



Spatial perspectives for the enlargement of the European Union





**European Union
Regional Policy**

Spatial perspectives for the enlargement of the European Union

European Commission

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Preface

Each year, the Directorate-General for Regional Policy of the European Commission launches a number of studies in the field of regional policy and regional planning. These studies mainly aim at providing a basis for policy formulation internally, as well as the preparation of programmes and initiatives and a basis for analysing the impact of current or planned activities. The most interesting or innovative of these are published in a series entitled Regional Development Studies.

With this series, the Directorate-General hopes to stimulate discussion and action in a wider sphere on the research results received. The publication of the studies is addressed to politicians and decision-makers at European, regional and local level, as well as to academics and experts in the broad fields of issues covered.

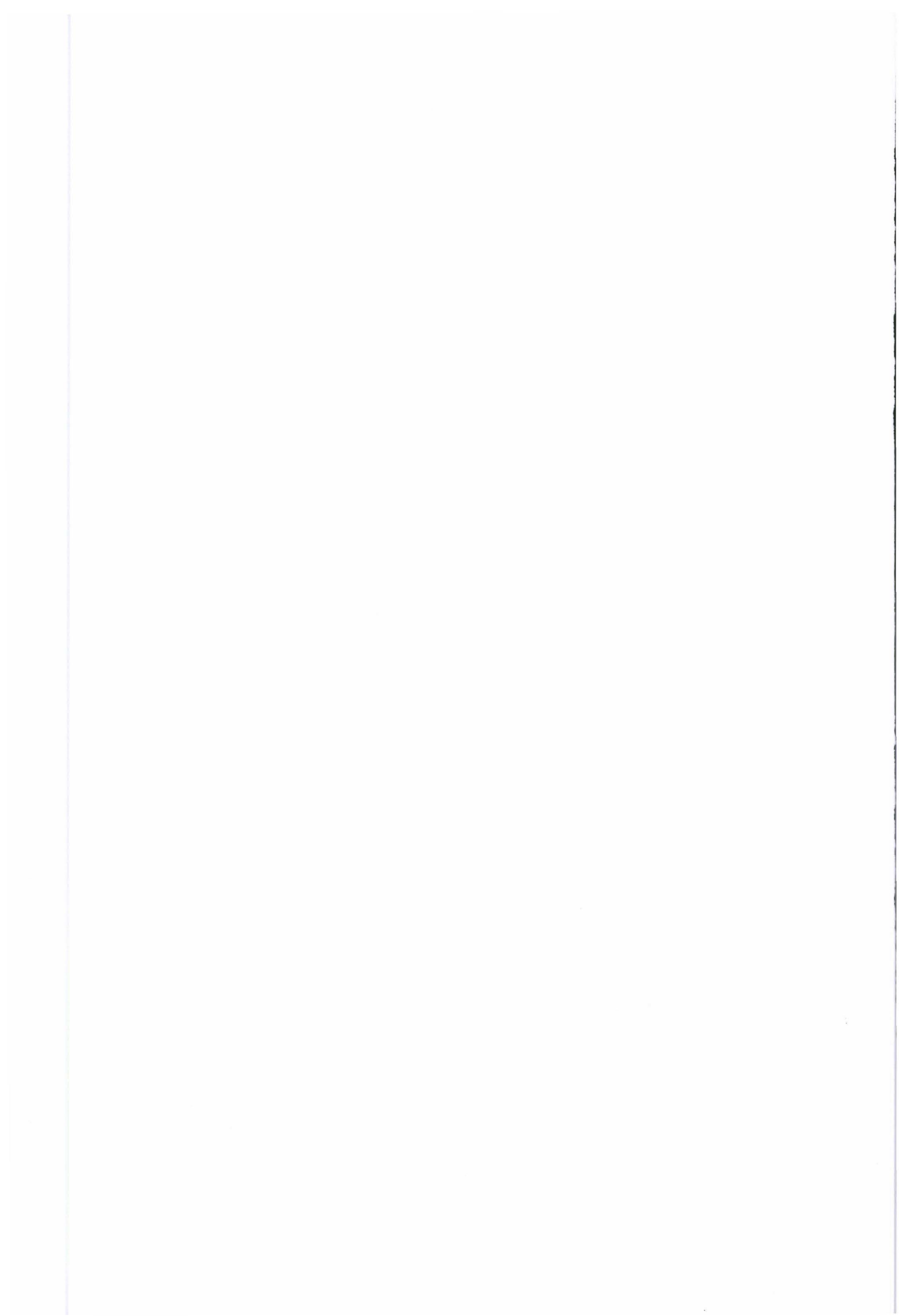
It is hoped that by publicising research results the Commission will enrich and stimulate public debate and promote a further exchange of knowledge and opinions on the issues which are considered important for the economic and social cohesion of the Union and therefore for the future of Europe.

The present study was launched in the context of the preparation of the first European Spatial Development Perspective (E.S.D.P.). In Echternach at the end of 1997, the Ministers responsible for spatial planning decided to add a chapter on enlargement to the E.S.D.P.. This study represents the basis on which the enlargement chapter of the E.S.D.P. has been written.

Readers must bear in mind that the study does not necessarily reflect the official position of the Commission but first and foremost expresses the opinion of those responsible for carrying out the study.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Context of the study

The enlargement of the European Union with the accession of ten Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia) and Cyprus represents an event of outstanding and far-reaching historical importance. The removal of the iron curtain and the breakdown of the Soviet system on the one hand, and the rebirth of democracy and the revitalisation of former cultural, social and economic links between these parts of Europe and Western Europe and the rest of the world on the other, are its major characteristics.

This process represents a great challenge, but also offers new opportunities for both accession countries (ACs – the 10 CEECs plus Cyprus) and member countries (MCs):

- The ACs see themselves exposed simultaneously to the worldwide forces of globalisation and internationalisation as well as to the requirements for EU membership. Some of them have even deliberately decided to accelerate the transformation and accession process by choosing a "big bang" strategy. It is understandable that some groups in these societies fear the consequences of this process. However, those groups and their political representatives that have decided to become member of the EU seem to be determined to reform and to adjust their political, legal and socio-economic systems. Becoming a part of the European Union will

help them to strengthen democracy, to develop their socio-economic systems and to improve the conditions for sustainable growth and employment.

- The MCs will benefit from the accession of the new democracies and from the renewal of old socio-cultural and economic links. Future European identity will be based on a larger, enriched and more diversified set of values and natural and cultural assets. The enlarged European market will comprise almost 480 million people and will offer both new outlets and new sources of provision for goods and services and intensify cultural and scientific exchanges. The Community will open its markets to the products of the newcomers and aid the ACs to faster develop their economies and their regions.

Enlargement also concerns Cyprus. This country, however, has a different historical and geographical background and the impact of its membership of the EU is likely to be much smaller.

It is in this overall context of challenges and opportunities that the integration of the ACs in European spatial development and regional policy has to be seen.

At their meeting in Echternach on the 9th December 1997 at the end of the Luxembourg Presidency, the Ministers responsible for spatial planning, Mrs. Wulf-Mathies, Member of the European Commission responsible for regional policy, representatives of the European

Parliament (EP) and of the Economic and Social Committee (ESC), decided to develop further the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). While stressing that the first official draft presented in Noordwijk in June 1997 during the Dutch Presidency remains the basis for the final version, they identified the territorial perspectives of enlargement as an issue to be further elaborated.

It has been decided that the first official version of the ESDP will also contain a new chapter on enlargement. In order to help preparing this chapter, the European Commission commissioned the present study which looks at enlargement from the point of view of the ESDP. During the meeting of the ministers responsible for spatial planning in Glasgow in June 1998 under the British presidency, a revised version of the ESDP was adopted as a basis for a first official version. This version was presented by the German presidency and agreed upon by Member states and the European Commission in May 1999. It takes into account the contributions of a series of seven seminars organised by the European Commission and the MCs in 1998. One of these seminars held under the Austrian presidency was devoted to enlargement.

1.2. Aim and scope of the study

The basic idea of this study is to present an overview of which policy orientations and options of the ESDP can be more or less directly applied to the ACs and which ones need to be modified or supplemented. In so far, it is not intended to propose a comprehensive strategy for the spatial development of the ACs.

The study is based on:

- the general principles and the decisions already taken by the EU, including the Agenda 2000 of the European Commission, as far as enlargement and the negotiations with the ACs are concerned, and the specific guidelines and orientations for EU policies with a direct spatial impact, in particular the trans-European networks (TENs), cross-border co-operation and EU regional policy;
- the general principles and goals for spatial development formulated in the ESDP, in particular economic and social cohesion, sustainable development and balanced competitiveness of the European territory;
- the three spheres of activity of the ESDP, i.e. polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural relationship, equivalent access to infrastructure and knowledge, wise management of natural and cultural heritage.

The report is relying on a large number of publications and qualitative and quantitative information that has been provided by the European Commission and on additional information and statistical data collected from a large number of international and national sources (see bibliography).

This broad approach has been chosen in order to provide a comprehensive perspective of spatial development that is at the same time embodied in the general accession framework. The basic elements of this framework are the three sets of accession evaluation criteria, the political-institutional ones, the economic ones, and the *acquis communautaire*, decided by the European Council in Copenhagen 1993 and developed further in Agenda 2000.

One of the obvious links between these accession criteria and the ESDP is that the responsibility for spatial development and regional policy in general is anchored in the - written or unwritten - Constitution of a state and that its well-functioning depends on the stability of the respective national institutional system. Institutional stability, the core of the first political set of criteria, therefore, is of direct relevance also for spatial development and regional policy.

In this respect, there seem to be considerable differences between the ACs and the MCs on the one hand and among the ACs on the other. Among the ACs, only Bulgaria seems to have formulated an explicit and clear orientation for spatial development in its Constitution, whereas in the other countries spatial and regional development are considered competencies that are to be left to the normal legislative process. Accordingly, all accession countries have already made use of their legislative competencies and have enacted more or less comprehensive and detailed laws and regulations for spatial development and regional policy or intend to do so in the near future.

A second link exists with the *acquis communautaire* since economic and social cohesion represents at the same time also one of the three major objectives of the ESDP. However, the ESDP is not a binding text and the MCs will remain free to apply it. Nevertheless, it represents an important political document that provides a consensus-based orientation for the European dimension of spatial development within the Union. The ACs should, therefore, also be interested in the ESDP process as a basis for transnational co-operation in spatial development and regional policy both at the member state and Union level. Therefore, it seems reasonable to gradually include these countries in the ESDP process as accession negotiation progress.

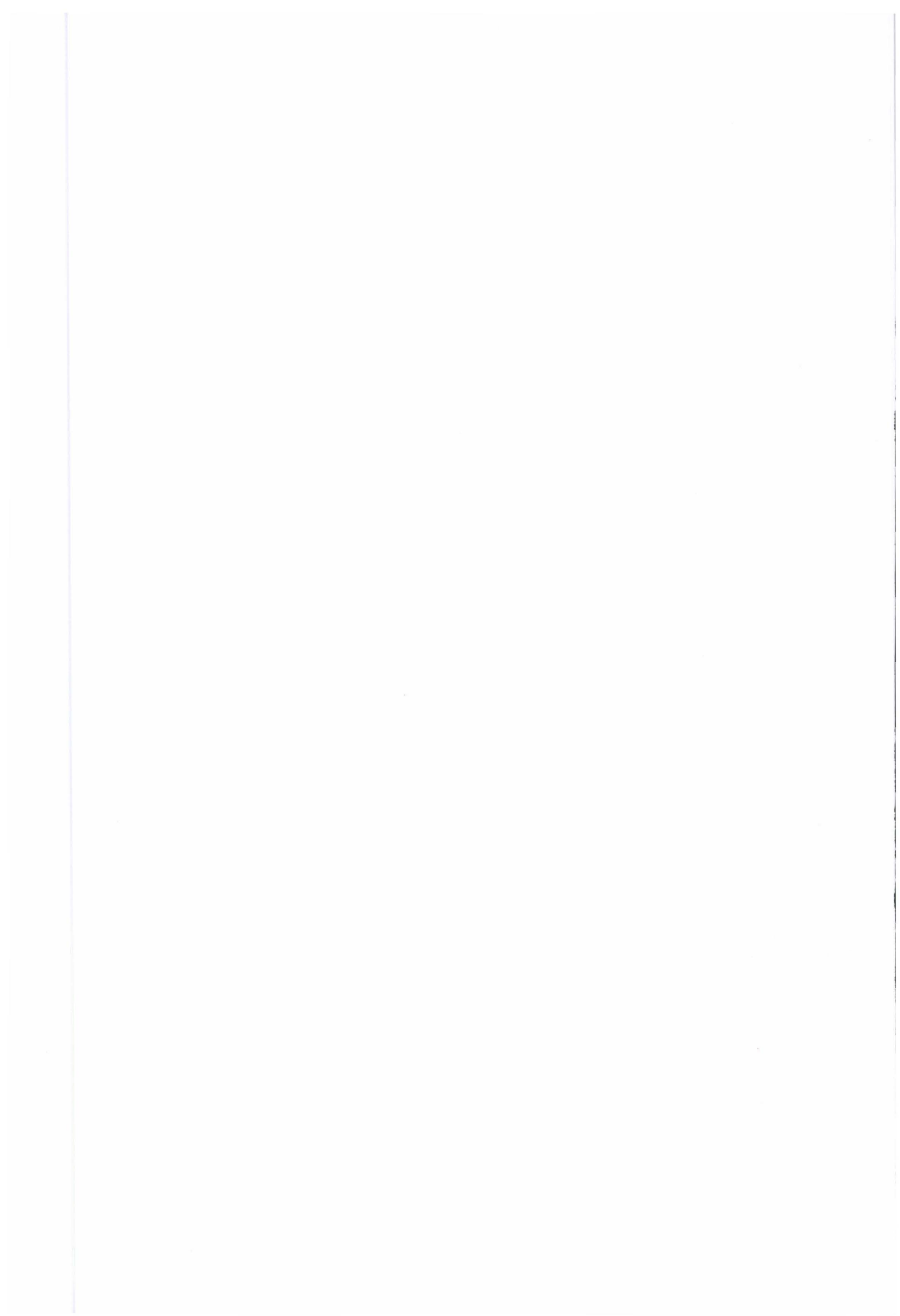
The second, economic set of accession criteria has more indirect implications for spatial development, but is not less important. It concerns the economic framework for any spatial development, i.e. a well-functioning competitive, socially oriented and sustainable market economy and the protection of consumer interests. Co-ordination of fiscal and state aid policies with competition and environmental policies so as to comply with the *acquis communautaire* in these fields and to avoid distortion of competition including "eco-dumping" is closely linked with these economic issues.

Spatial development and regional policy are also closely linked with territorial decentralisation. Territorial decentralisation, in particular establishing a new regional government level, represents a very sensitive political issue. Here again, the situation differs considerably between the ACs. The small Baltic countries for example – not dissimilar to some small MCs – seem not in favour of introducing an additional regional government level or at least do not attribute high priority to such a plan. In addition – and this is true also for other CEECs – the generally peaceful revolutions for freedom and democracy have been partly based on nationalistic movements that, as a side-effect, caused tensions between the majority and ethnic minorities. These minorities are often concentrated in some areas of a country where they do represent large groups. A good balance has to be found between the desire to ease and to speed up the integration process of the ACs on the one hand and to leave them with adequate time in order to develop and to implement an

appropriate, consensus-based territorial decentralisation strategy on the other.

Due to the short time available for the study and the difficulties with obtaining comparable information, the present report can be only a preliminary one and is open to criticism and suggestions. In particular, it was not possible to engage in original research and to carry out in-depth and detailed statistical analyses. With a few exceptions, the report is, therefore, based on already available information. This information, however, is often of a heterogeneous nature. It will have to be carefully checked and to be complemented and updated.

Data availability and comparability are crucial problems despite strong efforts undertaken by the Commission services, EUROSTAT, national statistical offices and researchers. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated in the following sections, a large number of data has been brought together and some important indicators have been calculated.



2. Framework conditions for enlargement

2.1. Globalisation and internationalisation

The framework conditions for spatial development and regional policy have changed profoundly in Europe during the last decades. This concerns worldwide and continent-wide trends on the one hand and changes in the European context on the other. The worldwide trends of globalisation and internationalisation will affect, in principle, both ACs and MCs, depending on the degree of competitiveness and openness of the national economies concerned.

In the MCs, this openness is the result of a long-term process of integration in the world economy and of gradually reducing former national protectionist systems since the end of World War II. In general, this is true also for Cyprus. The CEECs, however, which could not participate in the past in this long term gradual process, see themselves exposed to a much more intensive pressure during a much shorter time interval. In certain cases, they have even increased this pressure by adopting a "big bang" strategy for accelerating their transition to a market economy and by actively preparing for EU membership.

Yet, as the ESDP has recognised, further work is needed to better understand the implications of globalisation for spatial development processes.

2.2. Major general development trends

The following general trends can be considered to have been and will also be in future of major importance for the spatial development of the CEECs:

- the decay of the old political and administrative structures, the rebirth of democracy and the simultaneous creation of new structures, including regional and local government reform and new territorial structures;
- the collapse of the old economic structures, the end of the imposed co-operation within the COMECON, the development of new economic co-operations influenced by globalisation and internationalisation and by using the possibilities of GATT/WTO and the EU association treaties;
- the different speed of transition from planned to market economy through privatisation and liberalisation, including the abolition of old and the creation of new regulatory mechanisms;
- the increasing orientation of population and enterprises towards the western world while simultaneously trying to maintain trade relationships with the other Eastern reform economies.

2.3. EU accession criteria as framework conditions

According to the decisions of the European Council of Copenhagen 1993 on which the

Agenda 2000 of the European Commission is based as far as enlargement is concerned, there are three sets of criteria that the ACs are expected to comply with: political-institutional, economic and those related to the *acquis communautaire*.

- First, institutional stability, the core of the set of political accession criteria, is of direct relevance for spatial development and regional policy, being closely linked with the distribution of competencies and territorial decentralisation, a very sensitive political issue in the ACs.

According to the experience of the present MCs, the organisation of regional and local self-government and the rules as to their participation in regional policy decision-making and implementation can contribute significantly to institutional stability. The ACs like the MCs as sovereign states are free to adopt solutions that are in line with their specific conditions and political preferences. It may nevertheless be interesting for the ACs to compare the design and the implementation of spatially relevant competencies with those of the present MCs. A rough comparison of the present MCs reveals that they either have one single comprehensive-unitary competence or two separate-dual competencies for spatial development and regional policy. In some of the unitary MCs, the first solution is the prevalent one, whereas the second solution is to be found in the two federal countries and in the decentralised unitary states. Bilateral or multilateral co-operation between ACs and MCs is helpful and has already started.

- A second set of accession criteria deals with the economic framework for spatial development, in particular a well-functioning competitive, socially oriented and sustainable market economy and the protection of consumer interests.

The economic accession criteria have more indirect implications for spatial development, in so far as they determine the overall market economy framework. This concerns in particular privatisation and liberalisation, the competition framework for private enterprises and investors, and social and environmental issues. A clear, transparent and well-

balanced division of labour between the public and the private sector can contribute to prevent too strong regional disparities within a country, to strengthen the responsibility of regional and local actors and through this reduce the need for central government intervention.

- A third set of accession criteria concerns the *acquis communautaire*. It is useful to distinguish three groups of elements contained in Treaty articles, directives and regulations:
 - A first group that is of general relevance for spatial development, regional and environmental policies, determining a sort of framework for co-operation in EU policy making;
 - A second group that fixes the requirements to be fulfilled in order to benefit from common policies and EU financed programs;
 - A third group of elements that defines the obligations of MCs and contains "rules of good conduct" in the different policy fields and which impose, so to speak, "costs" on the future MCs.

The new legislation to be enacted represents a great challenge to AC governments and their administrations in order to implement it both according to its spirit and its letter. It seems realistic to assume that it is in the interest of each AC to concentrate on the second group of benefit-related elements and to postpone or even try to avoid cost-related ones of the third group. A solution that would not only be fair but also would help to improve the acceptability of the new legislation could be that during the transition period, the ACs adopt each year a balanced bundle of regulations, consisting of elements of each of the three groups. As far as the ESDP is concerned, it would be useful to draw up a list of spatially relevant elements of the *acquis communautaire*. The European Commission has already stated that it will carefully monitor the adoption strategies of the ACs.

Enlargement also will bring with it challenges for the EU institutional structure and the decision-making procedures. The number of member states would climb up to 26, increasing in particular the weight of the smaller countries. The

increase in territory would amount to about 33 % and in population to about 28 %, from actual 370 million to approximately 480 million inhabitants. However, the contribution to Community GDP, in real terms, will remain as low as roughly 9-10 %. The differences between the increases in territory and population compared with GDP reflects the very important fact that the incomes per capita are substantially lower in the ACs compared with MCs. This in turn determines the weight to be given to the goal of economic and social cohesion on the one hand and the funds to be transferred to the ACs in order to catch up on the other.

In principle, there seems to be agreement that it is necessary to modify some elements of some major EU policies like the structural policies and the CAP, in particular as far as the eligibility criteria and expenditure needs following from them are concerned.

These considerations finally raise the question as to whether the present EU institutional structure and the present decision-making procedures are still adequate for such a large Community. In principle, the Commission and the member states have already agreed that reforms are necessary, but the Amsterdam conference showed that there does not yet exist a sufficiently strong consensus as how to implement this common conviction.

In both respects, the European Commission has already presented proposals in Agenda 2000, that will have to be decided before enlargement.

2.4. Basic geographical and environmental characteristics

Through enlargement, the EU expands towards Central and Eastern Europe thereby increasing its share of the large continental land block and its eastern land borders to roughly 3,500 km. In spite of the accession of Cyprus, the percentage of coastal characteristics, estimated at 75 % in the ESDP for the present EU, will be reduced.

The ten CEECs together represent a total area of 1,078 thousand km² adding about 33 % to Community territory. Poland (313 thousand km²), Romania (238), Bulgaria (111) and Hungary (93)

are the larger countries, the Slovak Republic (49), Estonia (45) and Slovenia (20) the smaller ones. Cyprus is the smallest one (9).

The new spaces of the CEECs represent enormous landscape reserves and rich and highly diversified habitats. This contributes to a better environmental balance within the enlarged Community. Environment, however, shows a dualistic character. On the one hand, large surfaces outside the urbanised and industrialised areas appear to be closer to natural conditions and less polluted. On the other hand, old industrialised areas and segments of the large rivers Labe/Elbe, Odra/Oder, Vistula/Weichsel, Njemen/Memel and Danube seem still to be heavily polluted, reflecting partly the environmental legacies of the old industrial and military strategies that neglected environmental concerns, and the environmental pressure of the large cities. Economic restructuring, meanwhile, has led in some places to the modernisation or closure of polluting industrial sites. Thus, emission of pollutants has decreased during the last years. At present, more efficient energy production and sustainable energy strategies in general, including nuclear safety, seems to be the central issues as far as environment is concerned.

In general, the CEECs are characterised by a continental climate. The already strong climatic contrasts between the high North and the deep South will not be substantially changed after enlargement.

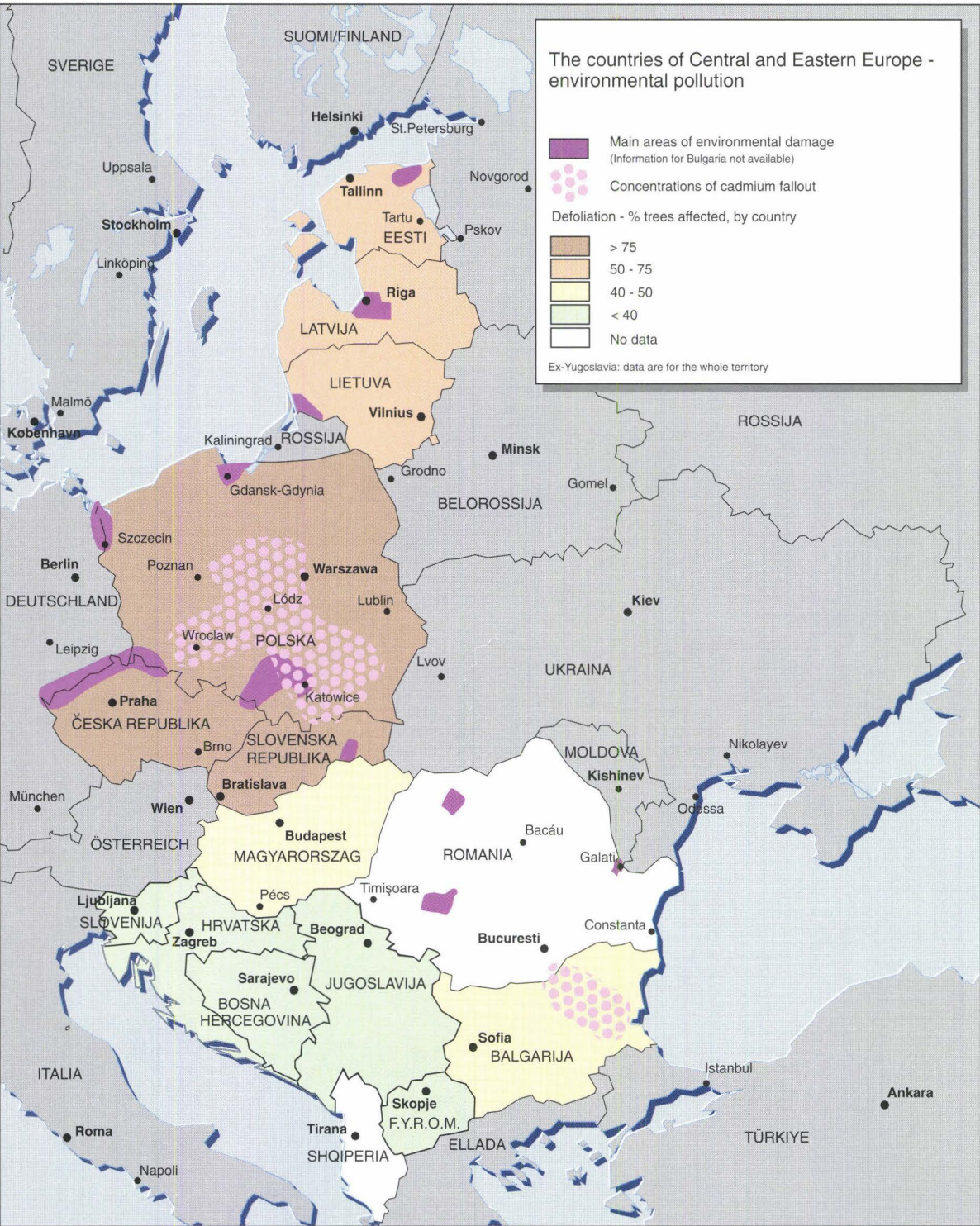
The main transport corridors are of a continental nature and often date back to history. They partly follow the river valleys in Centre/North or Centre/South directions. In West/East direction, the Danube is the most important waterway. Some of the road corridors have already been created by the Roman Empire in the southeastern parts of Europe and by the Hanse-League of cities in the northeastern part in the Middle Ages. The general lowlands character in West/East direction with the exception of the Sudeten, the Bohemian mountains and the Carpathian Mountains should facilitate the extension of the trans-European rail and road transport networks.

The Community will also gain better access to the harbours at the Baltic and the Black Sea. Since the times of the Hanse city league, the Baltic harbours have been major traffic nodes for the exchange of goods and services among the countries around the Baltic.

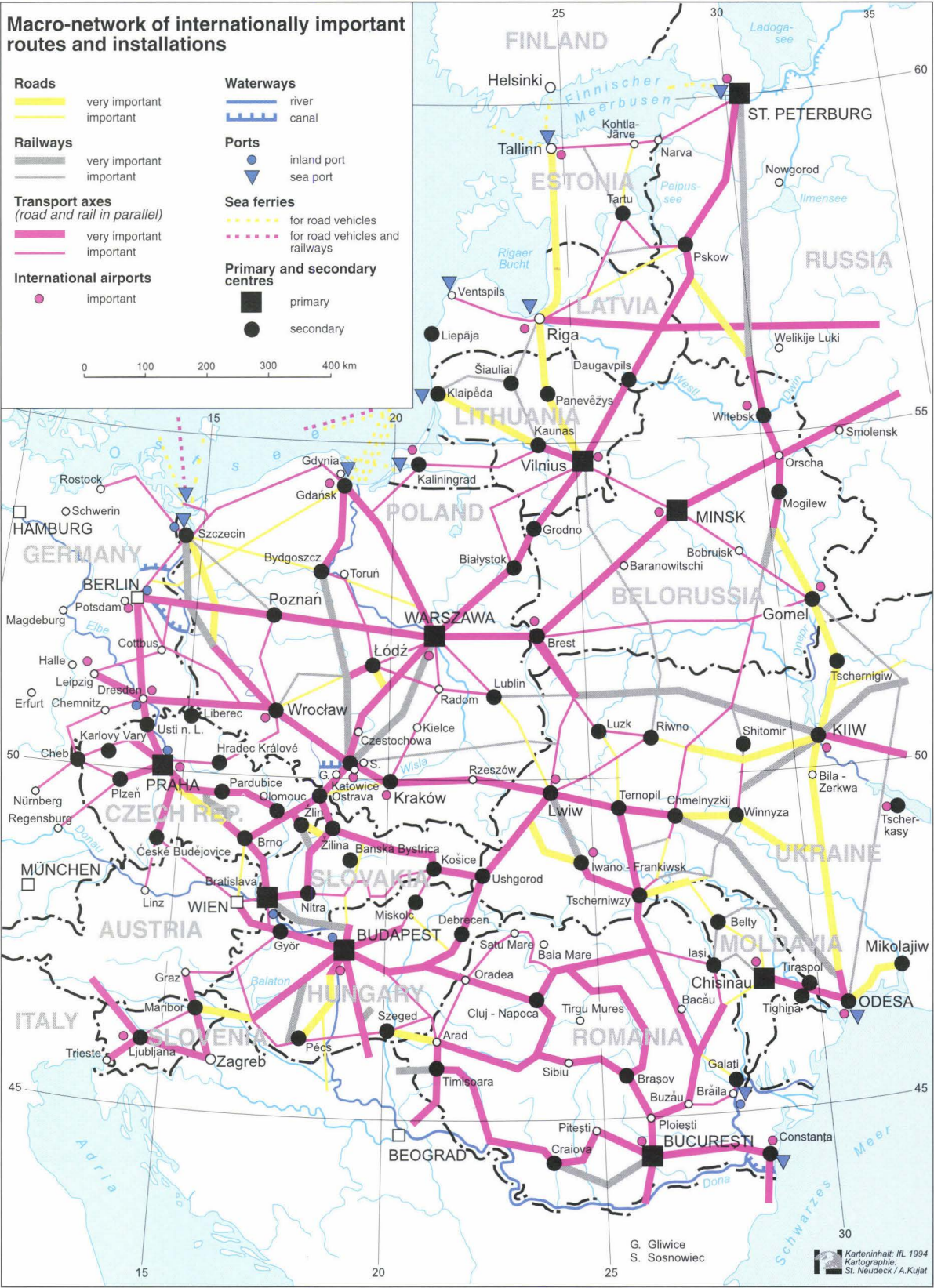
MAP 1: THE ENLARGED UNION



MAP 2: THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION



MAP 3: MACRO-NETWORK OF INTERNATIONALLY IMPORTANT ROUTES AND INSTALLATIONS



Work on the extension of trans-European Transport Networks towards the East has already started, based on the results of the Pan-European Transport Conferences in Prague, Crete and Helsinki, and especially within the framework of the TINA process (= Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment). Meanwhile, the TINA group, consisting of senior officials from the MCs and the ACs, in co-operation with the permanent TINA secretariat, has presented proposals on rail and road networks as well as on airports, harbours and inland waterways.

2.5. Demographic framework conditions

2.5.1. Population growth and structure

The ACs will bring in about 105 million inhabitants, corresponding to about 28 % of the present Community population. The larger countries are Poland (38.6 million) and Romania (22.7 million), followed by the Czech Republic (10.3 million), Hungary (10.2 million), Bulgaria (8.4 million) and the Slovak Republic (5.4 million) as mid-sized countries and Lithuania (3.7 million), Latvia (2.5 million), Slovenia (2.0 million), Estonia (1.5 million) and Cyprus (0,7 million) as smaller ones (see Tab.1).

The ESDP stresses that alternative long-term demographic scenarios and changes in population distribution are indispensable in order to better understand these processes and to provide better information for government policy making. This is all the more true for the CEECs, given the stronger uncertainties as to the their future fertility, mortality and migration trends. Whereas in the past, population projections have mainly been based on somewhat schematic and simplified assumptions, some of the more recent studies follow a multi-scenario approach in order to take better account of increasing uncertainty.

According to the studies of the UN Population Fund and the Council of Europe, after a short but substantial increase during the post-war period, fertility levels declined in Eastern Europe in the 1950s, reached Northern and Western Europe in the 1960s and Southern Europe in the 1970s. Since the beginning of the 1990s, stagnation and even a certain increase can be observed in some northern and western countries, whereas stagnation and decline seem to continue in Eastern Europe although at different speeds among the CEECs.

TAB. 1: Selected demographic indicators (1995)

ACCESSION COUNTRY	Population ('000)	Ethnic minorities (% of pop., estimate)	Migration balance ('000 inhab.)	Mortality rates ('000 inhab.)	Birth rates ('000 inhab.)	Life expect. at birth (years)	
						M	F
Bulgaria	8.385	15-18	0.0	14.0	8.7	67.1	74.9
Czech Republic	10.321	7	1.0	11.4	9.3	70.0	76.9
Estonia	1.476	35	-5.4	14.1	9.1	61.7	74.3
Hungary	10.212	6	0.0	14.2	11.0	65.3	74.5
Latvia	2.502	44	-4.2	13.8	7.9	60.8	73.1
Lithuania	3.711	20	-0.5	12.0	11.0	63.6	75.2
Poland	38.609	1,3	-0.5	10.0	11.2	67.6	76.4
Romania	22.656	13-15	-0.9	12.6	10.2	65.7	73.4
Slovak Republic	5.368	18-23	0.5	9.8	11.5	68.4	76.3
Slovenia	1.990	8	0.4	9.5	9.5	70.3	77.8
Cyprus	736	-	3.1	15.4	7.7	75.3	79.8

Source: European Commission 1997a, European Commission 1999b, EUROSTAT 1998 (cf. Table A in the statistical Annex).

Though these trends started from different levels in each country, present level of fertility in general seems to be below the level needed to stabilise population. Since the economic problems emerged during the 90s in Eastern Europe are not yet fully reflected in the published stud-

ies, it can be assumed that the trend of falling birth rates may even have been stronger than estimated. Mortality declined in both East and West, but stagnated in eastern countries in the last two

decades and recently even seems to show a reversed trend. One of the reasons could be that the health systems in these countries were not sufficiently adapted to fight chronic pathologies.

The major demographic trends (excluding migration) in CEECs can be summarised by saying that

- they seem to be partly similar to, partly different from those in the MCs;
- they show a low, sometime negative population growth due to lower birth rates not compensated by declining mortality, often even aggravated by increasing mortality;
- they nevertheless are characterised by an increase of older generations and a decline of younger ones, a process also differing between countries.

Given that both fertility and mortality trends are strongly influenced by a large number of socio-economic and cultural factors, it is an open question as to whether these demographic trends will prevail or will change again in the long run.

2.5.2. Ethnic problems

Nearly all ACs have severe ethnic problems. In 1990 the percentage of other nationalities in Latvia was almost as high as 45 %, in Estonia 35 % and in Lithuania 20 % with very high shares of Russian inhabitants. At the lower end are the Czech Republic (7 %), Hungary (6 %) and Poland (1.3 %) (see Tab.1). The situation has been aggravated in some countries due to refugee flows from the former Yugoslavia and migration of ethnic minorities.

However, these figures do not tell the whole story. The fact that the revolutions in some CEECs have been partly based on nationalistic movements as a side effect caused emigration of ethnic minorities. In some cases, relatively low net migration figures can hide substantial gross flows of immigration and emigration in different directions. In addition, ethnic minorities are often concentrated in some areas of a country, so that low average national percentages of non-nationals can nevertheless cause severe ethnic conflicts. In those countries, strategies for regional decentralisation are much more difficult to develop and to implement.

However, some of the countries concerned, in particular Estonia and Latvia, have recently enacted appropriate legislation or are preparing it.

2.5.3. Migration trends

Migration trends changed drastically after 1989/90 due to the abolishment of the former extremely restrictive practices and the improved possibilities for migration out of the CEECs. However, since the already mentioned migrations of ethnic minorities have already taken place and given the presently less generous conditions as far as immigration in the EU is concerned, legal external migration at present seems to play a smaller role. But there seem to be still strong flows of illegal immigrants into MCs, in particular into Austria and Germany. If the minority problems will have been solved and if, after accession, the future external EU border will have been displaced towards the East and will be adequately controlled, the main reason for migration out of the CEECs and into the MCs will depend primarily on employment possibilities and on income differences. Due to the good growth prospects for some CEECs, the problem could become less urgent in the long run, but remains an important issue in the short and medium term.

Internal migration within many ACs tends to become more important for the distribution of residential population. Increasing migration from rural into urban areas contributes to the spatial polarisation process. This polarisation process will probably be intensified to the extent that new jobs will mainly be created in the larger urban centres since, in general, they profit from agglomeration economies, dispose of a better infrastructure endowment and are, therefore, capable of attracting new investments. However, stabilisation of rural population and even migration out of urban areas can be observed in some AC regions, due to better subsistence opportunities and privatisation of agricultural units, including retransfer of former expropriated land.

2.6. Economic situation and economic trends

2.6.1. Income and growth

As to income and growth, the general trends in the period 1990-1997 are characterised by a

drastic decline in the first part of the period in all CEECs and an increase stronger than in EU average in the second part of the period in most CEECs.

As the Tab.2 shows, in terms of average nominal per capita income in 1997, the CEECs with 2,800€ each only 15 % of the EU-15 average of 19,000€. The spread around the EU average ranges from 1,100€ (6 %) in Bulgaria up to 8,100€ (43 %) in Slovenia in the CEECs. In Cyprus, the income of 11,400€ is much higher and corresponds to 407 % of the average of CEECs and to 60 % of the EU average.

In real terms (purchasing power standards, PPS), due to substantially lower prices for many goods in the CEECs, the CEEC incomes are much higher and inter-country disparities are much lower compared with nominal ones. In 1997, the average per capita income in PPS is 7,500€ equivalent to 40 % of the EU average of 19,000€. Bulgaria with 4,400€ 59 % of the CEEC average and 23 % of the EU average remains the country with the lowest income among the CEECs; the highest income is again shown for Slovenia with 13,000€ equivalent to 173 % of the CEEC average and to 68 % of EU average. In real terms, Slovenia and the Czech Republic

TAB. 2: Key GDP-Data of the accession countries (1997)

ACCESSION COUNTRY	Nominal GDP per capita			Real GDP per capita		
	In €	In % of CEEC / AC average	In % of EU15 average	In PPS	In % of CEEC average	In % of EU15 average
Bulgaria	1.100	39	6	4.400	59	23
Czech Republic	4.500	161	24	12.000	160	63
Estonia	2.800	100	15	7.000	93	37
Hungary	3.900	139	21	8.900	119	47
Latvia	2.000	71	11	5.100	68	27
Lithuania	2.300	82	12	5.800	77	30
Poland	3.100	111	16	7.500	100	30
Romania	1.400	50	7	5.800	77	31
Slovak Republic	3.200	114	17	8.900	119	47
Slovenia	8.100	289	43	13.000	173	68
CEEC average	2.800	100	15	7.500	100	40
Cyprus	11.400	407	60	-	-	-
AC average	2.800	-	15	-	-	-
EU15 average	19.000	-	100	19.000	-	100

Source: EUROSTAT 1998a, 1998b (cf. Table A in the statistical annex).

reach the level of the cohesion MCs (Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain). It can only be assumed that this is also true for Cyprus, since no real income data is available for this country.

According to other international statistics based on US Dollars, average annual GDP growth rates 1990/96 were negative in all CEECs between -0.4 % and -10.7 % p.a. with the exception of Poland (+3.2 %) and Slovenia (+4.3 %) as can be seen from Table B in the statistical annex. According to Table A, however, starting in 1994/95, growth rates in general turned to become positive and are even higher than in EU average. The reason is that there have been substantial income losses in the years between 1990 and 1993/94. This is in line

with the statistical figures presented in Agenda 2000 for the individual CEECs.

The most recent OECD estimates 1997-1999 still show negative growth rates for Bulgaria, Latvia and Romania for 1997, but positive ones for all CEECs for 1998 and 1999, due to the expected continuation of the present cyclical upturn. To the extent that these figures reflect the double dividend of the transition to market economy on the one hand and the positive impacts of the agreements with the EU on the other, the accession and integration process will be eased.

2.6.2. Employment and unemployment

From the perspective of national and regional economic development, activity rates and unemployment rates represent adequate indicators of long term employment trends. Activity

rates reflect the utilisation of the national or regional employment potential, represented by the population of age 15 and older, whereas unemployment shows the extent to which this potential remains unused.

TAB. 3: Key employment data for accession countries (1997)

ACCESSION COUNTRY	Active population ratio (in % of population > 15y.)	Unemployment rate (in % of active population)	Sectoral employment (% of total employment)		
			Agriculture	Industry	Services
Bulgaria (1996)	51.6	15.0	24.4	32.6	43.0
Czech Republic	61.1	4.7	5.8	41.6	52.6
Estonia	64.2	10.5	9.9	33.8	56.7
Hungary	55.0	8.1	7.9	33.1	59.0
Latvia	59.7	14.4	18.3	25.5	56.2
Lithuania	62.3	14.1	21.9	27.2	50.9
Poland	57.7	11.2	20.5	32.0	47.5
Romania	64.8	6.0	39.0	30.4	30.6
Slovak Republic	59.5	11.6	8.6	39.3	52.1
Slovenia (1996)	57.6	7.3	10.1	42.2	52.3
Cyprus	93.2	3.4	10.0	23.7	66.3

Source: European Commission 1999b (cf. Table A in the statistical annex).

In general, overall activity rates have been decreasing in the CEECs in the first years after 1989/90, due in particular to the fact that female activity rates, that have been very high before 1989/90, have become substantially lower in the meantime. This trend will presumably continue so that also here some convergence between CEECs and MCs can be expected.

According to the key employment data in Tab.3, the situation in the accession countries in 1997 - despite possible deviations from the underlying IAO methodology - can be characterised as follows:

- The overall picture as to employment and unemployment seems not to differ substantially from the figures for the MCs.
- Compared with the 1995 figures (cf. Table A in the statistical annex), some CEECs have seen increasing, other decreasing rates of employment and unemployment.
- Cyprus seems to have an unusually high active population ratio of 93.2 %, with Romania showing the second largest one of 64.8 %. The minimum ratio is 51.6 in Bulgaria.
- The lowest unemployment rates are to be found in Cyprus (3.4 %) and the Czech Republic (4.7 %), the highest ones in

Bulgaria (15 %), Latvia (14.4 %) and Lithuania (14.1 %).

2.6.3. Regional disparities

Only a few regional data is available for the CEECs that could allow a transnational analysis of regional disparities. Due to the co-operation of EUROSTAT with the Statistical Offices of the ACs, a first set of comparable regional real GDP per capita data for 1995/96 is available for most CEECs. Even if this data must be handled with care because the underlying statistical sources may not always be fully reliable, their existence represents a great achievement. No comparable data exist up to now (summer 1999) for Cyprus.

The analysis of the national GDP figures has already shown that the CEECs lie substantially below the actual EU average and that very few of them reach the income levels of the EU cohesion countries. This is also reflected in the regional GDP figures.

- The poorest AC region in terms of GDP per capita in PPS is Latgale in Latvia with 2,900 PPS, corresponding to 16 % of the EU average. The richest region is Prague in the Czech Republic, reaching 21,700 PPS or 120 % of the EU average.

- Within the individual CEECs the largest spread of real per capita incomes can be found in the Czech Republic (Prague 120 % of EU average, Stredocesky 49 %), closely followed by the Slovak Republic and Hungary. In contrast, Bulgaria shows the lowest difference between maximum and minimum values for regional per capita incomes (Bourgas 34 %, Sofia (district, without the city of Sofia) 24 %).

However, one has to consider that extreme values can significantly influence a simple measure like the difference in percentage points. Furthermore, in terms of regional disparities, a given spread of regional incomes is more important in a country with a low-income level than in a state with a higher one. The coefficient of variation seems to be a better statistics in order to measure spatial disparities in per capita income within a country and to compare them with other countries.

TAB. 4: Regional Real Per Capita Income in CEECs (PPS, in % of EU average)

	Nat. average	Max. value	Min. value	Spread (percentage points)	Coefficient of variation (%)
Bulgaria (1995)	28	34	24	10	11.5
Czech Republic	65	120	49	71	34.7
Estonia	34	51	22	29	42.5
Hungary	47	88	27	61	31.2
Latvia	26	37	16	21	35.6
Lithuania	29	35	22	13	14.4
Poland	35	65	23	42	24.7
Romania (1995)	32	44	20	24	18.2
Slovak Republic	45	97	28	69	46.6
Slovenia	67	-	-	-	-

Source: EUROSTAT, (cf. Table E in the statistical annex, no regional data at comparable level for Slovenia).

On the basis of the coefficient of variation, three groups of ACs can be distinguished:

- In the first group of countries with high coefficients, the Slovak Republic still shows the strongest disparity (46.6), followed by Estonia (42.5). One of the reasons for the high coefficients seems to be that there exists no intermediate region between the capital region and the national average income so that the rest of the regions are almost all below the national income per capita average.
- There are three countries with the lowest coefficients of variation: Bulgaria (11.5), Lithuania (14.4) and Romania (18.2). Their low values indicate that the distribution of per capita incomes is more homogeneous than in the first group of countries.
- The remaining four countries are in intermediate positions with coefficients ranging between 24.7 (Poland), 31.2 (Hungary), 34.7 (Czech Republic) and 35.6 (Latvia). The Czech Republic and Latvia are also characterised by a certain dominance of the capital regions.

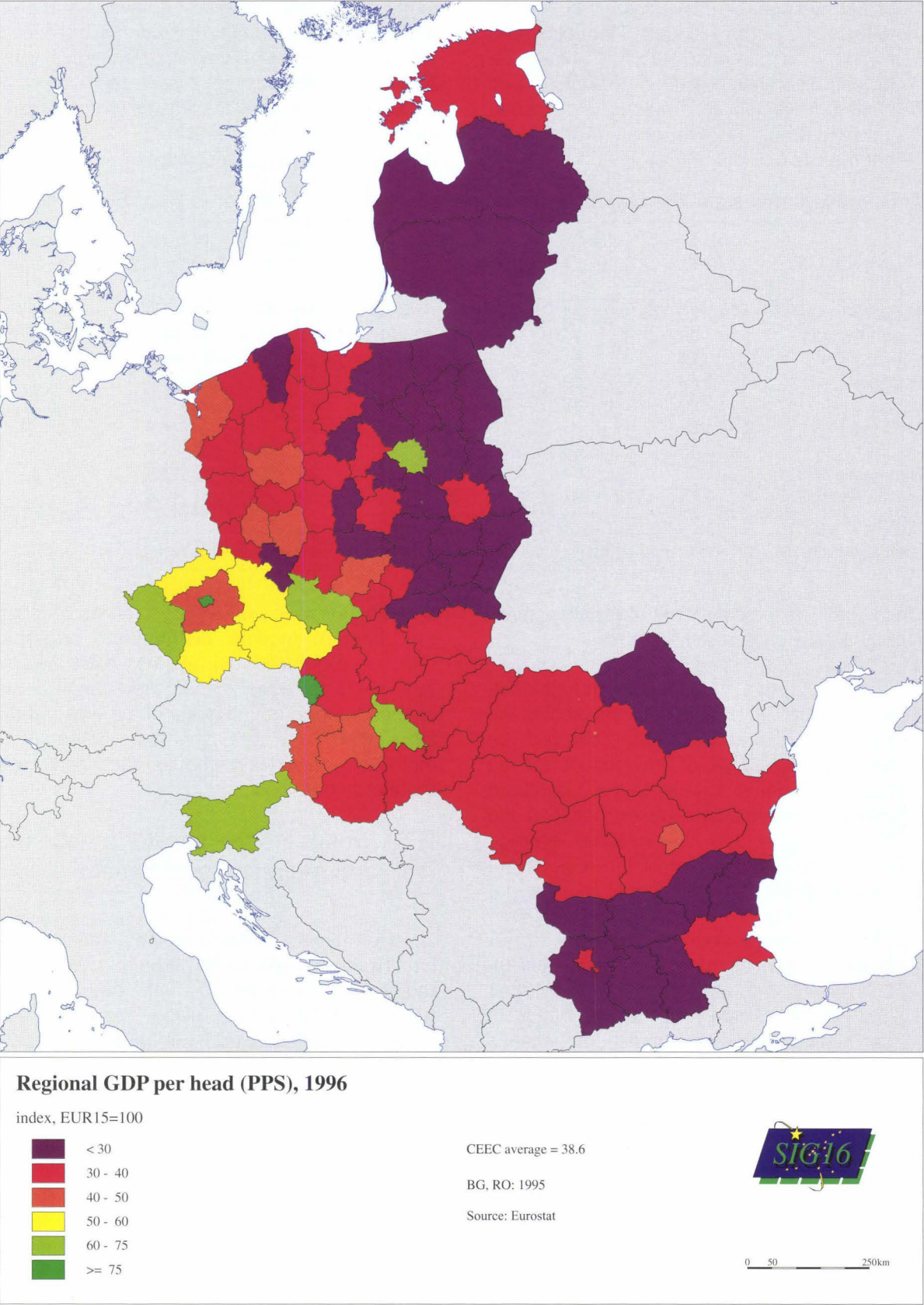
It would have been interesting to check whether the different income distributions and the regional disparities did already exist before 1990 and to what extent they have been changed under the influence of the new trends since then. However, this analysis requires more and more comparable data and has, therefore, to be postponed.

2.7. Prospects for long-term national and regional development

Long term perspectives in regional and national development depend on internal national or regional factors on the one hand, and on external continental or even global trends, on the other. The latter aspects will have to be dealt with in a scenario approach as envisaged in the ESDP document.

Here, an analysis of national and regional resources determining long-run economic development prospects will be presented, based on the so-called *potentiality factor approach* (Biehl 1986, 1991).

MAP 4: REGIONAL GDP PER HEAD (PPS) 1996



2.7.1. Factors determining the development potential

Geographical location, agglomeration and settlement structure, sectoral structure, and infrastructure can be considered to represent the major factors of the long run development possibilities of an economy. These factors play also a major role in the analyses and the policy options of the ESDP. They determine what can be called the development potential of a country or a region. This approach is based on the proposition that it is the endowment with this particular set of resources that determines potential productivity, potential income and potential employment. Potential values for productivity, income and employment can differ more or less substantially from actual ones, depending in particular on the competitiveness of the regional economies concerned.

Natural and cultural heritage without doubt also represent resources with a high potential. According to the comprehensive potentiality factor definition, cultural heritage can be considered a special category of infrastructure and can, in principle, be quantified. The potential of natural resources, however, is much more difficult to measure and there does also not exist a similar crude but summary indicator for it. In the case of the ACs, it has not been possible to develop similar simple indicators like for the other potentiality factors.

The constitutional-institutional framework of a country is important as far as an optimal utilisation of national and regional development potentials is concerned. Its importance stems from the fact that the same quantity and quality of resources, both potentiality and production factors, allow to obtain higher productivity, income and employment to the extent that this framework is efficient. The basic idea is that a "good" government system represents not only the basis of democracy, but also contributes to economic equity and efficiency. The philosophy of the so-called "lean government" is based on this idea, too. Due to the time limits for the present study, an analysis of the advantages of the institutional frameworks in MCs and ACs was not possible.

As far as the four potentiality factors „location“, „agglomeration“, „sectoral structure“ and „infrastructure“ are concerned, it has been demon-

strated that the potentiality factor approach can explain up to 90 per cent of the differences in productivity, income and employment for the NUTS-II regions of the Community of twelve in the seventies and eighties (cf. Biehl 1986).

Since it has been developed as a tool for regional analysis, it does in general not work so well for national comparisons. The reason is the strong levelling effect of national averages compared with the more differentiated nature of regional data. In addition, due to data problems in the present CEEC context, only a reduced set of national indicators could be used that also are not sufficiently comparable. As a consequence, the results presented can give only a rough first impression. As to Cyprus, the data available is insufficient for calculating the required indicators. Tables C and D in the statistical annex give an overview on the endowment of all 25 CEECs and MCs in 1995 with these potentiality factors.

With the exception of geographical location (defined in a very simple way as the distance to Frankfurt/Main), there is always one MC that represents the reference country with the highest indicator value for the other three potentiality factors:

- The Netherlands (382 inh/km²) is the country with the highest, Finland (15 inh/km²) and Sweden (20 inh/km²) are the countries with the lowest degree of agglomeration measured in simple terms of population density.
- Germany and Luxembourg (each 99.0 %) are the two countries with the highest combined industry/service sector shares, while Romania (79.4 %) has the lowest share.
- The Netherlands also represents the country with the maximum (100) infrastructure endowment of the 25 countries and Latvia (10.66) with the minimum one.

2.7.2. Infrastructure

It is now widely acknowledged that infrastructure or public material capital contribute significantly to productivity in the private sector. It is, therefore, important that the different levels of governments remain capable to invest both in new infrastructure capacities and in improving the access to existing infrastructure facilities. The financing requirements can be lower to the extent that public-private partnerships are well developed. Whether public or private, material

infrastructure networks also provide the basis for immaterial networks, be it of cities, universities, enterprises or cultural institutions.

Since comparable regional information is not available for all CEECs, in the present study infrastructure endowment is measured at the national level in terms of physical units like e.g. rail and road km per square km, the number of telecommunication subscribers per 1000 inhabitants, or the share of students in the relevant age class as an indicator for the knowledge capacity. It has, however, to be considered that the quality of the existing infrastructures capacity is often so poor that it is not possible to obtain a level of services comparable to that to be expected from the same quantitative endowment in MCs.

Despite the conceptual and the data problems mentioned, an econometric test shows that it is above all the infrastructure endowment that explains a large part of the income per capita differences between the CEECs and the MCs. On this basis, the Netherlands is the country with the best overall infrastructure endowment, here set equal to 100. However, the Netherlands is not always in all categories best endowed. In transportation, it is Belgium, in telecommunication Sweden, and in education Finland. Nevertheless, the relative infrastructure endowment of the Netherlands is close enough to these best-equipped countries in order to obtain the aggregated mark of 100 as to total infrastructure.

A comparison between MCs and CEECs shows that the latter in general have a much lower infrastructure endowment than the former. Some CEECs hardly reach the level of the cohesion countries whereas the others' marks stay far below. In addition there also exist strong differences as far as the quality of infrastructure is concerned. As a consequence, the CEECs will need much more direct investment in infrastructure capacities compared with MCs in order to catch up within a reasonable period of time. Given the better availability of land at least outside the major agglomerations and the lower labour cost, it can be assumed that with the same amount of investment, larger and/or qualitatively improved capacities can be created. As far as transport infrastructure is concerned, proposals have already been made within the framework of the already mentioned TINA

process, in order to create a transnational transport network in the future Member States and to integrate it to the trans-European Transport Network.

2.7.3. Geographical location

The major consequence of a central location is low transportation and communication costs whereas peripheral location causes higher ones.

If simple airline distances from Frankfurt/Main to the national capitals of the 25 CEECs and MCs are chosen as a rough indicator for geographical location, maximum distances are shown for Portugal (1893 km), Greece (1801 km) and Finland (1524 km). All CEECs have lower distances, starting with the most distant countries Estonia (1454 km) and Romania (1452 km) up to the Czech Republic (408 km), the most centrally located CEEC. Among the MCs, only Luxembourg (189), Belgium (317) and the Netherlands (365) have a more central location (cf. Table C in the statistical annex).

2.7.4. Agglomeration

Population density can be used as a crude indicator for agglomeration. At first sight, agglomeration seems not to substantially differ between MCs and CEECs. Average population density in the CEECs amounts to 98 inhabitants per square km compared with an average EU density of 115. However, the spread between high and low densities is much larger in MCs than in CEECs. In addition, like in the case of infrastructure, in general the same degree of agglomeration does not guarantee the same qualitative level of services compared with MCs.

The Netherlands (382 inh/km²) is the country with the highest, Finland (15 inh/km²) and Sweden (20 inh/km²) are the countries with the lowest degree of agglomeration measured in simple terms of population density. The CEECs are positioned in between the extremes with Czech Republic on top (131 inh/km²) and Estonia at the bottom (33 inh/km²) (cf. Table C in the statistical annex).

These crude figures hide the fact that urban settlements in CEECs in general are more spatially concentrated which causes stronger differences between urbanised and rural areas, leading sometimes to polarisation. This tendency

seems to increase in some CEECs since foreign investment concentrates on single regions like capitals or gateway-cities. In addition, the positive economies of scale effects to be expected from a given density also depend on the interaction with the other potentiality factors and the institutional framework. This implies that the positive spread effects to be expected from polycentric urban systems for regional development will tend to be lower in the CEECs, but also in some less densely populated MCs. Peripheral regions with low accessibility, especially regions close to the future EU border might hardly profit from future economic development.

This stresses the importance of the policy aims on a more balanced and polycentric systems of cities and a new urban-rural relationship as they are formulated in the ESDP. Again, this aim is valid both for MCs and for ACs, but it has to be taken into account that in general the existing urban systems in CEECs can not provide the same positive spread effects for their rural hinterland as in MCs.

2.7.5. Sectoral structure

Based on international comparisons, there exists a sort of long term reciprocal relationship between GDP per capita and the GDP shares of agriculture and of the industry and services combined: with growing income per capita, agriculture decreases and industry plus services increases. These two countervailing trends can be viewed as indicators for comparative advantages and for a more or less successful adjustment to structural change.

Given the strong income differences, the fact that agriculture plays a larger role in CEECs than in the MCs and that the contrary is true for industry and services is roughly in line with expectations based on the results of many studies dealing with structural change. On average, agriculture in CEECs in 1995 represents 8.6 % of GDP, more than 3.5 times the average EU-share of 2.4 %. Romania is the country with the highest share (20.5 %), whereas Slovenia has the lowest with 5.0 %. Reciprocally, the combined share of industry and services is 91.4 % on average with a spread of 79.5 % to 95.0 %. Among MCs, Greece has the highest agricultural share (14.7 %) and Germany (1.0 %) and Luxembourg (1.5 %) the lowest ones, corre-

sponding to about 85 % and 99 % for industry and services.

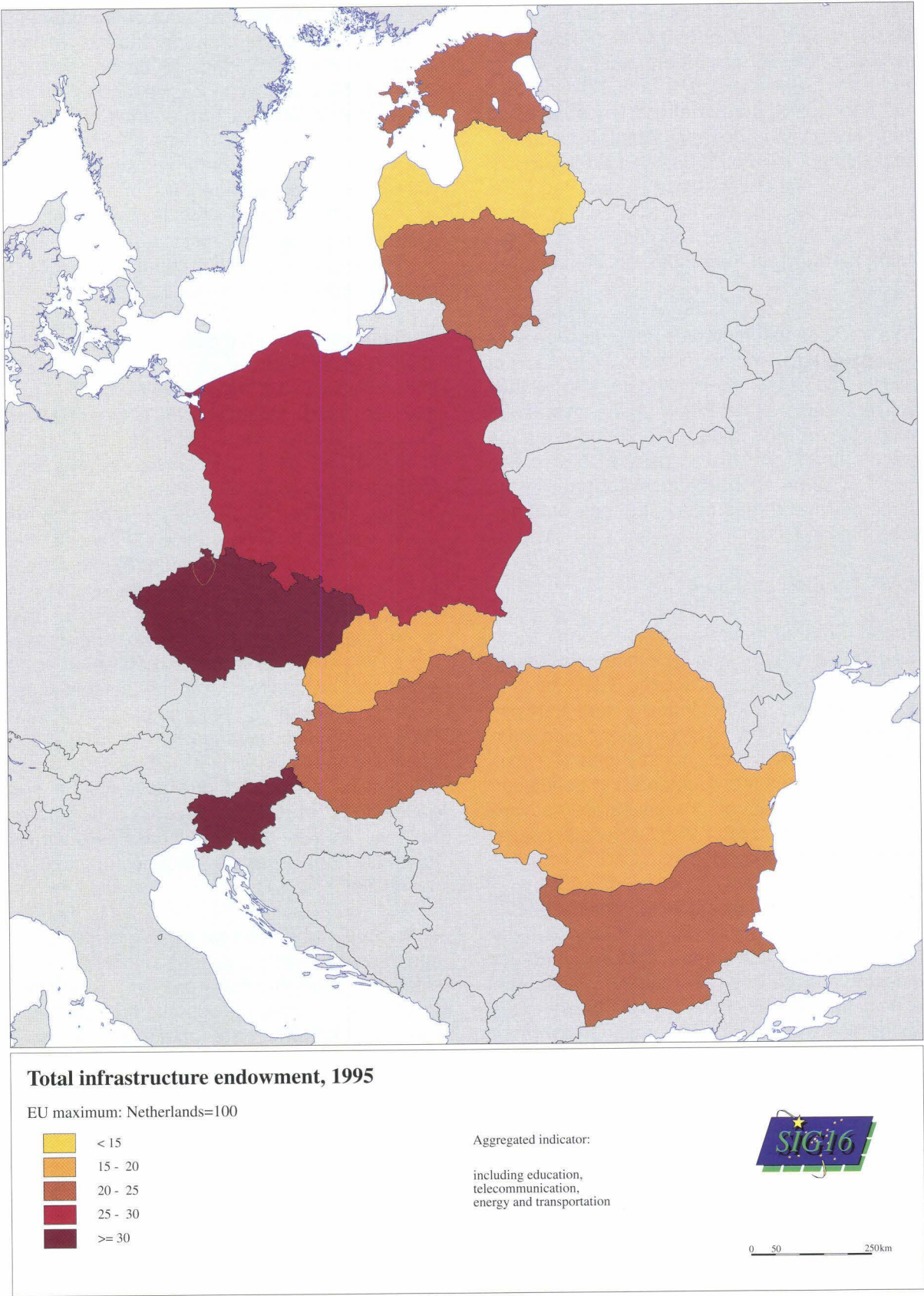
As far as the relationship between industry and services is concerned, on the basis of international experiences, structural change can go partly in different directions, depending on the stage of development of a country and on its specific comparative advantages. As far as ACs are concerned, it is, therefore, suggested not only to focus on the tertiary sector as proposed in the ESDP. Only in highly developed regions services represent the major growth potential. Accordingly, a very careful, country- and region-specific approach is necessary.

As Table A in the statistical annex shows, the GDP-share of Industry varies between 29.0 % in Estonia and 43.7 % in Romania (1997). From 1990 to 1996, these shares decreased with average yearly rates between -2.1 % in Romania and -20.2 % in Latvia whereas they increased by +3.7 % in Poland, +1.1 % in Hungary and +0.1% in Slovenia (Table B in the same annex). It is more difficult to predict the long term trend since – according to international comparisons – the share of industry follows a n-shaped path: it increases up to a certain income range and then goes down with increasing GDP per capita, whereas services tend to increase. This has to do with the fact that countries can differ as to their comparative advantage for industrial and service activities, and these are not yet known for CEECs. In addition, the service sector includes government, and government in CEECs shrunk considerably from its former role in planned economies towards the “leaner” model of market economies.

This stresses the need for looking more deeply into the special conditions of economies in transition and their structural change. Given their much lower income, it is possible that the industrial sector has a stronger role to play in many CEECs, but also in low income MCs. It is, therefore, important to consider the full implications of structural change.

Sectoral structure and trends in Cyprus correspond largely to the situation in present MCs.

MAP 5: TOTAL INFRASTRUCTURE ENDOWMENT, 1995



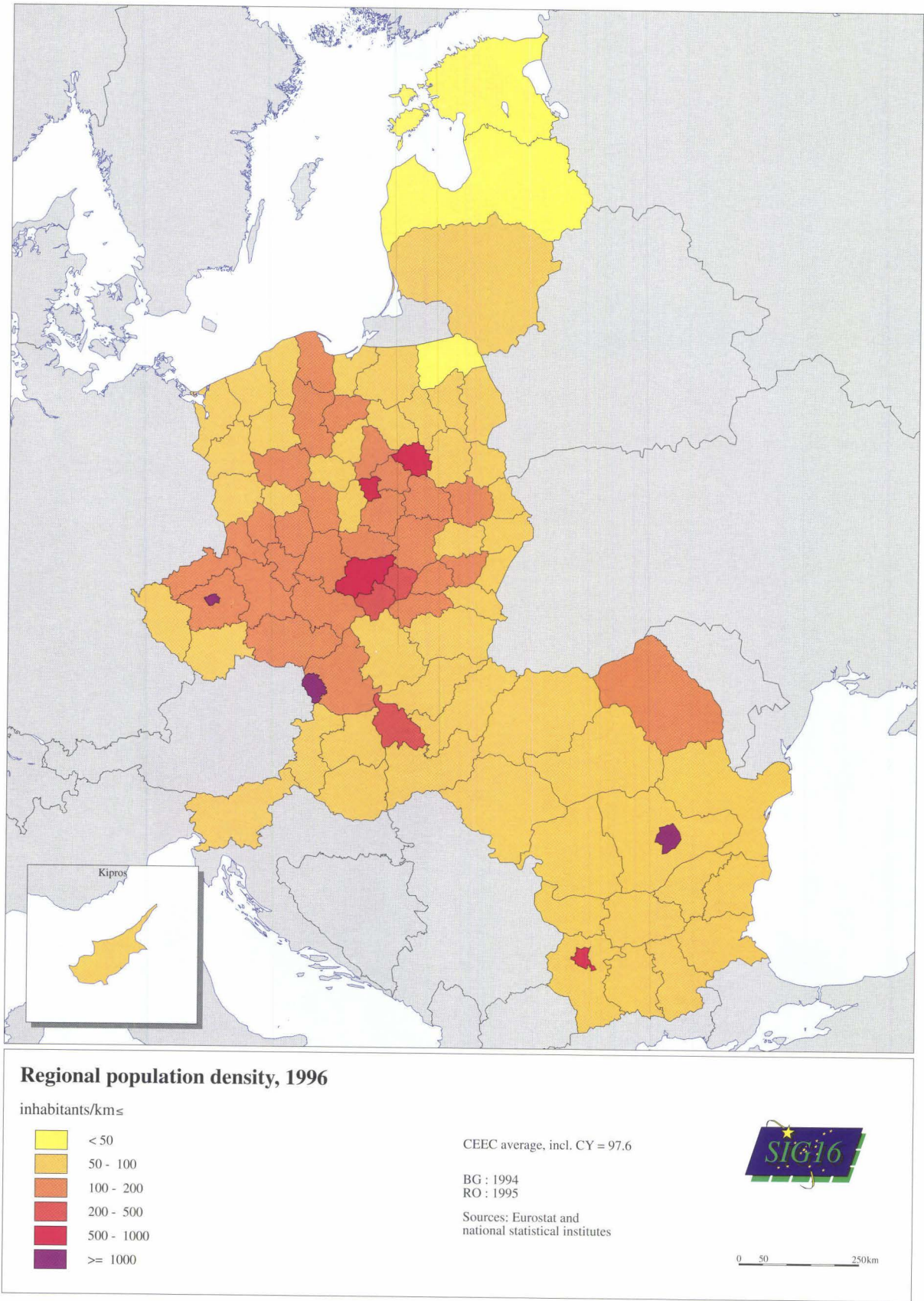
MAP 6: TINA – ROAD NETWORK, 1995



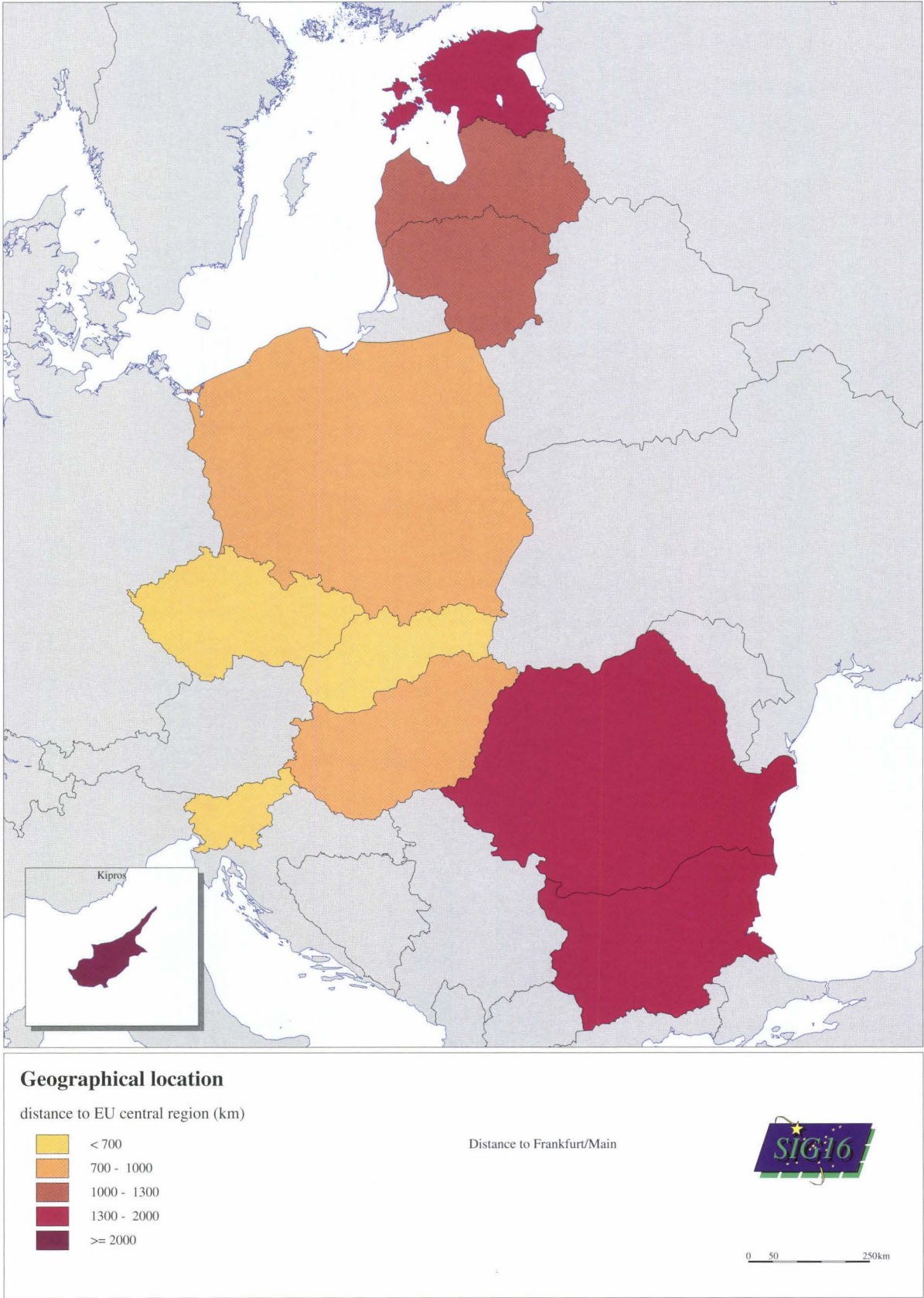
MAP 7: TINA – RAIL NETWORK, 1995



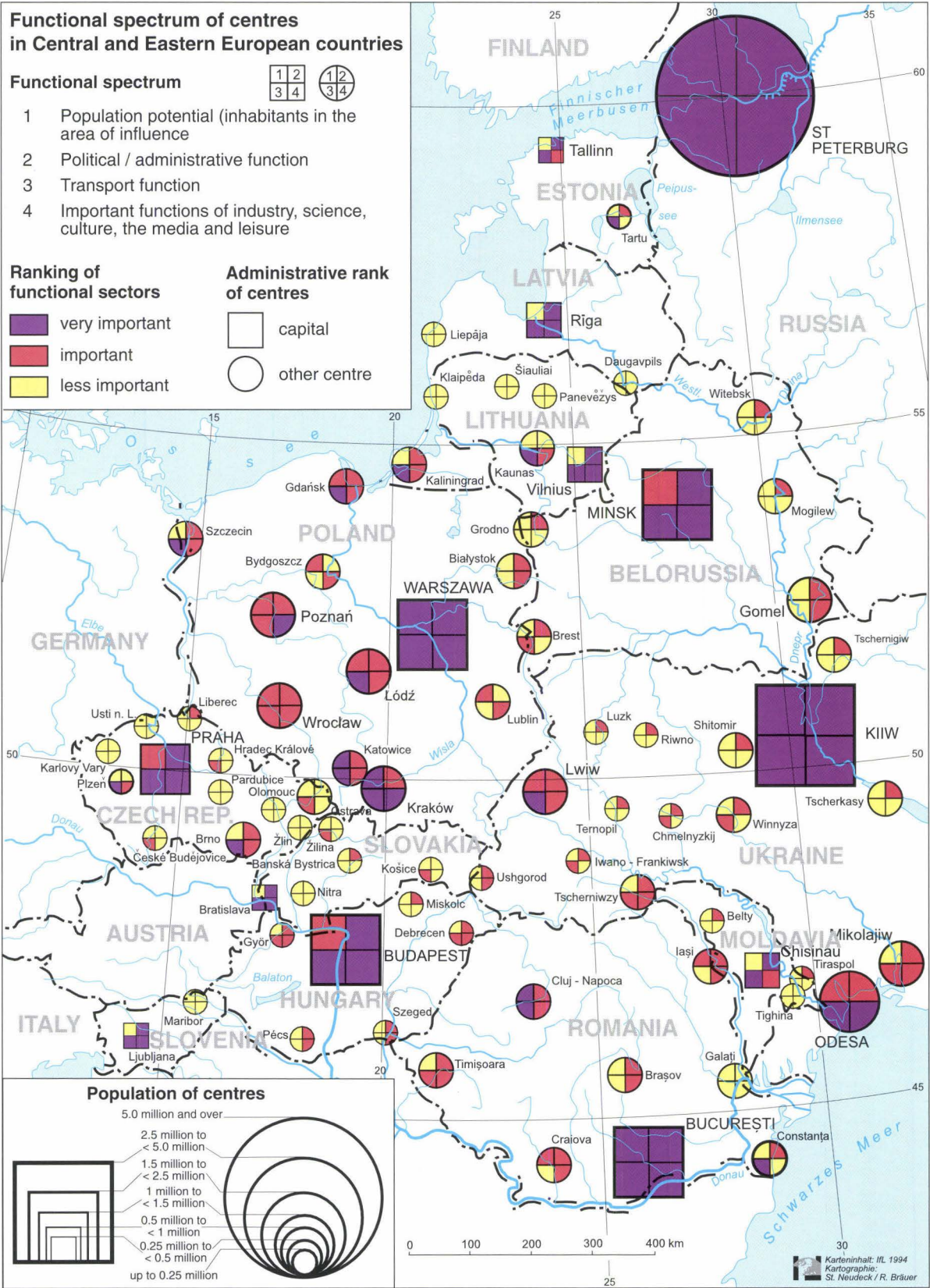
MAP 8: REGIONAL POPULATION DENSITY, 1996



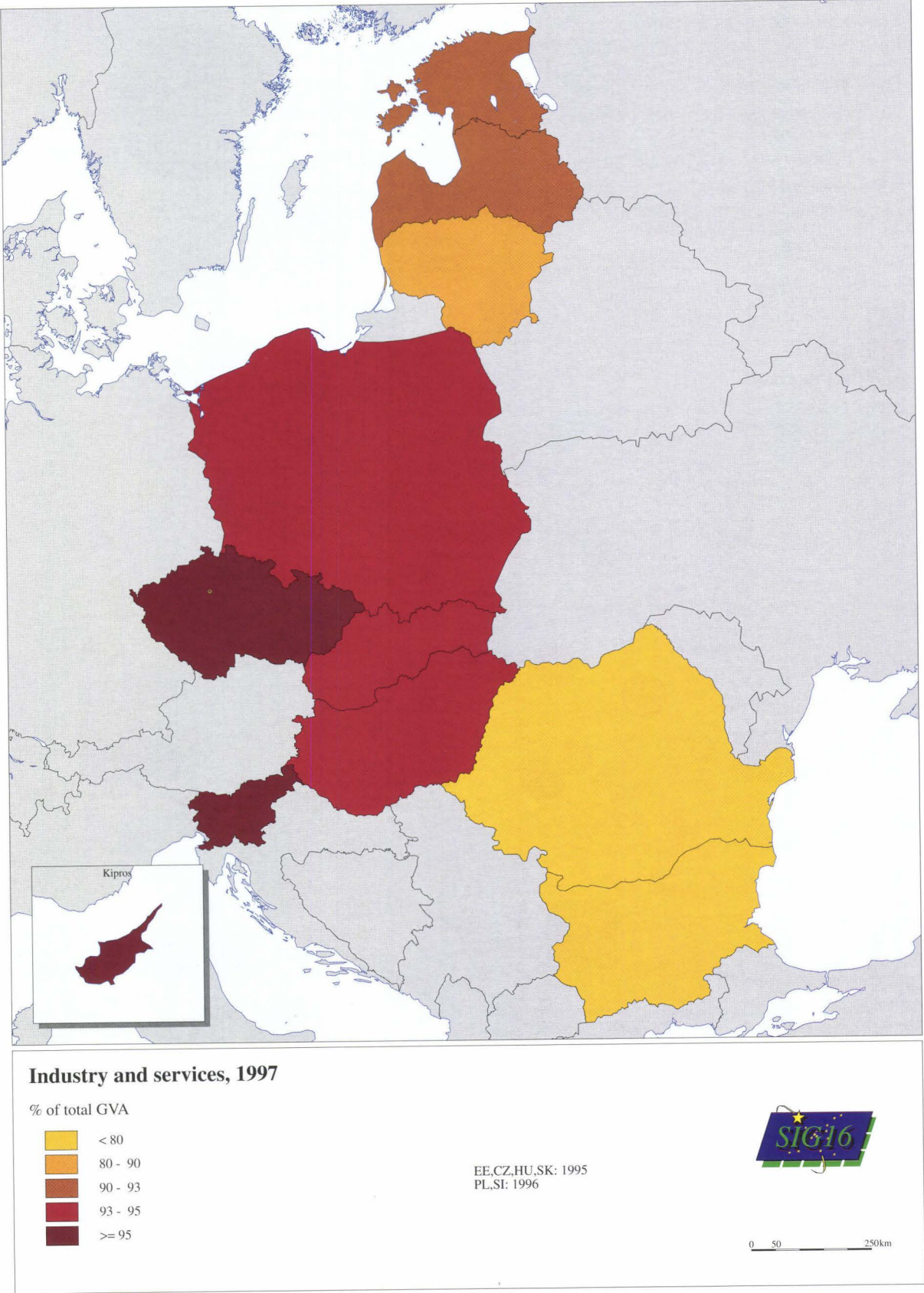
MAP 9: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION



MAP 10: FUNCTIONAL SPECTRUM OF CENTRES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES



MAP 11: INDUSTRY AND SERVICES, 1997



2.7.6. Potentiality factors as policy instruments

Among the four potentiality factors, “location” can hardly be influenced by public policies whereas “infrastructure”, despite the increasing trend towards privatisation, still has a strong policy instrument character. The reason is that infrastructure is heavily financed or subsidised through public funds. This applies to investment in new or existing infrastructure capacities as well as to investment aimed at improving access to and utilisation of these existing capacities. There is a clear link with the second ESDP sphere of activity, i.e. **parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge**. However, as explained, most CEECs have a substantial quantitative and qualitative deficit of infrastructure so that creating new capacities is a priority.

“Agglomeration” and “sectoral structure” are in an intermediate position. Through appropriate framework regulations and incentive-based policies, **urban networks** – the first sphere of activity in the ESDP – could be initiated and improved. The same is true for sectoral structure. The intensity of structural change depends primarily on how much private investors will be ready to spend in industry A compared with B, and this in turn is influenced by the growth and profit potential of these industries at their specific locations. Even in this case, the framework conditions in the form, for example, of market access, competition, R&D and environmental regulation, are open to policy interventions. Since the ACs will have to take over the *acquis communautaire*, these framework conditions will remain different for some time, but will converge in the long run.

Similar considerations apply to the third ESDP sphere of activity, i.e. **wise management of the natural and cultural heritage**. Without doubt, natural and cultural heritage represent resources with a high potential for regional development. Unfortunately, it has not been possible up to now to develop similar simple indicators like for the other potentiality factors. This suggests that in this sphere of activity, a more differentiated and regionalised approach is required.

2.8. Territorial organisation and distribution of competencies for spatial development and regional policy in accession countries

It has already been argued in the preceding sections that the constitutional-institutional system of a country and its stability is not only of political, but also of economic importance. A good territorial organisation and a well-balanced distribution of competencies, in particular for spatial development and regional policy, form a part of this system and represent, therefore, a very valuable asset for a country and its regions.

Table E in the annex provides information on the territorial organisation and the distribution of competencies for spatial development and regional policy in the CEECs. Being unitary states, all CEECs dispose of a central government level and a local government level that could be considered to represent NUTS IV units. Most of them also have a second local government level comparable to counties, provinces or *Kreise* (NUTS III).

In all CEECs, the old government systems had been strongly unitary and centralised, including territorial planning. After the end of the Soviet Union, the psychologically understandable rejection of all what had to do with planning also swept away not only territorial planning, but in some CEECs even the intermediate regional units between the state level and the local government level. Where they existed, however, they had not been endowed with true self-government competencies, as this would have been incompatible with the principle of *democratic centralism*, the dominating political philosophy at the time.

The majority of the new Constitutions of the ACs does not explicitly refer to these intermediate regional levels that could be adopted as NUTS II regions for the purpose of EU regional and structural policies. As can be seen from Table E, however, some CEECs are preparing for regional decentralisation:

- Bulgaria is planning to create 28 districts, without self-government powers.
- In the Czech Republic, the first parliamentary chamber has already decided to estab-

lish 14 regions; the second chamber is still discussing this project. There exists a special Ministry for Regional Development since 1996.

- The Slovak Republic is planning to establish 8 regional authorities at the level of the existing sub-national administrative units (Kraje). They shall take over a part of the competencies of the latter.
- Cyprus intends to study the possibility of transferring competencies to elected local authorities and of building partnership relations between central and local level agencies.

These projects, however, are often heavily criticised not only from the political opposition, but even from parties that belong to the governing coalition.

Regional and local self-government and political decentralisation represent important democratic goals. It is certainly desirable that the potential new member states also engage in spatially decentralised decision-making, since EU regional policy is based on the principle of co-operation and partnership also at the regional level. The general political and psychological background in the CEECs, however, differs considerably from the one of the current MCs:

- Striving for national independence and sovereignty has been one of the major driving forces that lead to the changes of 1989/91, and this tends to strengthen centralisation at the national level.
- Against this background, the existence of strong ethnic minorities, which are concentrated in one or a few areas, can also cause difficulties from the point of view of the national majority for fear of regional self-government in a given area being dominated by minorities.
- As the frequent changes in government coalitions in some CEECs indicate, there seems to be a fragile balance between the new political parties and the voter potentials.
- In a small and not densely populated country, the introduction of an additional level of regional government may also be considered to represent an unnecessary and cost-increasing complication for public administration.

Territorial decentralisation, in particular establishing a new regional government level, represents a very sensitive political issue. The small Baltic countries for example – not dissimilar to some small MCs – are not keen to introduce an additional regional government level or do not attribute high priority to such a plan. At the same time, under strong Russian pressure, they have to find a solution in particular for the Russian population living there. A good balance has, therefore, to be found between the desire to ease and to speed up the integration process of the ACs on the one hand and to leave them with adequate time in order to develop and to implement an appropriate territorial decentralisation strategy compatible with the specific conditions and the preferences of the majority in each individual AC on the other.

Last but not least, one should not forget that also in most of the current MCs, regional decentralisation has been a long and difficult process and that some of them, in close co-operation with the European Commission, established statistical regions at NUTS II level only for the purposes of EU regional policy. It seems appropriate to apply this strategy to the ACs in order to avoid a conflict between territorial reform and participation in EU regional policy.

As far as the distribution of competencies for spatial development and regional policy is concerned, only Bulgaria seems to have anchored an explicit spatial development goal in the Constitution (art.20). This does, however, not mean that in the other countries this competence does not exist. In these countries the general rules as to the exercise of the executive and legislative functions apply. Accordingly, all ACs have laws and regulations dealing with this issue. Five ACs (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania) seem to possess a unitary or joint competence for spatial development and regional policy and the other six (Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Slovenia, Slovak Republic) a dualistic or separate one. In the latter case, the two functions of spatial development and of regional policy are dealt with in separate laws and are partly attributed to different ministries or authorities.

3. The ESDP and enlargement

3.1. The fundamental question

The fundamental question is as to whether the ESDP can be applied also to the ACs without or with modifications, and if so, which ones. This question concerns in particular Section 3 of the ESDP, „Policy aims and options for the territory of the EU“.

On the basis of the analysis presented in the previous sections, it is argued that, in principle, all major issues dealt with in the ESDP are also relevant for the ACs, but that both the degree of relevance and the consequences may be lower in some cases and higher in other cases, when compared with the current MCs. This is true if not only the general qualitative elements, but also the quantitative and the temporal dimensions of the possible consequences are taken into account. In addition, the answer can vary depending on the particular conditions of an individual AC and on the specific aim chosen as a selection or evaluation criterion.

3.2. ESDP issues and policy domains of special importance for accession countries

In this section, four major ESDP issues and policy domains are discussed in order to illustrate the complexity and implications of these issues. On the basis of the previous analysis, the authors suggest that in these four cases the ESDP should be modified or extended in order to take account of the different conditions prevailing in the CEECs and to facilitate their

accession. These conclusions are preliminary ones and are offered for discussion.

3.2.1. The issue of diversity and heterogeneity

The basic philosophy of the ESDP is to help MCs preparing an integrated, multi-sectoral and indicative strategy for spatial development. The major benefit consists in encouraging greater coherence and complementarity between the spatial development strategies of the MCs and improving the co-ordination of major Community policies at the EU-level, taking into account their spatial impacts under different framework conditions. Obviously, this applies also to ACs.

The ESDP stresses also that diversity is a characteristic feature of the European territory and represents one of Europe's major development assets. This is certainly true, but enlargement does not only increase (positive) diversity but also (negative) heterogeneity, for example national and regional disparities of all kinds. This, again, is also true for the present MCs. However, with a few exceptions, the size of the disparities between MCs and CEECs is in general larger.

The first consequence of this increased heterogeneity is that trying to identify the spatial impacts of the major EU-policies and, on that basis, to design spatially effective policies at the EU level will become in future a more difficult and complex task. In addition, if economic and social cohesion is to be realised in a relatively

short period, the cost might be very high. This suggests a different trade-off for the enlarged Community, in particular for the ACs.

In order to cope with both increased diversity and heterogeneity, it is suggested to reduce the intensity of regulation, to allow for more flexibility and regional accountability both at the member state level as far as cross-border and transnational co-operation is concerned and at the EU level as far as EU policies are concerned. This is in line with INTERREG IIC and the Commission proposals as to the reform of the structural funds and the new INTERREG-III regulation.

3.2.2. The issue of national centralisation and regional decentralisation

The old government systems in the CEECs had been strongly unitary and centralised, including territorial planning. From this point of view, one could have expected that the rejection of everything related to central planning and centralisation would go hand in hand with more decentralisation and more regional and local self-government. Yet, this is true at the local level, but not so much at the regional one.

Some of the political-psychological reasons for this outcome have already been mentioned, but there are also two major additional ones that can explain the strong preferences for centralisation in many CEECs:

- In those countries engaged in a "Big Bang" strategy, centralisation helps to implement such a strategy faster and more efficiently. The idea may have been that once the new democratic and market oriented framework conditions had been created and once it had been proven that the cost involved are worth the price, decentralisation could be addressed.
- The other reason is that the reformers had to work with administrations that had experience with central, but not with decentralised decision-making. Creating a new administrative culture of decentralised decision-making is a very time-consuming process. Despite some recent experience with EU-programmes like PHARE and cross-border co-operation, there does not exist a sufficiently broad-based experience with decentralised regional policy in the CEECs at the national

level. In addition, experience at the regional and local levels is limited because no such competencies existed before 1989/90.

It follows that territorial decentralisation is not only a very sensitive political, but also a very sensitive economic issue.

Given the importance and the time pressure linked with the task to transform former planned economies into market oriented ones, it is, therefore, reasonable that in many CEECs central decision making and policy implementation was and is the preferred strategy. There seems to be in these countries a sort of trade-off between centralisation and decentralisation. This is true despite the fact that similar preferences for unitary and centralised decision-making also prevail in a number of present MCs.

The EU has, however, to make sure that granting a more generous time window for introducing decentralisation does not favour abuses. The argument that decentralisation takes much more time should not be used by the ACs as an argument to start first with adopting the beneficial elements of the *acquis communautaire* and to postpone the other, more difficult elements. Therefore, a general principle should be to implement well-balanced bundles of both types of directives and regulations. In addition, the ACs should be asked to comply with a number of minimum conditions for adopting the *acquis communautaire*. These minimum conditions will have to be discussed country by country since the conditions of the individual ACs differ. They also have implemented elements of the *acquis communautaire* during the pre-accession period in different ways

3.2.3. The issue of spatial planning versus regional policy: unitary versus dual competence

Roughly speaking, half of the ACs can be said to possess a unitary system of competencies combining spatial development and regional policy and half a dual one, where spatial development and regional policy represent two separate competencies that sometimes seem also to be allocated to different authorities or Ministries. As Table E shows, the general constitutional background differs in relation, for example, to the existence of a one-chamber or a two-chambers legislative system, the delimitation of the

legislative and executive competencies, the balance of powers between the Head of State and the Prime Minister or the government. National conditions and preferences concerning territorial decentralisation and local self-government seem also to play a role. Comparing the experiences of other ACs and of MCs could help to clarify the views on the distribution of responsibilities among levels of government. Last but not least, the financing aspects have to be taken into account.

It would be desirable to define the two functions of spatial development and regional policy in a special law based either on the unitary or the dual competence model. These laws will then provide a clear legal basis for all such activities and would help to avoid troublesome discussions on who is entitled to or responsible for what. In case an AC is already considering a territorial reform with decentralisation, the links with spatial development and regional policy should be taken into account.

These laws would also provide the basis for cross-border co-operation at the regional or local level, transnational intergovernmental co-operation and for co-operation with the European Commission in the fields of spatial development and regional policy. This would also represent an important contribution to the integrated European spatial development agenda envisaged in the ESDP, in particular to the framework for integrated spatial policy as formulated in part A.3.

3.2.4. The issue of sustainable development and regional policy

There is no doubt that it is in the interest of old and new MCs to follow a strategy of sustainable development. The issue is closely linked with the third major ESDP sphere of activity. In general, however, the conditions and the cost involved may substantially differ between ACs and MCs. For example, due to the locational concentration of polluting industries (e.g. chemicals, coal, energy production, steel mills) or military facilities in the ACs, large amounts of tax money are needed in order to decontaminate and to protect soil and groundwater.

This could produce a conflict between environmental policy and regional policy. Given their low income and low tax capacities, there could

be a strong incentive for AC policy makers to use tax money to finance regional development programs instead of spending the same amount for fighting pollution. The reason is that regional development programs are heavily co-financed by European structural funds, whereas environmental policy in general remains a national responsibility.

Admittedly, such a conflict could also arise in an MC that receives substantial support from EU structural funds. However, there is still a difference since, for a long time, most ACs will have a much lower tax capacity than MCs and the contamination and pollution bill will be in general much higher.

3.3. Conclusions for the three major ESDP spheres of activity

The previous discussion has shown that in general the issues dealt with in the ESDP are of relevance for both ACs and MCs, but that the intensity of the problems and the cost and benefits involved can differ substantially between the two groups of countries. In this section, some conclusions will be drawn for the three major ESDP spheres of activity,

- polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural relationship,
- parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge,
- wise management of the natural and cultural heritage.

3.3.1. Polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural relationship

There is no doubt that it is desirable that all countries dispose of a polycentric spatial structure based on improved urban-rural relationships. Due to the agglomeration economies of scale involved, urban systems and networks with a high, but not excessive degree of agglomeration do contribute significantly to the development potential of their region and their country.

In principle, this applies to both ACs and MCs. However, to the extent that a country does not possess a sufficient number of adequately agglomerated urban systems and networks, the positive spread effects to be expected for the

rural hinterland from the existing city systems in ACs tend to be lower and polarisation effects higher. As a consequence, potential productivity, income and/or employment will also be lower.

Furthermore, despite the not so dissimilar average population densities, there exist significant differences as to the benefits of city systems in CEECs and MCs for their rural hinterlands. Even with the same number of inhabitants and the same density, the benefits rural areas of ACs can obtain from being a part of such a system tend to be substantially lower for qualitative reasons.

In addition, the links with the other potentiality factors “location” and “infrastructure” are impor-

tant. Other things being equal, a centrally located urban system has a higher development potential than a peripherally located one and strong material infrastructure networks provide a better basis for immaterial urban-rural networks to provide value added.





Finally, it is important to take into account that the benefits to be derived from a given endowment with resources, ranging from location through agglomeration, sectoral structure and infrastructure, also depend on the constitutional-institutional framework in which these city systems and regions operate. In general, these benefits tend to be higher if at the regional and local level sufficient room for initiatives combined with accountability and finance is ensured.

MAP 12: LEGEND




European Network of Urban Centres and Transportation Links and Areas and Regions Requiring European Action

Urban Centres




of International Importance

-  International urban centre
-  International urban centre to be developed with priority
-  International urban centre to be developed in the longer term
-  Urban centre with specific international function (Genf)




of European Importance

-  European urban centre
-  European urban centre to be developed with priority
-  European urban centre to be developed in the longer term




of National Importance

-  National urban centre
-  National urban centre to be developed with priority
-  National urban centre to be developed in the longer term



Transportation Links of Main Importance

-  Main transportation link
-  Main transportation link to be developed with priority
-  Main transportation link to be developed in the longer term






of Secondary Importance

-  Secondary transportation link
-  Secondary transportation link to be developed with priority
-  Secondary transportation link to be developed in the longer term

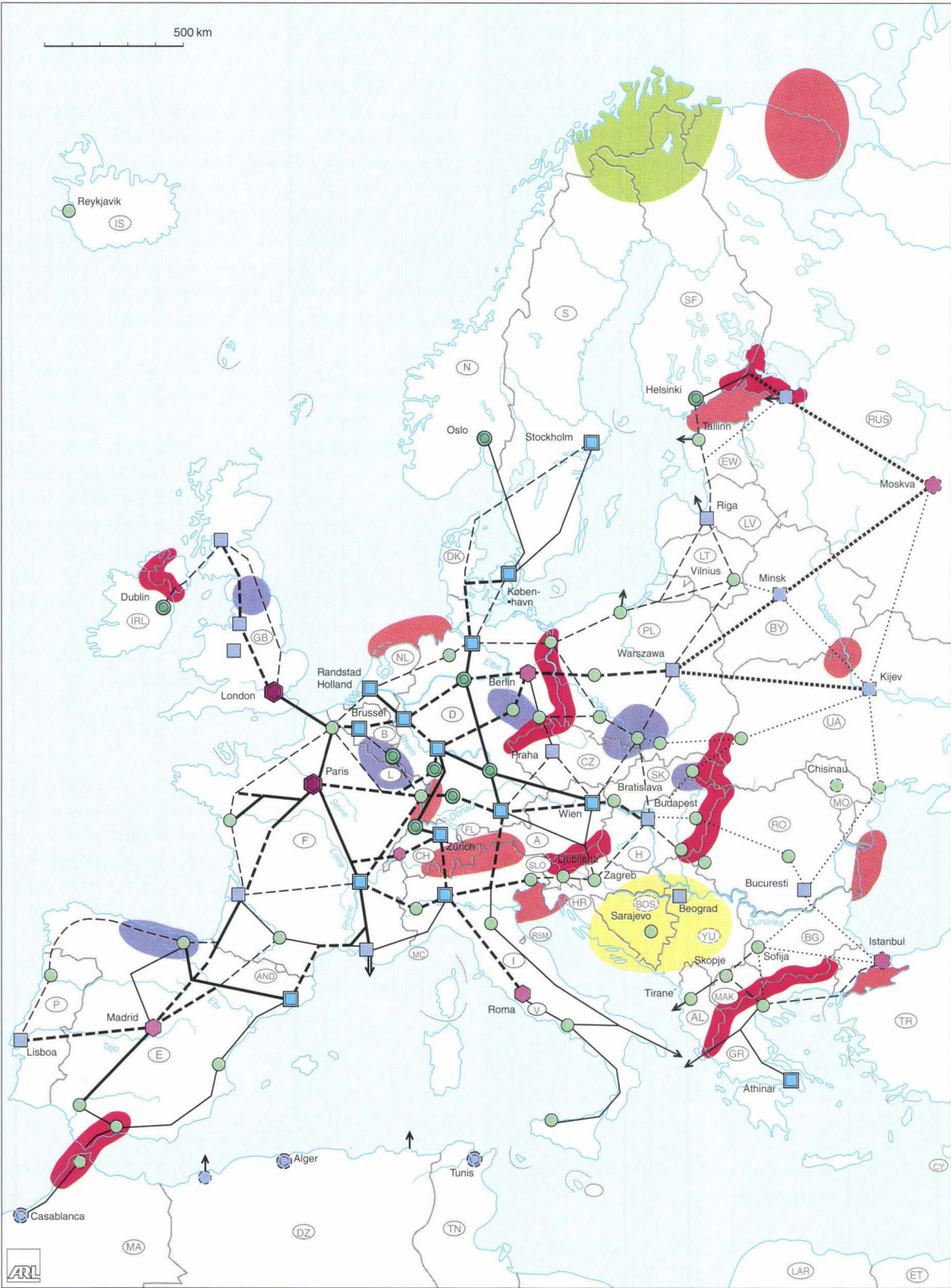
Sea Links to be Developed

-  European sea services to be developed
-  Intercontinental services to be developed

Areas and Regions Requiring European Action

-  High priority area for safeguarding of natural resources
-  Area of restructuring their economic activities
-  Critical border region of European impact
-  Area to maintain a minimum of human occupation
-  Crisis area to be integrated as early as possible

MAP 12: EUROPEAN NETWORK OF URBAN CENTRES AND TRANSPORTATION LINKS



3.3.2. Parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge

In regions with a sufficient infrastructure endowment, there is a high chance to obtain additional value added from improving the access to existing infrastructure capacities. However, the comparison between MCs and CEECs has shown that in general, the latter have a much lower quantitative and qualitative infrastructure endowment than the former. As a consequence, they will need much more direct investment in infrastructure capacities compared with MCs. Where infrastructure endowment is substantially lower as is in general the case in CEECs, the value added to be obtained from improving access tends also to be lower. It has, therefore, to be carefully analysed what are the net benefits to be expected from improving access to existing infrastructure capacities compared with those that result from a combined expansion of these capacities plus improved access.

In this context, it is recommended that special attention be paid to the composition of the total infrastructure composition available within a given urban-rural system. To a certain extent, a very low endowment with a specific infrastructure category can represent a bottleneck that cannot be compensated by a much better endowment with another category. Substitution effects exist e.g. between the different subcategories of transportation infrastructure (roads, rail, airports, harbours), but, at the level of the main categories, a good transportation infrastructure cannot compensate for example for deficient research and professional formation capacities - but the contrary is also true. In addition, the quality of the existing infrastructures capacities can be so poor that it is not possible to obtain a level of services comparable to that to be expected from the same quantitative endowment in an MC. Identifying major quantitative and qualitative bottlenecks with a view to invest represents a more efficient strategy than expanding all infrastructure capacities simultaneously.

3.3.3. Wise management of the natural and cultural heritage

This goal is an important element of an integrated sustainable development strategy, as also agreed upon in art.2 of the Amsterdam treaty. The ESDP stresses that the natural heritage

requires specific actions tailored to regional characteristics and circumstances. This is particularly true for most CEECs and their regions.

On the one hand, some countries possess large spaces close to natural conditions and partly not much affected by pollution. These spaces will have to be protected in particular against agricultural and industrial expansion and expansion of human settlements. The needs of these sectors, however, cannot be simply neglected so that it is important to develop strategies reconciling economic development with maintenance of the natural heritage. This requires a carefully designed system of regulation, based on the relevant elements of the *acquis communautaire*.

On the other hand there are areas with a strong concentration of heavily polluting industries. In addition there is the problem of (re-) conversion of former military areas. Due to the privatisation of a large part of the former state-owned enterprises, the polluter-pays principle cannot be applied to the new owners. The new democratic states have to shoulder the responsibility for the bad policies of their predecessors. Here, regulation alone is not sufficient, and high public spending will be required. Given the low tax capacity of the CEECs, the financial burden will be very high. As a consequence, the cost involved with sustainable development differ substantially between ACs and MCs.

Water is a very sensitive natural resource, too. The water problem is closely linked with the already mentioned pollution issue. Insofar as large river systems that are still suffering from pollution transgress national borders, this problem affects two or more countries at the same time. The same is true for flood protection. In addition, there is the problem that sometimes took the form of a "water war", e.g. among the Danube River countries if some of them claim too much water for own purposes, in particular for energy production and agriculture. Solving these problems requires consensus-based transnational co-operation.

Conservation of landscapes is also a cultural issue. In some cases, conflicting demands have to be reconciled, in others it is important to guide creatively the development of landscapes rather than to preserve the present situation as formulated in the ESDP. Another important task is the conservation of cultural heritage in form of

historical sites, buildings, city quarters and the like. In both cases, no major differences between MCs and ACs exist, though the elements that enter the respective cost-benefit analyses may differ substantially as far as monetary cost and financing are concerned. However, in some CEECs, the well-preserved character of cities, quarters and landscapes, and a particular economic and settlement pressure might require special efforts in protecting natural and cultural sites and in reconciling conflicting demands.

The regulatory requirements on the future use of natural and cultural resources and the financial consequences of the inherited environmental burdens of the past should, however, be kept separate. In particular, the financial argument should not be (ab-)used in order to justify a lax implementation of the environmental elements of the *acquis communautaire* - "eco-dumping" should not be permitted.

4. Strategy and policy proposals

Based on the previous considerations, the following conclusions as to strategies and policy options are presented. They aim at supplementing the ESDP approach and at facilitating its implementation in view of enlargement.

- (1) In preparing for accession, it is useful that individual ACs do not discuss and decide in isolation and independently from each other, but co-operate among themselves and with neighbouring MCs on issues that do have important **cross-border spill-over effects**. These spillover effects can affect two or three neighbouring ACs, all of them or even some of the current MCs. The latter possibility exists for large-scale environmental problems like the greenhouse effect. The link with sustainable development and the Agenda 21 is obvious.
- (2) The EC proposals for a new INTERREG III program should be taken into account both for **cross-border co-operation between MCs and ACs** and in particular for **transnational co-operation among ACs**. These programs should deal also with issues below the trans-European and bilateral or trilateral transnational levels, but directly linked with these projects in order to make the best possible use of these projects for the regions concerned (e.g. to integrate road, rail, waterways, airports, harbours, intermodal transport links, telecommunication, energy and water, education, professional training and research institutions as a basis for immaterial network co-operations).

To a certain extent, such co-operation has already started on the basis of INTERREG IIC programs and partly supported also through PHARE and TACIS:

- In the Baltic area (VASAB 2010), co-operation involves Denmark, Germany, Finland and Sweden, and Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, and Belarus, Norway and Russia.
- The MSOE-co-operation comprises 18 countries (Austria, Germany, Greece and Italy, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia, plus Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, Moldavia, Ukraine and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).

In addition, in 1993 the so-called Visegrad-countries, Hungary, Poland and former Czechoslovakia have established the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA) aiming at free industrial trade until 2001, which at present comprises also Romania and Slovenia.

- (3) In order to prepare for joining the ESDP process, it is proposed that each AC realises an **efficient horizontal co-ordination between the Ministries and Agencies** responsible for spatial development and regional policy at the national level. The Community and the MCs could help the ACs in implementing these tasks by providing additional information and by offering

technical and administrative support. Proceeding in this way will be beneficial for the EU as a whole:

- measures can be realised more quickly and more smoothly;
- in the fields of trans-European transport, telecommunication and energy networks, not only integration among the present EU member states and the new ones, but also integration among the CEECs could be improved; the already mentioned TINA process represents an important step in this direction; and
- enterprises in all countries would benefit from the cost-reducing and/or productivity-increasing effects so that the internal market could also be completed earlier.

(4) **Regionalised policy design and implementation in partnership** represent major features of EU regional policy. It is, therefore, important that also the ACs become capable to develop such policies together with their local and regional units, based on the principles of decentralisation, subsidiarity and partnership, and with a view to participate in future EU decision-making. For the ACs, this implies a double task:

- to create the necessary regional units and institutions and to endow them with appropriate competencies, in line with national conditions and preferences; and
- to realise a co-ordination of spatial and regional policy with fiscal and subsidy policies on the one hand and with competition and environmental policies on the other.

Both tasks require a co-ordinated policy-making at the national level and can be supplemented by constitutional and territorial reforms in order to create regional units with self-government competencies including accountability and financing. However, these reforms represent very sensitive political issues and CEECs should be given sufficient time in order to carefully study the pros and cons and to reach well-balanced solutions. For a more or less long transition period, the EU and the MCs should accept that it is the national governments and their

ministries that are responsible for creating the preconditions for participating in EU regional policy-making and implementation and for contributing to economic and social cohesion.

(5) **Co-ordination of those elements of fiscal, subsidy, environmental, and agricultural policies that have a strong spatial impact** so as to comply with the *acquis communautaire* in these fields and avoiding distortion of competition including “eco-dumping” is another important task. In general, a fair balance will have to be found between the interests of the ACs for a selective and slow implementation of the costly elements of the *acquis communautaire*, and the contrary interests of the present MCs. A fair solution could be that during the transition period, the ACs adopt each year a balanced combination of cost and benefit intensive directives and regulations.

(6) Spatial development and regional policy should be based on a clear understanding of the distinction between **resources that determine regional development potentials** and the **factors that influence their rates of utilisation**. This allows to develop adequately differentiated two-tier strategies for regional development. Such strategies can easily be adjusted to cross-national, cross-regional and cross-local co-operation where this appears to be beneficial.

(7) Among the resources with a high potentiality factor character, “**infrastructure**” represents a strong policy instrument despite the increasing trend towards privatisation. The reason is that infrastructure is still and largely financed or subsidised through public funds. This applies to investment in new or existing infrastructure capacities as well as to investment aiming at improving access to and utilisation of these existing capacities. There is a clear link with the second ESDP sphere of activity, i.e. **parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge**. However, most CEECs have a substantial quantitative and qualitative deficit of infrastructure so that creating new capacities will have to be given priority in many cases.

- (8) The degree of agglomeration of urban systems is in an intermediate position as far as the possibility to influence it through policy intervention is concerned. Appropriate framework regulations and incentive-based policies can contribute to a **polycentric spatial development and a new urban-rural relationship**. Due to the economies of scale involved, urban systems and networks with a high but not excessive degree of agglomeration do contribute significantly to the development potential of their region and their country concerned. However, to the extent that a country does not possess a sufficient number of adequately agglomerated urban systems and networks, the positive spread effects to be expected for the rural hinterland from the existing city systems in ACs tend to be lower and polarisation effects higher.
- (9) In addition to central or peripheral location and the constitutional-institutional framework, the benefits to be derived from a given **urban-rural system** also depend on its material infrastructure basis. In this context, special attention will have to be paid to the composition of the total infrastructure available within a given urban-rural region and possible bottlenecks. Identifying major quantitative and qualitative bottlenecks with a view to invest there represents a more efficient strategy than expanding all infrastructure capacities simultaneously. The urban network strategy has, therefore, to be carefully differentiated when applied to ACs.
- (10) A similar argument applies to **sectoral structure**. Here the framework conditions in terms of market access, competition, R&D, and environmental regulation, are open to policy interventions. However, only in highly developed regions services represent the major growth potential. As far as ACs are concerned, it is, therefore, suggested not only to concentrate attention on the tertiary sector as proposed in the ESDP, but also to consider the special importance of industry and, in some CEECs regions, of agriculture. Again, a very careful, country and region specific approach is necessary.
- (11) As far as the third ESDP sphere of activity, **wise management of natural and cultural heritage**, is concerned, in general the ESDP principles apply. Natural and cultural heritage do represent resources with a high potential for regional development. However, given the heavy environmental legacy, the emergence of water conflicts in some parts of the CEECs, and the lower financial capacities of ACs, also in this sphere of activity a more differentiated and region-specific approach is required.
- (12) In order to help to bridge the differences in national legal and administrative systems, it is proposed to **develop tailored elements for individual issues as model-solutions for bi- or multilateral cross-border co-operation**. Examples are facilitating cross-border administrative procedures and tax treatments of cross-border activities. Taxation issues could be dealt with in the framework of the existing double-taxation treaties between the countries concerned and could take the form of bi- or multilateral agreements. On this basis and taking into account the experiences already made in previous cross-border co-operation programs, regional and local governments of the countries concerned could save efforts and money when engaging in cross-border co-operation. The EC could use these results in order to develop principles, elements and options for EU-wide applications. This could help to avoid that each future cross-border project starts afresh, to reduce the cost of developing new solutions, to speed up the decision-making process concerning the adoption of these solutions and to facilitate the transfer of experiences.

Statistical annex

- Table A: Selected characteristics of the 10 Central and Eastern European Accession Countries and Cyprus according to official European sources
- Table B: Additional basic data and information on factors determining the development potential
- Table C: Potentiality factor endowment of EU-Member States and of Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs) 1995
- Table D: Normalised indicators and rankings for GDP per capita and infrastructure endowment of EU-Member States and of Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs) 1995
- Table E: Decentralisation in the Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs)
- Table F: Regional Income Data of 10 CEECs

Table A: Selected characteristics of the 10 Central and Eastern European Accession Countries and Cyprus according to official European sources

Indicators	unit	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia	Cyprus ^{a)}
1. Basic data												
Total area	1000 km ²	111	79	45	93	65	65	313	238	49	20	9
Data 1995												
Agricultural area	% of tot. area	55.5	54.3	32.0	66.4	39.3	54.0	59.1	61.8	49.9	38.7	-
Population	in 1000	8,385	10,321	1,476	10,212	2,502	3,711	38,609	22,656	5,368	1,990	736
- Rate of increase 1993/96	% p.a.	-0.4	0.0	-0.7	-0.2	-1.1	-0.2	0.1	-0.2	0.2	-0.1	-
- Age group: 15-65	% of tot. pop.	66.8	68.0	66.2	67.7	65.9	66.0	66.0	67.4	66.3	69.4	64.0 ⁷⁾
- Urban population	% of tot. pop.	67.8	74.7	69.8	62.6	68.9	68.0	61.8	54.9	57.0	50.1	54.1 ⁷⁾
- Ethnic minorities (estimated)	% of tot. pop.	15-18	7	35	6	44	20	1,3	13-15	18-23	8	-
Mortality rates	per 1000 inh.	14.0	11.4	14.1	14.2	13.8	12.0	10.0	12.6	9.8	9.5	15.4 ⁷⁾
Birth rates	per 1000 inh.	8.7	9.3	9.1	11.0	7.9	11.0	11.2	10.2	11.5	9.5	7.7 ⁷⁾
Life expectancy at birth												
- males	years	67.1	70.0	61.7	65.3	60.8	63.6	67.6	65.7	68.4	70.3	75.3 ¹⁾
- females	years	74.9	76.9	74.3	74.5	73.1	75.2	76.4	73.4	76.3	77.8	79.8 ¹⁾
Migration balance	per 1000 inh.	0.0	1.0	-5.4	0.0	-4.2	-0.5	-0.5	-0.9	0.5	0.4	3.1
Population density	per km ²	75.8	130.9	32.6	109.8	38.7	56.8	123.5	95.0	109.5	98.3	79.5
Data 1997												
Population	in 1000	8,285	10,299	1,462 ²⁾	10,135	2,458	3,705	38,660	22,526	5,388	1,985	746,1
Life expectancy at birth												
- males	years	-	70.5	64.5 ²⁾	66.5	64.0	65.0 ²⁾	68.5	65.2	68.9	71.0	75.0 ³⁾
- females	years	-	77.5	75.5 ²⁾	75.0	75.0	76.1 ²⁾	77.0	73	76.7	78.6	80.0 ³⁾
Population density	per km ²	74.6	130.6	32,3 ²⁾	108.9	38.1	56.7	123.6	94.5	109,9	97,9	80.7
2. Economy												
Data 1995												
Active population	in 1000	3,847.8	5,270.0	730.0	4,095.0	1,699.7	1,926.0	17,004.0	12,120.0	2,481.0	952.0	282.0 ⁷⁾
Active population ratio	% of pop.>15 y.	51.5	61.7	68.5	55.9	67.6	61.4	58.8	67.2	59.8	58.7	93.0
Unemployment rate	% of active pop.	14.7	4.1	9.7	9.5	18.9	-	13.3	8	13.2	7.4	2.6
Sectoral employment												
- Agriculture	% of tot. empl.	23.9	-	10.5	-	18.5	23.8	-	34.4	-	-	10.8
- Industry (incl. building + constr.)	% of tot. empl.	33.6	-	34.0	-	25.8	28.2	-	33.6	-	-	25.4
- Services	% of tot. empl.	42.5	-	55.5	-	55.7	48	-	32	-	-	63.8
GDP (current prices)	billions€	11.0	38.8	2.7	34.1	3.4	4.6	91.0	27.1	13.3	14.3	6.802
GDP per capita (current prices)	€capita	1,300	3,800	1,800	3,300	1,400	1,200	2,400	1,200	2,500	7,200	10,600
GDP in PPS ⁸⁾	bn€ in PPS	35.4	97.2	5.9	64.6	7.9	15.3	203.3	94.3	38.0	20.1	-
GDP per capita in PPS	€cap. in PPS	4,900	10,800	5,600	7,800	4,300	4,800	6,200	5,600	7,400	11,300	-
GDP growth rates	% of prev. year	2.9	6.4	4.3	1.5	-0.8	3.3	7.0	7.1	6.9	4.1	5.8

Indicators	unit	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia	Cyprus ³⁾
Data 1995												
- Agriculture	% of GVA	13.9	4.6	7.9	6.7	10.8	11.7	7.5	20.7	6.0	4.5	5.4
- Industry (incl. building + constr.)	% of GVA	33.6	41.7	29	30.9	33.2	33.2	39.8	41.4	32.7	37.6	24.1
- Services	% of GVA	52.5	53.7	63.1	62.4	56.0	55.0	52.7	37.9	61.3	57.9	70.5
Change of industry share 90/95	percentage points	-3.8	-16.9	-	-5.9	-13.1	-7.6	-	-3.4	-4.6	-22.1	-
Gross fixed capital formation	% of GDP	15.3	32.8	26.0	20.0	17.6	23.0	16.9	21.4	27.4	21.2	
Inflation rate	% to prev. year	62.1	9.1	29.0	28.2	25.0	39.6	27.8	32.3	9.9 ⁴⁾	12.6	2.6
Volume-index of ind. prod.	prev. year=100	104.5	109.2	101.9	104.6	96.3	105.3	110.2	109.4	108.3	102.0	100.5
Volume-index of agric. prod.	prev. year=100	116.0	105	100.2	102.6	94	106	110.7	104.5	102.4	102.3	116.0
Trade balance	million €	93	-2,817	-515	-1860	-443	-534	-1,258	1,206	-175	-730	-989
Data 1997												
Active population ratio	% of pop.>15 y.	51.6	61.1	64.2	55	59.7	62.3	57.7	64.8	59.5	57.6 ²⁾	93.2
Unemployment rate	% of active pop.	15	4.7	10.5	8.1	14.4	14.1	11.2	6	11.6	7.3 ²⁾	3.4
Sectoral employment												
- Agriculture	% of tot. empl.	24.4 ²⁾	5.8	9.9	7.9	18.3	21.9	20.5	39	8.6	10.1 ²⁾	10.0
- Industry (incl. building + constr.)	% of tot. empl.	32.6 ²⁾	41.6	33.8	33.1	25.5	27.2	32	30.4	39.3	42.2 ²⁾	23.7
- Services	% of tot. empl.	43 ²⁾	52.6	56.7	59	56.2	50.9	47.5	30.6	52.1	52.3 ²⁾	66.3
GDP (current prices)	billion €	9.0	45.9	4.2	39.6	4.9	8.4	119.7	30.6	17.2	16.1	7,477
GDP per capita (current prices)	€capita	1,100	4,500	2,800	3,900	2,000	2,300	3,100	1,400	3,200	8,100	11,400
GDP in PPS ³⁾	bn € in PPS	36.6	124.9	10.3	93.8	12.7	21.3	268.3	131.5	47.5	25.8	-
GDP per capita in PPS	€cap. in PPS	4,400	12,000	7,000	8,900	5,100	5,800	7,500	5,800	8,900	13,000	-
GDP growth rates	% of prev. year	-6.9	1.0	11.4	4.4	6.5	5.7	6.9	-6.6	6.5	3.8	2.5
Sectoral structure of output												
- Agriculture	% of GVA	26.2	-	-	-	7.4	12.7	6.9 ²⁾	20.1	-	4.4 ²⁾	4.5
- Industry (incl. building + constr.)	% of GVA	29.5	-	-	-	30.7	31.3	37.7 ²⁾	43.7	-	37.6 ²⁾	22.7
- Services	% of GVA	44.4	-	-	-	61.9	56.0	55.3 ²⁾	36.2	-	58.0 ²⁾	72.8
Gross fixed capital formation	% of GDP	11.3	30.7	26.5	22.3	18.7	22.00	20.8	19.2	38.6	22.5 ²⁾	18.4
Inflation rate	% to prev. year	123.0 ²⁾	8.6	23.1 ²⁾	18.3	17.6 ²⁾	24.6 ²⁾	15.0	38.8 ²⁾	6.1	9.7 ²⁾	3.6
Volume-index of ind. prod.	prev. year=100	103.8 ²⁾	104.5	113.4	111.1	106.1	100.7	111.2	94.1	102.7	101.0	99.3
Vol.-index of agric. prod.	prev. year=100	121.1	94.9	97.8	99.4	100.2	106	99.1	103.1	99.2	101.6 ²⁾	86.3
Trade balance	million €	348	-4,628 ²⁾	-1,043	-2,089 ²⁾	-826	-1,012	-5,739 ²⁾	-1,945 ²⁾	-1,306	-680	-1,099
3. Public finance 1995												
Consolidated state expenditure	% of GDP	45.8	49.2	37.5	-	41.3	35.4	49.0	34.0	-	-	-
Consolidated central state expenditure	% of GDP	41.4	41.2	31.9	-	32.0	27.4	43.4	32.0	-	42.5	-
Consolidated state budget deficit/surplus	% of GDP	-5.2	-1.3	3.2	-6.1	-5.1	-1.7	-1.9	-2.0	-	-	-
Consolidated central state budget deficit/surplus	% of GDP	-5.2	-1.1	3.2	-5.0	-3.0	-1.9	-2.2	-2.1	-	-0.3	-
Foreign debt	% of GDP	44.5	25.6	9.4	65.1	10.9	12.3	27.7	16.6	19.6	10.9	29.2 ⁶⁾

Table B: Additional basic data and information on factors determining the development potential												
Indicators	unit	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia	Cyprus
1. Total area and land-use												
Total area ³⁾	1000 km ²	111	79	45	93	65	65	313	238	49	20	9
Utilisation of soil 1993/94												
Agricultural area ¹³⁾	% of tot. area	54.4	55.3	34.4	66.3	40.9	54.3	61.4	64.2	50.9	39.2	-
Arable land	% of tot. area	38.2 ¹²⁾	40.2	27.1 ¹²⁾	50.7	28.1 ¹²⁾	47.0 ¹²⁾	45.8	34.1 ¹²⁾	30.2	12.1	-
Permanent crops	% of tot. area	-	0.3	-	2.4	-	-	0.9	-	2.6	2.8	-
Permanent meadows	% of tot. area	16.3	11.1	7.3	12.4	12.9	7.3	12.9	21.2	17.0	27.6	-
Forest area ¹¹⁾ 1994	% of tot. area	35.1	33.3	47.7	19.1	46.2	30.9	28.5	29.0	40.6	50.4	-
Protected area 1994/95												
National parks ¹⁷⁾	1000 ha	370.0	1,067.0	412.0	574.0	775.0	625.0	3,069.0	1,074.0	1,016.0	108.0	-
National parks ¹⁷⁾	% of tot. area	3.3	13.5	9.1	6.2	12.0	9.6	9.8	4.5	20.7	5.3	-
Biosphere areas ¹⁸⁾	1000 ha	25.0	363.0	1,560.0	129.0	-	-	164.0	614.0	203.0	-	-
Wet areas ¹⁹⁾	1000 ha	2.0	28.0	49.0	115.0	-	43.0	7.0	647.0	26.0	1.0	-
2. Emission of pollutants 1990/91												
- SO ₂	1000 t	633.0	1774.0	238.9	505.0	53.5	142.6	1,605.0	900.0	539.0	195.0	-
- NO _x	1000 t	156.0	726.0	22.6	249.0	14.2	35.2	1,205.0	21.0	245.0	53.0	-
- CO	1000 t	1,050.0	1,104.0	59.9	1,800.0	36.4	91.5	2,263.0	1,142.0	403.0	-	-
- Dust	1000 t	808.0	591.0	-	343.0	-	-	1,680.0	785.0	-	-	-
3. Population and agglomeration												
Total population ³⁾ 1995	1000	8,385	10,321	1,476	10,212	2,502	3,711	38,609	22,656	5,368	1,990	736
by age-groups 1994/95												
- below 15 years	%	18	19	21	16	21	22	23	20	23	-	24.9 ²⁰⁾
- 65 and more	%	15	12	13	14	13	12	11	12	11	-	11.1 ²⁰⁾
- 20-24 years	1000	601.0	837.2	106.2 ⁴⁾	809.5	170.4	282.0 ⁴⁾	2,664.0 ⁵⁾	1,811.7	382.1 ⁴⁾	141.2 ⁵⁾	46.4
- 20-24 years/tot. pop.	%	7.21	8.11	6.90 ⁴⁾	7.93	6.81	7.50 ⁴⁾	6.90 ⁵⁾	8.00	7.20 ⁴⁾	7.10 ⁵⁾	7.7
Yearly rate of increase ¹⁶⁾												
- 1990-95	%	-0.50	-0.02	-0.58	-0.49	-0.87	-0.06	0.14	-0.32	0.36	0.29	1.11
- 2005-2010	%	-0.36	0.09	-0.13	-0.24	-0.15	0.18	0.32	-0.08	0.43	-0.18	0.74
Share of urban pop. ¹⁾ 1997	%	69	66	73	65	73	73	64	56	59	52	-
Yearly rate of increase of rural population 1990-95	%	-2.44	-0.29	-1.51	-1.92	-2.03	-2.29	-1.11	-1.25	-0.72	-2.07	-0.02
4. Economic performance												
GDP - 1995												
const. prices/exch. rates 1990	million US-\$	17,460	27,040	-	29,320	1,150 ⁴⁾	1,380 ⁴⁾	65,780	34,250	13,410	13,290	-
GDP - 1995												
const. prices/exch. rates 1990	US-\$/capita	1,990	2,630	1,070	2,900	450 ⁴⁾	370 ⁴⁾	1,710	1,500	2,510	6,830	-

Indicators	unit	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia	Cyprus
GDP growth rates ¹⁾ 15)1990-96												
in prices/exch. rates 1990	%	-3.5	-1.0	-6.5	-0.4	-10.7	-6.0	3.2	0.0	-1.0	4.3	-
5. Sectoral production structure												
Average yearly changes ²⁾ 1990-96												
- Agriculture	%	-3.3	-8.2	-6.5	-5.0	-13.0	8.7	-2.0	-0.4	1.9	-0.2	-
- Industry	%	-4.9	-5.2	-11.6	1.1	-20.2	-10.4	3.7	-2.1	-7.2	0.1	-
- Services	%	-0.6	-3.6	-1.7	-3.2	-1.2	-4.6	2.4	-2.8	6.4	3.6	-
6. Point-type infrastructure 1994/95												
Hospitals ⁶⁾	number	203	143	-	-	166	198 ⁵⁾	698 ⁵⁾	430 ⁴⁾	-	24	-
- Beds	1000	70.7	70.9	-	-	27.8	43.6 ⁵⁾	214.8 ⁵⁾	179.2 ⁴⁾	66.7	11.5	1.1
- Inh./bed	inh.	118 ⁴⁾	-	-	-	79 ⁴⁾	85 ⁴⁾	-	127 ⁴⁾	80 ⁵⁾	173 ⁵⁾	195
Pupils/students ¹⁹⁾ 1994	1000	1,221	1,835	-	1,642	423	-	8,496	3,838	2,987	-	-
Pupils/Students tertiary sector ¹⁾ 1995	%		39	21	38	19	26	28	27	18	20	32
-												
Professional schools ⁶⁾	number	226	727	50 ⁴⁾ 8)	349	81	104 ⁵⁾ 8)	9,655	739	344 ⁵⁾	-	-
Prof. schools pupils/ teacher-rate			23.9	-	-	-	-	21.0	64.2 ⁵⁾	-	-	-
Universities ⁶⁾ 1994/95	number	40	23	10 ⁴⁾	90	19	15 ⁵⁾	140	63	14 ⁵⁾	30	-
- Teachers	1000	18.5	13.5	-	18.1	-	-	65.3	19.1	7.7 ⁵⁾	3.1	-
- Students	1000	175.8 ¹⁰⁾	127.1	25.6 ⁴⁾	107.1 ⁴⁾	37.6	55 ⁵⁾	584	235.7 ⁵⁾	69.6 ⁵⁾	40.2	7.7
R&D - institutions ⁶⁾	number	-	-	-	1,442	92	-	-	285	-	177 ⁵⁾	-
- Empl. persons	number	31,924	38,752	-	38,088	3,072	-	-	58,735	29,317	10,359 ⁵⁾	366
7. Network-type infrastructure 1995/96												
Rail network: length of tracks	km	4,291	9,413	1,019	7,714	2,413	2,660	24,894	11,371	3,675	1,201	-
- tracks with standard width	km	4,046	-	-	-	2,380	-	23,300 ⁵⁾	-	1,415 ⁵⁾	-	-
- electrified	km	2,645	2,744	-	2,353	271	-	11,500 ⁵⁾	3,782 ⁴⁾	1,415 ⁵⁾	499	-
- 2-tracks	km	964	1,875	-	1,195	-	-	-	-	-	332	-
Air-traffic ¹⁾ departures 1996	1000	14	27	5	25	17	7	36	17	3	8	22 ²⁰⁾
Road network ²⁾ total 1996	km	36,720	55,489	15,304	158,633	60,046	65,135	374,990	153,358	36,608	14,910	10,117
- Highways. long distance roads	km	3,075	6,410	1,125	29,653	7,037	4,476	45,417	14,570	6,992	1,366	-
- Regional roads	km	10,055	14,334	2,666	52,683	13,375	16,241	128,684	153,358	10,658	3,428	-
- Asphalted ¹⁴⁾	%	91.8	100	53.2	43.1	38.3	87.6	65.4	51	98.8	82	58.9
Road network density ²⁾ 1996	m/km ²	330.84	703.55	338.38	1,705.18	929.66	997.46	1199.24	643.33	746.49	736.30	-
Primary energy prod. ¹⁾ 1995	1000 metr t oil-equivalents	1,810	30,448	3,117	13,295	322	3,316	94,666	30,008	4,846	2,578	-

Indicators	unit	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia	Cyprus
Primary energy prod. per capita ¹⁾ 1995	1000 metr t oil-equivalents/10.000 inh.	11.76	29.50	21.11	13.02	1.29	8.93	24.52	13.25	9.03	12.95	-
Telephone mainlines. ¹⁾ 1996 per 1000 inh.	number/ 1000 inh.	313	273	299	261	298	268	169	140	232	333	-
8. Social indicator												
Medical doctors total ⁶⁾ per 100.000 inh.	number/100.000 inh.	333	370	-	-	340	353 ⁴⁾	221 ⁵⁾	182 ⁴⁾	358 ⁵⁾	200 ⁴⁾	240
Annotations												
The table is mainly based on data from publications of the Statistisches Bundesamt, publications of the respective states (National Statistical Yearbooks) and data from the European Commission's statements concerning the accession countries (Agenda 2000). Additional sources are: OECD, UN, World Bank and World Road Federation.												
¹⁾ Source: World Bank 1998.												
²⁾ Source: World Road Federation.												
³⁾ Source: European Commission 1997a, 1999b.												
⁴⁾ Data referring to 1992.												
⁵⁾ Data referring to 1993.												
⁶⁾ Limited inter-country comparability due to different statistical definitions.												
⁷⁾ In per cent of population in relevant age-class.												
⁸⁾ Technical professional schools only.												
⁹⁾ Without private schools.												
¹⁰⁾ Including foreign students.												
¹¹⁾ Including cleared forest areas, which are going to be retimbered soon.												
¹²⁾ Including gardens, fallow land and permanent crops.												
¹³⁾ Related to the respective total area not including inland waters.												
¹⁴⁾ Cyprus: length of roads with stone- or asphalted surface.												
¹⁵⁾ Average yearly growth rates based on OECD-data (National Accounts).												
¹⁶⁾ Average yearly rate of increase based on the population estimates of the UN.												
¹⁷⁾ Corresponding to the first five categories of the "World Conservation Union" (former IUCN)-classification.												
¹⁸⁾ Areas of international significance. In general the areas concerned are also included in the protected national parc areas.												
¹⁹⁾ Primary, secondary and tertiary education level. Classification not according to school type but to education level according to ISCED-classification of the UNESCO. Limited inter-country comparability due to different education systems. Primary level: providing the basic elements of education, pupils starting at the age of 6 years. Secondary level: providing general or specialized instruction at middle, secondary or high schools, teacher training schools, and vocational or technical schools; based on at least four years of instruction at first level. Tertiary level: Education level requiring as a minimum condition of admission the successful completion of education at the second level or evidence of attainment of an equivalent level of knowledge; provided at a university, teachers college, or higher-level professional school. Data referring to both public and private schools. Special schools and institutions for adults' education have not been taken into account.												
²⁰⁾ Information transmitted by the Government of Cyprus. Total area and total population figures referring to the entire island, the other data only to the Government controlled area.												

Table C: Potentiality factor endowment of EU-Member States and of Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs) 1995							
	Geographical location	Agglomeration	Sectoral Structure in % of national GDP			Total Infrastructure Indicator*	
Countries	distance between national capitals and Frankfurt /Main in km	population density (inh./km2)	share of agriculture	share of industry	share of services	combined share of industry and services	in % of country with maximum endowment (NL=100)
AU	596	95.55	2.3	35.6	62.2	97.8	46.66
BE	317	332.38	1.7	31.0	67.3	98.3	69.21
DK	671	120.39	4.1	27.8	68.1	95.9	70.39
DE	0	229.17	1.1	34.4	64.6	99.0	57.68
FIN	1524	15.17	4.4	34.8	60.8	95.6	40.08
FR	477	107.01	2.5	27.6	69.9	97.5	54.78
GR	1801	79.42	14.9	25.0	60.0	85.0	27.53
UK	632	240.09	1.9	30.5	67.6	98.1	77.93
IRL	1085	51.52	8.0	36.1	55.8	91.9	36.91
IT	959	189.92	2.9	32.0	65.1	97.1	35.71
LUX	189	158.55	1.0	23.7	75.3	99.0	84.87
NL	365	382.01	3.5	28.3	68.2	96.5	100.00
PO	1893	106.74	5.1	33.6	61.3	94.9	21.24
SW	1187	19.61	2.3	31.5	66.2	97.7	43.88
SP	1444	78.41	3.1	34.3	62.6	96.9	31.40
Bulgaria	1386	75.75	13.9	336	52.5	85.1	21.51
Czech Rep.	408	130.86	5.2	41.4	53.4	94.8	30.61
Estonia	1454	32.64	8.1	28.2	63.7	91.9	25.92
Hungary	815	109.77	8.0	33.0	59.0	92.0	22.76
Latvia	1269	38.73	9.9	33.0	57.1	90.1	12.81
Lithuania	1231	56.84	9.3	35.7	55.0	90.7	21.41
Poland	890	123.47	7.6	39.3	53.1	92.4	27.47
Romania	1452	95.04	20.5	42.5	36.9	79.4	15.04
Slovak Rep.	650	109.46	6.3	37.0	57.2	94.2	16.82
Slovenia	624	98.27	5.0	37.1	57.9	95.0	29.72

* The total infrastructure indicator comprises transportation, energy, telecommunication, and education. See Table D.
Source: Own calculations on the basis of own data bank. The original figures are from European Commission, Statistisches Bundesamt, World Bank, and International Road Federation.

Table D: Normalised indicators ¹⁾ and rankings for GDP per capita and infrastructure endowment of EU-Member States and of Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs) 1995

Countries	GDP per Capita ²⁾		Transportation ³⁾		Energy		Telecommunication		Education		Total Infrastructure ⁴⁾	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
Austria	68.90 %	4	56.66 %	5	6.29 %	12	68.28 %	10	67.16 %	7	45.63 %	8
Belgium	68.99 %	3	100.00 % ^{b)}	1	23.68 %	5	67.11 %	11	73.13 %	3	74.52 %	4
Denmark	70.44 %	2	71.85 %	3	22.35 %	6	90.01 %	2	67.16 %	7	71.24 %	5
Finland	56.23 %	12	50.26 % ^{c)}	9	2.37 %	22	80.76 %	5	100.00 %	1	39.98 %	10
France	65.30 %	6	36.56 %	11	14.50 %	8	81.94 %	4	74.63 %	2	54.15 %	7
Germany	66.66 %	5	39.70 %	10	24.85 %	3	72.39 %	8	64.18 %	9	59.05 %	6
Greece	39.28 %	15	32.51 %	12	4.26 %	18	72.39 %	8	56.72 %	13	35.05 %	13
Ireland	57.59 %	11	75.74 %	2	3.18 %	20	53.60 %	14	55.22 %	15	37.10 %	11
Italy	64.13 %	7	26.01 %	15	5.91 %	14	63.73 %	12	61.19 %	11	35.51 %	12
Luxembourg	100.00 %	1	52.31 % ^{d)}	6	- ^{a)}	- ^{a)}	83.55 %	3	- ^{a)}	- ^{a)}	84.37 % ^{e)}	2
Netherlands	63.00 %	8	66.85 %	4	100.00 %	1	77.09 %	7	73.13 %	3	100.00 %	1
Portugal	41.90 %	14	27.29 %	13	1.26 %	23	53.01 %	15	50.75 %	16	22.27 %	21
Sweden	59.98 %	10	52.30 %	7	4.36 %	16	100.00 %	1	64.18 %	9	44.39 %	9
Spain	46.01 %	13	26.90 %	14	3.86 %	19	56.53 %	13	68.66 %	6	32.16 %	15
United Kingdom	60.15 %	9	51.09 %	8	64.93 %	2	73.72 %	6	71.64 %	5	82.57 %	3
Bulgaria	14.88 %	21	8.68 %	23	5.54 %	15	49.19 %	16	58.21 %	12	24.58 %	19
Czech Republic	33.26 %	17	15.86 %	17	24.00 %	4	34.65 %	21	31.34 %	23	32.36 %	14
Estonia	13.85 %	24	14.50 %	20	4.28 %	17	40.68 %	19	56.72 %	13	24.83 %	18
Hungary	22.31 %	19	15.51 %	19	8.88 %	9	27.17 %	23	28.36 %	23	23.04 %	20
Latvia	11.17 %	25	9.84 %	22	0.31 %	24	41.12 %	18	38.81 %	20	10.66 %	25
Lithuania	14.59 %	22	15.63 %	18	3.16 %	21	37.30 %	20	41.79 %	18	21.25 %	22
Poland	18.80 %	20	12.46 %	21	18.82 %	7	21.73 %	24	40.30 %	19	27.17 %	17
Romania	14.33 %	23	6.84 %	24	7.82 %	11	19.24 %	25	26.87 %	24	16.46 %	24
Slovak Republic	25.16 %	18	5.74 %	25	6.14 %	13	30.54 %	22	29.85 %	22	17.09 %	23
Slovenia	35.74 %	16	18.30 %	16	7.91 %	10	45.37 %	17	47.76 %	17	30.21 %	16
Coefficient of Correlation with GDP per Capita												0.807551785

¹⁾ National values in per cent of country with the highest indicator value. ²⁾ GDP per Capita 1995 in purchasing power standards. ³⁾ The transportation indicator consists of the subcategories paved roads, railroads, and aircraft departures. ⁴⁾ The total infrastructure indicator comprises transportation, energy, telecommunication, and education. ^{a)} Data not available; ^{b)} In the subcategory paved roads the share of paved roads on all roads was estimated at 95 %; ^{c)} Transportation infrastructure indicator without railroads; ^{d)} Transportation infrastructure indicator without aircraft departures; ^{e)} Total infrastructure indicator without energy and education.

Source: Own calculations on the basis of data from European Commission, Statistisches Bundesamt, World Bank, and International Road Federation.

Table E/1: Decentralisation in the Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs)					
Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Area	111,000 km ²	79,800 km ²	45,100 km ²	93,030 km ²	64,500 km ²
Population	8.38 million	10.3 million	1.57 million	10.3 million	2.5 million
Administrative structure	National level 9 districts (<i>oblasti</i>), 255 communities (<i>obshchina</i>)	National level 75 Okresu, 6,231 local authorities	National level 15 regions (<i>maakonds</i>), 254 communities (<i>vald</i>)	National level 3,126 local authorities (incl. capital and 22 with Komitat (administrative district) rights; 19 Komitat authorities)	National level 26 regions (<i>rajons</i>) 7 independent towns 70 towns 491 communities (<i>pagasts</i>)
State of political reforms	1991 legislation on local government. The Bulgarian government is planning regional administrative reforms. The 9 regions are to be divided up into between 12 and 21 districts.	Creation of a second chamber at national level (senate); 1st elections 22/23 Nov. 96 on the basis of electoral districts drawn up for this purpose. Legislation draft on regionalization passed by the parliament on 23.10.97. In the year 2000 14 regions (13 + Prague) will be introduced. Due to difficult negotiations the reform is expected to come into force only after the year 2000. It is expected that agreement will be reached on the second chamber. The competences of the government will be regulated by 20 new laws. Ministry of Regional Development since 1.11.96.	Local government is based on the constitution of 28.6.1992 (Articles 154-160). Legislation of 2.6.1993 on local government. The possibility of free elections for regional chairmen (<i>maavanem</i>) is currently under consideration.	Proposed draft constitution rejected by parliament; currently negotiations without new document. Law on local government in version of 1994 for Komitat bodies: 1) direct election, 2) rights of local government, extension of competence, 3) Delimitation to local authorities.	Legislation on local government at community level and legislation on local government of towns, 24.4.1991; legislation on local government of districts of 5.2.1992; new version of legislation of 19.5.1994; amendments of 8.5.1995; 23.5.1996; 5.2.1997 and 5.8.1997. Current restructuring on the basis of the legislation on territorial administrative reform of 14.6.1996; voluntary association of local authorities by 1.1.1999. In future the regional council is to be composed of the chairmen of the community and town councils.

Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Special features		81 senators elected for 6 years, of these 1/3 every 2 years.	Regional chairmen attend government sessions, where they may make proposals but not vote. The Union of Estonian Associations of Local Authorities was founded in March 1993 and confirmed by the government on 27.5.1993. It has the right to negotiate with the government in the name of the regions and communities.	Law on regional development: regional development councils at regional and Komitat level.	Under articles 95 and 96 of the legislation of 19.5.1994 the government must discuss all matters which affect communities with the latter. This is done in a committee to which the communities send their representatives.
Sub-national / regional level	9 Regions (<i>oblasti</i>)	14 regions Legislation draft passed by the parliament on 23.10.97. However, this number will only be valid after completing the territorial reform in the year 2000.	15 Regions (<i>maakond</i>)	19 Komitats (with local government powers) 22 towns with Komitat rights	26 Regions (Rajons) 7 independent towns
Constitutional basis	As an administrative territorial unit, Article 142 of the constitution. No autonomy; the districts carry out central government activity on a local level	Chap. VII of the constitution on 16.02.92 (no. 1/1993 Sb; art. 99 - 105).	None	Chap. 9, Art. 42	None Legislation on local government of 19.5.1994; amendments of 8.5.1995; 23.5.1996; 5.2.1997 and 5.8.1997.
Regional representative bodies at national level	None	Not yet in existence, in discussion.	The Union of Estonian Associations of Local Authorities was founded in March 1993, and confirmed by the government on 27.5.1993. It has the right to negotiate with the government in the name of the regions and communities.	None	None

Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Representative bodies at regional level	None	Not yet in existence, in discussion.	None	<i>Komitat</i> assembly directly elected	<i>Padomk rajons</i> elected directly for four years by communities. In future the regional council is to be composed of the chairmen of community and town councils.
National representative bodies at regional level	<i>Oblasten upravitel</i> appointed by the national government (i.e. the Council of Ministers) (senior body of national administration and additional state levels).	Not yet in existence, in discussion.	<i>Maavanem</i> appointed by the national government (senior body of national administration and additional state levels).	<i>Közigazgatási Hivatal</i> <i>Vezető</i> head of administration offices of government, appointed by minister of interior and under indirect control of government; in 1996 a number of decentralized units were placed under its control, but many separate decentralized units still exist.	<i>Prieksedetajis</i> elected for four years.
Legislative powers	None	Not yet in existence, in discussion.	None	Decrees of <i>Komitat</i> local government are only binding for them; the law on regional development makes it possible to impose obligations on lower planning levels.	None
Administrative powers	Independent discharge of administrative duties; supervision and control of internal administration. The exact division of competences is still under discussion, definition in Article 143, para. 3 of the Bulgarian constitution	Not yet in existence, in discussion.	Independent discharge of administrative duties; management and control of internal administration, environmental, cultural and infrastructural policy; the health service.	Since 1994: regional development plans; tourism, coordination of environmental and infra-structure policy. Emphasis still on regional institutions such as schools.	Independent discharge of administrative duties; management and control of internal administration, environmental, cultural and infrastructural policy; the health service.

Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Finances	State financed	Not applicable	State financed	Primarily state-financed	Taxes and charges (20.7%) State financed
Control of the immediate sub-national level	<i>Oblasten upravitel</i> responsible to the government.	Not applicable	<i>Maavanem</i> responsible to the government.	Statutory supervision by head of administration; but only a court can alter or overturn decisions of <i>Komitat</i> local government.	State control under the legislation of 7.9.1995. Each district or town council (in independent towns) must convene an audit committee to carry out annual audits.
Intermediate levels above community level	<i>Oblasten upravitel</i> appointed by the government.	75 <i>Okresu</i> , law of 9/10/1990 <i>Prednosta okresu</i> , appointed by government on nomination by minister of interior (Art. 8 of law of 9/10/1990).	None	Not applicable	None
Administrative powers	Implementation of national policy at regional level; coordination of inter-community duties; precise allocation of powers still under discussion.	<i>Prednosta okresu</i> can make regulations (<i>Narizeni</i>).	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable

Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Community level	255 communities (<i>obsthina</i>)	6,231 local authorities	254 communities (<i>vald</i>)	3,148 local authorities	491 communities (<i>pagasts</i>) 70 towns
Constitutional basis / local government at community level	In the 1991 constitution and in the 1991 legislation on local government.	Chap. 7 Art. 99ff of the constitution of 16/12/1992; law of 4/9/1990.	Local government is based on the constitution of 28.6.1992 (articles 154- 160) and on the legislation on local government of 2.6.1993.	The law XX/1949 has been modified several times, especially 1989; Chap. IX about self-gov- ernment was recently added.	Legislation of 19.5.1994 on local government, with amendments of 23.5.1996, 5.2.1997 and 5.8.1997.
Community representative bodies at the immediate sub-national or national level	District assembly not elected directly but con- sists of elected community councillors.	Okresni shromazdeni, elected by local councils in free, secret elections. Approval, supervision and distribution of budget of Okres (Art. 18b of law of 4/9/1990).	Association of communities, c.f. articles 62 and 63 of the legisla- tion on local government of 2.6.1993; voluntary association of communi- ties.	National self-government associations have a con- sultative right in regard to government and parlia- ment.	Under articles 95 and 96 of the legislation of 19.5.1994, the govern- ment must discuss all matters which affect com- munities with the latter. This is done in a commit- tee to which the communi- ties send their representa- tives.
Representative bodies at community level	Community councils	Local councils	Community councils	Local councils	Community councils

Country	Bulgaria	Czech Republic	Estonia	Hungary	Latvia
Independent duties / powers	Independent decisions on and implementation of locally-important duties; statutory duties include safeguarding the economy and the social and cultural development of the community. Law on territorial local government, 1991.	Independent securing of the economic, social and cultural development of the local authority area (Art. 13 of the law on local authorities of the Czech National Council of 4/9/1990 c. 367/ 1990 Sb). Approval for and monitoring of development planning, budget, culture, health service, right to set up financial funds, membership in foundations, and in associations of local authorities (Art. 14 Para. 1). Cooperation with other local authorities in associations is possible.	Independent decisions on and implementation of locally-important duties; statutory duties include safeguarding the economy and the social and cultural development of the community.	On the basis of government decree and law, the mayor may exceptionally perform state administrative tasks above and beyond his local government tasks (Art. 44/B of the constitution). Approval for development plan for local authority area. Co-operation with other local authorities in associations is encouraged by state.	Independent decisions on and implementation of locally-important duties; statutory duties include safeguarding the economy and the social and cultural development of the community.
Finances	Local taxes and deductions; share of state taxes, 13.6% of the national budget.	Local taxes and charges; government grants; share of state taxes.	Local taxes and charges; share of national taxes.	Independent fixation of type and level of local taxes; share of national taxes; general financial grants; transfer of state tasks only with financing.	Local taxes and charges; share of national taxes.
Control	Regional governor (Oblasten Upravitel) can overturn community decisions, to the extent that this is within the law (Article 144 of the Bulgarian Constitution).	Okres checks decisions of local councils regarding administrative tasks allocated to local authority. Voluntary consultation function on budgetary matters (similar to controlling).	None	Legal supervision of local authorities by the government. Self-government budgets are controlled by the state audit office.	Every community council must convene an audit committee which must carry out an annual audit.

Table E/2: Decentralisation in the Central and Eastern European Accession Countries (CEECs) (continued)				
Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic
Area	65,200 km ²	312,600 km ²	238,400 km ²	49,035 km ²
Population	3.69 million	38.4 million	22.79 million	5.26 million
Administrative structure	National level 10 regions (<i>apskriitys</i>)	National level 16 Voivodeships	National level 41 districts (<i>judete</i>)	National level 8 <i>Kraje</i>
State of political reforms	56 communities (12 towns and 44 <i>rajonai</i>)	ca. 340 Powiats 2,483 local authorities	2,800 communities (<i>comune</i>), 366 towns (<i>orase, municipii</i>)	79 <i>Okresu</i> 2,853 local authorities
Special features	Articles 119-124 of Chapter X of the constitution of 25.10.92; Legislation on 7.7.1994 on local government in the amended version of 24.6.97; legislation on territorial administration of 15.12.1994 in the most recent version of 24.06.1997.	On 25 May 1997 the referendum on the constitution was adopted. On 17.10.97 it came into force. According to the constitution, the local authority is the basic entity of territorial self-government. Other entities of local and regional self-government will be stipulated by law. In the way of reform the state territory organization of Poland the reduction to 16 Voivodeships has been realised. 1st elections in Voivodeships on 1.10.1998.	The legislation on local government passed in 1991, was revised in 1996 and in 1997.	Establishment of regional authorities on <i>Kraje</i> -level planned after national elections in 1998. They shall take over a part of the competencies of the present administrative units on this level, e.g. education, cultural development and social services. Control of national administrations on this level by regional authorities is envisaged.
				By alteration of Art. 143 of the constitution (spring 1997), creation of new local authorities is possible. Creation of a further level of local government (self-government above local authority level) is being discussed although in 1993, 2/3 of the participants of a referendum held in 360 selected local authorities declared themselves opposed to territorial changes. There is a Government proposal on reform of local self-government.
				National council (council of state) with 43 members, of these 28 for local interests; 15 in upper chamber supervisory functions; regulation by laws, Art. 96ff. of the constitution.

Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia
Subnational / regional level	10 regions (<i>apskritis</i>)	16 Voivodeships	41 districts (<i>judete</i>) 2800 communities (<i>comune</i>), 280 towns of up to 20,000 inh. (<i>orase</i>), 86 towns of more than 20,000 inh. (<i>municipii</i>)	8 <i>Kraje</i> (to national level)	no: but cf. government proposal
Constitutional basis	Articles nos. 11 and 123 of the 1992 Constitution.	Woiwode as representative of Council of Ministers (Chap. VII, Art. 152 of the constitution). Woiwode law of 22/3/1990.	Articles 3, 119, 121 and 122 and the 1991 legislation on local government as revised in 1996 and 1997.	Art. 64; general guarantee of territorial units.	
Regional representative bodies at national level	None	Directly elected senate; 100 representatives (approval for all draft bills in Sejm).	None	None	Not applicable
Representative bodies at regional level	None	<i>Sejmik</i> (since 12.10.1998 directly elected regional authority)	District councils (<i>Conciliu Judetean</i>), community and town councils elected for four years.	None	Not applicable
National representative bodies at regional level	<i>Apskrities virsininkas</i> appointed by national government. (senior body of national administration and additional state levels).	Woiwode, appointed by national government (head of state administration in Woiwode and other state levels). Art. 152 of the new Constitution.	<i>Primar</i> , prefects of the 41 <i>judete</i> and Bucarest. Raising local taxes and charges.	<i>Prednosta kraje</i> , appointed by government, nominated by minister of interior (Art. 8 of law of 4/7/1996 (head of administration of <i>Kraje</i> and other levels).	Not applicable
Legislative powers	None	None, but deliberation of pluriannual regional development programs and contracts with Woiwodes as a basis for negotiations with the national government.		None	Not applicable

Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia
Administrative powers	Independent discharge of administrative duties; management and control of internal administration, environmental, cultural and infrastructural policy; the health service; coordination of sub-departments of national authorities when implementing national programmes.	Independent performance of administrative tasks; management and supervision of tasks in internal administration.	Independent discharge of administrative duties; district councillors coordinate the activities of town and district councillors.	Independent performance of administrative tasks; management and supervision of tasks in internal administration.	Not applicable
Finances	State financed	Primarily state-financed	Local taxes and charges State financed	Primarily state-financed	Not applicable
Control of the immediate sub-national level	<i>Apskrities viršininkas</i> is responsible to the government.	Woiwode is responsible to the government.	Under article 108 of the legislation on local government, a prefect appointed by the government is responsible for the maintenance of public order and the observation of the allocation of powers between the various levels. He co-ordinates the work of state agencies and controls the local authorities.	Control and coordination of <i>Kraje</i> by the government.	Not applicable

Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia
Intermediate levels above community level	None	Re-establishment of 340 <i>Powiaty</i> ; adopted 1992, completed in 1999.	None	79 <i>Okresu</i> ; law of 3/7/1996. <i>Prednosta okresu</i> (head) is appointed by the government.	Creation of a second level of local government above local authority level is currently being discussed.
Administrative powers	Not applicable	The administrative division of the state is to be stipulated by executive laws (Art. 15.2).	Not applicable	<i>Prednosta okresu</i> represents the government in conception of regional planning, has coordinating function and draws attention of local authorities to shortcomings resulting from their activities.	Not applicable
Community level	56 communities (<i>Savivalbyde</i>), (including 12 towns and 44 <i>rajonai</i>)	2,483 local authorities (30/11/1996)	280 <i>orase</i> (towns with less than 20,000 inh.), 86 <i>municipii</i> (towns with more than 20,000 inh.) and 2800 <i>comune</i> (rural communities with less than 5,000 inh.)	2,853 local authorities	62 local authorities
Constitutional basis / local government at community level	Articles 119-124 of chapter X of the constitution of 25.10.1992; Legislation of 7 July 1994 on local government.	Chap. VII, Art. 163ff of the new constitution of Poland; law of 8/3/1990.	Article 3 and 119-122 of the 1991 legislation on local government as revised in 1996 and 1997.	Chap. IV, Art. 64ff of the constitution of 1/9/1992; law no. 481/1993/2.	Chap. V Art. 138ff of the constitution of 23/12/1991; law of 21/12/1993.
Community representative bodies at the immediate sub-national or national level	The Lithuanian Community Association "Standing Conference of the Association" is the supreme body. One representative at the conference for every ten community councillors. (pto)	<i>Sejmik Samorządowy</i> is the regional assembly of local government (elected by local councils of all local authorities in a <i>Woiwode</i> , supervision of local authorities, has integrative function and (pto)	None	None	Not provided

Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia
Community representative bodies at the immediate sub-national or national level	The association represents the interests of communities to government bodies, abroad and in international organisations.	represents the interests of local authorities to state administration (coments). The national assembly of local government has no powers.			
Representative bodies at community level	Community councils	Local councils	Local councils (community councils and the Bucharest town and municipal council) and the elected mayors (elected for a term of four years). The mayors have executive power at local level and the responsible both to the local and superior councils.	Local councils	Local councils
Independent duties / powers	Independent decisions on and implementation of locally-important duties; statutory duties include safeguarding the economy and the social and cultural development of the community.	In the framework of its competence, local self-government performs a large part of public tasks in its own name and on its own responsibility (Art. 16.2, cf. Art. 159 and Art. 6, Par.1 of the law on territorial local government).	Independent decisions on and implementation of locally-important duties; statutory duties include safeguarding the economy and the social and cultural development of the community. Coordination of district councils	Independent decision-making and execution of tasks of local importance. Compulsory responsibilities include: development planning road construction, care of historical monuments, maintenance of local records in Slovak language	Compulsory responsibilities include: road construction, supply and disposal tasks, local public transport (Law on local self-government of 21/12/1993; Official Bulletin of the SR No. 72/ 93, Amendment No. 14/95).

Country	Lithuania	Poland	Romania	Slovak Republic	Slovenia
Independent duties / powers		Compulsory responsibilities include: development planning, road construction, supply and disposal tasks and local public transport. Cooperation with other local authorities in associations.	concerning public tasks on local level, construction and maintenance of district roads, public transport within the districts, health service and local education.	or the language of the nationality concerned (Art. 4 of local authority law). Cooperation with other local authorities in associations.	Cooperation with other local authorities in associations is possible.
Finances	Local taxes and charges; share of national taxes.	Local taxes and charges; government grants; share of state taxes; fiscal equalization paid by state budget.	Charges; share of state taxes.	Local taxes and charges; government grants; share of state taxes.	Local taxes and charges; share of state taxes; secondary monitoring of spending by the responsible ministries.
Control	<i>Apskritis virsininkas</i> may attend meetings of community councils and indicate decisions which conflict with the Lithuanian law.	Woiwode; legal and expert supervision; Woiwode can overturn decisions of local councils. Objection by the Sejmik is possible.	Under article 108 of the legislation on local government, a prefect appointed by the government is responsible for the maintenance of public order and the observation of the separation of powers between the various levels. The prefect co-ordinates the work of state agencies and controls the local authorities.	The <i>Okres</i> is the instance of appeal, it points out errors to local authorities and offers legal and expert supervision.	Art. 140 of the constitution, state legal and expert supervision.

Source: Ad-hoc working group of the Assembly of European Regions (AER) (1997), updated version (December 1998) transmitted by the AER-presidency; Thuringia Ministry of Justice and European Affairs, Erfurt.

Table F: Regional Income Data of 10¹ CEECs

Region	GDP in million PPS	Population 1000 inh.	GDP per capita in PPS	GDP per capita in PPS, EU-15=100
EU 15	6781008	373607	18100	100
BALGARIJA	40805	8406	4900	28
Sofia (Grad)	6343	1192	5300	31
Varna	4515	905	5000	29
Lovech	4971	995	5000	29
Montana	2677	619	4300	25
Rousse	3481	762	4600	26
Bourgas	5052	848	6000	34
Plovdiv	5631	1217	4600	27
Sofia (Oblast)	4006	970	4100	24
Haskovo	4129	900	4600	27
CZECH REPUBLIC	120772	10315	11700	65
Praha	26256	1207	21700	120
Stredocesky	9823	1106	8900	49
Jihocesky	7305	701	10400	58
Západocesky	9762	860	11400	63
Severocesky	12542	1179	10600	59
Vychodocesky	12286	1235	9900	55
Jihomoravsky	21346	2056	10400	57
Severomoravsky	21451	1972	10900	60
EESTI	8999	1469	6100	34
<i>Põhja-Eesti</i>	5038	547	9200	51
<i>Kesk-Eesti</i>	749	189	4000	22
<i>Kirde-Eesti</i>	1277	277	4600	25
<i>Lääne-Eesti</i>	768	184	4200	23
<i>Lõuna-Eesti</i>	1167	272	4300	24
MAGYARORSZÁG	87553	10193	8600	47
Közép-Magyarország	36408	2886	12600	70
<i>Budapest</i>	30205	1896	15900	88
<i>Pest</i>	6203	990	6300	35
Közép-Dunántúl	8796	1115	7900	44
<i>Fejér</i>	3779	426	8900	49
<i>Komárom-Esztergom</i>	2392	311	7700	42
<i>Veszprém</i>	2625	378	6900	38
Nyugat-Dunántúl	8992	997	9000	50
<i>Győr-Moson-Sopron</i>	4038	426	9500	52
<i>Vas</i>	2548	271	9400	52
<i>Zala</i>	2406	300	8000	44
Dél-Dunántúl	6821	993	6900	38
<i>Baranya</i>	2724	408	6700	37
<i>Somogy</i>	2163	336	6400	36
<i>Tolna</i>	1934	248	7800	43
Észak-Magyarország	7681	1294	5900	33
<i>Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén</i>	4516	744	6100	34
<i>Heves</i>	2077	328	6300	35
<i>Nógrád</i>	1088	222	4900	27
Észak-Alföld	9317	1541	6000	33
<i>Hajdú-Bihar</i>	3682	549	6700	37
<i>Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok</i>	2724	420	6500	36
<i>Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg</i>	2910	572	5100	28

⁽¹⁾ No comparable data available for Cyprus.

Region	GDP in million PPS	Population 1000 inh.	GDP per capita in PPS	GDP per capita in PPS, EU-15=100
Dél-Alföld	9539	1367	7000	39
<i>Bács-Kiskun</i>	3509	540	6500	36
<i>Békés</i>	2636	402	6600	36
<i>Csongrád</i>	3394	426	8000	44
LATVIJA	11601	2491	4700	26
<i>Rīga</i>	5499	821	6700	37
<i>Vidzeme</i>	1940	572	3400	19
<i>Kurzeme</i>	1709	340	5000	28
<i>Zemgale</i>	1283	358	3600	20
<i>Latgale</i>	1171	400	2900	16
LIETUVA	19655	3710	5300	29
<i>Alytaus</i>	909	203	4500	25
<i>Kauno</i>	3837	756	5100	28
<i>Klaipėdos</i>	2438	416	5900	32
<i>Marijampolės</i>	830	199	4200	23
<i>Panevezio</i>	1738	324	5400	30
<i>Siauliai</i>	1908	402	4700	26
<i>Tauragės</i>	513	130	3900	22
<i>Telsiai</i>	878	183	4800	27
<i>Utenos</i>	1003	203	5000	27
<i>Vilniaus</i>	5602	897	6200	35
POLSKA	245145	38639	6300	35
<i>Warszawskie</i>	28295	2415	11700	65
<i>Białkopodlaskie</i>	1392	309	4500	25
<i>Białostockie</i>	3667	701	5200	29
<i>Bielskie</i>	5486	922	6000	33
<i>Bydgoskie</i>	6881	1134	6100	34
<i>Chelmskie</i>	1130	250	4500	25
<i>Ciechanowskie</i>	2078	437	4800	26
<i>Częstochowskie</i>	3958	781	5100	28
<i>Elblaskie</i>	2863	493	5800	32
<i>Gdańskie</i>	9592	1461	6600	36
<i>Gorzowskie</i>	2903	512	5700	31
<i>Jeleniogórskie</i>	2975	524	5700	31
<i>Kaliskie</i>	3954	723	5500	30
<i>Katowickie</i>	32049	3918	8200	45
<i>Kieleckie</i>	5661	1135	5000	28
<i>Koninskie</i>	2843	480	5900	33
<i>Koszalinskie</i>	2956	524	5600	31
<i>Krakowskie</i>	8634	1240	7000	38
<i>Krosnienskie</i>	2397	508	4700	26
<i>Legnickie</i>	4566	525	8700	48
<i>Leszczyńskie</i>	2490	398	6300	35
<i>Lubelskie</i>	5815	1028	5700	31
<i>Łomżyńskie</i>	1486	354	4200	23
<i>Łódzkie</i>	7122	1111	6400	35
<i>Nowosadeckie</i>	3023	738	4100	23
<i>Olsztynskie</i>	4125	774	5300	29
<i>Opolskie</i>	6001	1025	5900	32
<i>Ostroleckie</i>	1903	410	4600	26
<i>Piłskie</i>	2815	496	5700	31
<i>Piotrkowskie</i>	3650	643	5700	31
<i>Płockie</i>	3771	522	7200	40
<i>Poznańskie</i>	10211	1357	7500	42
<i>Przemyskie</i>	1754	415	4200	23

Region	GDP in million PPS	Population 1000 inh.	GDP per capita in PPS	GDP per capita in PPS, EU-15=100
<i>Radomskie</i>	3810	764	5000	28
<i>Rzeszowskie</i>	3799	749	5100	28
<i>Siedleckie</i>	2806	662	4200	23
<i>Sieradzkie</i>	1914	413	4600	26
<i>Skierniewickie</i>	2039	424	4800	27
<i>Slupskie</i>	2167	427	5100	28
<i>Suwalskie</i>	1990	487	4100	23
<i>Szczecinskie</i>	7449	993	7500	41
<i>Tarnobrzeskie</i>	3039	610	5000	28
<i>Tarnowskie</i>	3336	697	4800	26
<i>Torunskie</i>	3948	672	5900	32
<i>Walbrzyskie</i>	3863	738	5200	29
<i>Wloclawskie</i>	2027	435	4700	26
<i>Wroclawskie</i>	8658	1137	7600	42
<i>Zamojskie</i>	2103	492	4300	24
<i>Zielonogorskie</i>	3746	676	5500	31
ROMNIA	126122	22681	5600	32
Nord-Est	16839	3785	4400	26
<i>Bacau</i>	3754	744	5000	29
<i>Botosani</i>	1708	463	3700	21
<i>Iasi</i>	3924	818	4800	28
<i>Neamt</i>	2592	586	4400	26
<i>Suceava</i>	3224	710	4500	26
<i>Vaslui</i>	1636	464	3500	20
Sud-Est	16173	2955	5500	32
<i>Braila</i>	2001	391	5100	30
<i>Buzau</i>	2121	513	4100	24
<i>Constanta</i>	5035	747	6700	39
<i>Galati</i>	3803	643	5900	34
<i>Tulcea</i>	1226	268	4600	26
<i>Vrancea</i>	1987	393	5100	29
Sud	18693	3525	5300	31
<i>Arges</i>	4136	679	6100	35
<i>Calarasi</i>	1683	336	5000	29
<i>Dâmbovita</i>	2734	557	4900	28
<i>Giurgiu</i>	1234	303	4100	24
<i>Ialomita</i>	1967	305	6400	37
<i>Prahova</i>	4712	872	5400	31
<i>Teleorman</i>	2226	473	4700	27
Sud-Vest	13004	2437	5300	31
<i>Dolj</i>	3430	756	4500	26
<i>Gorj</i>	2908	397	7300	42
<i>Mehedinti</i>	1683	329	5100	30
<i>Olt</i>	2428	519	4700	27
<i>Vâlcea</i>	2556	436	5900	34
Vest	12607	2086	6000	35
<i>Arad</i>	2730	480	5700	33
<i>Caras-Severin</i>	1730	366	4700	27
<i>Hunedoara</i>	3275	546	6000	35
<i>Timis</i>	4872	694	7000	41
Nord-Vest	15063	2883	5200	30
<i>Bihor</i>	3585	631	5700	33
<i>Bistrita-Nasaud</i>	1455	328	4400	26
<i>Cluj</i>	4459	728	6100	35
<i>Maramures</i>	2345	537	4400	25
<i>Satu Mare</i>	1912	396	4800	28
<i>Salaj</i>	1307	263	5000	29

Region	GDP in million PPS	Population 1000 inh.	GDP per capita in PPS	GDP per capita in PPS, EU-15=100
Centru	16028	2678	6000	35
Alba	2117	406	5200	30
Brasov	4562	641	7100	41
Covasna	1382	233	5900	34
Harghita	1883	346	5400	31
Mures	3504	606	5800	33
Sibiu	2579	447	5800	33
Bucuresti	17715	2333	7600	44
SLOVENSKÁ REPUBLIKA	43515	5374	8100	45
Bratislavsky	10820	619	17500	97
Západné Slovensko	13355	1876	7100	39
Trnavsky	4363	548	8000	44
Trenciansky	4070	610	6700	37
Nitriansky	4922	718	6900	38
Stredné Slovensko	9503	1351	7000	39
Zilinsky	4673	687	6800	38
Banskobystricky	4830	664	7300	40
Východné Slovensko	9837	1528	6400	36
Presovsky	3926	771	5100	28
Kosicky	5911	757	7800	43
SLOVENIJA	24240	1991	12200	67

Source: EUROSTAT.

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