydgoszcz	2342	1.46	85.2	14.8
Szczytno	516	0.32	87.8	12.2
Zielona Góra	681	0.43	83.1	16.9
Total	160163	100.00	73.1%	26.9%

Source: author – based on Litwiński (2003)

In 1990 the Polish Army used 63 airfields and 21 road airstrips. Most of them were used by the Air Force, with 4 used by the Navy and 3 by ground forces. In addition to that there were 13 airfields used during the post-war period by the Soviet troops. After their withdrawal, these airfields, were taken over by local self-government authorities. These were mostly high quality airports, some of German origin. In June 2002 the Polish Army had 34 airfields (of which 23 were used by the Air Force) and 20 road airstrips.

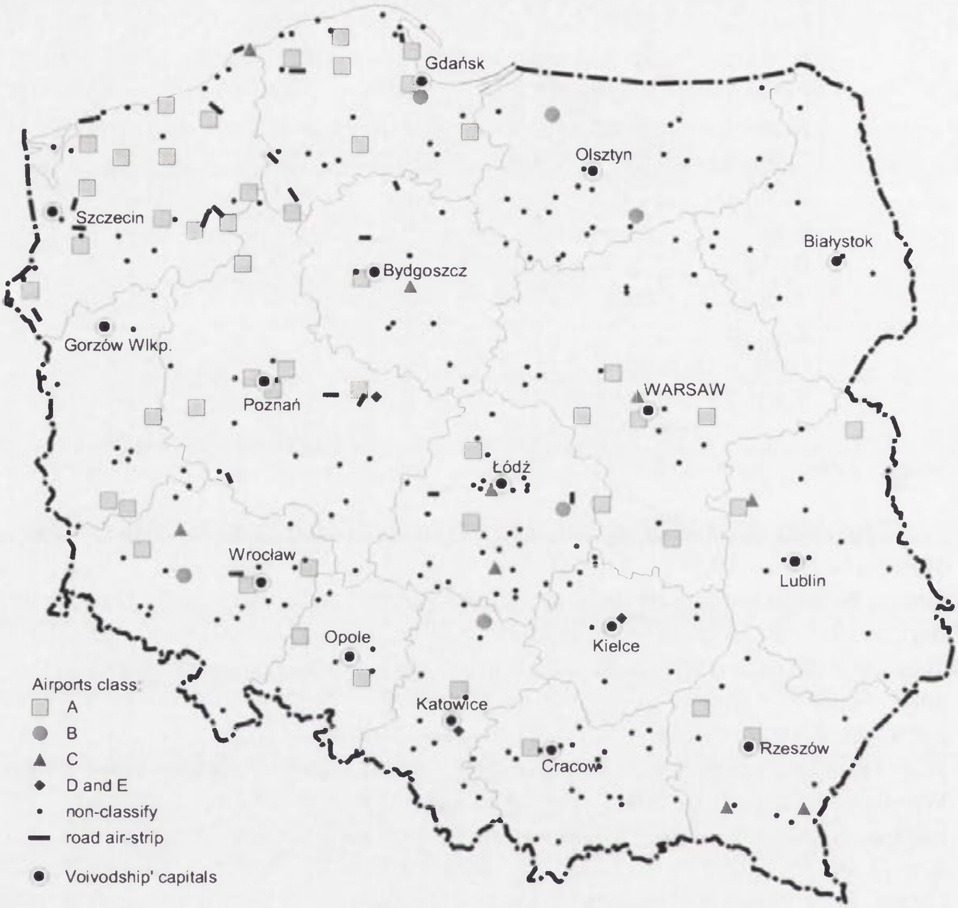
8 military airfields – Babimost, Bydgoszcz, Cracow-Balice, Mierzęcice, Wrocław-Strachowice, Biała Podlaska, Zegrze Pomorskie and Szymany - are used by civilian air traffic. The civilian users of these military airfields are, among others, PP ‘Porty Lotnicze’, the Air Traffic Agency, police, Border Guard, state forest administration, post service, rescue aviation, regional aero clubs (Pietrzyk 2002).

The best military airfields have been assigned for the NATO needs; these are Mińsk Mazowiecki, Mirosławice, Poznań-Krzesiny, Powidz, Łask, Malbork and Świdwin.

All in all, according to official statistics Poland has 12 airports, 42 local airports, 34 military airfields and 4 road airstrips, which makes up a total of 92 aviation facilities listed in the registers of the Civilian Aviation Office (established in 2002) or in military registers.

However, the real number of aviation facilities in Poland far exceeds the official figures. Accurate number is very difficult to ascertain because many facts are still kept secret, as they were during the communist period. The author managed to catalogue 318 aviation facilities, of which only 43 are listed by the Civilian Aviation Office (figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of the airports, airfields and road air-strip in Poland



This list includes a great variety of aviation facilities ranging from big airports to small unpaved airfields. Apart from the 12 civilian airports, particularly noteworthy are military airfields. Most of the 18 airfields taken over by the Military Property Agency are perfectly usable for civilian aviation. Furthermore, some airfields belonging to the army can be used for the civilian purposes too, especially those that lost their importance after the accession to the NATO.

Also some airfields administered by aviation clubs have concrete airstrips that can be used by small passenger and cargo air-planes.

Beside the inventory, it would be purposeful to make a typology of the existing infrastructure in order to optimise its prospective usage. The most important factor determining the rank of individual aviation facilities in the future aviation system is their technical standard. The technical class of the airport is identified with the technical class of its main runway defined by such parameters as length, tolerance aircraft weight (depending on the type of surface), and ground control equipment. Lacking complete data, in this paper we take into consideration only two of these parameters: the runway length and its surface. It can be assumed that ground control system, although costly, is not a factor that definitely restrains potential usage of an airport as it does not depend on available terrain. The converse is true for the runway: its length and possibility of its extension is what determines the potential development of an airport. Of importance is also the presence of artificial obstacles in the immediate surroundings of an airport that would collide with planes landing or taking off.

The International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) classifies airports according to the length of the main runway. Polish classification implemented in 1966 was more severe, which probable resulted from lower quality of airplanes (tab. 3).

Table 3. Airport classification

Polish classification		ICAO classification	
Class	Runway length in metres	Class	Runway length in metres
S	more than 3250	-	-
I	2600-3249	-	-
		A	more than 2100
II	1800-2599		
		B	1500-2100
III	1300-1799		
		C	900-1500
IV	900-1299		
V	less than 899	D	750-900

Source: author's compilation

Today, as the air-planes used in Poland do not depart from world standards, it is not necessary anymore to keep the more restrictive classification. The second criterion important for airport classification is the possession of a paved runway (concrete or asphalt). The future usage of airfields with long dirt runway is conditional upon the technical possibilities of paving their surface.

Table 4. Distribution of airports and airfields in Poland by voivodships in 2004

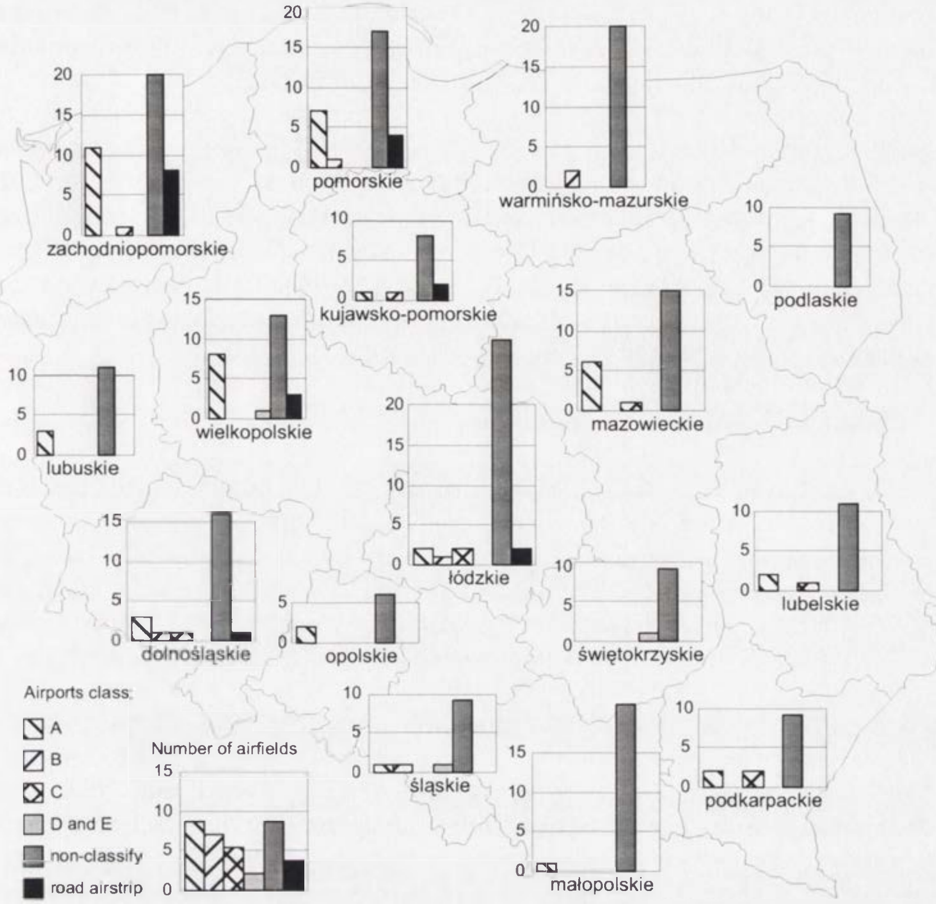
Voivodship	Large airports					Other airports	Road air-strips	Airports and airfields	
	Number	A	B	C	D-E			Number	%
zachodniopomorskie	12	11		1		21	8	41	13.2
wielkopolskie	9	8			1	13	3	25	8.0
pomorskie	8	7	1			17	4	29	9.2
mazowieckie	7	6		1		15		22	7.1
łódzkie	5	2	1	2		28	2	35	11.2
dolnośląskie	5	3	1	1		16	1	22	7.1
podkarpackie	4	2		2		9		13	4.2
lubuskie	3	3				11		14	4.5
lubelskie	3	2		1		11		14	4.5
śląskie	3	1	1		1	9		12	3.9
warmińsko-mazurskie	2		2			20		22	7.1
kujawsko-pomorskie	2	1		1		9	2	13	4.2
opolskie	2	2				6		8	2.6
małopolskie	1	1				21		22	7.1
świętokrzyskie	1				1	9		10	3.2
podlaskie						9		9	2.9
Poland	67	49	6	9	3	224	20	311	100.0

Source: author's calculation

The largest concentration of airports and airfields is on the coast, particularly in the zachodniopomorskie voivodship (tab. 4). A significant concentration is found in central Poland (łódzkie and wielkopolskie voivodships), western Little Poland and Lower Silesia. Roughly Poland can be divided along the Vistula river into two sectors: the western one with many airports and the eastern one where aviation infrastructure is definitely underdeveloped. On the western sector a certain gap is found in Upper Silesia, lubuskie voivodship and northern Greater Poland which separate two large concentration of aviation infrastructure in the north-west and south-west.

Of particular importance for the development of air transportation is the distribution of big airports being able to serve airliners of large and medium size class. The airports belonging to the classes from A to D are unevenly distributed: most of them are found on the coast and in Pomerania. In all voivodships (except the podlaskie voivodship) there is at least one A class airport. The zachodniopomorskie voivodship has 12 large airports, of which as many as 11 belong to the highest class. Big airports abound in wielkopolskie, pomorskie, mazowieckie, łódzkie, dolnośląskie and podkarpackie voivodships, whereas in małopolskie and świętokrzyskie voivodships have only one (fig. 2).

Figure 2. Structure of Polish airports by voivodships



Source: author's elaboration

Although well developed, aviation infrastructure in Poland is not fully exploited. Out of 67 large airports, only 12 serve passenger traffic, 20 are reserve for military use, while the remainder is either abandoned or very little used. The existing infrastructure seems to be sufficient (in places even more than sufficient) for the prospective development of air transportation in Poland. It would be necessary though to compel the army to give up those airfields that became of little strategic importance after the accession to the NATO. This would greatly enhance the potentiality of commercial transportation. The localisation of many airfields indicates a possible increase in tourist air traffic, especially between the Baltic coast and central and southern regions. Nearly all localities on Polish coast lie 20 kilometres or less from one of the large airports.

Another traditional tourist flow, i.e. from northern and central Poland to the mountains in the south, is less likely to be widely served by air transportation as neither in the mountains nor on the surrounding areas the aviation infrastructure is adequately developed. There are only small dirt airfields, some of them with very long runways, which also represent a significant capacity, especially for small aircraft transportation system based on point-to-point or on-demand service.

In podlaskie voivodship, the only one deprived of any large airports, the situation may improve after the completion of the Topolany airport or the transformation of the military airfield at Wysokie Mazowieckie. Possibilities to open new airports is limited, however, by high costs of electronic guidance systems conformable with international standards as well as auxiliary infrastructure (terminals, service structures, access roads, parking lots, etc.).

Commercial transportation operators

Established in 1928, 'LOT' Polish Airlines has dominated the commercial air transportation in Poland. From 1945 to 1989 this airline held a monopolist position which hampered the development of air transportation. During the last 20 years the air transportation in Europe has grown at an average rate of 7.5% a year, compared to 3.5% in Poland (*Informacja*...2003). Only in 1999 a new Polish aviation law was implemented thus allowing private operators to compete with 'LOT'.

In the 1990s some air transportation firms (e.g. White Eagle Aviation S.A., Exin, Air Polonia, Heliseco, Cumulus, Bortex, Lalmi, Avia-Eco, Adriana, FUL 'Lokar', Strzała, Air Service, Agrolot, Aeropol, Agro Plast, JBEX) were established that dealing with cargo traffic, agricultural services and, to a minute degree, air taxi service. Private operators founded in 1996 the AOPA Poland association. Nevertheless, until 2003 the position 'LOT' in regular local and international passenger traffic was unchallenged.

Today PLL 'LOT' is still the leader, although its domination on the market is gradually declining (by 11% in 2002). Beside the national airline, 25 air transportation firms operate in Poland.

The year 2004 marks an end for the monopoly of 'LOT' as the accession to the EU abolished any restrictions that prevented foreign operators, including the so-called low-cost airlines, from free competition on Polish aviation market. Polish Aero-club figured large in passenger traffic on a non-regular basis in 2002: the number of passengers on tourist flights amounted to 1,390 at the Aero-club of Podhale and 1,352 at the Aero-club of Poznań (table 5). Among private operators the passenger traffic was dominated by Warsaw-based 'White Eagle Aviation' S.A. (274,192 passengers on international flights to European and African countries; 2,911 passengers on domestic flights). In this year the passenger traffic served by 'LOT' totalled 3,380 thousand.

Table 5. Activity of new air transportation operators in Poland in 2002

Operator	Number of flights		
	Total	Transportation flights	Non-transportation flights
Polish Aero Club	5857	2229	3628
Private operators	35414	7809	27605
Total	41800	10567	31233

Source: author's compilation

'LOT' airlines have 48 aircrafts, including 5 intercontinental planes. Air Polonia, a new operator, has only 2 Boeing 737-400 planes and one cargo aircraft L410-UVP-E of 1,200 kilometres cruise-range and 1.6 tone capacity.

Owned by the Curtis concern 'White Eagle Aviation' has 16 aircrafts, including one Boeing 737-400. 'General Aviation' (also owned by Curtis) offers tourist and promotion flights with AN-2 and PZL Wilga planes from the airfield Góraszka near Warsaw; in summer it serves air taxi flights to Jurata. In 2004 'White Eagle Aviation' was replaced by 'Globus' – another Curtis-owned operator.

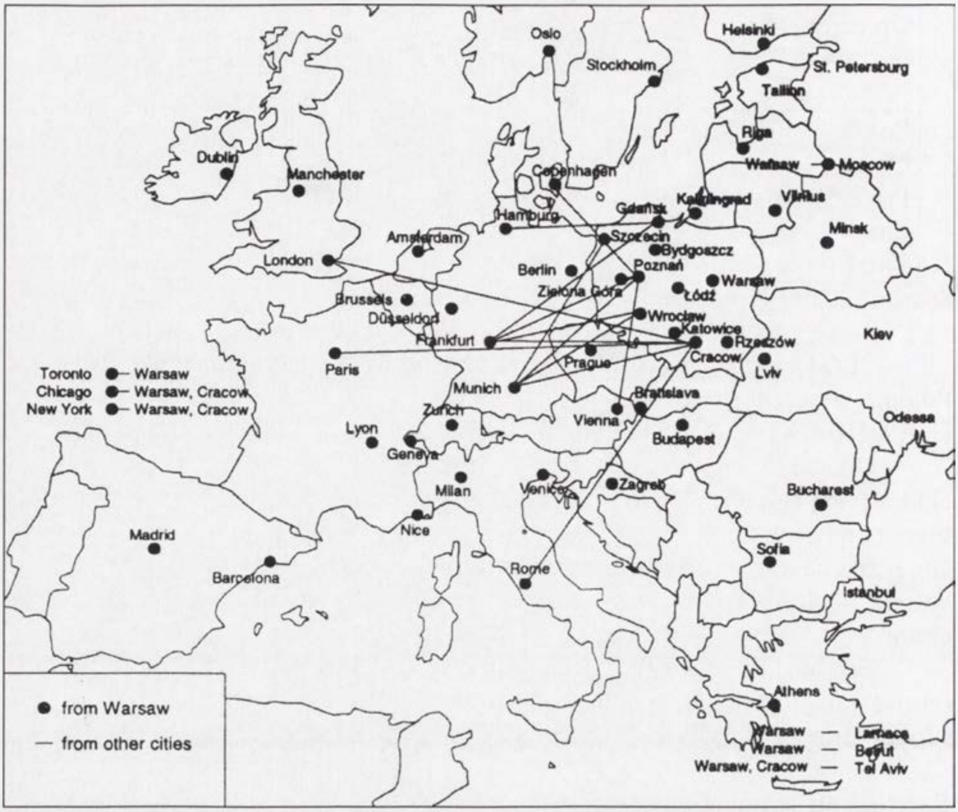
Established in 1991, Lublin-based 'Exin' Ltd. has five An-26 aircrafts (cruise range 600 km, loading capacity 5.5 tons) chartered by DHL (parcel service firm).

Existing air connections

Serving 12 cities in Poland, 43 in Europe and 3 in America (New York, Chicago, Toronto), 'LOT' remains the leading airline on Polish market (fig. 3). Furthermore, in code-share co-operation with American Airlines 'LOT' offers flights to another 14 cities in the USA. Since 2003 'LOT' is a member of Star Alliance that associates the following foreign airlines: Air Canada, Air New Zealand, ANA (Japan), Asiana Airlines (Korea), Austrian, bmi (UK), Lufthansa, Mexicana Airlines, Scandinavian Airlines, Singapore Airlines, Spanair, Thai Airways International, United (USA), VARIG (Brasil) and US Airways.

Air Polonia operates flights from Warsaw to Athens, Charleroi (Belgium), Hahn (Germany), Stansted (UK), Barajos (Spain), Paris, Milan, Rome and Venice and from Cracow to Charleroi, Cologne, Stansted and Paris. After two months Air Polonia suspended loss-making domestic flights and concentrated on international low-cost flights operated since December 2003.

Figure 3. Regular passenger connections realize by PLL 'LOT'



Source: PLL 'LOT' http://www.lot.com/app/index.jsp?area=info&type=routemap

At the end of the year 2003 new Polish and foreign operators appeared which certainly marks the beginning of expansion upon the air transportation market in Poland (table 6).

Figure 4 shows distribution of foreign airports having direct connection with Polish airports. Foreign and Polish private operators serve almost exclusively west-European airports and sporadically Prague and Budapest. Intercontinental and east-European flights are monopolised by 'LOT'. There is an increase in international flights at Polish regional airports where private airlines successfully compete with 'LOT'.

Table 6. Airlines operating passenger air transportation in Poland

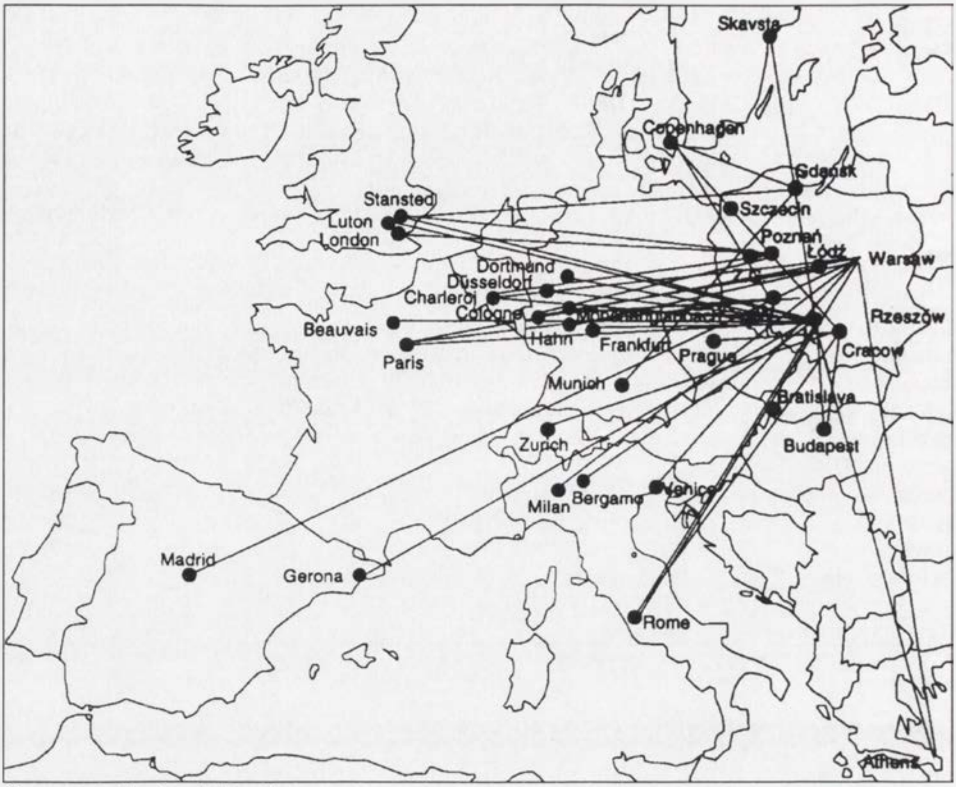
Airport	Airlines serving the airport
Warsaw - Okęcie	LOT, SAS, Air Polonia, Lufthansa, Austrian Airlines, Aeroflot, Aerlingus, AeroSvit, Air Baltic, Air Berlin, Air France, Alitalia, American Airlines, Belavia, British Airways, ČSA, Cyprus Airways, El-Al, Finnair, Germanwings, KLM, Malev, Pulkovo Airlines, Singapore Airlines, Sky Europe, SN Brussels Airlines, Swiss Airlines, Tarom, Tunis Air, Turkish Airlines
Cracow– Balice	LOT, SAS, Lufthansa, Austrian Airlines, Styrian Spirit, Czech Airways, Malev, Israel Airlines
Poznań – Ławica	LOT, SAS, Air Polonia, Lufthansa, Austrian Airlines, European Air Express, Private Wings
Gdańsk-Rębiechowo	LOT, SAS, Air Polonia
Wrocław – Strachowice	LOT, Air Polonia, Lufthansa, European Air Express,
Katowice – Pyrzowice	LOT, Air Polonia, Lufthansa, Wizz Air, Globus
Łódź - Lublinek	LOT, EAE European Air Express
Szczecin – Goleniów	LOT
Rzeszów – Jasionka	LOT
Bydgoszcz – Szwederowo	LOT
Zielona Góra - Babimost	LOT
Szczytno - Szymany	-

Source: author – based on Glapiak 2004

The prospective development of air transportation in Poland

The enlargement of the EU will result in growing air traffic between the old and new member states: the passenger traffic will increase and new air routes will be opened (*Financial Times* 2004). This boom will be most profitable for Warsaw, Prague and Budapest that may become important hub airports. Thanks to the growing demand many operators, especially in the low-cost sector, will increase their returns. It is estimated that in the first year after the accession the incoming air traffic in the largest new member states will grow by 20%. In this perspective the development of airport infrastructure in Poland seems to be of major importance. During the last 15 years Poland did not fully exploited the opportunity to attract larger part of north-south transportation flows. Today, owing to the geographical position, Poland has a chance for larger participation in serving the east-west transportation flow. To attain this goal, however, it is prerequisite to make capital of the existing aviation infrastructure and to promote this form of transportation in Poland.

Figure 4. Regular passenger connections realize by private Polish and foreign operators



Source: author's elaboration

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Streszczenie

TRANSPORT LOTNICZY W POLSCE U PROGU AKCESJI DO UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ. BILANS OTWARCIA I PERSPEKTYWY

Polska przystępując do Unii Europejskiej przyjęła wspólnotowe prawo lotnicze, co oznacza otwarcie polskiej przestrzeni powietrznej dla konkurencyjnych przewoźników. U progu akcesji Polska legitymuje się bardzo słabym wykorzystaniem istniejącej infrastruktury lotniczej oraz niedorozwojem transportu lotniczego, staje się zatem szerokim polem konkurencji dla obcych przewoźników. Szansy na zmianę tej sytuacji należy upatrywać w przejęciu, m.in. od wojska, porzuconej oraz słabo obecnie wykorzystywanej (w tym poradzieckiej) infrastruktury naziemnej.

Autor dokonał inwentaryzacji (fig. 1) istniejących w Polsce 318 portów lotniczych, lotnisk i lądowisk oraz zaproponował ich nową klasyfikację w kontekście przydatności dla lotnictwa cywilnego, w szczególności dla ruchu pasażerskiego.

Największe zagęszczenie lotnisk i lądowisk występuje na wybrzeżu (tab. 4). Spora koncentracja takich obiektów ujawnia się Polsce środkowej, zachodniej Małopolsce i na Dolnym Śląsku. Polskę można podzielić wzdłuż biegu Wisły na część zachodnią, nasyconą lotniskami oraz część wschodnią, zdecydowanie uboższą w infrastrukturę lotniczą. Wyjątkiem po stronie zachodniej jest Górny Śląsk oraz Ziemia Lubuska i Północna Wielkopolska, które tworzą pas rozrzedzonej infrastruktury oddzielający dwa duże skupiska lotnisk północno-zachodnie i południowo-zachodnie. W całym kraju jest aż 67 lotnisk spełniających międzynarodowe kryteria portów transkontynentalnych, z których jedynie 12 jest wykorzystywanych dla obsługi ruchu pasażerskiego. We wszystkich województwach, z wyjątkiem podlaskiego zlokalizowano, co najmniej jeden duży port lotniczy (należący do jednej z klas A-E), a w większości województw przynajmniej dwa takie lotniska. Tylko trzy województwa nie posiadają lotniska klasy najwyższej (A).

W dalszej części opracowania dokonano przeglądu (stan na 30 kwietnia 2004) operujących w Polsce przewoźników lotniczych (tab. 6) a także regularnych lotniczych połączeń pasażerskich (fig. 3, 4).

Polska nie potrafiła w ciągu 15 lat przemian ustrojowych, wykorzystać swego strategicznego położenia i straciła szanse na skanalizowanie kontynentalnych potoków przewozowych na linii północ-południe i wschód-zachód. Ostatnią już szansą na odegranie znaczącej roli w tranzycie jest wykorzystanie posiadanej bogatej infrastruktury lotniczej i rozwój tej formy transportu.

CAR OWNERSHIP LEVEL AS THE INDICATOR OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN POLAND

Tomasz KOMORNICKI

Institute Geography and Spatial Organization
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw

1. Introduction

It is commonly held that in conditions of systemic transformation numerous classical indicators of the socio-economic development level and rate (including those related to GDP) do not reflect adequately the actual state of things. This is caused by the shortcomings of the public statistics and the vast grey zone in the economy. That is why these pieces of information are complemented with the indicators illustrating indirectly the economic potential of the population and businesses on the local scale. One of the yardsticks frequently applied in such situations is the number of passenger cars per 1,000 inhabitants.

Adoption of the car ownership level as an economic indicator is, however, charged with a risk. This risk results from the composite character of the factors that determine the increase of the passenger car numbers and from the fact that some of these factors have a non-economic origin. The limited reliability of the source materials should also be considered. Regional (geographic) analysis may turn out to be of assistance in these conditions. By making a reference to the spatial distribution of other elements of the socio-economic life it provides the possibility of critically assessing and potentially also verifying the data on the local level.

The purpose of the present report is to show the regional distribution of the level (and whenever possible – also of the structure) of car ownership in Poland, and to assess the usefulness of this indicator in the context of the broader socio-economic analyses. Thus, the report presents the classical and the specific factors of development of car ownership, the spatial distribution of passenger car numbers (on the basis of the data from the Central Statistical Office, GUS, according to counties as of 2002, not processed until now), the structure of car populations according to regions (according to the study of IPSOS from 2002)[1] and the margin of shortage of the car numbers with respect to the saturation level. The summary associates the results thus obtained with the regional differentiation as to the economic development level.

The basic spatial unit of reference in the analysis was the county (poviat). It is nowadays the place of collection of the source data concerning car registering (transport departments in the county offices). The materials related to the structure of car populations were presented in the breakdown into eight study regions (as applied by IPSOS), while the analysis of dependence of the car ownership level upon the economic development level was carried out for the statistical subregions (NUTS3, the smallest units, for which GDP data are available).

2. The classical and the specific factors of car ownership development

The specialists from the domain of economics and sociology elaborated in the past many classifications of factors determining the development of car ownership. The authors, who dealt with the issue include Downes (1980), Button (1982), or Ingram and Zhi Liu (1999). It is possible to distinguish the following classical factors on the basis of their work: income, size and structure of households, fuel prices, accessibility understood as the necessity of using a vehicle (distance to work, school, shops, as well as transport congestion and the possibility of using public transport as an alternative), and transport policy.

The role of income as the factor stimulating the growth of car ownership is first of all pronounced in the less developed countries. As the economic development level increases, this factors loses its significance. The regional analyses carried out demonstrate (Komornicki 2003) that the influence of this factor is visible in the most affluent areas (the city of Warsaw) and the poorest ones (like, for instance the Warmian-Masurian province). Generally, though, the role of income significantly decreased during the period of transformation. Conform to the studies of Downes (1980) the number of cars in a household increases with the maturing of children (on the average by ½ per one person taking the first job) and then decreases as the children move out and the household members retire (the decrease being slower – by 0.3 vehicle per one household member moving out). The structure of households certainly influences the number of cars registered in Poland in the regions with the highest shares of persons in pre-productive age (South-eastern Poland) and of persons in post-productive age (the depopulating rural areas, for instance in the North-eastern Poland).

The importance of the fuel price factor is often questioned. It is held that these prices impact only on the structure of the car populations, and not on the very number of cars. In Polish conditions this factor appears to be significant

[1] The author would like to express his gratitude to the IPSOS company for making the necessary data available.

only in the context of comparison with the public transport fares. And so, in 1989 one average net monthly salary bought 291 railway tickets for 100 km ride, or 465 litres of gasoline, while in 1998 – only 118 such tickets and 549 litres of gas (Menes 2001). This is associated with the important factor of broadly understood accessibility. One of the reasons of development of car ownership in Poland is certainly constituted by the migrations to the suburban zone (the need of consecutive cars in the households) and the continuing decrease of quality (including the safety of use) of the public transport. Of importance, as well, is the lack of a consistent transport policy (Taylor 2002). What is only apparent is the influence exerted by the single political decisions on the current trends in car sales (custom tariffs and excise tax on import of second hand cars, VAT deduction for the pseudo-trucks, etc.). Transport policy, though, has no regional dimension.

The factors commented upon, however, do not explain fully the regional differentiation of the car ownership level in Poland. On the basis of previous studies (Komornicki 2003) the following specific factors were also distinguished:

- social position and prestige defined by car ownership,
- relative ease of satisfying the need of owning a car (especially when compared to ownership of a dwelling and in view of the availability of credit),
- privatisation and decentralisation of the economy (high number of small businesses),
- high indirect labour costs (large number of company cars).

A significant element is also constituted by the regional differentiation of transport insurance premiums, defined by the largest insurance companies.

Summing up, it should be stated that the development of car ownership is both in Poland and in the world a resultant of several factors of social, economic and political character. The economic element (GDP, incomes of households, etc.) is but one of them. This factor, though, forms just a boundary condition (below a certain level the society cannot afford car ownership), and influences the structure of the car population. Hence, the use of car ownership indicator as illustrating the socio-economic development is possible uniquely under the condition of simultaneous consideration of other classical and specific factors, and the structure of the phenomenon.

3. Regional differentiation of the car ownership level in Poland

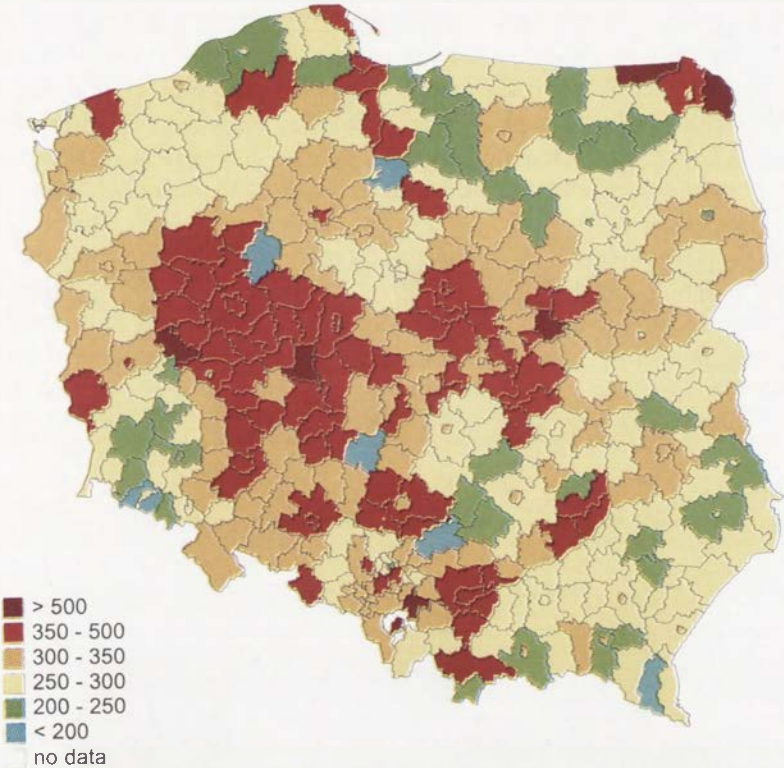
In 2002 the Central Statistical Office made for the first time available the data on the car population on the county level. This opened up new possibilities of studying the phenomenon. The material, though, is not perfect in quality terms. This is, in particular, the effect of administrative changes (emergence of a couple of new counties, organisational changes in the Transport Departments) and of the differences in the systems of data acquisition within particular former voivodships (their boundaries are therefore sometimes still visible on the maps of car ownership).

Even if we put aside these imperfections of purely technical nature, we should state that the official data concerning car ownership in Poland are at the same time the over- and under-estimations. Overestimation results from the persistence of the vehicles no longer moving on the roads, or even altogether scrapped, in the respective records. Such a situation is most frequent in rural areas, and especially in the regions of the former large state farms. The cars from the farms having gone bankrupt dozen and more years ago have never been removed from the registers. The Transport Departments cannot do this on their own initiative, while the owning bodies ceased to exist.

On the other hand, underestimation of the official data concerning passenger cars is caused by the mass phenomenon of registering actual passenger cars as mini-trucks (in view of the regulations envisaging the possibility of deducing VAT tax by the natural persons conducting business activities). The scale of underestimation, though, can be assessed. Thus, in the study here reported the assumption was adopted of accounting for the trucks with carrying capacity of up to 3.5 tons. Most of them are in actual practice the passenger cars. Yet, also the remaining cars from this category frequently play a double role (similarly as pickup trucks, accounted for in the assessment of passenger car ownership in the United States). The share of cars from the group of „light trucks" in the total of passenger and delivery cars amounted in 2002 to 13.3%. This share was especially pronounced in some urban agglomerations (particularly so in the agglomerations of Warsaw, Poznań, Cracow and Gdańsk) and within the orchard areas (like in the counties of Grójec and Sandomierz).

The traditionally calculated car ownership indicator was equal in 2003 in Poland to 288 per 1,000 inhabitants. After the „small trucks" (up to 3.5 tons) have been accounted for, it increased to 333 per 1,000 inhabitants. The regional setting, known from the earlier studies, was preserved (Fig. 1). Side by side with large agglomerations (especially the one of Warsaw) the province of Wielkopolska constitutes a compact region with very high car ownership. High values of the indicator are also observed in central Małopolska, in southern and western Masovia, Gdańsk Pomerania, Upper Silesia and the borderland with Germany. On the other hand, the high values of the indicator noted in the area of Suwałki (north-eastern Poland) are caused by the errors of the evidence system in force in the former voivodship of Suwałki, and as such must be omitted in the scientific analysis. Then, compact areas featuring low levels of car ownership are observed in eastern provinces (Podlasie, Lublin and Subcarpathia), as well as in northern Masovia. When assessing the situation in these areas one should account, however, for the demographic factor (higher shares of persons not being potential drivers). The numbers of passenger cars registered in Lower Silesia (except for its capital, Wrocław), Warmia and Masuria, as well as Western Pomerania are also relatively low.

Fig. 1. Car ownership level (passenger and delivery cars per 1,000 inhabitants) in 2002 according to counties

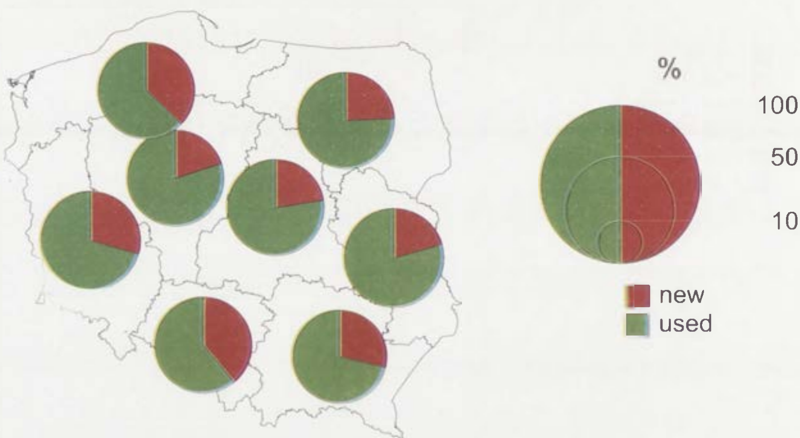


Source: own elaboration based on GUS materials

Among the large urban centres (with more than 200,000 inhabitants) Warsaw is decidedly featuring the highest value of the indicator: 521 passenger and delivery cars per 1,000 inhabitants. It is followed by Poznań, Gdańsk, Wrocław, Bydgoszcz and Gliwice. At the same time, the numbers of cars are relatively low in Białystok (242 vehicles per 1,000 inhabitants), Zabrze, Bytom and Radom. One can observe, in particular, an interesting differentiation of car ownership indicator within the Upper Silesian agglomeration. It may be the result of a better economic situation (including the one on the labour market) in Gliwice – compared to other towns of the region.

According to the data of the IPSOS company from September 2002 (sample of 1,000 respondents) 27.5% of the currently owned cars had been purchased as new, and 19.4% of vehicles were purchased on credit terms. These two shares are strongly regionally differentiated. Among eight regions distinguished for the purpose of the study quoted, the shares of the newly purchased cars were the highest in Pomerania and Upper Silesia (Fig. 2). Similarly, the shares of cars purchased on credit were distinctly higher in the western part of the country. The study has not allowed for the assessment of the position of Warsaw, since it was situated in the same study area with Lodz and a large part of the region of Masovia. On the other hand, the analysis carried out according to the size intervals of towns makes it possible to state that the share of vehicles bought as new is similar in towns of all sizes (30-40%), while being distinctly lower only in rural areas (17%). At the same time, the percentage share of cars bought on credit is similar in the countryside and in the towns of all sizes (16-24%), except for the highest size interval (beyond 500,000 inhabitants), where it is perceptibly higher (33%).

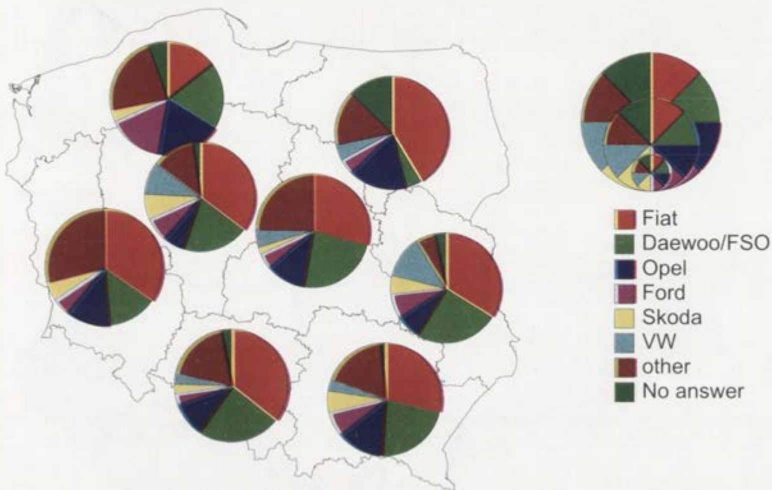
Fig. 2. Structure of car population in 2002 (cars bought as new and used)



Source: Ipsos survey study 2002

Conform to the results from the same study the dominating brands in the Polish car population were in 2002 Fiat (30%), Daewoo/FSO [Polish Daewoo company] (20.1%) and Opel [General Motors] (11.3%). The shares of Ford, Volkswagen, Skoda and Renault exceeded also 3%. One should remember, though, that the car populations corresponding to the two leading brands are highly internally inhomogeneous. Side by side with the new vehicles of the two producers there are also a lot of old cars (in the first group – mainly small Polish Fiat 126 and Cinquecento cars, and in the second – Polish Fiat 125 and Polonez cars). Hence, we can assume, with a certain simplification, that in the regional setting the high shares of Fiat and Daewoo/FSO indicate most probably an older car population. Such a situation takes place first of all in the region of Lublin, but also in Upper Silesia and to a certain degree in Wielkopolska, as well (Fig. 3). Simultaneously, the shares of the two brands are the lowest in Lower Silesia, in Małopolska and in Pomerania. The situation presented is most probably the effect of the earlier development of car ownership in some areas of Poland (Wielkopolska, Upper Silesia). Consequently, high indicator of car ownership (and a high share of cars bought as new) is accompanied by a high number of cars purchased yet in the 1980s.

Fig. 3. Structure of car population in 2002 (according to producers)

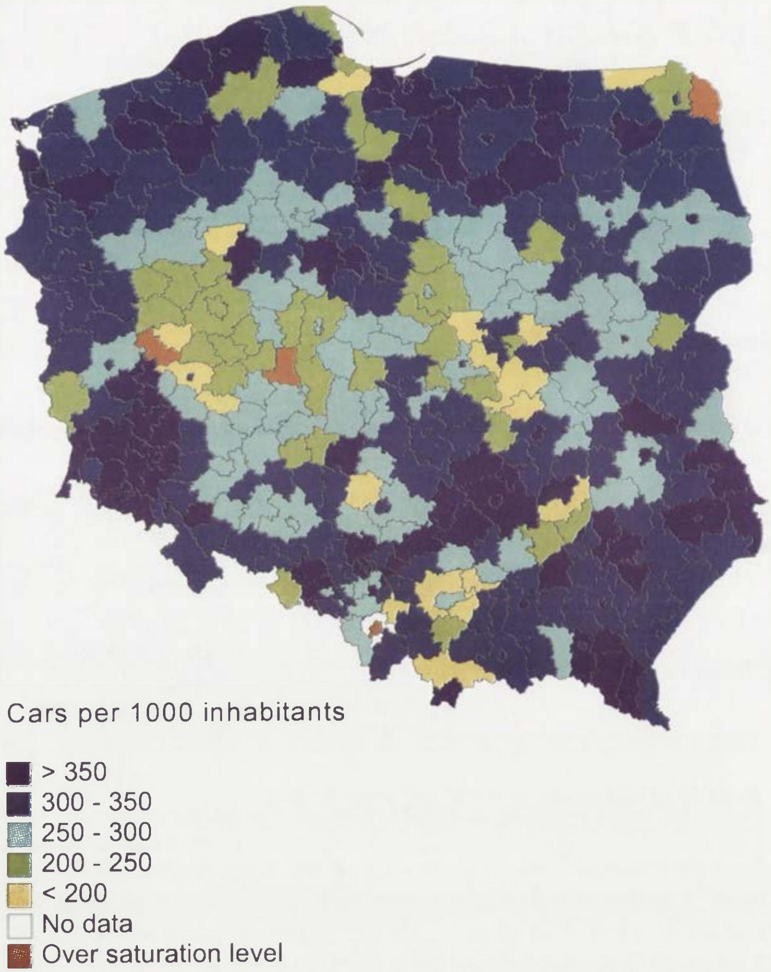


Source: Ipsos survey study 2002

4. The degree of saturation with car ownership

As mentioned before, the role of economic factors determining the increase of th*e number of passenger cars slows down with the approach towards the saturation level. It is assumed that the saturation level of car ownership is attained when all those who could hold a driving licence (potential drivers) have an own car. It is, of course, possible that the car number increases beyond the saturation level (several cars owned by individual persons), this, however, has no influence whatsoever on the increase of traffic, and hence on the external costs of car ownership (except for the cost of parking space). According to the Tunner's model (Hedges, Smith, 1973) the potential drivers account for 90% of the society in productive age (in Polish conditions – males between 18 and 65 years of age and females between 18 and 60 years of age) and 50% of persons in post-productive age.

Fig. 4. Distance to the saturation level in 2002



Source: own elaboration based on GUS materials

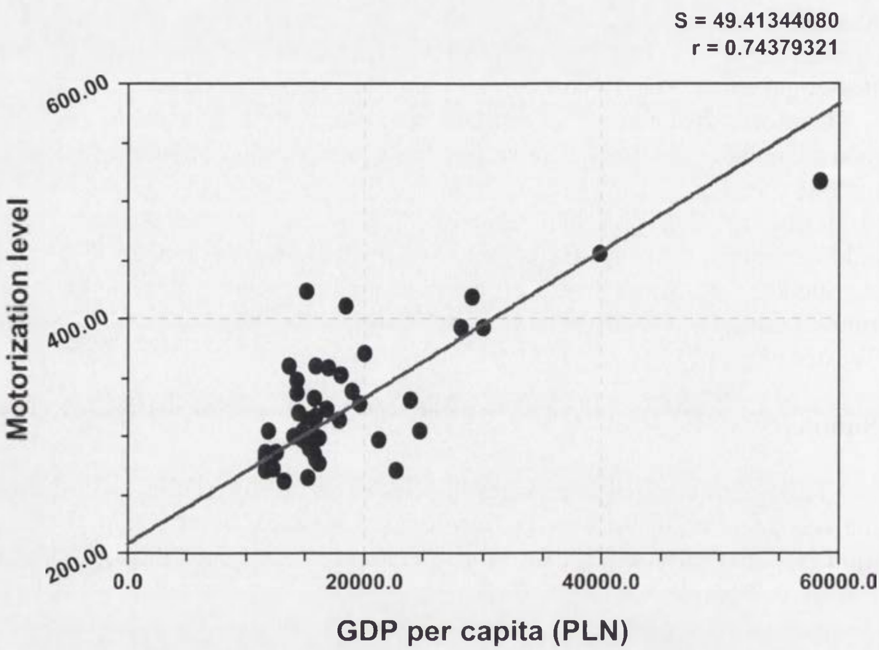
The thus defined group accounts for 63.6% of the Polish society (2002). The same share approaches 70% in the large agglomerations, and drops to less than 60% on the areas of south-eastern and north-eastern Poland (the areas with higher proportions of population in the pre-productive age and the depopulating areas). Based on the assumptions adopted we can determine the relative shortage of passenger cars with respect to the saturation level (Fig. 4). On the average in Poland this level equals 303 vehicles per 1,000 inhabitants. In the surroundings of Warsaw and of some other agglomerations, as well as in Wielkopolska it drops below 200 vehicles, while in Lower Silesia, Świętokrzyskie province and Warmia and Masuria it exceeds 350 vehicles. In other words, the number of cars in the streets of the largest metropolises cannot double any more (assuming a constant population number). At the same time, the roads of the peripheral areas carry the traffic of much less than half of the potential number of passenger cars.

Conform to the study of IPSOS, close to 50% of households in Poland owned a car. There were 42% of respondents, who declared that their household owns one car, while 6.2% - that there is more than one car in the household. Considering that there is a high number of households of the retired persons, it should be assumed that the further development of car ownership will be taking place increasingly through the purchase of the successive cars within single families (similarly as this is occurring currently in the majority of countries of Western Europe).

5. Summary

The interdependence between the level of car ownership and the GDP value was analysed at the level of sub-regions (44 units as of 2001). This association is statistically significant. The linear correlation coefficient for the two variables is equal 0.744, with the standard deviation equal 49.4. The analysis of location of points with respect to the regression line allows for identification of regions, in which the number of cars is higher than expected (car ownership exceeds the economic capacity) and the ones, in which we observe the opposite situation (Fig. 5). The first group includes the subregions of Kalisz and Poznań, as well as of Cracow-and-Tarnów, Konin, northern Silesia, Ciechanów-Płock, Lodz, Wrocław, and the city of Wrocław. At the same time, car ownership in Warsaw, Upper Silesia and the subregions of Szczecin, Legnica, Rzeszów-Tarnów, Jelenia Góra-Wałbrzych and Olsztyn should be considered rational (justified in the highest degree by the level of economic development). The analysis at the level of subregions only partly verified the earlier conclusions on the mutual relation between the level of car ownership and the GDP in Poland (Komornicki 2003). The hypothesis was positively verified that the „rational" increase of the car numbers takes place in the wealthiest regions (Warsaw) and the ones truly poor (Wałbrzych, Masuria). At the same time, the areas, in which the level of car ownership turned out to be the most „unjustified" were not the ones of eastern Poland (featuring high proportion of the hidden economy), but the subregions of Wielkopolska (together with the city of Poznań), where car ownership is very high. In these latter areas high numbers of passenger cars were observed already in the 1970s and 1980s. The previously quoted studies of IPSOS demonstrate in an indirect manner that a lot of vehicles registered there are by no means recently produced (high shares of Fiat and Daewoo/FSO cars).

Fig. 5. Dependence between the car ownership level and the GDP per capita in 2002



A slightly better fit can be achieved by describing the mutual dependence between the car number per 1,000 inhabitants and the GDP per capita with the help of the exponential curve (the coefficient of fit equal 0.838 and the standard deviation equal 40.2). This result confirms the proposition that the significance of the economic factor in the growth of car ownership decreases with the increase of wealth in the region.

As a conclusion we should state that the level of car ownership in Poland is still far from saturation. Simultaneously, though, the further increase of the number of vehicles will most probably be slower than to date. We can expect such an increase in, for instance, Lower Silesia and Western Pomerania. At the same time a change in the structure of the car population will be continuing within large agglomerations and most probably in Wielkopolska. The exchange of the car population has certainly gained in Poland in the period of transformation a spatial dimension. The situation with this respect is different in the largest centres, in the remaining towns and in the rural areas (with distinction of, on the one hand, the suburban zones and Wielkopolska, and the remaining areas on the other). In the biggest simplification the transfer of second-hand cars takes place along the directions of town-countryside and West-East. This issue, though, requires further, more detailed spatial analyses. These analyses are insofar important as continued use of car ownership in the reliable assessment of the socio-economic development seems to be possible only via the simultaneous structural and regional analysis.

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Streszczenie

POZIOM MOTORYZACJI JAKO WSKAŹNIK PRZEMIAN SPOŁECZNO-GOSPODARCZYCH

Uważa się, że w warunkach transformacji ustrojowej wiele klasycznych wskaźników poziomu i rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego (w tym PKB) nie w pełni oddaje stan faktyczny. Jest to spowodowane mankamentami statystyki publicznej oraz rozległą szarą strefą gospodarki. Dlatego informacje te są uzupełniane wskaźnikami ilustrującymi pośrednio potencjał ekonomiczny ludności i przedsiębiorstw w skali lokalnej. Jednym z mierników stosowanych często w takich sytuacjach jest liczba samochodów osobowych na 1000 mieszkańców. Przyjmowanie poziomu motoryzacji jako wskaźnika gospodarczego jest jednak obarczone pewnym ryzykiem. Wynika ono z kompleksowego charakteru czynników determinujących wzrost liczby samochodów osobowych oraz z faktu, że niektóre spośród tych czynników mają charakter pozaekonomiczny. Nie bez znaczenia jest także ułomność materiałów źródłowych. Elementem pomocnym może być analiza regionalna (geograficzna). Poprzez odniesienie do rozkładu przestrzennego innych elementów życia społeczno-gospodarczego, daje ona możliwość krytycznej oceny oraz ewentualnej weryfikacji danych na poziomie lokalnym.

Celem niniejszego opracowania jest prezentacja rozkładu regionalnego poziomu (a w miarę możliwości także struktury) motoryzacji na terenie Polski oraz ocena jego przydatności w kontekście szerszych analiz społeczno-ekonomicznych. W artykule przedstawiono klasyczne oraz specyficzne czynniki rozwoju motoryzacji, rozkład przestrzenny liczby samochodów osobowych (na podstawie nie opracowywanych dotąd danych GUS wg powiatów z roku 2002), strukturę parku samochodowego regionów (według badań IPSOS z 2002) oraz zakres niedoboru liczby pojazdów względem poziomu nasycenia. W podsumowaniu otrzymane wyniki odniesiono do zróżnicowania regionalnego w zakresie poziomu gospodarczego.

Obliczony tradycyjnie wskaźnik motoryzacji wynosił w 2003 r. dla Polski 288 na 1000 mieszkańców. Po uwzględnieniu „małych samochodów ciężarowych" (do 3,5 tony) wzrastał on do poziomu 333 na 1000 mieszkańców. Znany z wcześniejszych badań układ regionalny został zachowany (ryc. 1). Obok dużych aglomeracji (szczególnie warszawskiej) zwartym silnie zmotoryzowanym jest Wielkopolska. Wysoki poziom wskaźnika notujemy także w centralnej Małopolsce, na południowym i zachodnim Mazowszu, Pomorzu Gdańskim, Górnym Śląsku i pograniczu niemieckim. Zwartymi obszarami o niższym poziomie motoryzacji są województwa wschodnie (podlaskie, lubelskie, podkarpackie) i północne Mazowsze. Według danych firmy IPSOS z września 2002 roku (próba – 1000 respondentów), 27,5% posiadanych aktualnie samochodów osobowych było kupionych jako nowe, a 19,4% pojazdów kupiono na kredyt. Oba wskaźniki są silnie zróżnicowane regionalnie.

Zależność pomiędzy poziomem motoryzacji a wielkością PKB przeanalizowano na poziomie podregionów (44 jednostki – stan z 2001 r.). Jest ona znacząca. Współczynnik korelacji liniowej dla obu zmiennych wynosi 0,756, a odchylenie standardowe

49,1. Analiza położenia punktów względem linii regresji pozwala na identyfikację regionów, w których liczba samochodów osobowych jest wyższa od oczekiwanej (motoryzacja nastąpiła ponad stan) oraz tych gdzie obserwujemy sytuację odwrotną (rycina 5). Do pierwszej grupy zaliczyć możemy podregiony kaliski i poznański; a ponadto także krakowsko-tarnowski, koniński, północno-śląski, ciechanowsko-płocki, łódzki i wrocławski oraz miasto Wrocław. Jednocześnie jako racjonalną (w największym stopniu uzasadnioną rozwojem gospodarczym) uznać należy motoryzację Warszawy, Górnego Śląska oraz podregionów szczecińskiego, legnickiego, rzeszowsko-tarnowskiego, jeleniogórsko-wałbrzyskiego i olsztyńskiego. Analiza na poziomie podregionów tylko w części zweryfikowała wcześniejsze wnioski o wzajemnej relacji poziomu motoryzacji i PKB w Polsce (Komornicki 2003). Potwierdzeniu uległa teza, że „racjonalny" wzrost liczby samochodów występuje w regionach najbogatszych (Warszawa) i autentycznie ubogich (wałbrzyskie, Mazury). Jednocześnie jednak regionami o najbardziej „nieuzasadnionym" poziomie motoryzacji okazały się nie obszary Polski wschodniej (o dużym udziale szarej strefy), tylko najlepiej zmotoryzowane podregiony Wielkopolski (wraz z Poznaniem). Są to obszary, na których duża liczbę samochodów osobowych notowano już w latach 70. i 80.

Konkludując należy stwierdzić, że poziom motoryzacji w Polsce jest wciąż daleki od nasycenia. Jednocześnie jednak dalszy wzrost liczby pojazdów będzie prawdopodobnie wolniejszy niż dotychczas. Można się go spodziewać m.in. na Dolnym Śląsku i Pomorzu Zachodnim. Jednocześnie zmiana struktury parku samochodowego będzie nadal obejmować duże aglomeracje oraz najprawdopodobniej Wielkopolskę. Z cała pewnością w Polsce wymiana parku samochodowego uzyskała w okresie transformacji wymiar przestrzenny. Odmienną sytuację w tym zakresie obserwujemy w największych ośrodkach, w pozostałych miastach oraz na terenach wiejskich (z rozróżnieniem z jednej strony stref podmiejskich i Wielkopolski, a z drugiej pozostałych). W największym uproszczeniu przemieszczenia samochodów używanych odbywają się na kierunkach: miasto-wieś oraz zachód-wschód. Zagadnienie to wymaga jednak dalszych szczegółowych analiz przestrzennych. Są one tym bardziej istotne, że dalsze wykorzystywanie motoryzacji do rzetelnej oceny rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego wydaje się możliwe jedynie na drodze jednoczesnej analizy strukturalnej i regionalnej.

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